

A HISTORY OF MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY  
STUDENTS, 1949-1961

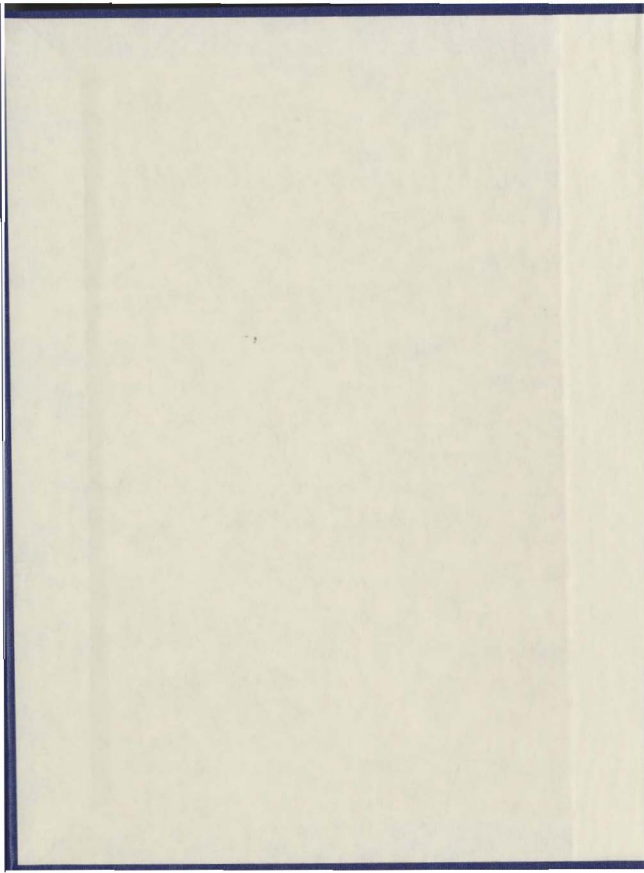
CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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A HISTORY OF MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 1949-1961

By

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A thesis submitted to the  
School of Graduate Studies  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

Department of History  
Memorial University of Newfoundland

May 2002

## **ABSTRACT**

Memorial University of Newfoundland, Newfoundland's seat of higher learning, was a dynamic institution filled with students eager to reap the benefits of a university education. While the history of universities in Canada is a much studied subject, the students who attended those universities are noticeably understudied. Students were by far the largest single group on any campus and were the recipients of each innovation and programme offered or designed by a university. Students' participation in the life of the university is the central focus of this thesis. This thesis examines the history of students ranging from while on the Parade Street Campus in 1949, through the granting of university status to Memorial University College, to 1961 when the university moved from downtown St. John's to the spacious Elizabeth Avenue Campus. Memorial's students during this period were active participants in the life of the university, as well as being active off campus.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My personal interest in studying university students began in 1997 at Acadia University when Dr. John Thomas agreed to supervise my undergraduate thesis on Acadia students in the period 1885-1920. My decision to study Memorial's students grew from an interest in the ways Newfoundland went about integrating into Canada following confederation in 1949. The university was intended to play a prominent role and as such, students would be the ones to benefit the most. Natural curiosity took over and I dove in.

While at Memorial I was fortunate to have the ideal supervisor in Dr. Malcolm MacLeod; I could not have asked for better. The Department of History likewise was extremely helpful to me, especially Beverly Evans-Hong and Fran Warren. Research was aided by a grant from the Smallwood Foundation. An internship at *Labour/Le Travail* provided for a year's study for which I am extremely grateful.

Fellow students deserve thanks, although they are too numerous to mention individually for fear of leaving someone out. Special thanks needs to go to Doug Gorman for a unique part-time job and for the coffee I had every day I worked on the thesis. Carolyn Cashin deserves special thanks as well, but only she knows why. My parents too deserve thanks for encouraging me to pursue graduate studies and for giving me a ride to school, from Nova Scotia, just as they did in 1994 to Wolfville.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1949, during Newfoundland's first provincial House of Assembly session, Memorial University College (MUC) was elevated to university status. In the autumn of 1961 the university moved to a spacious new campus on Elizabeth Avenue.<sup>1</sup> Between these bookmark dates several thousand students experienced life at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), as annual registration grew from 307 to 1,400. These students were part of a generation targeted by government and society to have their life-course directed by Newfoundland's rush to modernization as part of Canada. The lives of students at MUN during this period centred on the campus with their classmates, where they spent a good portion of each day.

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that MUN students were markedly active outside the classroom in a wide array of social and athletic activities, both on and off campus. Students at MUC and MUN were recipients of an educational system that was based upon a direct, and encouraged, connection with the economic and industrial development of Newfoundland. The lives of students during this period indicate that they were not static or merely statistics while at the Parade Street campus. Students were instrumental in organizing, attending, and participating in activities that were directed

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<sup>1</sup>Province of Newfoundland Acts, *An Act Respecting the Memorial University of Newfoundland*, No. 55, *Statutes of the Province of Newfoundland*, August 1949.

towards the interests of their fellow students. It is also important to note that students partially funded the activities that took place on campus through the Students Representative Council, which received a modest fee from each full-time student.

Students, attending any university in Canada, during these years were part of an educational system that was going through important transformations and developments.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the most important transformation occurred during the years when thousands of World War II veterans made their way through Canada's university programmes.<sup>3</sup> MUN continued to carry out the high academic standards set by the old college, but increasingly felt the need to exceed those standards, start new programmes, and continue to benefit generations of Newfoundlanders. The new university continued with its Arts, Science, and Education programmes, which all now were degree programmes. Students could still take pre-law, pre-engineering, pre-dental, and pre-medicine programmes, and just as before 1949, complete their training in the universities of Canada, the United States, and

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<sup>2</sup>A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The Universities in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 563; Robin S. Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 469; and Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University, and Canadian Society. Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), xxiii.

<sup>3</sup>Peter Neary, "Canadian Universities and Canadian Veterans of World War II," in Peter Neary and J.L. Granatstein, eds., *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 110-148.

United Kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

Writing a history of the life of students is fraught with difficulties and challenges. Whose voices are recorded in MUN's student newspaper — *The Muse* — and how accurately did they reflect the opinions of the majority of students? Students who worked for the newspaper at Memorial tended to write articles that reflected the majority of students, although, at times they definitely took it upon themselves to air personal grievances, or with prompting, they wrote articles that they did not relate to the events and people of Memorial. While not all stories carried in the paper were serious, it is apparent which ones were intentionally humorous, yet the topics that they lampooned also help form a picture of MUN during this period. Using articles from student newspapers as primary source material is difficult for that reason. Corroboration with former students through correspondence during the research stages, however, suggests an accuracy in *The Muse*. Besides using *The Muse* as primary source material, I conducted a survey of Memorial alumni from this period.<sup>5</sup> From those who responded to the survey a wealth of

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<sup>4</sup>Malcolm MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway. A History of Memorial University College, 1925-1950* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 231-239.

<sup>5</sup>A random sample was obtained from Memorial University of Newfoundland Alumni Affairs (MUNAA) and Development division. 600 respondents were asked for; the random sample was generated by MUNAA. Results of the survey will be available, following the completion of this thesis, in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies (CNS), Queen Elizabeth II Library (QEII), Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), St. John's Newfoundland. Of the 560 addresses that a survey was sent, ten per cent responded with information.

information and insight regarding students' lived experiences at MUN was received. In only a few responses can any inaccuracies be found.

Writing the history of the lives of students has one principal drawback, as Charles Johnston and John Weaver suggest, in their history of McMaster University student life: "Doubtless, championships or splendid student achievements have been missed, regrettably, too, many routine occasions and wonderful anecdotes have escaped our notice."<sup>6</sup> When writing the history of a university, historian John G. Reid notes that the author needs to remember that universities did not operate in isolation from the rest of the world:

A university history cannot be focused narrowly if it is to be successful in explaining institutional developments rather than simply chronicling them. No institution exists in isolation from the society that gives it birth and nurtures it. No university exists in isolation from the wider world of human knowledge and thought. A university history must be, among other things, an endeavour in social and intellectual history.<sup>7</sup>

In this thesis, the students will be the primary subject of investigation, with the necessary institutional developments included. None of the day-to-day operations of the university administration, the Board of Regents, or the provincial government, are given prominent places in this thesis. Students are revealed to have been active participants in the life of

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<sup>6</sup>Charles M. Johnston and John C. Weaver, *Student Days. Student Life at McMaster University from the 1890s to the 1980s* (Hamilton: McMaster University Alumni Association, 1986), vii.

<sup>7</sup>John G. Reid, *Mount Allison University: A History. Volume I: 1843-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), vii.

the university. Many had strong opinions on the aspects of university affairs that influenced their lives and studies. The new campus on Elizabeth Avenue was an important institutional development in the history of Memorial, which was second in importance only to its elevation from a college to a university. Individual faculty members are noted for their specific contributions to student organizations and endeavours, and while not playing a prominent role in this thesis, they are afforded the respect due to their position as the people who collectively had a significant influence upon students.

Institutions made sizeable gains during the 1950s. It would not be the professors, however, who benefitted most from the expansion of campuses and programs. Students would be the biggest winners during this period. Accessibility to university admission became a legitimate goal for the youth of Canada, although the financial resources to attend were not always readily accessible for most. Buoying the chances for Canada's youths to enroll was the financial assistance that the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, headed by Vincent Massey, recommended the federal government provide to the provinces for the operation of their respective universities.<sup>8</sup> In Newfoundland, the question of accessibility was a conundrum also. Students found the university increasingly accessible through scholarships made

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<sup>8</sup>Canada, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. *Report: Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, 1949-1951* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951).

more available to them as time went on.<sup>9</sup> Memorial found it difficult to curtail its high turnover rate among new faculty members.<sup>10</sup> Memorial was able, however, to hire and keep faculty members with great potential and energy. This helped to expose Memorial's students to newer approaches to teaching and research, and together with their senior colleagues they established graduate programmes.

Those who attended Memorial during this period were predominantly Newfoundlanders.<sup>11</sup> Very few students came from outside the province, but those who did come from away had little or no trouble with being accepted as part of the university community. Social divisions existed at MUN's Parade Street campus along the lines of class, gender, and the most prominent division, between those from St. John's (Townie) and those from everywhere else in Newfoundland (Baymen). Another significant division at Memorial was between students enrolled in Education and the rest of the student body. Education students, of whom many were mature students, made up almost

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<sup>9</sup>Frederick W. Rowe, *The Development of Education in Newfoundland* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), 181.

<sup>10</sup>Malcolm MacLeod, "Faculty Development at Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1950-72." Paper presented at Memorial University, History Department Seminar Series, February 2001.

<sup>11</sup>*Memorial University of Newfoundland. Calendar. 1950-1951 through to 1957-1958.* These calendars list the home town and programme of study of each student at Memorial. Of the students listed in the 1950-1951 calendar only one person of the 400, John David Ford, Second year Arts and Science, was not from Newfoundland or Labrador. For the year 1957-1958 there were 21, including three from England, one from Scotland, and five from the United States.

50 per cent of the student population. Most divisions among students were strongest during the first weeks of each school year, but would dissolve and be almost completely overcome before the end of the year. The one division that did not disappear was the one that separated the students who worked hard and succeeded in passing their courses and the students who did not work hard and failed their courses. Even this division was not terribly strong because many Memorial students would fail at least one course.

While some students had difficulty in making the transition from high school to university, they were not alone in trying to cope with overcoming their inadequate preparation. Faculty members at Memorial were very concerned with the progress students made and were worried about the difficulties students had in their first year.<sup>12</sup> They tried to help students to work at the university level. Especially worrisome were the students enrolled in the Education programme; a few of these were already teachers who had decided to take a year or a summer to take courses, but failed. What made this problem so worrisome was that those teachers were allowed to return to their classrooms and teach students in Grade XI who, in turn, wanted to attend university.

Students attending Memorial during this period, saw, either in the planning, construction, or operating stages, another significant development in the history of

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<sup>12</sup>Paul West, *Memorial University: Its Promising Problems*. St. John's, 1958. Available at CNS, MUN, QEII, St. John's, Newfoundland. West was a member of the English Department; he lamented most about the high number of first year students who were not well-versed enough in grammar and composition.

education in Newfoundland: the regional high school.<sup>13</sup> The development of regional high schools slowly did away with the smaller schools that had served single, small communities. The provincial government better equipped these schools, with teachers and educational material, to prepare high school students for the rigors of university level study. Memorial's professoriate appreciated the increased level of knowledge and skills that students had before commencing their university programmes. With the increase in spending on the regional high schools, was an increase in the percentage of children attending elementary and secondary school. In smaller communities, denominations ceded some of their independent authority over education jointly to manage and run a central school.<sup>14</sup>

The pattern for enrolment at MUN did not differ from the pattern of enrolment during its years as MUC; each year saw a student body that was almost entirely composed of Newfoundlanders. These patterns were different at most of the Atlantic Canadian

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<sup>13</sup>Ralph L. Andrews, *Post-Confederation Developments in Education, 1949-1975*. Alice E. Wareham, ed. (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, 1985), 87-91; Frederick W. Rowe, *Education and Culture in Newfoundland* (Toronto: McGrath-Hill Ryerson, 1976); and Rowe, *Development of Education*, 160-161.

<sup>14</sup>This occurred with the help of resettlement schemes carried out by the provincial government. A whole community, once isolated, would move to another community to form a new one, normally with incentives such as roads, electricity, and better schools. See for example: Rowe, *Development*, 159; Peter Neary, "The Fate of the Outport Newfoundlander: Four Views of Resettlement," in Peter Neary, ed., *The Political Economy of Newfoundland, 1929-1972* (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1973), 222-261; and Della Stanley, "The 1960s: The Illusions and Realities of Progress," in E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, eds., *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 432-433.



universities. For example, at Mount Allison University in tiny Sackville, NB, the percentage of non-New Brunswick students was routinely between 60.5% in 1945-46 and up to 76.8% in 1960-61.<sup>15</sup> The drawing power of Atlantic Canadian universities can be found in several factors. Denominational influences diverted students from one province to another. For example, Baptists were more prominent at Acadia University, in Wolfville.<sup>16</sup> Roman Catholics were, by far, the majority of students at Saint Mary's University, Halifax, NS; Mount Saint Vincent University, Bedford, NS; St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, NS; Université Saint-Joseph, Memramcook, NB; and Université Saint-Louis, Edmundston, NB.<sup>17</sup> Similar patterns can be found for United Church (Methodists) attending Mount Allison, and United Church and Anglicans attending Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS.<sup>18</sup> That denominational influences were strong may be misleading. This is because there existed a very strong tradition of sons and daughters attending their parents' *alma mater*, while not necessarily attending as the

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<sup>15</sup>Reid, *Mount Allison*, 442.

<sup>16</sup>Watson Kirkconnell, *The Fifth Quarter-Century. Acadia University, 1938-1963*. (Wolfville, NS: Published by the Governors of Acadia University, 1968) and G.A. Rawlyk, "Introduction," in G.A. Rawlyk, *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), vii-xii.

<sup>17</sup>Laurence K. Shook, *Catholic Post-Secondary Education in English-Speaking Canada. A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) and James D. Cameron, *For the People. A History of St. Francis Xavier University* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), Table 16, 398.

<sup>18</sup>Reid, *Mount Allison*, 446; and P.B. Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University. Volume Two, 1925-1980. The Old College Transformed* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 175.

result of denominational influences. MUN also tried to tap familial tradition but it appears that many Memorial students of this period were the first family members to attend either MUC or MUN.

Presidents of Canada's universities worried a great deal in the 1950s about the future of their universities. Following World War II, the veterans who swarmed to the classrooms radically changed Canadian universities. When the majority had finished their courses and degrees, presidents set about to redefine their universities in light of the demands made upon them by the communities in which they operated. Funding from provincial governments had gone a long way in sustaining a high academic standard at most institutions. Following the war, the income for most universities was not enough to allow them to do anything but tread water. Help would arrive for the beleaguered university system from the Massey Commission. From this report was the recommendation that the federal government directly aid universities, a recommendation that Ottawa implemented.<sup>19</sup> For Memorial, this signaled financial stability, because it coupled nicely with the relatively generous support from the provincial government. A calculating factor used by the federal government was that the money was based on a per province rate, for which Memorial benefitted, as it was Newfoundland's only recipient,

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<sup>19</sup>See Edward Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 416-443, and Robert M. Stamp, "Government and Education in Post-War Canada," 444-470, in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet, eds., *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1970).

giving it a sizeable amount of money.<sup>20</sup>

Redefining a university was not an easy task, as denominational control still existed in many universities in Canada, especially in the older ones. Outside Atlantic Canada, some universities were concerned about being known as church-related universities. President George Gilmour of McMaster University wondered about the value of the denominational affiliation to the standards of the university.<sup>21</sup> The universities founded under Roman Catholic auspices were the last to divorce themselves from denominational influence. Many universities in Canada took enormous pride in the “family” traditions that existed on their campuses. At Bishop’s University, according to its Principal, Arthur Russell Jewitt in June 1955, all those interested in the institution’s future were encouraging a new tradition: “Bishop’s is not a rich man’s college but rather a college where rich men in the past have made, and in the present are making, it possible for poor men’s sons to gain a university education.”<sup>22</sup> Memorial would also try to make itself available for those with limited financial means.

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<sup>20</sup>Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, *Financing Higher Education in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 99. Other provinces were forced to split the money among its universities. This would hurt provinces such as Nova Scotia and Ontario. The provincial government in Quebec would not accept federal money for higher education on principle.

<sup>21</sup>Charles M. Johnston, *McMaster University. Volume 2: The Early Years In Hamilton, 1930-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 202.

<sup>22</sup>A.R. Jewitt, as quoted in Christopher Nicholl, *Bishop’s University, 1843-1970* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), 238.

During the 1950s, Canadian universities found themselves with ever increasing student enrolment levels. While no one was exceptionally surprised that their student populations would grow throughout the 1950s, they were unprepared for the rate of growth. Some did not believe that their campuses would be subjected to the numbers that they reached while the World War II veterans were on campus. In 1955, Edward Sheffield released his report on projected enrolments for the next ten years — 1955-1965 — in which he predicted that the total Canadian university student population would double.<sup>23</sup> Due to the relatively short period of time that it would take for such a monumental increase to take place, the National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU) organized a special conference for November 1956 to discuss strategies for dealing with the pending surge in enrolments. Claude Bissell — president of Carleton College (Ottawa) — who chaired the meeting arranged to have non-academics at the meeting to explain the impact of the enrolment growth on Canadian society outside of the university setting; Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent addressed the conference at its conclusion. Historian Robin Harris suggests that the move to have people from outside the university system in attendance was an important factor in the success of the conference. Bissell believed “this move would give the conference an authority that it might not otherwise have possessed.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>E.F. Sheffield, “Canadian University and College Enrolment Projected to 1965,” *National Conference of Canadian Universities, Proceedings 1955*, 39-46.

<sup>24</sup>Harris, *A History of Higher Education*, 460.

By the time the NCCU hosted the conference in 1956, MUN was already feeling the effects of an increasing student population. Attending the conference for the university was President Raymond Gushue. For Memorial it was a good opportunity to discuss with the rest of Canada how it was developing and growing, while maintaining high academic standing. The NCCU delegates adopted thirteen resolutions to send to the federal and provincial governments. The first resolution stated the public needed to be warned:

That the problem of the universities had become an emergency of grave national concern, to the certain disadvantage of our progress and standing as a nation, and can only be solved by the energetic and immediate assistance and co-operation of all governments in Canada, of business and industry, and of private benefactors.<sup>25</sup>

These words were heard and heeded by Newfoundland's premier, Joseph R. Smallwood, as he believed strongly in the value of the university to Newfoundland.

Memorial's students would attend a university that knew its future was bright. Its graduates would have no problems finding jobs in their chosen fields. This was especially true for those enrolled in pre-professional programs. This was partially due to the enthusiastic manner in which Smallwood poured his efforts into economic development and industrial construction. With the arrival of Dr. Alfred Valdmanis of Latvia, Newfoundland embarked on a series of high-cost industrial ventures that the provincial government believed would be the financial security the province would

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<sup>25</sup>Claude T. Bissell, ed., *Canada's Crisis in Higher Education. Proceedings of a Conference Held by the National Conference of Canadian Universities at Ottawa, November 14-16, 1956* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 244.

require in the future.<sup>26</sup> Throughout the period under investigation, students of Memorial believed in the future prosperity of Newfoundland, along with the belief that they would not have much difficulty in obtaining a meaningful career.

Just as the opening of Memorial as a university in 1949 was a momentous event in the history of education in Newfoundland, so too was the opening of the new campus in 1961. Students attending Memorial between those years represented the potential future of Newfoundland. While at MUN they received more than just “book-learning”; invaluable life-lessons were learnt too. Their role in the future was something they took seriously. These students eagerly accepted their position as respected, adult members of St. John’s. Part of being members of the community was their acceptance of a code of behavior and beliefs that was fostered and developed at Memorial and that contributed directly to the success that Memorial had with its students. Coupled with that part of their years at university were the social and athletic activities that they organized, attended, and participated in.

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<sup>26</sup>Gerhard P. Bassler, “‘Develop or Perish’: Joseph R. Smallwood and Newfoundland’s Quest for German Industry, 1949-1953,” *Acadiensis*, Spring (1986), 93; Gerhard P. Bassler, *Alfred Valdmanis and the Politics of Survival* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); and Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood. The Unlikely Revolutionary* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968), 140-169.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **Prelude to Opening, Planning, Faculty, and Elizabeth Avenue**

#### **Introduction**

For the twenty-four years that Memorial University College (MUC) was open, students from around Newfoundland found their way to the Parade Street campus for the only university level education available in the nation. Building upon the work and pedagogical outlook of the Normal School, MUC's primary function was the training of teachers.<sup>1</sup> Without a doubt, MUC was intended to exist as an institution whose primary purpose was to serve the needs of Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders.<sup>2</sup> The trajectory of Memorial's development during this period had similarities and differences compared to other Canadian universities, in both traditional and new programmes.<sup>3</sup> For Premier Joseph Smallwood, the university was intended to be a special part of the development

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<sup>1</sup>Malcolm MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway: A History of Memorial University College, 1925-1950* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 218-220.

<sup>2</sup>This purpose was evident throughout the years of the college and during the period under investigation, especially given the perennial numerical supremacy of the Faculty of Education students. Throughout the history of the college and university, the Memorial heritage was not forgotten. Naming the institution, however, was "accidentally entangled with the debate over suitable forms of recognition for those who served in the Great War." MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 17.

<sup>3</sup>A comparison with other universities will be made in the conclusion of this chapter, after Memorial's development and growth has been analyzed.

and future of Newfoundland. Retaining its status as a memorial to those who gave their lives in both World War I and II was a continuing source of pride for the government and people of Newfoundland.

This chapter will briefly outline the history of MUC, focusing on the years leading up to Confederation (1949) and the elevation of the college to the Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN). Confederation with Canada marked a new era for higher education in Newfoundland. Premier Smallwood embarked upon a plan of modernization and industrialization for the province and its people.<sup>4</sup> Smallwood intended the university to play a large role in his plans, producing the potential employees to fill the future employment needs of Newfoundland. Extracting and exploiting the natural resources of Newfoundland required many highly specialized and trained people. If better educational services were provided for the youth of Newfoundland at the elementary and high school levels, more would be able to attend university, and then take up employment in the modernized Newfoundland economy.<sup>5</sup>

Also, this chapter will offer a discussion on how MUN developed during this period, both in programmes and physical plant. The majority of those plans were derived from two reports solicited from and prepared by former University of Alberta President

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<sup>4</sup>Gerhard P. Bassler, "'Develop or Perish': Joseph R. Smallwood and Newfoundland's Quest for German Industry, 1949-1953," *Acadiensis*, Spring (1986), 94.

<sup>5</sup>Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968), 198.



Dr. Robert Newton, and Dalhousie University Professor of Engineering, H.R. Theakston, respectively.<sup>6</sup> Faculty will be discussed in this chapter as well, mainly in reference to their involvement with student life. Finally, the issue of building the new campus and how students reacted to the delays will be outlined and analyzed here.

The foundation of the idealistic goals and plans of modernization manifested through the improvements, expansions, and directions taken by MUN, was a central premise: students were the primary recipients and beneficiaries of all changes. Almost everything done for the improvement of the university had a direct benefit for the students, especially when faculty were given encouragement to pursue their interests or when laboratory equipment was upgraded or the library acquired more volumes. Students at MUN were expected to receive the spin-off benefits that came with a university education such as public-spiritedness, sound morals and values, good work habits, and behavior traits appropriate for society and the work-place. All of those spin-off benefits would indirectly aid Newfoundland achieve its plans for modernization by creating an

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<sup>6</sup>Robert Newton, *Memorial University of Newfoundland. A Survey* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1952); and "Theakston Report. A Survey and Development of the University, 1951-52," H.R. Theakston to A.J. Walsh (Chairman of the MUN Board of Regents), Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archive (CNSA), Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), Queen Elizabeth II Library (QEII), "MUN 1949-1951," Smallwood Papers, Collection 075, File 3.09.033. Newton had been President of the University of Alberta and his report was intended to be a guide for MUN's future. For more information on Newton's legacy at the University of Alberta see John Macdonald, *The History of the University of Alberta, 1908-1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1958), 49-72. Professor Theakston was Professor of Engineering at Dalhousie University and his report was of the proposed new campus' physical plant requirements. These reports will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

extremely well trained and highly educated pool of potential employees.

### **MUC and MUN: Background and Development**

In 1925 MUC began operation, incorporating some of the pedagogical approaches of the Normal School as the foundation for its Education programme.<sup>7</sup> Deciding to establish a seat of higher learning in Newfoundland had begun years earlier, in the 1890s.<sup>8</sup> The Council of Higher Education was organized to provide opportunities for Newfoundland's youth to study at the post-secondary level, although no serious headway on the establishment of a college of any sort was made until 1917.<sup>9</sup> Interdenominational co-operation was necessary for any project to truly succeed or even start; consensus was reached in 1922-23, when the Roman Catholic Church decided to become involved with the project.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>The Normal School closed in 1932 due to budgetary cut-backs. It had been the only Newfoundland facility available to improve the teaching qualifications of those involved in the teaching profession. It did not offer a degree programme, only an intensive four-month programme. See MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 218-220. In 1934, under the direction of President Hatcher, the Normal School was absorbed as part of MUC, instead of reopening as an independent institution.

<sup>8</sup>MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 3.

<sup>9</sup>D.G. Pitt, "Myth, Memorial, And Alma Mater: The Story Of The Memorial University Of Newfoundland," *The Maritime Advocate and Busy East*, 43,4 (December 1952), 29.

<sup>10</sup>The Carnegie Corporation of New York was contacted for financial assistance. Higher education in the Maritime provinces was of interest to the Carnegie Corporation during the 1920s and 1930s. The Carnegie Corporation donated sizeable amounts of money to

Following the cessation of World War I, Newfoundland began the process of deciding upon a suitable memorial to the fighting men who died during the war. On the origins of a seat of higher learning as the monument, D.G. Pitt argued:

Already various forms of a monument to honour the Island's War Dead were being suggested. Many favoured resolutely the traditional pile of marble and metal, but others believed, with Doctors Blackall, Burke and Curtis, that "an educational building which should raise to a higher level of the whole status of education in Newfoundland" would be a memorial of more enduring excellence. Such a memorial at [sic] this, while honouring the memory of those who died to preserve our way of life, would at the same time enhance its worth and lift the lives of those who walk it.<sup>11</sup>

Similar notions and ideals of memory would be invoked during the elevation of the college and the retention of its status as a memorial. An interesting concept lay behind using an educational institution to commemorate the war veterans: it would continue to give opportunities to Newfoundland citizens, while embodying all the values fought for in World War I. The more utilitarian aspect of the university was "a response to the wish of Newfoundland's leading educators to develop a more highly qualified corps of teachers

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many of the region's schools. See MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 13, 258, and 262; Robin S. Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 212 and 343; and Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class. Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1990), 67.

<sup>11</sup>Pitt, "Myth, Memorial, And Alma Mater," 30. The quotation in the text is cited by Pitt: "From the text of a resolution submitted by Dr. L. Curtis to the Patriotic Association of Newfoundland meeting on January 22, 1919 to consider the erection of a War Memorial."

for the country's several church-run school systems ....<sup>12</sup> Educating the youth of Newfoundland for the betterment of Newfoundland into the future would be a hallmark of Memorial's planning during these stages as well as throughout the period covered here.

MUC had modest beginnings with an Education programme and the first two years of a general Arts and Science curriculum, which allowed them to finish their studies in Canadian, British, or American universities.<sup>13</sup> Many students left Newfoundland to complete further studies, most obtaining a bachelor or professional degree with the occasional student enrolling in graduate studies.<sup>14</sup> The college continued to operate with modest expansion through World War II. Planning for the future was only possible following the end of the war. Perhaps the most important factor in planning the future of the college was the creation of the National Convention to determine Newfoundland's governmental future in 1946. Discussions regarding higher education that followed World War II noted that MUC had been quite successful and very well respected around the world for the work it performed. Monnie Mansfield, second registrar of the MUC and

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<sup>12</sup>Malcolm MacLeod, "Parade Street Parade: The Student Body at Memorial University College, 1925-1949," in Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 51.

<sup>13</sup>See MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 247.

<sup>14</sup>See for example, Interview: Mose Morgan with Malcolm MacLeod, 21 September 1984. Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore Archive. Tape No. C7220. Transcripts and tapes are available from the Folklore Archive. Morgan received MA degrees from Dalhousie University and Oxford University. Mose's sister, Julia, received a doctorate from the University of Wisconsin.

first of MUN, recalled at the opening of the Elizabeth Avenue campus: "Hundreds of the graduates left Newfoundland to continue their studies in universities of the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States."<sup>15</sup> While this would be a source of pride for those at MUC, it had a dark side that many wished to see remedied as soon as possible: "A very large number of these graduates never returned to Newfoundland, but made their homes in other lands to which they devoted their talents. The loss to Newfoundland was most grievous [sic]."<sup>16</sup> Post-World War II Newfoundland politicians began to remedy that grievous situation.

Prior to the National Convention, the Government of the United Kingdom requested a report from the Commission On Higher Education in the Colonies, which was released in 1945. In it were recommendations for the colonies' universities to be centres of research, provide world-class liberal arts education, and be of practical use to their respective colonies.<sup>17</sup> At the National Convention the plan to elevate the status of the college took shape. During the Convention, Smallwood articulated his vision of the

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<sup>15</sup>Monnie Mansfield, "Memorial University of Newfoundland: Past and Present," *The Official Opening of the New Campus of Memorial University of Newfoundland. October Ninth and Tenth, 1961* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1961), 27. Mansfield was Registrar from 1929 until her retirement in 1959. She received, for her service to the college and university, an honorary Master of Arts degree in 1960. This was the first honorary degree awarded by MUN.

<sup>16</sup>Mansfield, "Memorial University," 27.

<sup>17</sup>*Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, 1945*. CNSA, MUN, QEII, Hefferton Papers, Collection COLL-018, Alfred Hunter to Samuel Hefferton, 17 November 1949.

future university, which parallels the Commissions' report: "A dynamo, a power-house, in the inculcation and dissemination and encouragement of a distinctly Newfoundland culture."<sup>18</sup> Others, too, weighed in with their ideas for the future of higher education in Newfoundland, such as Trinity North's representative, Reuben Vardy: "Newfoundland is probably the only dominion which cannot boast of such an institution of higher learning. For reasons of prestige, therefore, this step is highly desirable."<sup>19</sup> No one at the National Convention objected to the idea of improving the higher educational opportunities for Newfoundlanders.

In the first session of the House of Assembly following Confederation, numerous bills passed through relatively quickly, many needing to move quickly so that the administrative transition from nation to province could take place. One bill that passed struck a sympathetic chord with every member of the House of Assembly: *An Act Respecting the Memorial University of Newfoundland*.<sup>20</sup> The enthusiasm and pride that

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<sup>18</sup>Joseph R. Smallwood in National Convention, 26 May 1947, in James K. Hiller and Michael F. Harrington, eds., *The Newfoundland National Convention, Volume 1: Debates* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 581. Rates-of-return for MUC graduates who left to study abroad are found in MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 251.

<sup>19</sup>Reuben Thistle Vardy in National Convention, 6 November 1946, in Hiller and Harrington, *National Convention, Volume 1*, 161.

<sup>20</sup>The name of the Bill during its various readings and debates varied from "An Act Respecting the University of Newfoundland" to "An Act to Raise the Status of Memorial University College," and in its short form "The University Bill." See *House of Assembly Proceedings*, 8 August 1949, 9 August 1949, and 13 July 1949.

members felt towards the passing of this Bill requires examination here in order to best understand the role that the university was to play in the Government's plans for modernization. MUC had served Newfoundland very well during its years of operation. Following confederation with Canada Newfoundland recognized that "As modest as the junior college project was, its establishment was preeminent among modernizing measures in its potential for shaping the future, both of individual lives and of society in general."<sup>21</sup> Surely the new university could expand upon the old college's tradition of success. Despite the success of the college in teacher training, a serious systemic problem still existed: the inability to confer degrees left many Newfoundland school children with an under-trained teacher. This left many in a difficult position while preparing for their university programmes.

Elevating MUN to university status was so important an issue for the government, and the passing of the Bill to elevate the College so important, that Liberal MHA Patrick Canning suggested: "I feel that we would all be only too glad even to work overtime to alleviate the difficulties which bar the way further to growth of that local institution and seat of higher learning."<sup>22</sup> Memorial's proposed role in the future of Newfoundland is best represented in the speech made by the Minister of Education, the Honourable S. J. Hefferton, while introducing the Bill for second reading:

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<sup>21</sup>MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 263.

<sup>22</sup>*House of Assembly Proceedings*, 26 July 1949.

If we contend that economic development provides the means of employment for our people—helping them to a higher standard of living—equally true is it that a university provides the medium for a higher cultural and social minded people. Moreover it supplies a training centre, from which we can send out those who will be equipped to play an important part in the development of our economic resources.<sup>23</sup>

It is important to note here that students were also aware of the relationship between university education and employment.

The success of the new university rested partially upon the hope that Memorial graduates would remain in Newfoundland for employment and that they would be involved in the modernization of the new province. Baxter Morgan, a Liberal member from Green Bay, expressed hopes for a symbiotic relationship between the founding of the university and keeping young people in Newfoundland:

It has been said that fish is the most important export of this country. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that from an economic and social viewpoint, our greatest export has been brains. This has been due in large measure to the fact that we have no degree-conferring University, and our youth must leave the country in order to finish their education. The unfortunate thing about this is that many of them fail to return. The elevation of the Memorial University College to the status of a degree-conferring university will go a long way towards remedying this situation.<sup>24</sup>

Most members of the House of Assembly were sure that the proposed university would keep young people in Newfoundland. John G. Higgins, Progressive Conservative member from St. John's East and Leader of the Opposition, indicated that Newfoundland

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<sup>23</sup>*House of Assembly Proceedings*, 11 August 1949.

<sup>24</sup>*House of Assembly Proceedings*, 13 July 1949.



was not alone. He pointed to the Atlantic region's problem with retention, while simultaneously, and subtly, reminding the Liberal Party that Confederation was not necessarily a cure-all for the Newfoundland's problems: "We are told that the brains leave this country. I fear that is the fate of all the eastern provinces of Canada. I am afraid that the halcyon days have not come to us under confederation in that respect."<sup>25</sup> As unconvinced as Higgins was on this specific point, he was still in favour of raising the status of the college.<sup>26</sup>

The wholehearted support for Premier Smallwood was particularly evident in *The Daily News*: "Premier Smallwood envisioned a university which might for its size, 'become the most distinguished university in the world' ... This aim might be achieved, the Premier said, if the House displayed 'enough courage and enough recklessness in spending money' on the venture."<sup>27</sup> While the reckless spending never came to fruition,

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<sup>25</sup>John Higgins responding to Baxter Morgan, *House of Assembly Proceedings*, 13 July 1949.

<sup>26</sup>During the 11 August 1949 session, Higgins stated "Mr. Speaker, I have much pleasure in giving my full support of this Bill in principle and I feel sure that in saying that it expresses the sentiments of every member on this side of the House." "As to these various sections, which make up the charter, of course I cannot speak because I have no knowledge yet of what is within the booklet here, I have had no chance to read it, and I am sufficiently university trained to realize that I cannot grasp the foundation of a university by a flick of an eyelash." An unusual admission of ill-preparedness by an opposition member. His confidence in the Bill is self-evident of his consent to the underlying importance and validity of raising the College's status to that of a university. See *House of Assembly Proceedings*, 11 August 1949.

<sup>27</sup>"Education Minister Introduces Bill For Second Reading: Government And Opposition Agree On Wisdom of Move; Full Course In Arts Is Immediate Aim; Faculties In

the university received substantial financial support from the provincial government. It was not just politicians who favoured the raising the status of the college. Newspapers in Newfoundland also put their support behind the enterprise. In addition to their support of the idea of having a university, newspapers, through their editorials, also suggested a purpose for the university: "It should foster research in fields vital to the interests of all Newfoundlanders and seek to develop degree courses in spheres of knowledge of importance to the development of this island's social and economic advancement."<sup>28</sup> Support for the advancement of teacher training also appeared in newspapers at this time. The possibility of having more highly trained teachers in communities outside of St. John's appealed to many, especially in the rural communities.<sup>29</sup> As much as editors in Newfoundland would have liked to support Smallwood and his Government unequivocally on this issue, not all could agree with him about how the financing should be approached. *The Evening Telegram* weighed in with this editorial:

Desirable as it undoubtedly will prove to be possessed of a University of our own and advantageous to a considerable section of the population, the question of the cost to build, equip and maintain an institution to undertake the educational programme outlined in the Bill cannot be lightly regarded by a Province whose revenue resources are not unlimited. "Recklessness in spending" is not an expression that should be employed by a Newfoundland Government spokesman. It is reminiscent of the past which, it is to be hoped is dead. To retain solvency

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Engineering, Medicine, Etc., To Follow," *The Daily News*, 12 August 1949.

<sup>28</sup> "A Newfoundland University," *The Daily News*, 13 August 1949.

<sup>29</sup> "House is Adjourned Until October 3: Many Important Bills Were Passed In First Session," *The Western Star*, 16 August 1949.

and security Newfoundland must take count of the pennies and trust that the pounds under such a policy of thrift will in the fullness of time take care of themselves.<sup>30</sup>

The editorial continued on to suggest that slow and steady was the best way to grow and nurture the new university, both financially and physically.

While no one questioned the main reasons for the elevation or the idea of Newfoundland having a university, almost everyone involved had ideas about what type of university it should be and as to the type of services and programmes it should offer and why. The debate revolved around two main points. First: what size or type should the university aspire to be, and second: what programmes of study should the university offer that would directly relate to the modernization of Newfoundland? While these appear to be simple points of debate, they simultaneously hindered and spurred on the development and growth of the university. While university administrators, faculty, and students were concerned with both points of the debate, their primary focus was on the size/type of university Memorial should become.<sup>31</sup> Politicians and newspaper editorials tended to focus more on the programmes that were offered to and for the people of

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<sup>30</sup>"The Newfoundland University," *The Evening Telegram*, 23 August 1949.

<sup>31</sup>Views of students on the type and size of the university will appear in latter chapters. Faculty, however, may be summed up here. During the first half of the decade most focused on undergraduate teaching with little emphasis on research and writing. The introduction of graduate studies provided the impetus for research to take a prominent place at the table. Teacher training would not leave its place of dominance during the period under investigation. Faculty encouraged the growth of the university, as long as professor to student ratios remained constant or were lowered.

Newfoundland. Debate focused on these two points for three years, until the April 1952 release of Dr. Robert Newton's *Memorial University of Newfoundland: A Survey*.<sup>32</sup> This survey served as the guide that MUN took, and it was effectively and closely followed during the period under investigation and beyond.<sup>33</sup>

Despite the differences of opinion surrounding the two points of the debate, emphasis on the training of young people to be employed in Newfoundland never left the forum. Deputy minister of education, G. A. Frecker, argued that MUN "must have a first-class liberal arts course in order that Newfoundland may have leaders who are truly educated and cultured." He further suggested that the university should include programmes of study that would lead to commercial and technical employment in Newfoundland: "The industrial development of this Province requires educated men and women competently trained to discharge whatever responsibilities have been assigned to them. Newfoundland needs leaders with vision, enthusiasm, energy and knowledge. Our education services must and will develop to meet the challenge of the future."<sup>34</sup> In the years that followed, Memorial brought to life Frecker's vision somewhat, establishing

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<sup>32</sup>Robert Newton, *Memorial University of Newfoundland: A Survey* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1952).

<sup>33</sup>"Dr. Newton's lasting influence cannot be underestimated ...." K. Brian Johnston, *Government and University — The Transition of Memorial University of Newfoundland From a College to a University*. PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1990, 330.

<sup>34</sup>G. A. Frecker, "Education and Commerce: Education and Its Bearing on Industry and Commerce," *Daily News*, 20 March 1950.

programmes in commerce (1955), forestry (1956), and graduate programmes in fisheries related fields (Marine Biology 1957).<sup>35</sup> Professional and pre-professional courses were continued and developed, while teacher training continued to dominate the university campus. After all was said about the importance of the university, it was up to the teachers of the province to prepare and encourage high school students to attend MUN. The students of MUN were the ones expected to fulfill employment needs and they would be able to do so through their education and experience at MUN.

Education at MUN was the single most dominant programme, both numerically and in importance for Newfoundland. The issue of teacher-training was virtually omnipresent in higher education in Newfoundland, manifesting itself prominently in the work began by the Council for Higher Education. Teacher qualifications were not impressive in Newfoundland during this period, and the provincial government and the university were both extremely interested in rectifying that situation. For the years 1949-50 through 1955-56, 16.5% of teachers in Newfoundland had no university training at all. In 1952-53 only 3.9% had a degree and in 1955-56 that number had risen to 7.1%.<sup>36</sup> Fortunately for the provincial government many teachers wanted to upgrade their qualifications. Also, those students in the Education programme were the least likely to leave the province for employment, which surely provided a measure of relief for those in

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<sup>35</sup>*Memorial University Of Newfoundland. Calendar.* (Various Years)

<sup>36</sup>For teacher qualifications in Newfoundland during this period see Table 2.1, which covers the years 1949-50 to 1955-56.

the Ministry of Education.

The issue of retention was in the forefront of discussions regarding the future of higher education in Newfoundland. Politicians and educators had been frustrated when the MUC graduates left the nation to finish their degrees, without returning to practice in their chosen field.<sup>37</sup> Doctors, engineers, lawyers, dentists, and a myriad of other highly desirable potential employees were in high demand in Newfoundland. The reconstruction of Newfoundland's education system that followed the war took time and money, two things the Commission of Government was not allowed to have.<sup>38</sup>

With Confederation came a new phase in the life of Newfoundland: modernization. Smallwood's plan was to rapidly and drastically improve Newfoundland's economic position would, however, require a dramatic increase in the number of highly trained men and women available for long-term work in Newfoundland. Modernization promised greatly to aid any and all attempts to increase the retention of university graduates. Following the narrow success of the Confederation referenda, Smallwood led the Liberal Party to victory in the first provincial election. Modernizing the Newfoundland economy became a priority for the new government. "In its first five years as a Canadian province, Newfoundland embarked on a spectacular course of

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<sup>37</sup>Only fifty-nine per cent of students who finished degrees elsewhere returned to Newfoundland. See MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 251.

<sup>38</sup>Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 244. The Commission was told to focus only on short-term projects.

government-subsidized rapid economic development which led to the establishment of some 20 new secondary industries ....<sup>39</sup> Other Newfoundland institutions called for industrial development. Newfoundland's newspapers, especially those based in St. John's, pressured the government to live up to its pre-election promise of rapid industrial growth.<sup>40</sup> A roller-coaster ride of industrial development was led by Smallwood's Director General of Economic Development: Dr. Alfred Valdmanis.<sup>41</sup> Both during and after Valdmanis' tenure, Newfoundland required many highly trained engineers to work on various industrial development projects. Despite the scandal of Valdmanis' conviction for defrauding the Government of Newfoundland, Smallwood kept to his economic development and modernization plans.<sup>42</sup>

MUN fit into the plans for modernization quite well, and yet, in order for it to be

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<sup>39</sup>Gerhard P. Bassler, "'Develop or Perish': Joseph R. Smallwood and Newfoundland's Quest for German Industry, 1949-1953," *Acadiensis* (Spring 1986), 93.

<sup>40</sup>See, for example of the role of education in industrial development, "Education and Commerce," *Daily News*, 20 March 1950 and "Education For Positions In Industry," *The Evening Telegram*, 25 March 1953.

<sup>41</sup>Industrial growth in Newfoundland was important enough to hire Dr. Alfred Valdmanis as Director General of Economic Development. Valdmanis' salary was \$25,000 per annum in comparison to Smallwood's \$7,000. For the complete record of Valdmanis' career, and time in Newfoundland, see Gerhard P. Bassler, *Alfred Valdmanis and the Politics of Survival* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

<sup>42</sup>Valdmanis received a sentence of four years hard labour. For a complete account of the arrest, trial, conviction, and fallout see "Con Man or Scapegoat? 1954-1957," in Bassler, *Valdmanis*, 328-367. Due to the first issue of *The Muse* for 1954-1955 being published on 14 January 1955, there is no account of student opinion of the events of the Valdmanis trial.

effective in this role, its enrolment had to be increased from a few hundred to a few thousand. The exact number of students that the university should have was debated between Smallwood and Memorial's president, Raymond Gushue, in late 1959, with a fairly large gap between proposed numbers. Smallwood thought that any Newfoundlander who wanted to go to university should be allowed to go, providing they met minimum entrance requirements. Gushue disagreed, believing that no more than 2,000 could adequately be accommodated in the immediate future, given the predicted funding levels, ability to hire new faculty, and especially in maintaining academic standards. Gushue stated: "I hope enrolment will level off at about 2000. I do not anticipate, nor would I like to anticipate enrolment of 4000 or 5000. I believe you can do more with a good, small university than with a good, big university."<sup>43</sup> Smallwood responded by stating that he was trying to run the university and dictate enrolment numbers in *The Evening Telegram*.<sup>44</sup> Both Smallwood and Gushue wanted the university

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<sup>43</sup>As Quoted in "Enrolment Not to Exceed 2000," *The Evening Telegram*, 12 December 1959.

<sup>44</sup>J. R. Smallwood. "Letter To the Editor," *The Evening Telegram*, 23 December 1959. The significance of this debate is uncertain. K. Brian Johnston argues that Smallwood's reaction was "vehement," and he "acted as protagonist throughout." K. Brian Johnston, *Government and University — The Transition of Memorial University of Newfoundland From A College To A University*, PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1990, 183 and 185. In Joseph R. Smallwood, *I Chose Canada. The Memoirs of the Honourable Joseph R. "Joey" Smallwood* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1973). Smallwood recalls that they disagreed on numbers and that the disagreement was on future enrolment numbers. He concludes that "the general public was amused by the oratorical contest." (393) Since he got the last word in on the subject, he judged himself the winner, and in the future, enrolment numbers would exceed 10,000. This level would be reached in 1971 and 1972,



to succeed. The disagreement over the enrolment potential of Memorial was grounded in available space and obtaining qualified faculty. MUN's Parade Street campus was too small to expand to the size that would be required to hold 10,000 students, but the proposed Elizabeth Avenue campus had more than enough space.

### **The Newton Report, The Theakston Report, and Programme Expansion**

In the early history of MUN the most important event was the submission of the Newton Report to the Board of Regents.<sup>45</sup> This report was the plan that Memorial adopted and carried out throughout this period. A total of ninety-one recommendations were made in the report, ranging from the mundane to the exciting. While it was Newton's report that received the most attention, another report was already in hand that provided for the expansion and development of the new campus. Professor H.R. Theakston of Dalhousie University was called upon to produce a report that surveyed the new campus site — the Halliday Farm on Elizabeth Avenue — as well as a plan for the first building, and a detailed plan outlining future growth on the campus. These two

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but dip below until 1979 after which the level would never look back, peaking at 18,632 in 1992. Gushue would see his 2,000 in 1962 and in his last year as president he would oversee a total student population of 4,762. See Joan Bessey, comp., *Memorial University of Newfoundland. Fact Book 2000* (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000), 9.

<sup>45</sup>Newton, *A Survey*.

reports complemented each other exceedingly well, and the university followed their collective advice. A portion of the projected growth of the new campus was predicated on the growth and addition of programmes, faculties, and departments for the new campus.

Newton arrived in Newfoundland for a tour of MUN's facilities on 2 March 1951, beginning the first stage of his survey of the university. Newton had been a member of a committee that had already successfully completed a report for the University of Alberta (UA).<sup>46</sup> UA was similar in constitution and educational outlook, thus making Newton an acceptable choice to conduct the survey. The board was concerned with improvements that could be made both immediately and over the long-term; it wanted a report conducted along the same lines as the one Newton had completed for UA. To complete his report, Newton met with and actively encouraged faculty members and those in the university's administration.<sup>47</sup> Throughout his study of the university, and while writing

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<sup>46</sup>The UA report stressed the part the university should play in the cultural, social, educational, economic — specifically industrial and agricultural — development of Alberta. Secondary to those, the report focused on improving the university vis-a-vis the University Act, organization and administration, finance, curriculum, staff, and research. See University of Alberta Survey Committee, *Interim Report to the Lieutenant Governor in Council Province of Alberta* (Edmonton, February 1942), 72, as summarized in Johnston, *Government and University*, 126-127.

<sup>47</sup>This was warmly received by faculty members. Monnie Mansfield as Registrar also submitted a report, in which she "noted the unofficial work she did as 'Dean of Women.'" Johnston, *Government and University*, 128.

his report, he did not meet directly with any MUN students.<sup>48</sup>

According to Newton, decision making at the university needed to be strengthened, especially in the areas for which the Board of Regents was responsible. It needed to be allowed to operate according to its mandate. In a passage that surely made both the Board of Regents and university administration happy, Newton stated forcibly:

History has abundantly justified the policy of trusting the universities to do their job. This has been true even when the results are judged on the practical basis of getting the most for the money invested. Higher learning is an excellent plant, which grows and flourishes only when conditions are right. Freedom and independence are among the first of its requirements.<sup>49</sup>

The most important decisions that needed to be made at Memorial were those surrounding programmes of study. In recognizing that “students spend their time chiefly in training for particular jobs rather than in preparation for living a rich, intellectual life,” Newton recommended that MUN adopt programmes to augment the utilitarian nature of the university. This certainly complemented Smallwood’s vision of the university as an essential component of economic development.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Newton spent less than one month actually in St. John’s. See Johnston, *Government and University*, 126-131. This would not have been unusual at this time; however, he would ask for, and receive, information on the SRC, its constitution, and the activities of students.

<sup>49</sup>Newton, *A Survey*, 14.

<sup>50</sup>Newton, *A Survey*, 27. In this chapter entitled “Faculties, Schools, Departments,” are listed twenty-nine recommendations including the appointment of a Director of Physical Education, encouragement of faculty to complete degree work, increase in every way the library, and that a degree in social work be started.

Also complementing Smallwood's vision for the future of Newfoundland and its economy was Newton's favourable comparison between Newfoundland and Switzerland, both of which he described as natural-resource poor, yet rich in highly-skilled and technically capable people. "Short of primary products, Switzerland exports brains and skill in the form of highly finished, high priced specialty products—watches for example."<sup>51</sup> Newton also recognized the economic benefits of tourism for Newfoundland's economy: "The people of Newfoundland should become homecraft conscious, both to supply their own needs and to take the fancy—and the dollars!—of tourists."<sup>52</sup> He suggested "the University ... should co-operate with all educational agencies in the province and throw the weight of its influence into the effort to create a spirit of confidence and self-help among the people."<sup>53</sup> To meet those objectives, in his final recommendation, he synthesized the purpose of the university with Newfoundland's economy and the development of its people: "That the University study to show itself a part of the community, understanding its potentialities and needs, and entering helpfully into the life of the people."<sup>54</sup>

For those at MUN it was all well and good to talk about the future of the university, but without an idea of where or in what buildings the future university would

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<sup>51</sup>Newton, *A Survey*, 96.

<sup>52</sup>Newton, *A Survey*, 96.

<sup>53</sup>Newton, *A Survey*, 96.

<sup>54</sup>Newton, "Recommendation," *A Survey*, 97.

be housed, any plan for the future would be moot. Theakston was charged with recommending a site for a new campus and the physical plant plans to support a set of building plans. While in St. John's, he worked closely with the Dean of Engineering, Professor Stan Carew. In less than two months, Theakston produced a report that explained the nuts and bolts of how MUN would grow on the new campus, having recently completed a similar project at Dalhousie.<sup>55</sup> He planned that the university be built in stages, with each of the initial buildings capable of having wings built onto them.<sup>56</sup>

The report by Theakston was not followed to the letter, or even closely on some matters, by the university. Because the Board of Regents asked for a detailed plan, Theakston included building materials, costs, recommendations for architects, and recommendations for faculty and staff input into the design process. Changes in the predicted enrolment levels of the future caused some rethinking about the size of the buildings to be constructed; enrollment predictions available in 1951 for the original plans differed greatly from those made in 1955 by Edward Sheffield.<sup>57</sup> Brian Johnston

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<sup>55</sup> Johnston, *Government and University*, 149-50.

<sup>56</sup> Johnston, *Government and University*, 152. In the history of MUN, buildings would take advantage of the allowance for additional wings, such as the Science Building.

<sup>57</sup> Sheffield would "shock" the Canadian University community in 1955 with his prediction that the student population would double by 1965, and in some provinces increase even more than that. See E.F. Sheffield, "Canadian University and College Enrolment Projected to 1965," in *National Conference of Canadian Universities, Proceedings. 1955* (1955).

notes that an entire component of the proposed construction of the new campus was not included by Theakston, for “he had not provided for the heating unit, landscaping or equipment.”<sup>58</sup> Theakston’s report to the Board of Regents was of great use to the university, as it plausibly explained the need to build the new campus in stages, instead of all at once. This disappointed students and administrators, especially since residences were not included in the first stage of construction.

Theakston’s report was in many ways overhauled and revamped by the time the plans were drawn up and the sod turned. The most significant addition to Theakston’s plan for the new campus was the addition of a building to house a gymnasium. Students warmly received the plan for a gymnasium as part of the new campus from the beginning. For many of those involved in the early years of planning for the new campus, disappointment and frustration followed as construction was continually postponed.<sup>59</sup> The reasons for the delays were never accepted by any group, although the financing of the construction was the problem most often highlighted, despite Smallwood’s reassurances that the money was there.

Gushue began implementing recommendations made in Newton’s report soon after its release. Perhaps the most poignant example was the acquisition of new and

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<sup>58</sup>Johnston, *Government and University*, 154.

<sup>59</sup>A corner stone was laid on 9 October 1952 by Chancellor the Right Honourable Viscount Rothermere. Construction did not begin until the spring of 1959, with the opening scheduled for the fall term of 1961.

temporary buildings to accommodate the growth in enrollment on the Parade Street campus. Newton stated:

The present site and buildings are reasonably adequate for junior college work, but quite inadequate for a university. For example, the Departments of Physics, Chemistry and Biology have only one laboratory each, yet the University is committed to carry students to the degree level in these subjects .... Another chemistry laboratory at least is required by next fall, and temporary accommodation for this should be found in the Annex .... But plans for additional permanent accommodation for library, laboratories, and classrooms should be put in hand with the least possible delay.<sup>60</sup>

Gushue heeded this advice and wasted little time in securing more space for the severely cramped laboratories and library. Before the new campus was constructed, several buildings were put into use for the university.<sup>61</sup>

New programmes could not be developed without an increase in buildings and faculty. Professors already taught full course loads in buildings whose classrooms were in constant use throughout the school day. New programmes were partially supported by their relation to areas of research connected with or applicable to Newfoundland and Labrador, such as in the marine sciences and historical studies. Coupled with a yearly increase in first year students, faculty and administrators were successful in obtaining more space and new faculty members. Before the university moved to Elizabeth Avenue several new undergraduate programmes of study were introduced at Memorial, such as

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<sup>60</sup>Newton, *A Survey*, 17.

<sup>61</sup>By 1958 five buildings were in use by MUN. "Plan of MUN Campus," *The Muse*, 17 February 1958.

Commerce, Forestry, Philosophy, Physics, Physical Education, and Sociology. Graduate studies also commenced during this period in the departments of Biology, Chemistry, English, Geology, History, and Physics.<sup>62</sup> With new facilities, and by following the recommendations at an early stage, Gushue and his professors were able to facilitate an increase in course offerings and Newfoundland-related studies.

### **Faculty**

Those charged with educating students at MUN during this time had responsibilities to the students that went beyond the confines of the classroom. Student organizations required faculty participation and guidance, especially in the formative stages. With its elevation from college to university, Memorial faced an interesting dilemma regarding its faculty: were those who were adequate at the junior college level good enough to teach at the university level? Rumors originating from the Board of Regents led some professors to fear for their jobs.<sup>63</sup> For the most part, Memorial's staff had nothing to fear as many were eminently qualified to teach and mentor the students who attended the university during this period. Faculty members had always been

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<sup>62</sup>*Memorial University of Newfoundland Calendar* (Various Years).

<sup>63</sup>Malcolm MacLeod, "Crossroads Campus: Faculty Development at Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1950-1972." Paper presented at Memorial University, History Department Seminar Series, February 2001, 7.



encouraged to participate in the life of the university as much as possible. Following Newton's report, this encouragement was reinforced with emphasis and conviction. During this period faculty also published a fair amount of important work, as well as receiving several prestigious grants and fellowships. Most importantly, however, for the students at Memorial, there were individual faculty members who were encouraging, interested, supportive, and available to help students achieve their potential.

As student enrolment increased, a corresponding increase in the number of faculty occurred. Table 1.1 shows the number of new MUN faculty hired each year, as well as the increase in student enrollment, between the year Newton's report was released and the end of the period under investigation. Gushue followed specific recommendations during the summer of 1952, such as hiring a new professor to teach philosophy (N.J.P. Brown), increasing in library holdings, and working with Newfoundland's high schools to better prepare students for university level study.<sup>64</sup> The following year, new appointments were made in the departments of English, History, Education, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, and Physical Education.

Table 1.1 New Faculty and Increase in Enrolment.

Year (Fall Term)	Increase in Student Population	Number of New Faculty Hired
1952	+32	5
1953	-21	9
1954	+93	6

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<sup>64</sup>Raymond Gushue, *Report of the President 1952-1953*, 1, 2, and 7.

1955	+94	8
1956	+122	6
1957	+292	20
1958	+72	15
1959	0	18
1960	+175	15

Source: Malcolm MacLeod, *Tentative List of New Faculty Members Added to Staff at Memorial University 1950-71*; and Joan Bessey, comp., *Memorial University of Newfoundland. Fact Book 2000*, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000).<sup>65</sup>

This growth in the professorate continued throughout this period. Graduate studies commenced in the academic year 1954-1955 with four students enrolled in the MSc programme in Chemistry – all four graduated at the Spring Convocation of 1956.<sup>66</sup> As new faculty were hired to teach the ever-increasing numbers of new students, a wider range of courses was offered. New faculty members were also partially attracted to MUN because of an expansion of graduate studies in exciting fields.

Outside of the classroom, many faculty members were able to instill in students a sense of belonging and acceptance. Memorial's faculty and staff viewed the institution as a community, and for some a community that held the students in high regard. D.G. Pitt of the English Department wrote in 1952: "For it is the students after all, and those who

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<sup>65</sup>MacLeod is available at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies (CNS), Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), Queen Elizabeth II Library (QEII), St. John's, Newfoundland. MacLeod does not indicate whether or not the numbers for new faculty indicate the increase in the actual number of professors.

<sup>66</sup>Raymond Gushue, *Report of the President 1955-1956*, 8.

teach and inspire them who, when all the machinery and paraphernalia that hedge about a university are stripped away, still constitute the real university — the ancient *universitas* of teachers and students.”<sup>67</sup> It was that spirit that dominated professor-student relationships during the first years of the university, before complaints over class-size and impersonal lectures began. Even when enrollment began to put a strain on space and time in the university, most students regarded Memorial’s professors as having continued to maintain a sense of community and belonging among students and faculty.

In order to enable students to feel that they were part of the community, and for the university to ensure that students were making satisfactory progress, each student was assigned an adviser. This requirement did not change during the period under investigation: “Each student is placed under a member of the Faculty for advice and supervision. Students are urged to consult their advisers at frequent intervals.”<sup>68</sup> Some students took advantage of this relationship and used it to help them succeed with their studies. Others did not use this opportunity for guidance and some did not require guidance, doing well enough on their own.

Faculty involvement with student societies and endeavours was taken quite seriously by students and faculty alike. *The Muse*, for example, was only able to publish a paper because of the aid given to it by faculty members. George Kennedy, editor during

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<sup>67</sup>Pitt, “Myth, Memorial, and Alma Mater,” 34.

<sup>68</sup>“Student Advisers,” *Memorial University of Newfoundland. Calendar. 1949-1961*.

the first year of *The Muse*, noted: "We are indebted to Miss Alison O'Reilly, M.A., Lecturer in English, and Mr. D.G. Pitt, M.A., Associate Professor English; who have given us the title of our newspaper. We think it kind of the Faculty to take such in [sic] interest in our publication, and we thank them for their help and co-operation."<sup>69</sup> He also referred to Professor W. Rees-Wright (Biology), who contributed an article on the role of the amateur scientist and later the same thanks were extended to Professor W.J. Blundon (Mathematics), whose article provided seven points to ponder on mathematics and language.<sup>70</sup> The 1949-1950 Arts and Science Society appointed Dr. Hunter as its honorary president, a role he quite enjoyed.<sup>71</sup> Each society had a faculty member attached to it as an advisor; for the most part, the faculty member involved was interested in seeing the society succeed and viewed his/her role as a positive means to contribute to students' social and intellectual development. Some faculty members were attached to more than one society, as was the case with Stan Carew who was attached to the Engineering Society and was honorary president of the Athletic Union for 1948-1949 and 1949-1950.<sup>72</sup> In addition to being formally attached to a society, faculty members often gave talks or led discussions at society meetings and smokers.

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<sup>69</sup>"Editor's Note," *The Muse*, 27 February 1951.

<sup>70</sup>W. Rees-Wright, "Amateurs In Science," *The Muse*, 12 February 1951 and W. J. Blundon, "Words In Mathematics," *The Muse*, 8 May 1951.

<sup>71</sup>"Arts and Science," *Cap and Gown*. 1950, 32.

<sup>72</sup>"Athletic Union," *Cap and Gown*. 1950, 97.

Included in every *Report of the President*, from 1954-1955 to 1960-61, was a listing of the publications by Memorial's faculty, as well as degrees received, learned societies joined, grants received, and outside university appointments of prestige. A source of pride for Memorial would be the number of faculty members each year receiving advanced degrees, especially those receiving doctoral degrees from prestigious universities.<sup>73</sup> Many faculty members published scholarly articles each year, while others contributed to literary magazines.<sup>74</sup> Funding for research was received each year by many faculty members, especially in the sciences. Further, use of sabbaticals and travel allowances permitted many professors to expand their horizons, continue research, finish research, present papers, give guest lectures, and/or attend meetings of their respective academic associations and societies. Gushue was supportive of faculty members' efforts to work in their respective fields, especially as this aided Memorial to develop its national and international reputation.<sup>75</sup> He took great pride in the breadth of the faculty's interests:

Our Faculty continues to grow in numbers and we have at Memorial one of the

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<sup>73</sup>Those listed as having received doctoral degrees while members of Memorial's faculty during this period are: G.M. Story (Oxford), D.M. Young (London), A. Macdonald (Manchester), W.J. Gushue (Boston), A. O'Reilly (London), D.E. Willmott (Cornell), J.B. Ashley [not known], L.A.W. Feltham (Toronto), and D.W. Smith (Leeds). See, Raymond Gushue, *Report of the President, 1954-1955 to 1960-1961*. President Gushue would receive two honorary Doctor of Laws degrees, one each from the University of New Brunswick (1956) and Dalhousie University (1957).

<sup>74</sup>Beginning in the *Report of the President, 1954-1955*, Gushue included a section: "Staff Publications, Appointments and Awards," a section that continued from then on.

<sup>75</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Faculty," *Report of the President 1954-1955*.

most interesting groups in Canada. We have sought faculty members from many universities and countries in the belief that universality is essential in a university. ... An imposing number have received recognition and assistance by way of grants for research which will contribute to the extension of the frontiers of knowledge. Five of our faculty have been absent from the University this year on leave and are pursuing work in their fields of study in five countries.<sup>76</sup>

Gushue's support of MUN's faculty is not surprising as Newton had strongly recommended that the university encourage faculty to conduct and publish original research.<sup>77</sup>

Students from this period each had their favourite professor and in many cases also a least favourite professor. Most students based their judgements on the ability of the individual faculty member to make the subject interesting and accessible to them. For example, "David Pitt was best probably because I admired his competence, enjoyed his courses and seemed to have a rapport with him."<sup>78</sup> One student recalled that "Dr. Story seemed to enjoy what he was doing and it became contagious — students [were] given respect and gained confidence."<sup>79</sup> Some students felt more at ease with professors to whom they could easily relate, particularly if the professor was also a Newfoundlander.<sup>80</sup>

While not all professors were popular, none were regarded as being incompetent

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<sup>76</sup>Raymond Gushue, *Report of the President 1959-1960*, 3.

<sup>77</sup>Newton, *A Survey*, 58 and 85.

<sup>78</sup>John A. Noseworthy to Stefan Jensen, 11 September 2001.

<sup>79</sup>Charles Beckett to Stefan Jensen, 29 August 2001.

<sup>80</sup>Mona Petten to Stefan Jensen, 31 August 2001.

to teach at the university level. Dr. A.C. Hunter was not overwhelmingly popular but was regarded as extremely adroit in the classroom by students: “[He] was probably the least popular because he was so strict but he was very well respected.”<sup>81</sup> Some students, however, responded well to Hunter’s style of teaching, respecting the discipline and professional attitude towards training teachers.<sup>82</sup> Another professor whose classes students did not enjoy taking was Dr. Biberstein from Mathematics, as he had a strong German accent that students found difficult to understand.<sup>83</sup> Other professors were simply unimaginative as teachers. Some did little more in the classroom than copy the text book onto the black board.<sup>84</sup>

Individual faculty members were able to change the lives of some their students, instilling in students a sense of belonging and intellectual confidence. For example, William Lebans graduated with a degree in Geology from MUN and enrolled in graduate school at McGill University. Unfortunately he did not adapt to the lifestyle and careerist

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<sup>81</sup>Elizabeth Reynolds to Stefan Jensen, 26 August 2001.

<sup>82</sup>James Downey to Stefan Jensen, 3 September 2001 and Joseph Lake to Stefan Jensen, 31 August 2001. Both Downey and Lane returned to Memorial following a period of teaching to enrol in graduate studies in Education at the Elizabeth Avenue campus in the 1960s.

<sup>83</sup>Graham Skanes to Stefan Jensen, 29 October 2001 and J. Stewart Ralph to Stefan Jensen, 29 August 2001.

<sup>84</sup>Leslie Harris to Stefan Jensen, 28 August 2001.

tendencies of his fellow students.<sup>85</sup> He wrote to Dean Mose Morgan (Arts and Sciences) informing him that he was withdrawing and asked if it was possible for him to re-enter MUN to complete a BA in the fall of 1959. Morgan replied that Lebars would have no problem in obtaining a BA in History or English. He also believed that if Lebars wished to become a lawyer, he could easily gain admission to Dalhousie. Morgan was so confident in Lebars that he suggested he could enter a MA programme without completing the BA. In a move that was not alien to Morgan he told Lebars:

I have discussed this question confidentially with Professor Noel who knows you and concurs that it might be advisable for you to attend another larger University possibly Toronto or Queen's where you will find a larger and more mature student body and where you would have more opportunity to develop your talents.<sup>86</sup>

Two important points are revealed by Morgan about MUN in that letter. The first is that MUN's undergraduate education was well regarded across Canada. Secondly, he alludes to the employment mentality of students, which indicates that professors were aware that students made academic choices based somewhat on job prospects.

For students pursuing graduate studies during this period, the student-supervisor relationship was crucial to their satisfaction in of their subject. This relationship also influenced whether or not they enjoyed the subject enough to pursue doctoral studies elsewhere. Some graduate students did, on the advice of their supervisors, pursue

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<sup>85</sup>"Lebars to Morgan," CNSA, MUN, QEII, Morgan Papers, COLL 083, File 3.01.002. Lebars stated that if he remained in the programme he would turn into a robot and that he would end up as half a person.

<sup>86</sup>"Morgan to Lebars," CNSA, MUN, QEII, COLL 083, File 3.01.002.



doctoral studies, some with the understanding that if they successfully obtained a doctorate, a job was available for them at Memorial if they wished to return for it.<sup>87</sup> That Memorial graduate students were well equipped to pursue doctoral studies is a reflection of the high quality of instruction received at Memorial. It is also a reflection of the equipment and materials available at Memorial with which graduate students could work at the master's level.<sup>88</sup> One such student, after completing his bachelor's and master's degrees at MUN, pursued doctoral studies at the University of Toronto and found himself reviewing material that he had already thoroughly covered at Memorial.<sup>89</sup>

Memorial's professoriate during this period comprised a well trained group of men and women, mostly eager to help students with the onerous task of ingesting new bodies of knowledge.<sup>90</sup> To this end, faculty actively researched and published in their subject areas in addition to their teaching loads. This was actively encouraged by

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<sup>87</sup>Harris to Jensen.

<sup>88</sup>For graduate studies in Newfoundland history to begin an adequate collection of documents was needed. This was accomplished with the gradual acquisition of the Public Records Office Collection (PRO) 194 from the United Kingdom, as well as the records from the Colonial Office relating to Newfoundland. This collection is comprised of the records collected by the PRO relating to the colony/dominion of Newfoundland. The acquisition began in 1953-1954. See Raymond Gushue *Report of the President 1953-1954*, 12 and 25.

<sup>89</sup>Interview: Maynard Clouter with Stefan Jensen, 31 October 2001. Maynard Clouter returned to MUN to teach Physics and in October 2000 was named University Research Professor. See Axel Meisen, *Report of the President, 2000-2001*.

<sup>90</sup>Female faculty members averaged twenty per cent of the total, MacLeod, "Crossroads Campus," 18.

presidents Hatcher and Gushue,<sup>91</sup> as it would aid Memorial and its students in establishing an enviable reputation outside Newfoundland. The faculty at MUN during this period contributed greatly to the lives of students both academically and socially. Faculty and programme development followed the recommendations made by Newton in his report and were encouraged by Gushue.

### **Students and The New Campus**

From the time the cornerstone was laid in 1952 until the winter term of 1961 ended, students at Memorial discussed the new campus and its meaning to them. Students had opinions on the building of the new campus and, in general, they approved of the new campus. the need for greater space, and future expansion of programmes and faculty. They began to learn to engage construction news with cynicism. This commenced in February 1953 with an article entitled "Work On New Campus To Start This Spring." In the article, Dean Stan Carew relayed that "work on the new campus may start sometime this Spring if all the plans are okayed by that time."<sup>92</sup> Students were

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<sup>91</sup>Unfortunately, Hatcher was only able to see the university grow during its first three years. Following his retirement in 1952 he was named President Emeritus. He passed away in 1953.

<sup>92</sup>"Work On New Campus To Start This Spring," *The Muse*, 26 February 1953. He was correct, insofar as that summer's Engineering Survey Camp was spent on the Halliday Estate carrying out a survey of the property.

accustomed to hearing “if” and “when” during this period as the new campus was discussed and plans disclosed by politicians and university officials.

Predicting when the new campus would begin construction commenced, in earnest, in January 1954. “The Chief Engineer of the Provincial Public Works Department gave as his opinion today that tenders for the new University Buildings would be called for next winter, and construction get underway in the spring of 1955.”<sup>93</sup> In an interview with Gushue in September 1955, it was revealed that plans would not be finalized until late 1955 or early 1956. Following the completion of the plans, tenders would be called for with the intention of having construction commence in the spring of 1956. In the autumn of 1955, however, *The Muse* reported that “the building should be completed approximately two years from the start of construction (1958).”<sup>94</sup> In that interview, it was noted that vehicles would not be allowed on to campus except for business. Disillusionment with the lack of a residence to be included in the first phase of construction was echoed here as well.

Some students started their degree programmes on Parade Street hearing about the new campus and most finished their programmes without moving to the new campus. In the autumn of 1956, one student lamented: “We feel sad. Why couldn’t this heavenly

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<sup>93</sup>“Expect Start Building 1955,” *The Muse*, 14 January 1954.

<sup>94</sup>“New University Campus Complete In Fifty Eight,” *The Muse*, 29 September 1955.

place be finished in time for us to go to it?"<sup>95</sup> That student felt that it might be three or four years before the campus would open, too late for him/her to receive the benefits of the modern facilities and unclogged corridors. New sports facilities were also planned to be available for students, including, it was hoped, an arena for hockey. Students recognized the potential of the new campus and its 100 plus acres of land.

Later in the autumn of 1956, a delegation of MUN students were granted an interview with Premier Smallwood. William Rompkey led the interview off with a statement of purpose: "Sir, we did come about something definite. We would like to talk to you about the building of the new University, we came as representatives of the students because we are interested in knowing exactly when it will be built and we think you are the man to tell us." Smallwood's response was lengthy and reiterated several points: the government was just there to foot the bill, university officials were responsible for the plans and utilization of those buildings, and that he did not know for sure when construction would begin. Smallwood was insistent that the problem was not emanating from his government. One student, listed as SCAM (most likely Graham Skanes), commented on the delay in construction as follows: "We understood the delay was from a financial standpoint." Smallwood responded bluntly: "I don't think there's any truth in that, not a scrap. No." Rompkey asked Smallwood if the government would "be behind

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<sup>95a</sup>MUN—1959 To Be Or Not To Be," *The Muse*, 25 October 1956.

when it comes to footing the bill?" Smallwood responded concisely: "Certainly not."<sup>96</sup>

Rompkey made it a point to reinforce with the premier the desperate need for more space, which meant the need to begin construction on the new campus as soon as possible.

Near the end of the winter term of 1957, an announcement was made by Smallwood on the construction of the new campus. *The Muse* reported that: "Construction of the new university is expected to get under way early this summer, Premier Smallwood announced on March 13. Plans and specifications of the first four buildings have been completed and tenders for construction will be called in the near future." This meant that construction should be finished in the summer of 1959, ready for classes to commence in September 1959. In the meantime, MUN students learned that "in order to cope with the immediate problem of overcrowding a number of prefabricated steel buildings will be built on the present campus." Excitement followed, as both items of news provided relief for MUN students. It was believed that of the new prefabricated buildings, one would house a student centre with common-rooms and student offices.<sup>97</sup> Optimism ruled that day, although it was likely that not all students and faculty were convinced that the new campus could be ready in such a short period of time based on past experience.

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<sup>96</sup>"Student Delegation Interviews Premier," *The Muse*, 9 November 1956. The interview took place on 31 October, two days before the incident at the Memorial Stadium (See Chapter Four for more).

<sup>97</sup>"Premier Disclose Plans New Memorial University," *The Muse*, 22 March 1957.

In a move to reiterate the frustration felt by students with the delays in constructing the new campus, the editors of *The Muse* included in the 17 February 1958 'Open House' issue a reprint of an article of 25 October 1956, "MUN—1959 To Be Or Not To Be," re-titling it "The Shape Of Things To Come."<sup>98</sup> Nothing had changed in the status of the new campus over that year. On the bottom of the page was a picture of the model produced from the architectural plans. Notably absent were the residences that were much hoped for, although Theakston's forgotten heating plant was included. *The Muse* reported on 4 March 1958 that Smallwood had announced in the House of Assembly that tenders were now ready to be called for. In that same article, the author recalled and quoted the article from 22 March 1957, in which Smallwood had promised that the call for tenders would go out that summer.<sup>99</sup> This feeling of simply not understanding the delays, when each participant had stated that it was not their fault, did not sit well with students at MUN.

Open House the following year also had a special issue of *The Muse* dedicated to it. In it, the frustration was more evident than before.

The idea of a new campus has been discussed since 1952. Now seven years have passed and the dream has not materialized. Forecasts of when construction will actually begin have been made each year. Forecasts are still being made. Meanwhile the need for expansion is critical, and the University has reached the

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<sup>98</sup>"The Shape Of Things To Come," *The Muse*, 17 February 1958. The editor's note mistakenly cited it as appearing in a November 1956 issue.

<sup>99</sup>"New MUN At Last?" *The Muse*, 4 March 1958.

point where it cannot accept a single additional student.<sup>100</sup>

Later in the article, the author pointed out that Memorial had used its “remaining space” three years ago, and yet the university continued to admit new students. Ironically, during the three year period referred to in the article, Memorial experienced its largest operating surpluses and could have rented or purchased more classroom space to accommodate more students. It was quite possible for Memorial to afford to accommodate more students because over the ten years from 1950-51 to 1959-1960, the University realized a net surplus of \$1,451,550.<sup>101</sup> Newfoundland high school matriculants were fortunate to be able to enrol in the university with the lowest tuition and student fees in Atlantic Canada — by almost fifty per cent compared to all the universities in the region.<sup>102</sup>

Construction of the new buildings commenced in the summer of 1959. Quite out of character, students at Memorial allegedly at this time lost their interest in the new campus and its construction.<sup>103</sup> Also, at this point the idea of a residence and dining hall

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<sup>100</sup>“The University Witnesses It’s Tenth Anniversary [sic],” *The Muse*, 9 February 1959.

<sup>101</sup>Johnston, *Government and University*, 277. The surplus was partially due to the Federal Grants scheme, which was based on a province’s population with the total divided among the province’s universities and since Newfoundland only had Memorial, all the money went there. Also, since the university was owned by the Province, all of the bills were paid by the Department of Public Works, which if included in the operating budget would have accounted for thirteen per cent of the total. See Johnston, *Government and University*, 273.

<sup>102</sup>Johnston, *Government and University*, 278.

<sup>103</sup>This was true for *The Muse*, which had always been supportive of the idea of the new campus. Not all students were terribly worried about the new campus, such as Maynard Clouter. See Interview: Maynard Clouter with Stefan Jensen, 24 October 2001.

resurfaced, despite not officially being a part of the plans for the first phase of construction.<sup>104</sup> Student interest was sufficiently rejuvenated in the pages of *The Muse* by February 1960. "We are all anxiously looking forward to the opening of our new university ...." Also, to the disappointment of some students, it was reported that "the service elevators are for faculty members only."<sup>105</sup> The discussion surrounding the new campus did not appear with any regularity after this, as it was accepted that it was to be September 1961 when the first regular academic year would begin on the new campus.

Students viewed the new campus as providing a much-needed relief to the problems of overcrowding and the chaotic sprawl of the prefabricated buildings. For those active in clubs and societies, the new buildings were much anticipated for potential office space. Common rooms and open spaces for students to congregate in were welcomed following the cramped quarters of Parade Street. In addition to the space provided for students to use, the library would have a building all to itself with enough space for its current holdings as well as the anticipated growth that would necessarily occur in the future. Learning at the new campus would take place in a much more comfortable environment, as classrooms were conveniently located and spacious, laboratories well equipped, and the landscape beautifully designed. For those students who began their studies on Parade Street and finished on Elizabeth Avenue, the new

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<sup>104</sup>"The New MUN," *The Muse*, 23 October 1959.

<sup>105</sup>June Russell and Lorraine Legge, "Student Facilities at the New Campus," *The Muse*, 12 February 1960.



campus represented a culmination of the promises made and an indication of the immediate importance of higher education to Newfoundland. For those who began studies on Elizabeth Avenue, they could imagine and subsequently saw new buildings constructed.

Despite the grandeur of the new campus, it presented an inconvenience for many students. The Parade Street campus was cozily located in the centre of the city. This location was in close proximity to boarding houses and denominational residences, as well as being close to many of the city students' homes.<sup>106</sup> Due to its central location, many students could, without inconvenience, return home for lunch or the evening meal before returning to the campus for another class or a session of study in the library. While the Elizabeth Avenue campus was not an insurmountable or unreasonable distance for students to walk to, it would be too far for many students to return to their place of lodging to have lunch before returning to the campus in the time available, as they had done at Parade Street. For the students who already had a long walk to Parade Street, the additional time would not change their schedules. Conversely, for some students the university suddenly became closer to their homes.

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<sup>106</sup>Church of England adherents were eligible to live at Bishop Spencer College, Bishop Feild College, and Queen's College; Roman Catholic students at St. Bonaventure's College and St. Bride's College; and United Church adherers at United Church College (Prince of Wales College).

## **Conclusion**

The university began its life as a two-year college in 1925. By 1949, after more than two decades of providing university level education, a reputation had been established that any university would have been proud to build upon. Just as the college found its legs, the Commission of Government was appointed and expansion ceased. Following World War II, the National Convention was formed to study the constitutional options for Newfoundland. Among its proposals and recommendations regarding the future of Newfoundland were ideas for the future of higher education. MUN intended to continue the work of the MUC and continue to provide Newfoundland with a monument for those Newfoundlanders who gave their lives in both wars.

Due to ill health, President Hatcher resigned his presidency of Memorial in 1952. As he was finishing his presidency, Dr. Robert Newton was contracted to conduct a survey for the university. In this report can be found the path that Memorial took during this period. Of the recommendations made by Newton, the emphasis on the necessity of moving to a much larger campus formed the foundation for the rest of his recommendations. Unfortunately for Memorial, financial realities did not allow for the new campus to be constructed immediately. During the seven years before construction started, however, temporary space was needed and procured. The prefabricated buildings served their purposes but no one believed they were capable of being anything other than a stop-gap. Students, whose numbers increased each year, had to endure the cramped

quarters. They looked forward to the new campus in a way that would have made the founders proud. Everyone involved with the university realized just how important the new campus was for MUN and Newfoundland. Not only did it relieve the university of worrying about space, it provided the foundation for accommodating the explosion of programs, faculties, and student enrolment numbers that the future was predicated on.

Throughout this period, the students and administrators of Memorial relied upon the competency of faculty members. Memorial relied upon its professoriate to continue the high level of teaching excellence established during the college days. During this period, Memorial expanded its faculty every year, while simultaneously encouraging those professors who wished to obtain further degrees to do so. Those professors already holding doctorates or equivalent degrees were encouraged to excel at teaching. Professors were also supported in efforts to increase the prestige of the university through research, writing, and community service. Students at Memorial recognized the importance of having a highly qualified professoriate, even though some did not respond to the disciplinarians among them.

Memorial, in comparison with other Canadian universities during this period had remarkable similarities and distinct differences. Perhaps the most obvious similarity between MUN and the larger universities, especially the provincial universities of Canada West, was the heavy involvement by the provincial government in the growth and expansion of the school, and in particular how relevant new programmes were meant to be for the host province. As in the majority of Canadian universities during this period,

enrolments, faculty complement, and buildings, all increased over the twelve year period. In the case of Memorial, Education was the most important programme and for the province it was extremely important in terms of increasing overall teacher qualifications. In the western provinces of Canada, such as Saskatchewan, new programme initiatives were heaviest in the sciences and agriculture – both intended to directly aid the province's economic growth. Serving the community was a motto of many university presidents during this period. President J.W.T. Spinks of the University of Saskatchewan suggested: "Knowledge is spoken of as the 'residual factor' in promoting economic growth."<sup>107</sup> He further elaborated on the importance of new knowledge as follows:

If we believe in the dominant role of new knowledge in the world of the future and if we further believe in the key role of the university in ensuring a continuing flow of new knowledge, we should plan a university development consonant with these beliefs. This means planning for numbers, planning for excellence and planning for public service.<sup>108</sup>

Closer to Newfoundland, Dalhousie University also geared development to programmes that were practical, and applicable to the province and the region, such as Medicine and Law.<sup>109</sup> Even tiny Mount Allison University dedicated itself to substantially improving

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<sup>107</sup>J.W.T. Spinks, *A Decade of Change. The University of Saskatchewan, 1959-1970* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1972), 3

<sup>108</sup>Spinks, *A Decade of Change*, 5.

<sup>109</sup>Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie*, 194 and 202. For more information on the Dalhousie Law School see John Willis, *A History of Dalhousie Law School* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979)170-193.

its programmes in the science faculties.<sup>110</sup>

As aforementioned Memorial was distinct from other Canadian universities with regards to its development. The protracted delay with the construction of the new campus was offset by additional buildings at the Parade Street campus, but they were temporary buildings providing nothing other than short term relief. This may be related to the lack of university patrons or benefactors. Dalhousie was doubly blessed in 1957 because shortly after the appointment of C.D. Howe as the new Chancellor, Lady Dunn agreed to completely bankroll a new building for Physics, Engineering, and Geology. Historian P.B. Waite describes Dunn's position by paraphrasing Howe: "At Dalhousie, Howe said, she was already thought of as the 'Guardian Angel' of the university."<sup>111</sup> The development of Memorial was not delayed due to student disinterest, as was demonstrated in *The Muse's* 1955 interview with Premier Smallwood on the delays in construction.

Memorial differed in programmes offered to students. For example MUN did not have an Engineering degree, as did the Nova Scotia Technical College<sup>112</sup> and the

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<sup>110</sup>Reid, *Mount Allison*, 282.

<sup>111</sup>Waite, *Lives of Dalhousie*, 212.

<sup>112</sup>Nova Scotia Technical College was governed by representatives from the Atlantic Canadian universities that had formal agreements to have their students automatically accepted in to the college. Acadia, MUN, Dalhousie, Saint Mary's, etc..., all shared the responsibility for governing the college, which included determining entrance and graduation requirements. See Harris, *A History of Higher Education*, 403 and 474.

University of New Brunswick, nor did it have programmes such as Secretarial or Fine Arts, as did Acadia and Mount Allison respectively.<sup>113</sup> Memorial's pre-professional programmes allowed those who completed them to attend Nova Scotia Technical College for Engineering, and to attend Dalhousie for Medicine and Dentistry. Law degrees could be obtained from either Dalhousie or University of New Brunswick in Saint John, until 1959 when the law school moved to the Fredericton campus.<sup>114</sup> Memorial students completing the three year forestry programme could attend University of New Brunswick in Fredericton.

Memorial also differed in that it offered programmes unavailable in Atlantic Canada, such as oceanographic studies and the history of the province, which were part of fulfilling the dream of the founders and supporters of university education in Newfoundland. Better research equipment was needed to achieve those goals, including archives and document collections; these were acquired in relatively short periods of time. Memorial's importance and relevance to Newfoundland became more evident as each year passed. Even President Gushue maintained his service to Newfoundland by serving on a Royal Commission; he was rewarded for his life's service with two honorary Doctor of Laws degrees even before his time as MUN's president was through.

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<sup>113</sup>Reid, *Mount Allison*, 453.

<sup>114</sup>Harris, *A History of Higher Education*, 531; and Peter McGahan, *The "Quiet Campus": A History of The University of New Brunswick in Saint John, 1959-1969* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1998), 5-9.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Pre-university Backgrounds of Students

#### Introduction

To have a more complete picture of the Memorial University (MUN) students during the period under investigation, it is necessary to understand their backgrounds. The delivery of education to the youth of Newfoundland was not consistent throughout the province. This was often due to a lack of adequate funding, poor facilities and equipment, poorly trained teachers, as well as the formidable influence of the denominations' educational philosophies. Classrooms in St. John's differed greatly in the level and quality of education from those found in the one, two, and three-room schools of rural communities because of the aforementioned factors.<sup>1</sup> Despite the inadequacies of the rural schools, those who finished high school in Newfoundland had the opportunity to attend MUN. The educational situation was, however, a paradox, as the rate of failure of first-year university students appears to have been higher for the students from St. John's. This may be explained by the seriousness with which rural students took

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<sup>1</sup>Frederick W. Rowe, *The Development of Education in Newfoundland* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), 156-157.

university study.<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter I will argue that Newfoundland high-school students who decided to enrol at MUN were eager to do so, although not always properly prepared for the more rigorous academic work required. Students attending Memorial did so with the belief that their university education would almost guarantee them a good career following graduation. Proper preparation for the future was comprised of more than just the in-class education. Part of becoming educated was the promotion of an educational philosophy that included the betterment of person, both in mind and body. In concluding this chapter a comparison between Memorial and other Canadian universities will reveal that the patterns discussed in this chapter were not unique to Newfoundland, but that the patterns of ill-preparedness and course failures were present across Canada.

Paul Axelrod argues that "one of the central purposes of the university has been to prepare Canadian youth to fill appropriate social roles in the adult world."<sup>3</sup> Upward social mobility was important to MUN's students too, especially for those seeking secure employment as middle-class citizens, more so for students studying to enter one of the

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<sup>2</sup>The attitude of rural students was, generally, more utilitarian than city students: they were only in St. John's to attend university, therefore, they applied themselves more diligently than city students who approached the university in much the same manner as they had approached high school. See Malcolm MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway. A History of Memorial University College, 1925-1950* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 43.

<sup>3</sup>Paul Axelrod, "Moulding the Middle Class: Student Life at Dalhousie in the 1930s," *Acadiensis*, Autumn (1985), 84.



professions. Class backgrounds of students will be discussed in this chapter in order to have a better picture of the student body during this period.

Memorial during this period was exceptional in that it had a higher than average ratio of male to female students. MUN women averaged during this period above forty per cent of the student body. Female students at MUN were active in every facet of university life and, in varying degrees, enrolled in every programme offered, although they enrolled in Education more so than did their male counterparts.

### **The High School-University Gap in Newfoundland**

Matriculating Grade XI was an important rung on the educational ladder in Newfoundland. For many Newfoundland youths it was the highest rung they ever reached, while for others it was one climbed on their way to a Bachelors, Masters, or Doctoral degree. This section will not attempt to provide an exhaustive history of education in Newfoundland. Rather, it will provide some insight into the educational system encountered by most of the students who attended Memorial during the period under study.<sup>4</sup> The denominational characteristics were perhaps the most important aspect of this educational system. This is an especially important fact to note as approximately one half the students who attended Memorial did so as Education students and in turn

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<sup>4</sup>Examples of those in the minority are ex-servicemen from World War II and teachers returning to school who matriculated, if at all, during or before the war years.

became part of the denominational school system as teachers.<sup>5</sup> Many students were quickly jarred, however, into the realization that the university was different from high school, especially with professors and workload.

The transition from Grade XI to the first year of university proved to be a difficult one for many to make successfully.<sup>6</sup> What appear to be high rates of course failure should not necessarily be perceived as an indictment of the high school system, the Public Examinations, or even the denominational influence in education. In terms of preparing students for study at the university level, however, the educational system in Newfoundland was ill-equipped for success. Allowing teachers with only Grade XI matriculation to be eligible to instruct students seeking Grade XI matriculation was not sound pedagogical theory. Unfortunately, in practice, for many it was the only option that was available to them. Many students were still able to obtain Grade XI and gain admission to Memorial. Some students who did decide to attend the university had a difficult time with many classes, in particular those in the sciences, although the departments of History, Modern Languages, and English, for example, also faced course failure rates that they considered unacceptable.

Teachers in Newfoundland during this period were encouraged to achieve higher

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<sup>5</sup>Telephone interview: Edgar Pike and Stefan Jensen, 27 August 2001.

<sup>6</sup>Newfoundland was not alone with this type of predicament. See *Submission of Deputy Minister of Education to Newfoundland Commission Revision Financial Terms on Developments Considered Necessary to Raise Newfoundland's Educational Services to a Reasonable Basic Level* (January 1956), 6. Available at CNS, MUN, QEIL.

levels of education. For the first half of the period discussed teachers slowly became better qualified. In Table 2.1 we see that the proportion of teachers with no training remained fairly constant, between a low of 14.1% (1954-55) and a high of 19% (1953-54).

Table 2.1: Teacher qualification in Newfoundland, 1949-50 through to 1955-56.<sup>7</sup>

Year	No Training	Less than 1 year	More than 1 year	Degree	Total
1949-1950	405 - 17.1%	929 - 39.1%	1041 - 43.8%	unknown	2375
1950-1951	405 - 16.2%	989 - 39.6%	1105 - 44.2%	unknown	2499
1951-1952	384 - 14.9%	1065 - 41.2%	1136 - 43.9%	unknown	2585
1952-1953	432 - 15.8%	1142 - 41.7%	1056 - 38.6%	106 - 3.9%	2736
1953-1954	543 - 19.0%	1114 - 39.0%	1078 - 37.8%	130 - 4.6%	2855
1954-1955	459 - 14.1%	1349 - 41.5%	1276 - 39.3%	165 - 5.1%	3249
1955-1956	560 - 18.2%	1110 - 36.1%	1184 - 38.6%	217 - 7.1%	3071

The number of teachers employed in Newfoundland with a degree appears to only have risen 3.2%, of the total number of teachers. Overall, the majority of teachers in Newfoundland between 1949 and 1956 had at least some university training, but did not hold a degree. This segment of the teaching population was never less than 74.7% of the

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<sup>7</sup>Data compiled from *Submission of Deputy Minister of Education*, 3; and *Brief Prepared by The Newfoundland Teachers' Association for Presentation to Hon. Dr. G.A. Frecker Minister of Education*, CNS, QEII, MUN, (12 November 1964), 7.

total, and this was in the last year of this number set. It is difficult to draw conclusions about the relative proportion of teachers with no university training, but the following two conclusions are valid: the number of teachers without a degree was unacceptable and much more work was needed to improve the qualifications of Newfoundland's teachers, despite the very modest increase in the proportion with a degree.

Teachers in Newfoundland during this period were not all eager to attend Memorial. In fact, thirty-five per cent of teachers in 1960 indicated that their decision not to take university courses was because they had a fear of failure. The Newfoundland Teachers' Association reported that "fear of failure at university affects a sufficiently large proportion of the unqualified teachers."<sup>8</sup> The top three reasons cited by those teachers for not wanting to attend university were: "no foreign language"; "did not have the matriculation subjects"; and "married with dependents."<sup>9</sup> Reasons four and five are also very interesting: "marks not up to fifty-five per cent average as required"; and "failed mathematics."<sup>10</sup> Those two reasons, combined with a lack of the matriculation subjects, suggests that high school students preparing to matriculate were possibly being instructed by teachers who may have had only matriculated from Grade XI themselves. Certainly, a

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<sup>8</sup>Newfoundland Teachers' Association, "The Problem of the Unqualified Teacher In Newfoundland Schools," *N.T.A. Info-Search Bulletin*, 2 (September 1960), 19. Available at CNS, MUN, QEII.

<sup>9</sup>Newfoundland Teachers' Association, "The Problem of the Unqualified Teacher," 26.

<sup>10</sup>Newfoundland Teachers' Association, "The Problem of the Unqualified Teacher," 26.

teacher who had a fear of failure was not equipped to instruct properly a high school student who was planning on attending university.

Pedagogical philosophy in Newfoundland during the years of the Commission of Government stressed the "similar mental endowments in all children, on which all developed and learnt at much the same rate."<sup>11</sup> This system of education had as its foundation the universal, common Public Examination. Successfully passing the Public Examinations was required to matriculate from high school and in turn was needed to be eligible for university admission.<sup>12</sup> These exams were standardized, allowing for all students, no matter where their school was, to write the same exam. Denominational schools survived Confederation with Canada in 1949 protected under Term 17 of the Terms of Union.<sup>13</sup> Not all schools in Newfoundland that offered secondary were public; indeed, the denominational colleges in St. John's "had their own boards, and were permitted to charge comparatively high fees, although the curriculum was practically the same as those of other large schools."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Phillip McCann, "The Educational Philosophy of the Commission of Government," *Newfoundland Studies*, 3,2 (Fall 1987), 202.

<sup>12</sup>In 1932 Grade XI Public Examinations became the responsibility of the Common Examining Board of the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland. Following 1949 and Confederation the name of the board changed to Atlantic Provinces Examining Board. See MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 60 and 185.

<sup>13</sup>Ki Su Kim, "J. R. Smallwood and the Negotiation of a School System for Newfoundland, 1946-48," *Newfoundland Studies*, 11,1 (Spring 1995), 53.

<sup>14</sup>Rowe, *Development of Education*, 113.

Preparing students for their Grade XI Public Examinations took time and in the case of rural schools some imagination. Not all schools were equally equipped with the materials and laboratories needed for science classes. Admission to MUN required matriculation in at least six subjects at the Grade XI level with an average of at least fifty-five per cent. The six subjects required were: (1) English; (2) Mathematics; (3) History; (4) one of Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Geography, or General Science; (5) one of French, German, Latin, Greek, or Spanish; (6) and one more from (4) or (5), or one of Music, Navigation, Geology, Physiology, or Economics.<sup>15</sup> This slate of subjects was intended to produce well-rounded people who would be competent in as wide a range of subjects as possible. Students wishing to enter the Pre-Medical and Pre-Engineering programmes were required to take Physics and Chemistry as part of Grade XI, and the Pre-Medical applicants were strongly recommended to arrive with Grade XI Latin. Those wishing to major in a subject at MUN had to have the Grade XI equivalent as a prerequisite, if one existed. The relatively low matriculation grade of fifty-five per cent, however, may help to explain the high rate of failed classes and why some educators were optimistic about achieving high enrolment levels.

No department at Memorial could claim not to notice the ill-preparedness of first year students. Typical of the complaints from departments found in the *Report of the President* included: "The usual handicaps of poor matriculation and ignorance of English

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<sup>15</sup>*Memorial University Of Newfoundland. Calendar. (Various Years)*

grammar had to be encountered by freshmen.” and “The department had a prosperous year. The phenomenon, familiar in nearly all departments, of a 30% failure in the first year class, in no wise [sic] takes from this statement but merely reflects the abnormal difficulties attending the instruction of freshmen.”<sup>16</sup> No department appears to have been immune from first-year students failing classes. The disparity between rural and urban schools in regards to scientific training partially explains why many students were unable to acclimatize to the well-equipped laboratories, while for others it was their inability to grasp more advanced scientific concepts and material. This may explain rural students failing class but many students from St. John’s failed courses too. Students moving into their junior or senior year, however, received words of praise for their hard work and enthusiasm from professors and department heads. Growing numbers of successful students resulted in the expansion of honours and graduate programmes in the latter half of the period under investigation. The failure rate remained relatively constant, between twenty and thirty per cent.

Newfoundland faced, as part and parcel of this failure rate and the ill preparedness of students, a rather embarrassing fact: teachers returning to university were also failing courses.<sup>17</sup> This fact disturbed the Department of Education at Memorial: “The number of

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<sup>16</sup>Raymond Gushue, “Department of Classics,” *Report of the President. 1951-1952*, 7; and Raymond Gushue, “Department of Biology,” *Report of the President. 1956-57*, 9.

<sup>17</sup>Table 2.1 shows a large number of teachers with less than one year of university training. It is difficult to determine if those teachers had taken a full year’s worth of classes and failed at least one course.

students in the first year who passed the full examinations was alarmingly low.”<sup>18</sup> This does not clarify whether or not Education students were failing Education courses or their courses from other faculties and departments. Surely students failing subject courses were not in the best position to teach students the subject they had just failed. In some cases high school students began their careers as teachers in the fall following their Grade XI matriculation. Upon successfully passing the Licensing Exam, those with only Grade XI could teach in the schools, including students in Grade XI. This may be part of the reason why some students arrived at Memorial ill-prepared for university level education, as their high school teacher may have never been to university at all. Of all the statements made by departments in the *Report of the President* the most revealing of the worries on first-year students came from the Department of English: “An unusually high proportion of freshmen in Education were revealed by the intelligence tests to have a quotient lower than the minimum requisite for effectual study, a regrettable fact confirmed by subsequent experience.”<sup>19</sup>

The gap between Grade XI and first-year university was a problem that confronted administrators when determining minimum entrance requirements. Potential solutions for bridging the gap included raising standards for Grade XI, raising the entrance

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<sup>18</sup>Raymond Gushue, “Department of Education,” *Report of the President. 1953-1954*, 26.

<sup>19</sup>Raymond Gushue, “Department of English,” *Report of the President. 1952-53*, 22. Intelligence Quotient tests were administered by the Faculty of Education to all first year students and were designed to aid professors when judging the competency of individual students.



requirement above fifty-five per cent, or requiring Grade XII matriculation. The marking of the Public Examinations had a fundamental flaw according to an editorial in *The Evening Telegram*:

On the other hand, a general scaling upwards of marks in any grade because "raw" results are sub-standard is a deception. The public is given a wrong impression of the general educational standard as far as it may be determined by examination results; the teacher is misled, and the student is misled. Applied to Grade XI, the examination qualifying students for entrance to the University, the practice of readjusting the marks assigned by the examiners risks the admission of those who are not qualified to proceed to university work. It may account for reports to the effect that a number of students in their first year find themselves out of their depth.<sup>20</sup>

This suggests that a student could in fact receive a grade below fifty-five per cent on one exam and still receive admission to the university because of the scaling of grades. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that the university was constantly stressing the sizeable gap between Grade XI and the first year, not all were convinced. Harold Horwood, in his *Evening Telegram* column, stated: "As a matter of fact, the Memorial College is a university only by Act of Parliament. In all other respects it is a glorified high school with a schoolmasterish approach to learning, and with very little clue as to what genuine higher education is all about."<sup>21</sup> Horwood's general antagonism towards

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<sup>20</sup> "Editorial: Exam Results A Poor Showing," *The Evening Telegram*, 25 August 1953.

<sup>21</sup> Harold Horwood, "Political Notebook," *The Evening Telegram*, 1 June 1953. Horwood's focus in this editorial was a seathing critique of a half-year course on the writings of John Ruskin. Horwood states: "Ruskin's views are of no value to us. His style is outdated." He asks: "A great deal is made of Ruskin's views on political economy, manufacture, labor and management. Why should university students be required to study those views today in order to see how far our thinking has progressed in

the university is extreme and difficult to accept due to the ever growing number of highly qualified faculty members that were hired and involved themselves in improving and contributing to the development of the university. An additional explanation may be found in the fact that Horwood himself had never attended a university.<sup>22</sup> Horwood concluded his editorial by suggesting that a revolution was needed at MUN in order for it to be on par with other Canadian universities; he did not suggest a course for the revolution.

During the period under investigation it must have been difficult for professors to keep track of students who graced their classrooms. For students who first enrolled in 1951 and 1956 only 15.1 (25 of 165) and 22.4 (93 of 416) per cent respectively completed a degree.<sup>23</sup> This low completion rate for students is important to note, however, it is also important to note that it is not necessarily an indication of success rates. For instance,

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fifty years? There can be no other reason, for Ruskin's views on those subjects are just about half way between here and the stone age." Perhaps, in a province that had a self-professed socialist for a premier, it was thought a wise decision to teach students the writings of past left-wing writers.

<sup>22</sup>Joseph R. Smallwood, ed., "Harold Horwood," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland, Volume 2* (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1991), 1038. For more on Horwood see Harold Horwood, *Among the Lions: A Lamb in the Literary Jungle* (St. John's: Killick Press, 2000).

<sup>23</sup>Information for these categories was made available by Glenn Collins, Registrar for Memorial University of Newfoundland. Students were asked on their enrollment cards their date of birth, religion, nationality, and father's occupation, which will be used here to determine class background. These percentages do not include students who completed a pre-professional programme and received a diploma. See Appendix II for permission from Glenn Collins.

many teachers enrolled at MUN for a year without ever intending to complete a degree, but who would consider their time at MUN successful.

Reaction to the difficulties encountered by first-year students in the science departments produced interesting comments. For the academic year 1955-56, the Chemistry Department instituted a policy of not offering first year courses "on the grounds that a year's preparation in mathematics and physics, along with greater maturity and the fact that the weaker students are weeded out in the first year, will make for more successful study and a lower proportion of failures."<sup>24</sup> The 100 level courses were renumbered as 200 level and the 200 level courses renumbered as 300 level courses. The emphasis on Physics and Mathematics as proper prerequisites appeared to be sound. Two years later, Chemistry re-offered its courses at the original levels because enrolment levels did not meet expectations and faculty continued to have students failing their courses. First-year students during this period were thankful that no other department took such drastic measures and removed first year courses. During that same year the Department of Mathematics, following the Christmas examinations, found "a state of affairs in the early courses demanding remedial action, and the staff of the Department gave the Dean very willing and efficient help in making adjustments. These proved to be beneficial and the final result has turned out better than was anticipated."<sup>25</sup> The

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<sup>24</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Department of Chemistry," *Report of the President. 1955-56*, 12.

<sup>25</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Department of Mathematics," *Report of the President. 1955-56*, 16.

Department of Physics that same year cited as the main reasons for first-year failures: "A lack of interest, laziness and inadequate preparation in basic subject material ...."<sup>26</sup>

By the end of the period under investigation hope had appeared for first year students, as some departments reported a decrease in failure rates. In the case of the science departments, such as Chemistry, faculty were pleasantly surprised: "In spite of crowded conditions, a larger percentage of students successfully completed the course."<sup>27</sup> Provision for Education students was made by offering a "special course for teachers with the financial assistance provided by the International Nickel Company, Limited."<sup>28</sup> The Physics Department reported for its first year classes "in spite of the pressure of large classes and the resignation of a member of the staff during the Christmas vacation, the results in all courses were much better than in the previous years."<sup>29</sup>

Gushue, in summarizing conditions in the Faculty of Arts and Science, suggested that decreased rates of failure notwithstanding, there was still an unacceptably high rate of failures, and offered this reminder: "Although the results in the final examinations for each subject were better this year, there was nevertheless again a discouragingly high percentage of first year students failing to pass all subjects."<sup>30</sup> The Faculty of Education

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<sup>26</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Department of Physics," *Report of the President. 1955-56*, 19.

<sup>27</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Department of Chemistry," *Report of the President. 1960-61*, 14.

<sup>28</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Department of Chemistry," *Report of the President. 1960-61*, 14.

<sup>29</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Department of Physics," *Report of the President. 1960-61*, 19.

<sup>30</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Faculty of Arts and Science," *Report of the President. 1960-61*, 12.

provided the most discouraging and yet optimistic description of the failure rates for first year students. "In the first year, fifty-nine per cent passed all subjects in the final examinations; all except thirteen are able to make good their year either by writing supplementary examinations or by attending Summer Session. Only once before did we have better results in the first year."<sup>31</sup> This failure rate is deceptive, as no hard numbers are given for how many courses the average student failed, whether or not they passed their supplementary examination, or if they received credit for the course during the summer session.

### **Student Numbers and Home Addresses**

This section will demonstrate that while students were drawn to MUN from all over the province, the majority were enrolled in Education, and were also from outside the city of St. John's. Students enrolled equally in the Engineering and Arts and Science faculties during this period, while Pre-Medical had one half of either of those two faculties. For the rest of the programmes the enrolment numbers appear to be equal for St. John's and the rest of the province as demonstrated in Table 2.4. Overall the student population appears to be weighted in favour of non-St. John's students; however, the St. John's students made up the single largest constituency of students at MUN during this

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<sup>31</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Faculty of Education," *Report of the President. 1960-61*, 22.

period.

Table 2.2: First year enrolment by faculty.<sup>32</sup>

Programme	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54	54-55	55-56	56-57	57-58	Total
Arts and Science	42	43	40	44	46	83	73	87	458
Education	143	100	103	97	167	212	265	360	1447
Engineering	28	33	49	45	59	58	58	86	416
Forestry	none	none	none	none	none	none	7	7	14
Household Science	none	18	12	12	7	6	10	12	77
Pre-Medical	24	22	22	27	18	38	28	56	235
Graduate	none	none	none	none	4	3	10	24	41
Total	237	216	226	225	301	400	451	632	2688

Of the programmes listed here household science and pre-medical saw their enrolment levels dip, yet both recovered quite well before the end of these number sets. Only household science does not show an increase from the first number compared to the last, and each of the other programmes had their enrolment levels double from the first to the last.

As we can see from Table 2.2, Memorial's intake of first year students hovered for the first four years and then began an upward surge. Table 2.3 demonstrates that Memorial was absorbing a relatively low number of qualified people. This was because

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<sup>32</sup>*Memorial University of Newfoundland. Calendar. 1950-51 through to Memorial University of Newfoundland. Calendar. 1957-58.*

careers were found without a university education and those attending university did so in employment-oriented programmes. Of the first-year students found in Table 2.2, only those in the Faculty of Arts and Science (17%) were in a programme without a specific employment field.

The intake of first-year students at Memorial is extremely important factor in indicating the health of the university. In addition to knowing the number of first-year students it is important to compare that number with the number of high school students in Grade XI who were eligible to attend Memorial. It is also important to note that Newfoundlanders comprised over ninety per cent of MUN students each year during this period. At Canadian universities during this period the demographic origins of students were more diverse than Memorial's because so few non-Newfoundlanders attended MUN during this period.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Universities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick during this period recruited students from both provinces and at times went further across Canada to convince students to attend their respective institutions. St Francis Xavier University in the 1950s routinely had high percentages of the student population from Québec (12%) and from the United States (14%). A partial explanation may be found in the emergence and importance of inter-university athletic competition, especially football and basketball. See James D. Cameron, *For the People. A History of St. Francis Xavier University* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 310-316. At Mount Allison University, students from outside Atlantic Canada increased from 11.9% in 1950-51 to 25.6% in 1960-61. John Reid, *Mount Allison University: A History, to 1963. Volume II: 1914-1963* (Toronto: University of Toronto: 1984), 442.

Table 2.3: Grade XI Matriculation and First Year Memorial Students<sup>34</sup>

Year	Total Writing	Pass	Fail	Percentage of Those Who Passed and Enrolled at MUN
1949-50	1650	990	660	24%
1950-51	1674	1155	519	19%
1951-52	1964	1139	825	20%
1952-53	2071	1181	890	19%
1953-54	2295	1331	964	23%
1954-55	1950	1385	565	29%
1955-56	2218	1530	688	29%
1956-57	2296	1424	872	44%

Table 2.3 demonstrates that Memorial was accepting Grade XI students at a consistent rate until 1955-56 when a large increase took place from twenty-nine per cent up to forty-four per cent of eligible high school students. Of those students not attending Memorial, some enrolled in Grade XI Commercial.<sup>35</sup> It is not entirely surprising that such a high percentage of eligible students chose not to attend university. In a period in which Grade XI was a noteworthy achievement, the enrollment levels at Memorial were at a respectable level. Students entering the university did so with an education that was already high enough to secure a reasonably good job.

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<sup>34</sup>Government of Newfoundland, *Annual Report of the Department of Education for the Year Ending March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1960* (St. John's: Guardian Limited, 1960), 127.

<sup>35</sup>This was an exam for high school students who wished further education in industrial or vocational fields. See Frederick W. Rowe, *Education and Culture in Newfoundland* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1976), 20.



Table 2.4 First year enrolment: percentage of students listing St. John's as their residence, by programme.<sup>36</sup>

Programme	1950-51	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58
Arts and Science	45%	47%	53%	61%	41%	49%	53%	63%
Education	7%	6%	7%	4%	7%	11%	11%	11%
Engineering	71%	64%	65%	58%	41%	57%	50%	47%
Forestry	none	none	none	none	none	none	43%	29%
Household Science	none	67%	67%	92%	71%	83%	70%	92%
Pre-Medical	71%	68%	68%	59%	50%	56%	43%	57%
Graduate	none	none	none	none	0%	0%	100%	67%

Table 2.5 Overall enrolment by home address.<sup>37</sup>

Home Address	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54	54-55	55-56	56-57	57-58
St. John's	67	99	110	102	69	122	129	194
Elsewhere	170	157	169	156	228	274	322	438

Students listing St. John's as their residence never rose above forty per cent of the first

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<sup>36</sup>Based on those listing St. John's as their residence in the Calendar *Memorial University Of Newfoundland. Calendar. 1950-51* through to *Memorial University Of Newfoundland. Calendar. 1957-58*.

<sup>37</sup>Based on those listing St. John's as their residence in the Calendar. *Memorial University Of Newfoundland. Calendar. 1950-51* through to *Memorial University Of Newfoundland. Calendar. 1957-58*. These overall numbers refer to full-time students.

year student population.

Students from outside of St. John's comprised no less than sixty per cent (1953-54) and no more than seventy-seven per cent (1954-55) of the total student body. Also, as the number sets indicate, Engineering was seventy-one per cent St. John's students (1950-51), yet in 1957-58, St. John's students made up only forty-seven per cent of the programme, a drop of thirty-four per cent. Conclusions regarding pre-medical, graduate, forestry, and arts and science would be unsustainable due to the low number of students.. Also, household science fluctuates too much to draw a solid conclusion about enrolment patterns. Education enrolment levels for St. John's students rose only slightly, from four per cent (1953-54) to eleven per cent (1957-58), again allowing for no sustainable conclusions.

Education students were predominantly from outside of St. John's, and overwhelmingly, did not enrol for more than one year at a time. At no point during the period under investigation did the number of second-, third-, and fourth-year Education students combine to exceed the number of first-year Education students; the closest that total reached was in the year 1953-54, with ninety-seven first year students and eighty-five for the other three years combined. The main reason for the disparity between the two groups (as high as almost two to one in 1958-59 and 1959-60), was due to the large number of teachers coming to MUN to do the first year's work. This was often followed by summer sessions or by taking one or two courses per year, thus not counted for official department statistics. This pattern was so prevalent that President Gushue recommended

the adoption of a single year terminal course for those wishing to teach primary and or elementary level children.<sup>38</sup>

Teacher training had always been important throughout the history of Memorial, especially so during the years of the college. For many of Newfoundland's teachers before 1949, the only university level training they received was from MUC. Following the elevation of MUC to university status, many of Newfoundland's teachers continued to receive their only training at Memorial, but during this period many teachers received more than one year of it. Summer sessions continued to draw large number of teachers into the city for upgrading and additional training. Students enrolling in the Education programme did so explicitly with the hope and expectation that they would be teaching in a Newfoundland school. Teachers were encouraged to have as much university training as possible, so that they could receive higher licencing levels. For the government of Newfoundland, new and highly trained teachers collectively served a specific purpose: "policies of social transformation were adopted in which the search for agents of change and progress laid great stress upon secondary and university learning."<sup>39</sup> Recognition of their importance as agents of change was important for teachers as well as acknowledgment of what their role in the new province of Newfoundland was expected to be.

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<sup>38</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Faculty of Education — The Future," *Report of the President, 1958-59*, 22. This recommendation was never adopted by the university.

<sup>39</sup>MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 264.

### **Background of First-Year MUN Students, 1951, 1956, and 1961**

Examining three cohorts of incoming first-year students at Memorial during this period reveals a great deal about the general make-up of the student population. The backgrounds of students can be examined based upon gender, religious denomination, class, age, and nationality. The majority of students entering Memorial during this period were Christian, Anglo-Saxon, middle class, and about eighteen years-old, with neither gender predominating. A series of tables will be presented here to demonstrate the relative positions of students during the period under investigation.

The percentage of males and females entering Memorial during this period was close, however, a noticeable gap was still present.

Table 2.6. Gender of First-Year Students, 1951, 1956, and 1961.<sup>40</sup>

Gender/Year	Male	Female
1951	94 - 57%	71 - 43%
1956	231 - 56%	185 - 44%
1961	465 - 54%	403 - 46%

The near gender-balanced student population at MUN during this period is important, and in comparison with other Canadian universities it stands out. In which programmes males and females enrolled was not available for this study, however, the anecdotal

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<sup>40</sup>Based upon information from Office of the Registrar files. 1951, 1956, and 1961 refer to the September that the student first enrolled at MUN. This table includes students who began a programme in 1951 and 1956 that graduated with a degree. Files were not available for students who began in 1961 and subsequently graduated. Tables 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.10, 2.11, 2.12, and 2.13 are based upon all students, not just full-time students.

evidence suggests females enrolled at a higher rate in Education, while males dominated Engineering and the pre-professional programmes.

Table 2.7. Gender at Selected Canadian Universities, 1951, 1956, and 1961.

University	1951 Male	1951 Female	1956 Male	1956 Female	1961 Male	1961 Female
Dalhousie <sup>41</sup>	1147 - 79.5%	295 - 20.5%	1177 - 76.4%	364 - 23.6%	1632 - 72.3%	626 - 27.7%
Mount Allison <sup>42</sup>	373 - 60.9%	239 - 39.1%	597 - 65.1%	320 - 34.9%	739 - 60.6%	480 - 39.4%
University of Saskatchewan <sup>43</sup>	1823 - 67.0%	898 - 33.0%	2589 - 68.1%	1214 - 31.9%	4880 - 66.7%	2434 - 33.3%
St. F.X. <sup>44</sup>	657 - 87.1%	97 - 12.9%	N/A	N/A	993 - 74.7%	337 - 25.3%

There is a lack of evidence to suggest that other Canadian universities were dissimilar to the three found in Table 2.7.

Denominationally, Memorial's students fell almost unanimously into the big three: Church of England, Roman Catholic, and United Church of Canada. This is the same pattern across Canada, at Acadia students were predominantly Baptist. At

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<sup>41</sup>See P.B. Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie. Volume Two, 1925-1980. The Old College Transformed* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 409-10

<sup>42</sup>See Reid, *Mount Allison*, 448.

<sup>43</sup>J.W.T. Spinks, *A Decade of Change. The University of Saskatchewan, 1959-1970* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1972), 74. The enrollment levels used here include the Teachers' College, which was between 59 and 79 per cent women during this period.

<sup>44</sup>See Cameron, *For the People*, 393.

Memorial there was the occasional Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Lutheran, Jewish, Baha'i World Faith, and Salvation Army follower. Table 2.8 illustrates the number of students who indicated which denomination they adhered to.

Table 2.8. Denominational Background for First-Year Students, 1951, 1956, and 1961.<sup>45</sup>

Denomination/Year	1951	1956	1961
United Church	40	129	257
Roman Catholic	45	108	307
Church of England	51	138	224
Pentecostal	0	2	12
Presbyterian	5	7	8
Lutheran	0	2	1
Salvation Army	11	16	31
No Affiliation Given	12	10	15
Other	1	2	9

Denominational superiority shifted from the Church of England in 1961, surpassed by Roman Catholics by a margin of eighty-three, as well as by the United Church by thirty-three. The numerical domination of Protestants is evident throughout, however, although the overall decline of the Church of England is paralleled by a rise in numbers for the United Church.

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<sup>45</sup>Based upon information from Office of the Registrar files. 1951, 1956, and 1961 refer to the September that the student first enrolled at MUN. This table includes students who began a programme in 1951 and 1956 that graduated with a degree. Files were not available for students who began in 1961 and subsequently graduated.

The average age of students enrolling at Memorial during this period is misleading because of the large proportion of Education students in the student population. Due to the high number of Education students that were already teachers who had enrolled at MUN during this period a set of tables is necessary to illustrate the average age of first-year students at Memorial in 1951, 1956, and 1961. Mature students at Memorial during this period were a substantial minority of the students.

Table 2.9. Average Age of All First-Year Students, 1951, 1956, and 1961.<sup>46</sup>

Year	1951	1956	1961
Average Age	18.22	17.86	17.64

The average age of students during this period declined from 1951 to 1961. The exception to this is that the average age of Mature Students increased from 1951 to 1956 but declined to 1961, but was higher than 1951.

Table 2.10. Average Age of First-Year Students Without Mature Students, 1951, 1956, and 1961.<sup>47</sup>

Year	1951	1956	1961
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<sup>46</sup>Based upon information from Office of the Registrar files. 1951, 1956, and 1961 refer to the September that the student first enrolled at MUN. This table includes students who began a programme in 1951 and 1956 that graduated with a degree. Files were not available for students who began in 1961 and subsequently graduated. Not all students had a date of birth filled included with their file. For those students, no age was substituted when calculating the averages, therefore, these averages may not necessarily be completely accurate. For Tables 2.9, 2.10, 2.11, and 2.12, age was calculated based on the age of the student on 1 September of the year each first enrolled at MUN.

<sup>47</sup>Mature students is used to denote students who were 20 and older on 1 September of their first year of studies at MUN. The information for 1961 students does not include the information for those students who subsequently graduated.

Average Age	17.67	17.06	17.01
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Table 2.11. Average Age of Mature Students, 1951, 1956, and 1961.

Year	1951	1956	1961
Average Age	21.57	23.27	22.58

Table 2.12. Average Age of Students Who Graduated, 1951 and 1956.

Year	1951	1956
Average Age - Mature	24.17	24.15
Average Age - No Mature	16.75	17.05
Average Age - All	18.77	18.10

What is important to note from these tables is that the average age of students who enrolled for the first time in 1951 and 1956 and subsequently graduated, but were not Mature students, was actually lower than the for those students who did not graduate, especially 1951. Also, for 1951 and 1956 the average age of Mature students who graduated was higher than for those who did not. The average age of MUN students does not indicate a propensity for one age bracket to out-perform another or *vice versa*.

The socioeconomic background of MUN students during this period included sons and daughters from each occupational class. MacLeod suggests that “social class is determined by the extent and security of a family’s claim to part of the wealth which society produces.”<sup>48</sup> Determining which class a student belonged to was done using the answer to the question asked at registration: What is your father’s occupation?

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<sup>48</sup>MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 52.



Table 2.13 Class Background of Memorial Students,<sup>49</sup> 1951, 1956, and 1961.<sup>50</sup>

Occupation/Class <sup>51</sup>	1951	1956	1961 <sup>52</sup>
1. Managerial	24	42	70
2. Professional and Technical	19	54	91
3. Clerical	9	38	61
4. Sales	8	14	47
5. Service and Recreation	5	19	28
6. Transport and Communications	6	12	69
7. Farmers and Farm Workers	3	12	11
8. Loggers and Related Workers	5	12	22

<sup>49</sup>Not all students indicated the occupation of their fathers. In some instances, such as deceased father, the occupation of the mother was listed. This was done by the student, copied by the Office of the Registrar, by crossing out "Father's" and writing or typing "Mother's" over it. In Table 2.13, when such instances occurred, the occupation of the mother was used instead.

<sup>50</sup>Based upon information from Office of the Registrar files. 1951, 1956, and 1961 refer to the September that the student first enrolled at MUN. This table includes students who began a programme in 1951 and 1956 that graduated with a degree. Files were not available for students who began in 1961 and subsequently graduated.

<sup>51</sup>Occupational categories based on the thirteen divisions used in Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Occupational Classification Manual. Census of Canada, 1961*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1961).

<sup>52</sup>The data for 1961 does not include those students who began their MUN programmes in 1961 and subsequently graduated.

9. Fishermen, Trappers, and Hunters	22	34	77
10. Miners, Quarrymen, and Related Workers	3	10	25
11. Craftsmen, Production Process, and Related Workers	8	31	98
12. Labourers	14	46	163
13. Occupation Not Stated <sup>53</sup>	39	92	106

Another substantial difficulty in determining the class background of students is whether to categorize class by income or by type of work performed. The model used by MacLeod to determine the class background of MUC students was based on average annual income.<sup>54</sup>

Table 2.13 illustrates the varying occupations held by students' fathers during this period, while Table 2.14 illustrates the class background of those fathers. Using annual income to determine class background allows for the poor-merchant and rich-fisherman. Table 2.14 also indicates the proportion of the Newfoundland workforce for each class, according to percentages found in 1961. The proportion of class participation indicates

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<sup>53</sup>This category includes those who listed their father's occupation as dead, retired, pensioned, or unemployed; as well as those who did not include an occupation at all.

<sup>54</sup>MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 53. The same divisions between classes are used here.

that class backgrounds were fairly evenly represented at MUN during this period.

Table 2.14. Class Background of Memorial Students, 1951, 1956, and 1961.<sup>55</sup>

Occupational Class	1951	1956	1961	Proportion of Class of the 1961 Workforce
Upper <sup>56</sup>	13 - 10%	25 - 7%	49 - 6%	5.4%
Upper-Middle <sup>57</sup>	20 - 16%	52 - 16%	115 - 15%	16.7%
Lower-Middle <sup>58</sup>	32 - 25%	93 - 29%	231 - 30%	33.5%

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<sup>55</sup>This table does not include those students who did not answer the question on father's occupation, or who had a father or mother who was retired, dead, or unemployed. Also, in calculating the proportion of the workforce, those indicating no occupation are not included in the percentages. Incomes used to determine categories here are based on Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Labour Force. Earnings, Hours and Weeks of Employment of Wage-Earners by Occupations. Provinces. Census of Canada, 1961*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1961). Using the annual income categories, MUN students' father's occupations were divided according to relative distribution of that class in Newfoundland, based on annual incomes.

<sup>56</sup>Total number of people with reported annual incomes of over \$6,000 in 1961. Relative percentages for this class distributed equally to determine size of class make-up for 1951 and 1956.

<sup>57</sup>Total number of people with reported annual incomes of between \$4,000 and \$5,999 in 1961. Relative percentages for this class distributed equally to determine size of class make-up for 1951 and 1956.

<sup>58</sup>Total number of people with reported annual incomes of between \$2,000 and \$3,999 in 1961. Relative percentages for this class distributed equally to determine size of class make-up for 1951 and 1956.

Lower <sup>59</sup>	61 - 48%	154 - 48%	367 - 48%	44.4%
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Of the four occupational classes, Lower-Middle class students' enrollment increased during the period investigated here, while Upper class students' enrollment declined, which was still above that class' proportion of the workforce. Lower class students' enrollment was also above their proportion, Upper-Middle only slightly below, and Lower-Middle at 8.5%, 4.5%, and 3.5% below proportion for 1951, 1956, and 1961 respectively.

Occupational class participation during this period is more poignant when compared with the enrollment levels of MUC. The rates of enrollment for students from the Upper class declined from 13% in 1928-29 to 6% in 1961-62. Upper-Middle rates declined from 45% in 1928-29 to 15% in 1961-62, a staggering decline. Lower-Middle class enrollment rates increased from the 19% of 1928-29 to 30% in 1961-62, although 33% had been reached in 1948-49, with rates dipping to 25% in 1951-52. The largest and most significant gain made by any of the four classes was made in Lower, which in 1928-29 was a modest 23% and surged to 48% in 1951-52 and held at that rate through 1961-62.<sup>60</sup> The pattern revealed here suggests that the class composition at MUN had changed

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<sup>59</sup>Total number of people with reported annual incomes of between under \$1,000 and \$1,999 in 1961. Relative percentages for this class distributed equally to determine size of class make-up for 1951 and 1956.

<sup>60</sup>Occupational class enrollment rates from MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 53, Table 9.

significantly from MUC's composition, which "was badly skewed in an undemocratic, that is, elitist direction."<sup>61</sup> In fact, by 1961-62 MUN drew 78% of its students from Lower-Middle and Lower class families.

Students at MUN during this period came from a variety of backgrounds, and an almost equal number of them were men and women. In fact, from this section, the only solid conclusion that should be drawn is that MUN's parity between men and women was abnormally high. The other tables do not indicate any anomalies, although what may appear to be a low average age for first-year students is balanced by the entrance requirement of Grade XI. The percentage of non-Canadian citizens during this period was minuscule, with less than ten per year, and they were predominantly from the province itself.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter the problems that students entering Memorial faced were discussed. The transition from high school to university was not always easy or successful. This was shown in the high rates of courses failed by first year students. A significant part of the high school-university gap led to a serious dilemma for the Faculty of Education. This dilemma manifested itself in an embarrassing manner as many

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<sup>61</sup>MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 53.

teachers, with only Grade XI, took the first-year Education courses, and in some cases failed one, two, or more of their courses. These teachers were still allowed to return to their classrooms and, for those in some rural communities, this meant that they returned to be the only teacher available to students preparing for their own Grade XI matriculation exams. Teachers, including those without university training themselves, tried their best to prepare students adequately for the rigors of university study, but for those without university experience themselves it was more of a problem. This conundrum remained for the Faculty and Department of Education throughout this period.

Memorial began to attract more high school students to its programmes. This was due to an increase in programmes, better preparation of high school students for university, and a belief that the university was playing an important role in Newfoundland's economy at the time and for the future. MUN's ability to absorb more first year students was also facilitated by the acquisition of new faculty and new buildings in which new classrooms could handle the increase in enrolment. This educational background suggests that those at Memorial were there because they were serious about education and their futures.

Students who did attend Memorial during the period discussed were, for the most part, fairly representative of the population of Newfoundland. They were roughly equal along gender lines; denominational affiliation was almost completely from the big three; socioeconomic backgrounds suggests that, increasingly over time, many Lower-Middle-

and Lower-class families had children attending MUN; with respect to age upon commencement of their degree programme the students at MUN were coming straight from Grade XI matriculation, although a good number of “mature” students attended MUN too; and with very few exceptions the students at MUN were Canadians, of whom the vast majority were Newfoundlanders.

High school students across the country were not uniformly prepared for first-year university during this period despite the best efforts of teachers and provincial examination agencies. Hugh A. Stevenson summarizes this period as follows: “The fifties, for Canadian educators and governments, were years of recognizing problems and attempting to devise solutions for them.”<sup>62</sup> Teacher qualifications were at low rates across Canada, especially in the percentages of teachers with degrees. Newfoundland was second last, slightly above Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia had the highest percentage of teachers with degrees.<sup>63</sup> Newfoundland and Québec throughout this period, were the only two provinces to be consistently below average in percentage of students enrolled beyond Grade VIII. At the end of this period (1960), however, Prince Edward Island, 16.4%; Nova Scotia, 15.9%; New Brunswick, 14.8%; were also below the

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<sup>62</sup>Hugh A. Stevenson, “Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960,” in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet, eds., *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1970) 389.

<sup>63</sup>Stevenson, “Developing Public Education,” 392.

average of 16.5% – Newfoundland stood at 12.7% and Québec at 10.6%.<sup>64</sup>

Extrapolating from those numbers, it is reasonable to argue that Canadian universities had similar problems with first-year students adjusting to the rigors of university courses.<sup>65</sup>

Memorial shared one important characteristic with some Canadian universities, in particular universities west of the Maritime provinces: the majority of students were residents of the province in which the university operated.<sup>66</sup> Universities in New Brunswick to attract a great deal of students from Nova Scotia, and vice versa, as well both attracted students from Prince Edward Island. Mount Allison during this period had two-thirds of its student body from the Maritime provinces. In 1960-61, however, 25.6% of its students came from areas of Canada outside of the Atlantic provinces.<sup>67</sup>

One distinction that marked Memorial from the majority of Canadian universities was a lack of apprehension about the return to “normal” after the veterans’ period ended. This was due to the large number of teachers who took time from their teaching posts to attend university, thus providing Memorial with an ample number mature students.

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<sup>64</sup>Stevenson, “Developing Public Education,” 393.

<sup>65</sup>See, for example, for Mount Allison’s debate on entrance standards Reid, *Mount Allison*, 278. Dalhousie also debated maintaining academic standards and increased student pass rates in courses. See Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie*, 236. Many university officials across Canada cited poor provincial education systems, and consequently the need to offer remedial help to students. See, for this at the University of Saskatchewan, Michael Hayden, *Seeking a Balance. The University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1983), 215.

<sup>66</sup>Harris, *A History of Higher Education*, 485.

<sup>67</sup>Reid, *Mount Allison*, 442.



Veterans had involved themselves in student activities at high rates across the country to the point that their participation in student government was lamented when they were gone. At MUN, however, the presence of Education students made the transition easier for all involved, as they tended to fill the void that veterans had left at other universities.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Activities For Students At Memorial**

#### **Introduction**

In Chapter Two the expectations of students who attended Memorial during the period under investigation were discussed, with the focus on programmes and potential future employment. The “idea of the university student” will be explored here for Memorial University (MUN), particularly in how it related to Memorial’s students and the ways that students participated in, responded to, and encouraged it as an ideal. What lies ahead is not incongruent with the employment expectations of students, but runs parallel and interdependent to it. That is to say it does not necessarily contradict the utilitarian aspects of the university emphasized by politicians and proponents of modernization.

Students at Memorial during this period understood that by attending university they were improving more than just their employment potential. A successful university experience included, and depended upon, the development of each student as a person. Attributes of the model citizen were inculcated into students so that the graduate of Memorial was truly an ‘educated’ person. While this was not always an overt process, students received help in their development by successfully fulfilling course and programme requirements, such as class presentations, research papers, practice teaching,

and laboratory demonstrations. Students, during their programmes, received an education that was intended to develop their minds and expand their horizons to be able to interpret the world around them.

A great deal of a student's time was not spent in the classroom or library. Activities in which students participated outside of the classroom that filled out their lives. Students recognized the value of extra-curricular activities to their enjoyment of university life, but also they recognized that the activities they involved themselves in were important to their personal development. MUN also recognized the value of extra-curricular activities and did the utmost to facilitate activities that were appropriate for students. Through the Students' Representative Council (later Council of the Students' Union – SRC/CSU) students were able to access activities, clubs, and societies that catered to non-academic pursuits. University activities were normally limited to Newfoundland and in particular the city of St. John's. Memorial was not able to support athletic competition due to high costs associated with travel and a fear that too much of the student-athlete's time would be spent on athletics and not on studies.

Balance was the keyword for students to remember and remind each other of when it came to school work and extra-curricular activities. This was crucial, according to all involved, for the successful completion of students' courses and programmes. Emphasis was placed on focusing primarily on school-work and secondarily on extra-curricular activities. A balance had to be achieved for students to "get" the most out of their programmes and time as Memorial students. At the start of each academic year

student and university leaders encouraged students to participate in one or two activities in addition to their course-work. By the end of the academic year, however, a paradox became evident as most student activities and organizations complained about apathy.

### **Programme Expectations of Students and Faculty**

Students entering Memorial had reasonable expectations for the tangible results they would acquire from their chosen programmes. In the cases of Education, Engineering, Pre-Medical, and Forestry, these were straightforward: job skills for a particular field of employment. Those students enrolled in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences did not have the same direct employment relationship emanating from their respective programmes.<sup>1</sup> There were many skills, qualities, and characteristics that students reasonably expected to acquire from their chosen programme; also, there were intangibles that helped the student to develop. In class, many students learned general skills that helped them to become the leaders of tomorrow. Gushue, assuring Arts and Sciences students that university education at Memorial offered a good chance for a future career, stated: "There are wide career opportunities for any student who has

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<sup>1</sup>See Table 2.2 for first year enrolment levels from 1950-51 to 1957-58. The Faculty of Arts and Science range from a low of fourteen per cent in 1957-58 to a high of twenty-one per cent in 1955-56.

majoring in any of the subjects and has obtained a degree in good standing.”<sup>2</sup> Students were expected to develop more and more each year that they attended the university. Progression from year to year was intended to be relatively consistent for each student, allowing for the exceptionally gifted to flourish, while maintaining academic standards. A graduate was intended to possess the traits of a person capable of leadership and intelligence.

What was it that constituted a successful graduate from Memorial? An examination of the various aspects of the successful graduate will follow, intending to demonstrate that students approached their time at MUN with an emphasis on personal development. Students were aware of the importance of a successful university education and what the university was there for:

One of the foremost aims of a university education should be to teach students to criticize intelligently, without bias, basing their criticism on true knowledge. Whether in the arts or sciences the criterion for evaluating criticism is the extent to which the author of that criticism knows of which he speaks.”<sup>3</sup>

Much of the evidence used in this section will be from students discussing what they believed the purpose of the university was.

For students, the university represented a place to expand horizons and experience

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<sup>2</sup>Raymond Gushue, “A Brief Outline of What the University Has to Offer the High School Student,” (1960), 2. Centre for Newfoundland Studies (CNS), Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), Queen Elizabeth II Library (QEII), St. John’s, Newfoundland.

<sup>3</sup>“Fish Out Of Water,” *The Muse*, 9 November 1950.

new things: "Upon beginning my university career I expected to grow intellectually and socially."<sup>4</sup> As many students, normally more than half, came from outside St. John's it was their first time living in a city and simultaneously the first time living alone.

Therefore, it is not surprising that some students' initial expectations for the university revolved around passing their courses and getting acclimatized to life in St. John's.<sup>5</sup>

Also, with the seemingly high rate of failure among first-year students, those beginning their first year would almost certainly have heard about how difficult it was to make the transition from high school, as well as how many promising students seemingly could not pass. Such stories surely would have caused some students to doubt their abilities, no matter how high in their high school class they matriculated.

Employment after graduation, although not always the principal reason for attending Memorial, was of extreme importance for the majority of students at Memorial. In an editorial that discussed the value of Memorial to society, the author suggested: "First, we are here to get training for the work we want to do. Whether we are to be engineers, geologists, teachers, lawyers or doctors, we are equipping ourselves with the necessary skills. It was almost certainly the most important factor in our decision to come to university."<sup>6</sup> Many students came to Memorial consciously aware that they wanted to

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<sup>4</sup>John A. Noseworthy to Stefan Jensen, 11 September 2001.

<sup>5</sup>Roland Peddle to Stefan Jensen, 7 September 2001.

<sup>6</sup>"Why Memorial?" *The Muse*, 17 February 1958.

be able to get a job following the completion of their programme. Jasper Lake recalls: "I wanted to be a teacher (that was the easiest job to get into — to go to Summer School)."<sup>7</sup> Engineers, along with those in Education and Pre-Medical, knew before enrolling which career they wanted. Even those who were not sure of which programme to take at Memorial knew that it should get them a job: "I figured it would lead to a better job but I wasn't at all sure of what I wanted to be."<sup>8</sup> Others followed in a parent's professional footsteps, such as Myles Doody and Bill Drover, who respectively entered Engineering (electrical) and Pre-Medical.<sup>9</sup>

In many ways the interests of the university, the provincial government, and Newfoundland's economy were inter-dependent. The government wanted a strong, growing economy, just as those dependent upon a healthy economy such as businessmen, retailers, and food producers did. The university's role was to produce men and women who were capable of filling the growing employment needs. University graduates filled employment needs because of their education, understanding of business, knowledge of local conditions, and with their particular skills such as law, medicine, or dentistry. Also,

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<sup>7</sup>Jasper Lake to Stefan Jensen, 31 August 2001 (Parenthesis in original).

<sup>8</sup>David Quinton to Stefan Jensen, 13 September 2001.

<sup>9</sup>Doody's father was an electrician, hence his interest in Electrical Engineering. Myles Doody to Stefan Jensen, 22 August 2001. For more on Myles Doody, see, "Myles Joseph Doody," *Cap and Gown. 1950*, 26, and "Myles Doody," in Malcolm MacLeod, ed., *Crossroads Country. Memories of Pre-Confederation Newfoundland* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, Ltd., 1999), 310-324. Bill Drover's father was a doctor. See Bill Drover to Stefan Jensen, 27 September 2001.

they were expected to be the kind of people who could be trusted to work hard, honestly, and with a high standard of quality in their work.

Supporting MUN financially was a task that was taken seriously by the provincial government. It was also a task that was expected to have profitable returns for Newfoundland and Labrador. "Canadians invested heavily in higher education in the hope of realizing concrete, profitable returns."<sup>10</sup> Students were viewed with admiration and expectation, as was suggested in an editorial from 1956: "The university student is the least low ... category next to the angels. At least that is the opinion of modern society. Especially here in Newfoundland in general and St. John's in particular, we are respected."<sup>11</sup>

### **Turning the Student into a Memorial Graduate**

In this section questions are raised regarding the type of person students were expected and encouraged to become. Newly elected to the house of assembly and appointed minister of education, Dr. Frecker told the 1960 graduating class:

Out of our University we hope will come forth in increasing numbers the type of graduates who will be able to take a leading part in all aspects of the Province's life, religious and cultural, scientific and economic, sociological and political.

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<sup>10</sup>Paul Axelrod, *Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario, 1945-1980* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982), 7.

<sup>11</sup>"Editorial: Gowns To Church On University Sunday," *The Muse*, 16 February 1956.



These young men and young women will, I feel sure, be not only highly trained in their specialties, but will be imbued with high ideals, a love of Newfoundland and a genuine desire to save her and help her along the road which will give a fuller life to all her people.<sup>12</sup>

Frecker further elaborated the purpose of the university: "What really matters is the University's sense of values, its purpose in preserving what is worthwhile in our Western Christian heritage, humanistic and scientific, and in transmitting it to our children."<sup>13</sup> What was worthwhile from that heritage to transmit to students at Memorial University? It was that pedagogical influence that made an English course mandatory for all students to complete in order to graduate from Memorial.<sup>14</sup> David Pitt, Department of English, suggested: "The founding of a university, like the founding of a city, is an event of racial and human significance."<sup>15</sup> While Memorial could proudly state that it was a non-denominational institution, it could not deny that religion was important to its faculty and students.

It will also be important to note in this chapter that a certain portion of the students encountered problems with the university due to disciplinary infractions.

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<sup>12</sup>"MUN. Graduation, May 1960," Centre of Newfoundland Studies Archive (CNSA), Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN), Queen Elizabeth Library II (QEII), St. John's, Newfoundland, Frecker Papers, COLL 197, File 2.05.019.

<sup>13</sup>G.A. Frecker, "Address to Convocation, 13 May 1961," CNS, MUN, QEII.

<sup>14</sup>*Memorial University Of Newfoundland. Calendar.* (Various Years)

<sup>15</sup>David G. Pitt, "Myth, Memorial, And Alma Mater: The Story of the Memorial University of Newfoundland," *The Maritime Advocate and Busy East* 43,4 (December 1952), 29.

Gushue noted in 1953 that: "It is generally felt among members of the Faculty that there has been a deterioration of student discipline over a number of years."<sup>16</sup> During the period under investigation the rules of personal conduct ranged from class attendance regulations to a ban on being in a state of intoxication. The rules governing the conduct of students did not cease to apply to students when they were off campus either. That would change, however, to only on-campus infractions following the 1953-1954 academic year. While discipline was of serious concern for the university and its students, some humorous incidents that violated rules were regarded as such. This attitude provided relief for students involved in the April Fool's Day prank of 1957, when they were taken to the St. John's Constabulary station for questioning regarding the flag of the Soviet Union that had been raised up the MUN flag pole.<sup>17</sup>

Every graduate of Memorial was expected to be a reflection of the quality of education they received. In this section, a discussion of the type of person that personified Memorial is illuminated by examining what students wrote on the subject of what a Memorial student should be like. Students at this time believed in the primary importance of Christianity; however, not all believed that it was necessary to be a

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<sup>16</sup>Raymond Gushue, *Report of the President. 1952-1953*, 15.

<sup>17</sup>"Students Raise Flag Cops Cover Campus," *The Muse*, 12 April 1957. The humorous write-up in *The Muse* included: "Then the two staunch defenders of the public peace saw it flapping in the stiff breeze, the Red Russian Flag! Oh, Horrors! A Hasty call to police headquarters for reinforcements was immediately sent out as the constables, with hopes of promotions gleaming in their eyes, announced that they had uncovered the biggest spy plot of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century."

practising Christian to accept its importance. The foundation for the type of person that Memorial produced as its graduates was based loosely on the Judeo-Christian tradition. This is not to suggest that everything revolved around or was based directly on the *Bible* or any one denominational doctrine, but on the premise that to be a cultured person meant a grounding in the beliefs and traditions of Christianity.<sup>18</sup> Deriving from that tradition was the more outwardly predominant credo of fair play and honest dealing.

Early in this period the appearance of students was of great importance. The issue of wearing academic gowns was the most controversial of the regulations governing student appearance. The wearing of the gowns at all times for students on campus was seen by some as an important tradition not to be dismissed, while others thought it to be an inconvenience not necessary for a modern university. It was in the winter term of 1952 that an announcement came down reinforcing a regulation to require all students to

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<sup>18</sup>The motto of Memorial: *Provito in altum* (Launch out into the deep). See "St. Mark," *Bible*, 5:4. Denominational culture was prevalent at most Canadian universities. See Nicole Neatby, "Student Leaders at the University of Montreal During the Early 1950s: What did Catholics Want?" *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association. Historical Studies*, 62 (1996), 73-88; Nicole Neatby, "Student Leaders at the University of Montreal from 1950-1958: Beyond the 'Carabin Persona,'" *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 29,3 (Fall 1994), 28-29; Catherine Gidney, "Poisoning the Student Mind?: The Student Christian Movement at the University of Toronto, 1920-1965," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association. New Series, Volume 8*, (1998), 158-163; Brian F. Hogan, "University, Church, and Social Change: The Case of Catholic Colleges in Ontario, 1931-1961," *Historical Studies in Education*, 23,3 (1994), 75-96; A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 563-564; and James Cameron, *For the People. A History of St. Francis Xavier University* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 311-312.

wear an academic gown.<sup>19</sup> *The Muse* weighed in with support:

The academic gown has an impressive history, and in reinstating its use at Memorial the faculty wish to impress upon the student body the importance of tradition in a University. For those who look upon the gown with cynical distaste we say it is impressive. It sets Memorial apart from other Universities in its attempt to preserve our own tradition. It will give the University an aspect of distinctness, and keep it from becoming a club where blue-jeans and jive predominate — not that there is anything wrong with either of these modern institutions, fundamentally, but they do not, to say the least, seem compatible with an institute of higher learning.<sup>20</sup>

The enforcement of the academic dress requirement was to commence with the Winter term of 1952, an additional expense for those already strained to afford university. Those in support suggested: “Just as soldiers cannot fight without uniforms, nor delinquents be reformed without stripes so is it impossible to be really educated without a cap and gown!”<sup>21</sup> There were, however, those on campus who felt the mid-year starting date severely disadvantaged graduating students and the majority of first year Education students, many of whom did not return in the fall for their second year, if at all. One student wrote to *The Muse*: “If the University year has progressed this far without the

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<sup>19</sup>Due to wartime restrictions on materials, MUC let the gown requirement slide; although the requirement was never taken off the books. Malcolm MacLeod suggests that MUC “students admired the tradition — academic pursuits were very special and required sombre garb — and they did not mind the bother.” See Malcolm MacLeod, *A Bridge Built Halfway: A History of Memorial University College, 1925-1950* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990), 127.

<sup>20</sup>“Academic Gowns to Return to Memorial,” *The Muse*, 18 January 1952.

<sup>21</sup>“Letter To The Editor,” *The Muse*, 16 February 1952. The author of the letter used the name “Cappy Gowan.”

wearing of gowns being made compulsory, the authorities may as well wait until the University reopens next autumn, when every student can easily afford to procure a gown."<sup>22</sup> The university maintained a policy of gown wearing until 1957, during which time the university offered to students the required academic dress at cost, although it was also possible for students to sell their academic dress to new students. Until 1957, each fall on the notice-board, a reminder about the regulation to wear academic dress was posted and with it a return to the debate that surrounded the necessity of wearing academic dress.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the rules regarding the wearing of academic dress, students underneath the gown tended to be dressed in suits and ties for the men and women in a manner equally respectable.<sup>24</sup> This state of affairs is hardly surprising given the enormous value placed on the university by its students, and the seriousness with which studying at the university was taken. It is also the underpinning of students' arguments against wearing the

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<sup>22</sup>"Letter To The Editor," *The Muse*, 16 February 1952. The author of the letter used the name "Rational."

<sup>23</sup>"The insistence upon gowns seems to stem mainly from those members of the faculty who attended British universities. These universities undoubtedly have a great academic atmosphere, but we seriously doubt that this atmosphere is the RESULT of wearing an undergraduate gown. It is time the University authorities realized that an academic atmosphere does not come wrapped in a black shroud." See, "Down With The Gown," *The Muse*, 22 November 1956 (Emphasis in original).

<sup>24</sup>Photographs in *The Muse* and *The Cap and Gown* are replete with photographs showing men and women dressed smartly. The Royal Stores, Ltd. of St. John's advertised its wide selection of finely tailored suits in *The Muse* for many years.

academic dress as it would make sense that they are already smartly dressed for class. It was important for students to accept the value of dressing appropriately for school, as they would need to learn to present themselves respectably for employment, and especially so for those entering a profession. While it is possible to suggest that the many students could not have afforded a full wardrobe of new suits, it is possible to suggest that almost every student took their clothes very seriously.

Other issues of student appearance also surfaced during the period under investigation. Later in February 1952, an article suggested that the debate on gowns could be worse:

At present there is a movement at Queens [sic] University, Kingston, Ontario, to forbid young ladies wearing slacks to classes ... Gowns may cost us much but they are always easy to resell, and with a plausible excuse, you will not have to wear one; above all, they will keep us from descending to a debate on whether our ladies should dress as such.<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting, if not humorous, example of student appearance is the story of Gord 'The Great' Easton. "The Engineers may rave, but the Arts and Science Society points with pride to the only bearded undergraduate on campus .... No other society has dared to brighten the building with such a bushy, brown beard."<sup>26</sup> It is difficult to speculate on the number of students each year thereafter who had facial hair (undoubtedly a very few did), because facial hair was not fashionable, and consequently it

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<sup>25</sup>"Slacks Out At Queen's," *The Muse*, 29 February 1952.

<sup>26</sup>"Easton Takes It On The Chin!," *The Muse*, March 1953. *The Muse* did not include a date on this issue.

was extremely rare to find a photograph of a man with a beard in the pages of *The Muse* or *The Cap and Gown*. The 1956 *Cap and Gown* did show Dave Pike with a well-trimmed beard that had won him a "Beard Growing Contest."<sup>27</sup> President Gushue throughout this period sported a neatly trimmed moustache.

Personal characteristics of students also went beyond their physical appearance to beliefs and values. Although denominational influences were strong, they were not divisive enough to stop students from ignoring potential imaginary boundaries between them. Students at Memorial were free to do as they wished in their free time, although they were constantly reminded that they should focus on their studies. In 1956 an idea came forward to have MUN students in a reserved section of the Church in which their annual University Sunday service was to be held. "Students have always been invited by Faculty to attend the churches of their persuasion on this day, to commune, together; but never before, to our knowledge at least, have arrangements been made for them to worship as a distinct body in a reserved section."<sup>28</sup> While religious differences existed between students, rarely did they manifest themselves into social divisions. Anna Rosenberg recalls that as a member of the Jewish faith her "religion was not an issue which arose."<sup>29</sup> Suzanne Schuurman, a fervent adherent to the Baha'i World Faith, also

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<sup>27</sup>*Cap and Gown*. 1956, 94.

<sup>28</sup>"Editorial: Gowns To Church On University Sunday," *The Muse*, 16 February 1956.

<sup>29</sup>Mrs. Rosenberg at the time was a mature student, in her forties. She graduated with her BA in 1958 and followed it with a MA from Memorial, however, she recalls when doing

recalls her religion not being an issue while at Memorial.<sup>30</sup>

### **Social Clubs: Social Opportunities for Personal Growth**

Developing the student into the type of person a university graduate should be required exposing the student to various activities and ideas. Social clubs and societies provided such an exposure, as students were given a forum to discuss issues of mutual interest without being intimidated by alleged superiors. Various clubs were centred around a single issue, such as the controversial Social Democratic Movement, which led to a dire warning for students from *The Muse*:

A person should be wary of joining any political organization while at university, especially an organization with a name like "Social Democratic Movement," which could be interpreted to mean almost anything. Membership in such a party leaves a person wide open in later years to the witch-hunting tactics of Senator McCarthy-type politicians.<sup>31</sup>

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graduate work at Memorial that her supervisor, Dr. H.H. Jackson, "had not asked enough of me." Anna Rosenberg to Stefan Jensen, 28 August 2001.

<sup>30</sup>She began Memorial as Suzanne Palowska, although less than one month into the term she married Herbert Schuurman, whom she had met that spring in Labrador, and who also attended Memorial with her and was a member of the Baha'i World Faith. Suzanne Schuurman to Stefan Jensen, 6 October 2001.

<sup>31</sup>"Party Politics," *The Muse*, 14 February 1957. It is unclear what the motivations were for including this editorial. It is possible that the author of the editorial equated the McCarthy-led hearings, with its fixation on previous party membership, with ruined lives. It is unclear if Newfoundlanders truly believed that a McCarthy type purge was needed, which would have been near impossible given Premier Smallwood's self-professed socialism.



Other clubs existed that were more broadly based, such as the Student Christian Movement. Students encouraged each other — with ominous reminders of academic priorities — to participate as well:

No sensible person will deny for one moment that academic work must be given a place of first and primary importance. But if a person's sole ambition is to be authorized to place a few letters after his name then he has missed the boat completely. Academic accomplishment is shallow indeed if it is not tempered and rounded out with a little of the other things of life. It's out of class, in our contact with others—whether in Societies or clubs, at dances or meetings—that we learn most about the everyday business of living. It is in these activities that we learn to live and work with others and perchance gain a little of that magic quality of culture. It is here that we develop not so much a small part of our intellect but a nurturing and fulfillment of ourselves.<sup>32</sup>

While these clubs and societies were of immense value to students, they did not fulfill all the needs students had. Athletics also played a sizeable role for student development during the period under investigation. Developing the body was to assist in developing the mind, although much of the emphasis on the benefits of sporting activity was on behaviour, comportment, and team play.

An interesting paradox surrounded many of the teams, clubs, and societies at Memorial. At the beginning of each year Hatcher, and later Gushue, reminded students to join a couple of different organizations; but not too many. Most clubs, teams, and societies, however, especially athletic teams, complained about the lack of participation by students before the end of the year. *The Muse* went as far as to suggest reward systems to encourage student participation: "It would excite great feats in hitherto-

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<sup>32a</sup>University Notebook," *The Muse*, 27 September 1956.

publically unheard-of names. It would instigate great things in little people and little things in great people, and various combinations there-of ... The real payment comes in the "extra-curricular education" obtained."<sup>33</sup> Such was the paradox of extra-curricular activity at Memorial: worry about over-participation and disgust with the apathetic non-participatory students.

One of the more important activities that students engaged in to foster and promote religious harmony<sup>34</sup> was the support of and membership in the Student Christian Movement (SCM) and the Newman Club.<sup>35</sup> The SCM at MUN was always a part of the

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<sup>33</sup>"Student Apathy," *The Muse*, 5 November 1953.

<sup>34</sup>For the denominational affiliation of MUN students see Table 2.8.

<sup>35</sup>The Student Christian Movement (SCM) was predominately a Protestant group, which formed a MUN chapter in 1953. "The aim of the SCM is to study problems relating to the theory and practice of Christian principles. The Movement's programme includes addresses by guests, discussions, and visits to city churches. Membership is open to all students." See "Student Organizations," *The Muse*, 15 September 1958. The Newman Club (named after John Henry Cardinal Newman, 1801-1890, whose 1851 lecture series compiled as *The Idea of a University* (New York: Image Books, 1959) is still widely read), branch of Memorial University, was founded in October 1951 under the guidance of the Reverend Father McGrath: "The sole purpose of this organization is to maintain contact with your church while not directly under its guidance. The Club should be an instrument through which communion breakfasts, religious lectures and social entertainment itself can be brought to you here at Memorial." "The sole purpose of keepink [sic] students in contact with their religion, and to help bring Christ more forcibly into their daily lives." See "Newman Club Comes to M.U.N." *The Muse*, 29 October 1951. From that initial statement of purpose, the club would advertise itself as follows: "The Newman Club promotes the spiritual, intellectual, and social interests of the Roman Catholics at the University. The fortnightly supper meeting feature addresses by prominent Catholic clergy and laymen, panel discussions and debates." See "Student Organizations," *The Muse*, 15 September 1958. While the SCM was predominantly a Protestant organization, it is likely that Catholics were also members, however, it is

Canadian and International SCM, from which it adopted its constitution and organizing principles. The Newman Club initially was not officially connected with any national or international Newman Clubs, although they did in the autumn of 1958 become a member in the Canadian Federation of Newman Clubs.<sup>36</sup> These two clubs consistently had large memberships throughout the period under investigation. It is important to note that other Christian groups, such as the Canterbury Club (Anglican) and the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship Society were available for students.

Perhaps the single greatest contribution the Christian clubs and societies of MUN made to the lives of students was that of fellowship and an atmosphere of belonging, which were two important factors that ensured students' satisfaction and enjoyment of their time at university. Students attended meetings at which they discussed issues and ideas about religion and theology in an atmosphere of mutual-respect and intellectual rigor. For those enrolled in Education, the opportunity to discuss theological matters was good practice for them, as many gained or held employment in denominational schools where they had to perform some religious duties.<sup>37</sup>

Students could also choose from single issue clubs and societies other than the religion-based groups. Popular among them were the Dramatic Society, the *Mu Gamma*

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unlikely that non-Catholics were members of the Newman Club.

<sup>36</sup>"MUN Represented at Convention," *The Muse*, 2 October 1958.

<sup>37</sup>George N. Hiscock to Stefan Jensen, 25 September 2001.

Society, the Radio Society, the teams and sports organized by the Athletic Union (AU), and the International Relations Club (IRC). The IRC provided a forum in which students could discuss the plethora of political issues facing Newfoundland, Canada, NATO, the UN, and debates on political philosophy. Many students found that the IRC was helpful in their intellectual growth. Foreign topics presented to the IRC for discussion ranged from running an annual Model Parliament, to a discussion entitled "Can Democracy Survive in Germany?", to a talk on the Mau Mau in Kenya.<sup>38</sup> Of the political clubs that formed at Memorial, perhaps the most interesting is the Social Democratic Movement, Memorial's first politically-grounded party.<sup>39</sup> Faculty societies also commanded a fair amount of student support and participation. Each faculty or department had a society. Normally, in the academic calendar year, each society held a dance and/or a smoker.<sup>40</sup> These events, when totaled, averaged out to at least one dance per month for Memorial students and approximately the same number of smokers. Other activities interested

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<sup>38</sup>"IRC Plans Mock Parliament," *The Muse*, 26 October 1957; *Cap and Gown*. 1954, 76; and *Cap and Gown* 1955, 59.

<sup>39</sup>"Socialists Organize," *The Muse*, 14 February 1957. This party espoused the principles of, although was not officially attached to the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation.

<sup>40</sup>Dances were extremely popular among students, although chaperoned. Balls were also held, at which formal attire was sometimes required. Smokers were a uniquely university event, although not unique to Memorial. At a smoker a speaker was invited to give a talk to the students and Faculty of the hosting society, although attendance was open to the general population. The incentive for attending a Smoker, other than to hear the talk, were the free cigarettes given to those in attendance to smoke during the talk. While the number of cigarettes per student is unknown, it is doubtful that each person in attendance would have received more than three or four at the most.

students while on campus. Bridge was an extremely popular game for Memorial students, so popular in fact that the number of hours students were allowed to play were carefully monitored by faculty and staff.<sup>41</sup> Some students, such as Elizabeth Reynolds, took the time to teach others how to play the game.<sup>42</sup>

Athletics at universities formed an integral part of campus life. Exercising the body would, at the same time, exercise and expand the mind.<sup>43</sup> Sportsmanship and fair-play highlighted the personal attributes that sports gave to the student, qualities that would aid the student in his/her career. Students were actively encouraged to participate in athletics by Memorial.<sup>44</sup> In October 1952 an announcement informed students that physical education classes were being offered in such sports as basketball and boxing.<sup>45</sup> In the following year, *The Muse* reminded students that "The University encourages all students to take part in some extra-curricular activities of one sort or another. A large part of this extra-activity takes the form of athletics. Indeed, the University has gone so

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<sup>41</sup>"Cardroom Dispute," *The Muse*, February 26 1960.

<sup>42</sup>"Bridge Tournament," *The Muse* [n.d.] 1952 and Elizabeth Reynolds to Stefan Jensen, 27 August 2001.

<sup>43</sup>Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 110.

<sup>44</sup>Memorial Sports will be discussed in Chapter Four, in particular Hockey, here will be a discussion of the value of participation in athletics.

<sup>45</sup>"Memorial Institutes Physical Education Classes," *The Muse*, 7 October 1952. These classes, however, were not mandatory and were taught by American serviceman Bill Smithpeters, who also doubled as Memorial's men's basketball coach.

far as to institute an Athletic's [sic] Department, with a capable instructor."<sup>46</sup> Two years later the university went one step further and made mandatory a first year physical education course:

By order of the Board of Regents all students in their first year of attendance at the University must participate in two hours of Physical Education [Physical Education 10 and 11- non-credit] per week throughout the academic year unless excused for good cause by the Director of Physical Education. The purposes of this requirement are to assist the student in the maintenance of optimum health essential to success in college; to provide opportunity for the acquisition of knowledge of Physical Education skills, and to provide a means of relaxation.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to this regulation, students participated in AU guided sports such as basketball, bowling, and badminton. Also, the annual Sports Day provided students with an opportunity to compete against each other, as well as against faculty members. Despite an enthusiasm for sports, MUN did not have the financial resources to place teams in the Maritime Athletic Union or the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union; travel costs were prohibitive and time away from studies could not be justified.<sup>48</sup> This, however, did not prevent Memorial teams from going on occasional 'tours' of the

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<sup>46</sup>"The Price of Strong Backs," *The Muse*, 3 December 1953. The instructor was Doug Eaton.

<sup>47</sup>"Physical Education," *Memorial University Calendar. 1954-55*, 51. In conjunction with Physical Education 10, as the Education alternative, was Physical Education 11, "dealing with physical skills suitable for the average school in Newfoundland, simple games and dances, mimetics, rhythms, folk dances and organized games." See "Physical Education," *Memorial University Calendar. 1954-55*, 101.

<sup>48</sup>MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 118.

Maritime provinces.<sup>49</sup>

Non-athletic extra-curricular activity was also heavily encouraged by faculty, administrators, and most importantly by students. Learning outside of the classroom was never viewed as detrimental to the development of the mind, although too much could lead to failure in courses. Students drew great pride from their participation in clubs and societies; this was especially true for the clubs and societies that performed in public, such as the Memorial University Dramatic Society (MUDS). Their yearly productions normally drew rave reviews, especially in *The Muse* under Thomas Cahill's editorship. Routinely, however, the plays received glowing previews, as many of the productions were performed after the last issue was published each term.<sup>50</sup>

Two other important outlets existed for students to engage in. Volunteering for the SRC/CSU and working for *The Muse* were both popular, although at times prominent

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<sup>49</sup>Throughout the years various teams would go on tours to Nova Scotia mainly (often during the Christmas break), and play teams, especially in Halifax where several universities were located, for example the tour taken by the 1956-57 women's basketball team. The team went undefeated in the Halifax-based tournament; against the Halifax Marlets, Dalhousie University, Acadia University, and Halifax Tartans. Acadia came the closest to beating the Memorielles, losing by only one point. The other three teams came no closer than Dalhousie did, which lost by thirteen; the Marlets lost by twenty-three; and the Tartans being beaten the worst, losing by thirty-three. A heroines' welcome greeted the team as over 200 students met them at the airport. Their reception included a parade to City Hall to meet Mayor Mews. "Memorielles Return!" *The Muse*, 16 January 1957; and "Led By Linda, Girls Tour Undefeated," *The Muse*, 16 January 1957.

<sup>50</sup>Cahill was also a lead actor in the MUDS and editor of *The Muse* for 1951-52 as well as the first two issues of 1952-53. The *Cap and Gown*, however, in the report submitted by the Dramatic Society (one was not published from 1956-1961) each year tells of hard work and successful productions.

members from both fretted over low participation rates. Student government taught those that were involved in it many important life-lessons such as responsibility for their actions, which they also learned was magnified in times of crisis or dispute. The SRC/CSU faced many difficult issues during this period. Those serving in the SRC/CSU did their best, although often times their best was perceived by fellow students to be somewhat below par. Students involved in the SRC/CSU quickly became aware of the realities facing their counterparts among local, provincial, and federal politicians. Reasons for participating in student government at Memorial varied only slightly from the standard election promise: "I promise, if I am elected as a representative, to serve to the best of my ability, in the interests of the student body, and the University as a whole."<sup>51</sup> Once in office students often found themselves in situations requiring tact and, in the rarest of occasions, which future Senator William 'Bill' Rompkey found himself in, apologizing to the mayor of St. John's.<sup>52</sup>

*The Muse* throughout the period under investigation is best described as the voice

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<sup>51</sup>“Verna Robbins,” *The Muse*, 1 October 1960.

<sup>52</sup>“[Bill] Rompkey said that the Council had decided to go to the Mayor and that they felt that it was right. He stated that regardless of what the students felt, he was going to go ahead with the decision.” See, “Editorial: We Want An Assembly,” *The Muse: Supplement*, 9 November 1956. Memorial students demonstrated at a St. John's Amateur Hockey League game, a league to which their team had been denied access repeatedly. During a speech delivered by Mayor Mews, the students *en masse* booed, interrupting the speech and causing the mayor to raise his voice and chastise the students. Rompkey was forced to apologize for the students' behavior on behalf of the university. A fuller discussion on this period can be found in Chapter Four.



of opposition to the SRC/CSU. This was a title that writers in *The Muse* repeatedly declared they did not enjoy, although it is clear that they relished it. Students who participated in the writing, preparation, and editing of this newspaper did not want to be professional journalists, although undoubtedly the odd one did enter that profession. It was a time-consuming task, one that editors wondered if anyone appreciated, especially when material from students was not pouring in. Through their participation with the newspaper many students developed skills such as writing, time-management, and stress-coping mechanisms, all qualities that would stand them in good stead for employment later on in life. Encouraging students to participate with *The Muse* was difficult at times: "Many say quite bluntly that *The Muse* is nonsense"; "Last week we asked for writers. This week we're asking again"; or that those on staff tried to produce too much to compensate and the resulting pieces were of diluted quality: "Sometimes half the stories our reporters write are not printed."<sup>53</sup>

The crowning achievement of *The Muse* came on 29 December 1956 when it was awarded the Jacques Bureau Trophy for best Canadian University Press member newspaper published once a week or less.<sup>54</sup> Following the win, praise for the paper came from President Gushue, as well as from John Diefenbaker, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, Ottawa: "I wish to extend heartiest congratulations to you and

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<sup>53</sup>"Editorial: Forewarned," *The Muse*, 9 November 1951; "NOW You Too Can Gripe," *The Muse*, 22 October 1953; "Our Last Blast," *The Muse*, 14 March 1960.

<sup>54</sup>"THE MUSE Awarded Jacques Bureau Trophy," *The Muse*, 16 January 1957.

your staff on this achievement.”<sup>55</sup> With this award came vindication for Memorial and Newfoundland. Martin Lynch of the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, one of three judges for the competition, concluded his remarks on *The Muse* with: “It’s a good paper. It upsets a belief of mine. I’ve thought of Newfoundland (and this may be heresy) as a pretty unsophisticated place, and perhaps it is when it’s compared with some of the more heavily developed parts of the country. However, the work of *The Muse* doesn’t bear out this assumption.”<sup>56</sup> The following year, in January 1958, the decision was made to expand *Muse* operations and provide daily information to the students. This was done by creating and posting *The Daily Muse* on notice boards around campus. It provided lists of events and brief news items, which many students found to be extremely helpful.<sup>57</sup>

### **Finding a balance between work and play**

With a plethora of clubs, societies, and sporting activities to choose from — not including the variety of educational, cultural, and entertainment options throughout the city — it is no wonder Hatcher and Gushue worried so much about their students’ ability

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<sup>55a</sup>“Letters To The Editor,” *The Muse*, 14 February 1957.

<sup>56</sup>As quoted in “THE MUSE Awarded Jacques Bureau Trophy,” *The Muse*, 16 January 1957.

<sup>57a</sup>“The Daily Muse,” *The Muse*, 21 January 1958. No copies of *The Daily Muse* are available. Two years later *The Daily Muse* was on the brink of ceasing its publication. See “Daily Muse,” *The Muse*, 12 February 1960.

to concentrate on their studies. Throughout the period under investigation, seemingly everyone — who found the time to — gave advice to each incoming class about the importance of finding a balance. No one went so far as to suggest no extra-curricular activity, but a student could go too far and participate too much, as was the case with Arthur Knight,<sup>58</sup> who following the release of Christmas results found himself academically ineligible to participate in the high number of extra-curricular activities he had been engaged with during the fall term: “By University regulations and by virtue of my exam results, I’m ineligible to hold office in any student society.”<sup>59</sup> Others, less driven than Art Knight, would not be able to rebound from a poor academic showing, despite participating in relatively few extra-curricular activities. Most students did, however, find that balance between the curricular and the extra-curricular.

Beginning in the autumn of 1951 in the pages of its first issue, *The Muse* offered advice to freshmen on the importance of balance. “Be an active member in some phase of extra-curricular life, and you will be doing yourself and the University a favour. Naturally you should not go and join everything .... Of course your studies come first, and you are here primarily to secure an education, but you do have spare time after evening

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<sup>58</sup>During his four years at Memorial he would be involved with the Engineering Society, Newman Club, Editor of the *Cap and Gown* for two and one half years, SRC three years including President, Memorial Music Makers, and *The Muse*. “Meet Your Council Members,” *The Muse*, 16 January 1957; and “Hard Times for C.S.U.: Financial Position Precarious,” *The Muse*, 18 March 1958.

<sup>59</sup>His case would prove to be an exception, as he would return to extra-curricular activity in the autumn of 1957. “Knight Resigns,” *The Muse*, 16 January 1957.

classes. When you take an interest in at least one club, your life here can be vivid and enjoyable.<sup>60</sup> Reminding students that their participation benefitted both themselves and Memorial was thought to be a reliable way to get students involved. Perhaps the essence of the yearly warnings is best encapsulated by Gushue in his message to the freshmen of 1958:

Welcome to the Memorial University of Newfoundland! You are entering on a new experience and on a new and distinctive phase of your lives. Most people look back to their University career as the most fruitful period of their lives, I hope this will be your experience. It can be if you make up your minds that you are going to get everything you can from life here — in the classrooms and laboratories, in your study, in the formation of friendships with your fellow students and with the faculty. You can benefit and develop from being active in some of the excellent organized student activities. I hope you will strike a balance in these things — we do not want you to be the complete book-worm any more than to over-engage in, or become too distracted by, sports or other activities to the detriment of your studies. You will find your instructors and advisors here helpful and friendly. Consult them if you are in any doubt or difficulty. If you are alert and interested and make excellence your aim, you will get along and enjoy yourself in the process. Above all, don't be a drifter — don't be purposeless. There is no such place in a University for such people.<sup>61</sup>

Again the balance is intended for the betterment of the student, a much stiffer reminder about the purpose of the university than is found in the warnings issued from students to

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<sup>60</sup>“Editorial,” *The Muse*, 29 October 1951. Most likely there would have been a similar issuing of advice in the 1949 and 1950, but *The Muse* did not begin publication until December of 1950. Such advice would have been given to students at assemblies in those years, as well as throughout the period under investigation. Evening here refers to the late afternoon. See *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, Second Edition (St. John's: Breakwater Books, Ltd., 1990), 165.

<sup>61</sup>“The President's Message,” *The Muse*, 15 September 1958. Gushue's yearly message would be on the front page of the first issue of *The Muse* and always similar in content, but no message was used twice.

each other. Students tended to react to the failures of others and enlisted their memories to remind students about the primacy of academics.

Balance was an issue for many clubs and societies at MUN during this period. Even *The Muse* fell victim to this problem. The fall term of 1959 found *The Muse* without an editor-in-chief. The apathy in this case was on the part of those involved with *The Muse* that year not wanting to assume that position. The first editorial explained: "There is no Editor of the **Muse** this year because last year's editorial staff are on probation."<sup>62</sup> The editor for most of 1958-1959 was Ken Anderson, who resigned following the 9 February 1959 issue to assume work on features under the title of triturator, passing the reins over to John Macgillivray. Ironically, Macgillivray in the 9 February issue pleaded with students to get involved, especially those "third and fourth year students who are always beefing about the Muse."<sup>63</sup> It was he, however, who did not volunteer to work on *The Muse* in the following autumn, but was coaxed into collaboratively editing it. This despite Macgillivray having reassured students that the 1958-1959 year might be over, but "Wait 'Til Next Year."<sup>64</sup> *The Muse* survived the first two issues in the autumn of 1959 edited by a group of four dedicated students, which

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<sup>62</sup>"Editorial," *The Muse*, 23 October 1959 (Emphasis in original). The editor from 1959 was John Macgillivray, one of the three students with previous editorial experience with *The Muse*, the other two were Garfield Fizzard and Bill Lebans. Les Thoms had been with *The Muse* as a sports writer.

<sup>63</sup>"The Last Muse!" *The Muse*, 9 February 1959.

<sup>64</sup>"Wait 'Til Next Year," *The Muse*, 19 February 1959.

consisted of John Macgillivray, who somewhat kept his promise and assumed the job of editor-in-chief; Les Thoms, who stayed on as assistant editor; and Garfield Fizzard and Bill Lebans continued their service as editorial writers. Les Thoms in the following year, 1960-1961, assumed the position of editor-in-chief.

Two main groups of students succeeded in their programmes of study while at Memorial: those who participated in no extra-curricular activities and those who participated in one or two of them. Those who participated in a lot of extra-curricular activities were in a minority. The first of the two types of successful students was comprised of those who participated in no extra-curricular activities.<sup>65</sup> This type of student, at best, was also in the minority, as most students, at least belonged to their faculty society. For those students participating in no activities, however, some conclusions may be drawn. Perhaps, those students who did not participate in formal extra-curricular activities spent their non-class time playing bridge, socializing in their boarding houses, or enjoying life in the city.<sup>66</sup> The boarding house would provide, especially for first year students, a ready group of friends. Also, it is possible that many students simply focused on their studies as they found them to be much more difficult

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<sup>65</sup>It is important to note here that the extra-curricular activities discussed are those which were formally part of the university, such as the Newman Club, the Memorial University Dramatic Society, or the many sports groups.

<sup>66</sup>For example, the class of 1950, in their *Cap and Gown* biographies, twenty-two of fifty-eight graduating students had no clubs or societies included, however, many are listed as being involved in athletics, music, and literature. It is important to note that students did not write their own biographies for the yearbook. See *Cap and Gown. 1950*, 21-31.

than high school. They sequestered themselves in study because they had come to Memorial to obtain an education, experiencing university life was of secondary importance. For many students the cost alone was enough of an incentive to focus solely on their studies.

The second group of students, the group which forms the majority of students at Memorial, were those who participated in relatively few activities. These students succeeded in heeding the advice given by faculty, the president, and their fellow students. Belonging to their faculty's society at least, and perhaps one or two other activities in addition to their studies, formed the balance that they were recommended to find. Many students took advantage of the activities available, as provided for by their student fees.<sup>67</sup> Many, such as Philip Patey, were active on their own: "Outside of class I did whatever I wanted but my financial resources were very limited so I studied a lot and did some walking."<sup>68</sup> For those living in the denominational residences some restrictions may have prevented them from participating in many activities. For example, at Queen's College Residence: "You were required there at precise meal hours and you only went out in the evening (after a certain time) if you had permission."<sup>69</sup> Also, as we saw in the case of

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<sup>67</sup>The Union Fees covered the cost of membership in any club or society recognized and funded by the SRC/CSU. *Calendar*. (Various Years)

<sup>68</sup>Philip Patey to Stefan Jensen, 21 September 2001. Philip participated in the University Glee Club, Barber Shop Quartet, SCM, Mock Parliament, and the Liberal Party Club.

<sup>69</sup>Cliff Chalk to Stefan Jensen, 30 September 2001.

Arthur Knight, the possibility of being reprimanded for failure to successfully balance the two could have kept the number of activities an individual participated in to a reasonable number. Every year the university was able to boast that “the year’s record is one of much wholesome activity.”<sup>70</sup>

Outside of the formal activities provided by the university, such as clubs and societies, there were two activities that deserve special, separate attention. The first, which has already received some attention, is the practice of religion. The second activity, and a most popular one at that, was the dance. Both of these activities were enormously well attended due to their value for personal development and enjoyment of college-life. As has already been discussed attending Church services, while not explicitly mandatory, went almost without saying and was coupled, for many students, with membership in the corresponding on-campus denominational club.<sup>71</sup> Part and parcel of Memorial’s status as a non-denominational university was that students could not be forced to go to services, but one former student observed that “each person went [to] church service on his own each Sunday.”<sup>72</sup> Not all attended service each Sunday, however, as some students attended less frequently as the years passed.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Raymond Gushue, “Student Life,” *Report of the President. 1951-1952*.

<sup>71</sup>Al Haynes to Stefan Jensen, 24 September 2001.

<sup>72</sup>Doody to Jensen. For those students of the Jewish faith, their services were held on Saturdays. The Baha’i World Faith held their services every nineteenth day, regardless of the day of the week. Rosenberg to Jensen and Schuurman to Jensen.

<sup>73</sup>Archie Mills to Stefan Jensen, 8 October 2001.



The dance (as at almost every university on the continent) at Memorial was an extremely popular event, with at least one held per month of the university year. Dancing was such an important social event that some went so far as to take dancing lessons.<sup>74</sup> The first dance of the year, and perhaps the one to which most first year students looked forward the most, was the Freshman Social, which capped off Initiation/Orientation Week. Dances were so popular at Memorial that the SRC was forced, in November 1956, to make a contentious ruling on who was allowed to attend on-campus dances:

1. Ex-students may get a season ticket (double) for \$5.00.
2. For individual dances they will be charged \$2.00 double.
3. Students will have to show their registration card at the door.
4. Students will only be allowed to bring outsiders of the opposite sex and will buy a pass at 50c. or \$3.00 for the academic year.
5. Ex-students must give proof of their having attended MUN.<sup>75</sup>

This ruling was an addition to the previous set of rules governing which students were eligible to attend dances. "Shortly before every social a list of criminals appears on the SRC notice board, by which all are made to know that the aforesaid malefactors are to be banned from the forthcoming social."<sup>76</sup> Dances were highly decorative affairs with gowns and suits worn by those in attendance.

Balance in the student's life came in different forms for different people.

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<sup>74</sup>Mills to Jensen.

<sup>75</sup>"SRC Rules On Outsiders," *The Muse*, 9 November 1956.

<sup>76</sup>"The Black List," *The Muse*, 3 February 1953. While the author refers to a list, no copy of that list is available.

Physical, mental, and intellectual activity was a role that the university filled for most students. Yet, there was another, extremely important, side of university life. Dating and romance on and off-campus dominated the social interactions of students throughout the period under investigation. With dances, balls, socials, smokers, and athletics to name the on-campus activities eligible for dates, it is not surprising that some students found their future husband or wife while studying at Memorial. For some students, such as Elizabeth Reynolds, the top priority of going to university was to find a husband or wife.<sup>77</sup> With the high number of students on leave from their teaching jobs, it is also not surprising that some of those students were married.<sup>78</sup> The fact that some married couples attended Memorial at the same time, or that couples married during their respective programmes, is also not surprising. Canadian universities, in general, were used to having married students on campus, especially following the influx of thousands of married veterans. *The Muse*, in virtually every issue published during the period under investigation, included a column simply titled "The Mudpuppy."<sup>79</sup> The 'job' of the

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<sup>77</sup>Reynolds to Jensen.

<sup>78</sup>"Studying for Degrees in Mr. and Mrs." *The Muse*, 19 January 1961. See also Schuurman to Jensen. It is impossible to determine exactly what percentage of students were married, however, it is reasonable to suggest that a small percentage of students were married. Even more difficult would be to determine if a student was married to another student.

<sup>79</sup>The name changed from "The Chatterbox C.D.T." 12 February 1951; to "The Chatterbox: by the Mudpuppy," 27 February 1951; to "Matters Intramural: by The Mudpuppy," 29 October 1951; to "Cheese Parings: by The Mudpuppy," 13 December 1951; and finally to "The Mudpuppy," [n.d.] October 1952. The first installment began

Mudpuppy was to report on the romantic goings on at Memorial, along with any other gossip worthy of passing on to students. Part of the charm, and appeal, of The Mudpuppy was that, in theory, no one knew who wrote the column, although at the end of each publication year the identity was revealed.<sup>80</sup>

The issue of dating on-campus was manifested most prominently with the annual *MU Gamma Society's* TWIRP Week festivities.<sup>81</sup> TWIRP week was, in many ways, a week of women asking men out on dates; men were not allowed to say no.<sup>82</sup> This also formed an integral part of the informal, and later formal, orientation period for new students. The acceptability of TWIRP week to the university suggests an acceptance of

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parenthetically with "If your name isn't mud, it soon will be." See "The Chatterbox C.D.T." 12 February 1951.

<sup>80</sup>The publication run for some years ended prematurely, therefore not allowing for the revelation of Mudpuppy's identity. It is possible that the identity may have been revealed in *The Daily Muse* instead.

<sup>81</sup>An annual tradition that began in 1948, allegedly by George Story [later Dr. Story of Memorial's English Department]. See "The Storey Story: English Professor, Originator of Twirp Week At Memorial," *The Muse*, 29 September 1955. TWIRP stood for The Woman Is Requested To Pay. It became TWIRP Week, which was taken over and run by the *Mu Gamma Society*, which was formed in 1949-1950. The society described itself as follows: "The Mu Gamma Society, which is open to all women students registered at the University as well as any Memorial student at Litledale, has two principal aims: to get members interested in social and athletic activities and to enable them to meet and become better acquainted with each other." See *Memorial University of Newfoundland. Students' Representative Council. Handbook. 1952-53*, 61.

<sup>82</sup>An annual announcement of the rules would appear in *The Muse*, including "No man is permitted any social initiative whatsoever," "The woman must walk on the outside of the sidewalk . . . (we presume the men always do). She must make all the dates." See for example, "Twirp Week .... Warning Issued," *The Muse* 29 October 1951.

dating as a natural, perhaps even an essential part of the college experience. While it is impossible to ascertain the number of dates per woman during that week, the record does suggest that every TWIRP week was successful. The festivities of the week would normally solidify the popularity of the *Mu Gamma* Society among the students, especially the women.

Issues of discipline arose on campus fairly regularly, although it appears that very few offenses were actually very serious. The prerogative for the president to expel a student was based upon a fairly simple foundation: "Irregularity of attendance, or neglect of studies, or unsatisfactory progress, will be regarded as sufficient cause for suspension or compulsory withdrawal."<sup>83</sup> The university attempted not to get involved with the disciplining of students or any other student-related business, except in matters of academic performance.<sup>84</sup> Most disciplinary matters were handled by a committee established under the auspices of the SRC/CSU. This committee determined, if applicable, fines, suspensions from activities, or warnings to perpetrators about the penalties for repeat offenses.

The men and women of Memorial each had a Common Room. The *Mu Gamma*

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<sup>83</sup>*Calendar*. (Various Years) This normally appeared in a section titled "Attendance" or "Discipline." In the calendars it was always set in boldface type to remind students about its potency, and as an incentive to focus on studying and passing courses.

<sup>84</sup>"As we all know, the Faculty has expressed the desire to take the least possible part in affairs that directly concern the student body, and the primary reason for the existence of the SRC is to shoulder this responsibility." See "Letters to the Editor," *The Muse*, 29 November 1951.

Society was in charge of discipline and decor in the Women's Common Room, while the House Committee of the SRC was in charge of the Men's Common Room. Men and women, though, were not prohibited from being in the others' common room. The set of rules for the men's room was the domain of the SRC. The SRC did not begin to enforce those rules, however, until the room had been renovated, which according to *The Muse* reports, included good furniture, a telephone, newspaper and magazine rack, the room painted, and another air-conditioning unit.<sup>85</sup> The issue of SRC power, and in particular its use of that power over other students in matters of discipline, will be examined in detail in Chapter Four. It is prudent to note here that President Gushue proposed to establish "in the early weeks of the College year ... several indoctrination assemblies, particularly for the benefit of the freshman students."<sup>86</sup> These sessions were intended to illuminate to students the rules and regulations of the university, and also to inform students as to who was in charge of enforcing said rules.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>"No Furniture — No Rules," *The Muse*, 14 February 1957. Penalties for offences in the renovated Men's Common Room ranged from expulsion or suspension from a lab, class, library, or the university, down to a 50 cent fine for a pop bottle found on the floor. The monetary fines could be levied by the SRC, but would need approval from the president. This would be an extremely important check to their power as the penalty for non-payment of fines could result in expulsion, a disciplinary option that no one thought students should be able to hold over other students.

<sup>86</sup>Raymond Gushue, "Student discipline," *Report of the President. 1952-53*, 7.

<sup>87</sup>When these sessions took place the session on discipline was titled: "The principal University rules governing conduct — their origin and purpose." Raymond Gushue, "Student Advisory Services," *Report of the President. 1954-1955*, 12.

It was not always possible to address the student body as each year enrolment grew. Long a tradition of the MUC, the assembly became a venue that was no longer a regularly scheduled event. In the academic year 1946-47 only eight assemblies were held for the entire student body.<sup>88</sup> During the period under investigation assemblies were held for specific purposes, such as for greeting first year students, by a faculty to address its students, by the SRC/CSU to discuss policies and procedures that required quorums, by Hatcher or Gushue to remind students about rules and regulations, or for special occasions such as Remembrance Day.

### **Conclusion**

Memorial students spent a great deal of their time on-campus participating in the life of the university. Activities, clubs, and societies that had begun in the college days continued into the period under investigation and were joined by new activities, clubs, and societies reflecting the interests and needs of students. All activities were intended to help students become more complete persons through debates, participating in discussions at smokers, or physical activity such as team sports. Many of the new activities, such as the SCM or the Newman Club, were part of nation-wide or international movements that other Canadian university students participated in.

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<sup>88</sup>MacLeod, *Bridge Built Halfway*, 108.

Memorial's lack of available money and students' alleged inability to manage their time, together prevented MUN from placing athletic teams in the regional or national university athletic associations. Most of Memorial's athletes competed on teams in city leagues or among themselves on campus. Students during this period found themselves drawn towards two sets of activities: curricular and extra-curricular. As has been argued, extra-curricular activities often suffered from a lack of student participation. Curricular activities did not have a problem with student participation. Not every student was able to find the balance between the two. Some students did not participate in extra-curricular activities or spend enough time on their studies either.

The experiences of Memorial's students did not differ greatly from those of students at Canada's other universities. At Canada's other universities, however, there were some differences, most notably inter-university athletic competition as a regular feature of university life. Universities in Ontario, the Maritimes, and Québec, for instance, participated with enormous student and alumni support. Some student-athletes, such as Don Stringer from Bishop's University, were Olympic-level athletes.<sup>89</sup> Mount Allison University, from 1955 through 1957 won the Maritime Intercollegiate Championship for soccer, due to an influx of Newfoundlanders, which saw the

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<sup>89</sup>Christopher Nicholl, *Bishop's University, 1843-1970*. (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 238. Stringer participated in 1956 (Melbourne) while still a student, as well as after graduation in 1960 (Rome).

programme rebound from a seven-year championship drought.<sup>90</sup> At the University of British Columbia, the cost of belonging to the Western Conference was prohibitive, forcing the school to withdraw and join the Evergreen Conference — comprised mainly of the smaller Pacific-northwest US universities — in which their experience was “not entirely satisfactory.” UBC did play American football in this conference but could not compete with the subsidized programmes south of the border. Success was achieved at UBC in rowing, the eight-oared rowing crew placed very well or won prestigious regattas. Their greatest success came at the 1956 Olympics (Melbourne) where members of the crew won Gold and Silver medals. Of note, the team received sponsorship from outside the university as well.<sup>91</sup>

Also, unlike Memorial, the majority of Canada’s other universities had on-campus student residences and some had the one thing many Memorial students truly wished for: a building completely dedicated to student groups, government, relaxation, and space for social events. Universities across Canada were beginning to witness their respective student unions’ successful campaigns to raise monies for the construction of a building for their union’s activities.<sup>92</sup> Residences were common in Canadian universities during

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<sup>90</sup>John Reid, *Mount Allison: A History. Volume II: 1914-1963*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 275.

<sup>91</sup>Harry T. Logan, *Tuum Est. A History of the University of British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1958), 230-231.

<sup>92</sup>Queen’s University began to build a new Student Union building, Wallace Hall, following a \$350,000 donation from Colonel McLaughlin in 1947. See Frederick



this period. At Dalhousie, for example, a residence for women (Shirreff Hall) existed on campus for many years before an all-male residence (Howe Hall) was constructed.<sup>93</sup> The University of Alberta reserved in its very first building (Athabasca Hall, 1911) a section that was used as a residence for some faculty, staff, and students, the following year Alberta added an all-male residence, Assiniboia Hall to accommodate the number of young men seeking a higher education.<sup>94</sup>

University students across Canada during this period spent large portions of their days participating in activities on campus that were neither academic or athletic or social clubs. Playing bridge was, for some, a very time consuming passion, which they also took very seriously. At McMaster, bridge also represented a link to the war and pre-war

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Gibson, *Queen's University, Volume II, 1917-1961. To Serve And Yet Be Free* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), 266. Acadia University built a Student Union building in 1949. See Watson Kirkconnell, *The Fifth Quarter Century, Acadia University, 1938-1963* (Wolfville, NS: Acadia University, 1968), 14. The University of Saskatchewan opened a student union building, The Memorial Union Building in 1955. See Michael Hayden, *Seeking a Balance. The University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 217. Dalhousie University students in 1957 began a Student Union Building Fund with \$20,000 and in 1959 the university approved the allocation of land for the building, although it did not begin construction until 1967. See P.B. Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University. Volume II. The Old College Transformed* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 234 and 286.

<sup>93</sup>See Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie*, 175-76 and 234. Shirreff Hall proudly claimed that its residents performed at above average in academics.

<sup>94</sup>John Macdonald, *The History of the University of Alberta, 1908-1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1958), 22.

years of the university.<sup>95</sup> Dances were, naturally enough, the highlight of the university social calendar in Canada. Students across the country equally looked forward to dances, which were always well decorated and most often featured a live band. At Queen's University, dances were the most popular event on campus, along side football.<sup>96</sup> The supremacy of football's popularity among students was also the case at McGill University.<sup>97</sup> Football at MUN, unfortunately, was a sport not available for students to play, due to exorbitant costs related to coaches, travel, equipment, and field maintenance, not to mention the negative consequences of time spent away from studies for practices and games for the players.

The student newspaper also flourished across Canada during this period. Each university had a newspaper to call its own, although in some cases it was either a monthly, bi-weekly, weekly, or daily production depending on the university. Typically the frequency of production matched the student population, the more students the more frequently the newspaper appeared. Students from United College at the University of Winnipeg worked on *The Uniter*. Those students were able to report on the Harry Crowe Affair and report on the petition signed by students protesting the administration's

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<sup>95</sup>Charles M. Johnston and John C. Weaver, *Student Days. Student Life at McMaster University from the 1890s to the 1980s* (Hamilton: McMaster University Press, 1986), 99.

<sup>96</sup>Frederick Gibson, *Queen's University, Volume II, 1917-1961. To Serve And Yet Be Free* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), 409.

<sup>97</sup>Stanley Brice Frost, *McGill University. For the Advancement of Learning. Volume II 1895-1971* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 261.

handling and attitude towards Crowe.<sup>98</sup>

Throughout this chapter, the behaviour and comportment of students received discussion. MUN was cognizant of its responsibility to students and took that responsibility very seriously. The university actively encouraged students to do more than just study all the time. Faculty societies, religion-based clubs, and other societies provided ample opportunity for students to immerse themselves in their personal development, as well in the development of Memorial's sense of community and pride. Religious clubs were also extremely popular on university campuses across Canada, especially the SCM.<sup>99</sup> In addition there was the role that each individual's religious practices played in personal and intellectual growth. Religious belief, and practice, was visible on campus, although not always glaringly obvious, due mainly to the university's non-denominational roots. By providing the options for extra-curricular activity, the university provided for each individual to develop into a fuller person, a person who would be capable of being looked to as a future leader.

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<sup>98</sup>A.G. Bedford, *The University of Winnipeg: A History of the Founding Colleges* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 315.

<sup>99</sup>Gidney, "Poisoning the Student Mind?" 150.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Student Disputes At Memorial**

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter, four case studies will be explored in order to gain a more detailed picture of student life at the Parade Street campus. Throughout the period under investigation, Memorial (MUN) students participated in events that now stand out as extra-ordinary in the history of Memorial University. Memorial's students became well versed in the rhetoric of politics and confrontation before they graduated. Collective action taken by students did not often occur during this period, yet when students acted together, the university, the city, and in some cases the provincial government, took notice of the events and people at Memorial.

The first case study consists of an examination of the constant debate that occurred on the pages of *The Muse* between its editors and the representatives of the Students Representative Council (SRC/CSU). This debate was one of the liveliest of any topic covered in the newspaper. Constant disagreement existed regarding policy, implementation of policy, and those who decided those policies. Over the years, *The Muse* took a hard line against the SRC/CSU, openly declaring that it would "always look

after the students” and that it would “oppose the council in the interests of the students.”<sup>1</sup> At intervals during this period, the issue of the SRC/CSU’s funding of the newspaper arose only to be dismissed as a necessary evil. The relationship between *The Muse* and the SRC/CSU was intentionally confrontational so as to provide students with an informed opposition to the information disseminated by the SRC/CSU. Healthy and informed opposition fell within the parameters of the freedom of the press values championed by the editors and writers of *The Muse*.

The second of these case studies consists of an examination of the events surrounding, and subsequent to Memorial students’ protest of the St. John’s Amateur Hockey League’s (SJAHL) decision to bar the university team from joining. Students *en masse* protested this decision, going so far as to boo the mayor of St. John’s during a league game. Hockey had always been an important part of the sports scene for Memorial students. Memorial for a time did have successful teams in various city hockey leagues; indeed, a Memorial team won the 1952 Senior B hockey championship with a ten-eight victory over St. Bonaventure’s.<sup>2</sup> Memorial participated in one city league or another until 1955-1956; that year only inter-faculty hockey was played.<sup>3</sup> In the autumn of 1956 the SJAHL announced that it was reconstituting itself and was to be comprised of two

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<sup>1</sup>“To Whom It May Concern,” *The Muse*, 21 February 1961.

<sup>2</sup>“Congratulations Team,” *The Muse*, 22 March 1952.

<sup>3</sup>“Sports Review, 1955-1956,” *The Muse*, 29 March, 1956.

divisions: an 'A' and a 'B' division. Doug Eaton — MUN's Director of Athletics, Professor of Physical Education, and coach for many of its teams — recommended that the men join the 'B' division.<sup>4</sup> Later that autumn, however, when the decision to reject the Memorial team was handed down from the league office, the students did not take it lying down.

The third of these case studies is centred on political activism at Memorial. Term 29 of the Terms of Union was up for renegotiation between Newfoundland and Canada in 1957.<sup>5</sup> When the federal government decided on a substantially lower amount as the annual subsidy than was asked for, the students of Memorial acted together in protest. They marched to the House of Assembly to show their support for the government of Newfoundland, and for many, also for Joey Smallwood. Memorial students' activism was an important aspect of campus life during this period, and it grew in intensity and publicity.

The fourth of these case studies consists of a critical examination of writings dealing with communism that appeared in *The Muse*. Writings on communism during

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<sup>4</sup>"Memorial To Re-Enter City Senior Hockey," *The Muse*, 27 September 1956.

<sup>5</sup>Newfoundland's entry into confederation with Canada was formally set in the of Terms of Union, consisting of fifty individual terms. Term 29 was a provision to review the transitional grants from the federal government to the provincial government of Newfoundland. A Royal Commission was to be set up, no later than 1957, to propose to the federal government additional transitional grant amounts. Term 28 listed the amount of the transitional grants, as predicted in 1949, which was the *raison d'être* for Term 29. For the complete Terms of Union see St. John Chadwick, "Appendix V," *Newfoundland Island Into Province* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 242-259.

this period generally took on a distinctly negative tone, condemning it for allegedly repressing the media and personal liberties. Editorial policy of the newspaper stood near the centre, endorsing and supporting the status quo, with a solid base of respect for authority and tradition while at the same time advocating adequate social programmes to aid those in need. Elsewhere in *The Muse*, articles appeared that championed the ideals of democratic society. These, too, will be discussed in this part of this case study.

During this period, Memorial students took it upon themselves to be representative of the type of person an educated person should be. Students accepted that they were adults and members of the community. They acknowledged that they had responsibilities that related to equal treatment; however, they encountered opposition to their behaviour and comportment when they took action against what they perceived to be ideas or events contrary to their ideals of democracy and fair-play. There are instances during which students may have appeared to have gone too far with their rhetoric or action, yet, they did not cross the fine line into inexcusable behavior.

It is important to note that the student population at Memorial was never a wholly unanimous unit on any one topic or subject. Rarely was there agreement enough on any topic that could be called a consensus, but the debates surrounding any issue were intense, informed, and passionate. Students took what they said and did seriously, even if sometimes those in authority in the city, the SRC/CSU, and the city's journalists did not take them as seriously. Local media kept an eye on Memorial for interesting stories and incidents worthy of reporting to the public, reminding the people of Newfoundland that

the university also belonged to them and that they should be kept abreast of the life of the university. It is also important to note that other Canadian university students had similar experiences and controversies during this period. Students were discovering that they had a voice that was loud enough during this period that it could not be ignored. In concluding this chapter, the experiences of other Canadian university students will be compared with those at Memorial.

### **Case Study One: *The MUSE* vs. SRC/CSU**

*The Muse* began publication in 1950 with an untitled six page effort with a masthead that read: "The First! The Last?"<sup>6</sup> This issue was a crude, handmade effort with pleadings for students to take seriously the idea of a student newspaper at Memorial. "A Student Paper can be the most influential body on a University Campus, provided that everybody takes an enthusiastic interest in it."<sup>7</sup> Most of this issue was devoted to providing information on the activities of the SRC. *The Muse* began its life (and remained throughout the period under investigation) as an official publication of the SRC,

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<sup>6</sup>*The [Muse]*, 11 December 1950. This issue is listed as Volume One, Number One, however, a second Volume One, Number One appeared 12 February 1951 that actually started *The Muse* publication run. That issue likewise was simply titled *The* as well, asking students and faculty for title suggestions.

<sup>7</sup>"S.R.C. Publishes First Edition Of Student Paper: Hope Students Will Pick Up The Lead," *The [Muse]*, 11 December 1950.



despite the glaring disagreements between the paper's editorial policy and the SRC. The staff of the first attempt at the student paper were, in fact, members of the SRC itself.<sup>8</sup> Following the Christmas break, a second issue — also listed as Volume One, Number One — of *The Muse* proudly declared that the lead had indeed been taken up by the students, adding that the student paper also “reflects the spirit, and represents the voice, of a University. Therefore it should be staunchly supported by the whole student body.”<sup>9</sup> The first issue was Spartan in its approach and appearance, although its layout was a vast improvement from the previous first issue.

Table 4.1: SRC/CSU presidents and *The Muse* editors.

Year	President- SRC/CSU	Editor(s)- <i>The Muse</i>
1950-1951	John Lewis	George Kennedy
1951-1952	John Lewis	Thomas J. Cahill
1952-1953	Hubert Kitchen	Thomas J. Cahill, Jim Devereaux, Jim Piercy, Harold Hollett
1953-1954	Arthur Sullivan	Jim Piercy, Harold Hollett, Alan Caule

<sup>8</sup>Angus Gillingham, SRC board member and news editor; Patricia Pigot, secretary and news editor; George Whelan, treasurer and features; John Lewis, president and sports; John Carter, assistant treasurer and business manager; Lloyd Moores, SRC board member and cartoonist; Lillian Butler, SRC board member and reporter; Kira Obrzcova, SRC board member and reporter; and Rex Langdon, SRC board member and reporter. The remaining two SRC board members who did not get involved with the initial newspaper venture were Max Riggs and Graham Snow. The second first issue had only one holdover from that first group, Patricia Pigot, who would remain for the rest of the year, although her position changed to sports editor. John Lewis also returned for issues 27 February 1951, 15 March 1951, and 8 May 1951.

<sup>9</sup>“S.R.C. Lead Taken Up By Students,” *The [Muse]*, 12 February 1951.

1954-1955	William Rompkey	Harold Hollett
1955-1956	Bill Abraham	William Rompkey
1956-1957	William Rompkey	William Lebens, Sid J. Noel
1957-1958	Alex Powell, Art Knight	Garfield Fizzard
1958-1959	Harvey Best/Bob Olivero	Ken Anderson, John Macgillivray
1959-1960	Gerry Colford	Garfield Fizzard, Bill Lebens, Les Thoms, John Macgillivray
1960-1961	Al Haynes (interim), Lorne Wheeler	Les Thoms, Peter Lebens

Note: The Editors of *The Muse*, does not include the guest editors for either *The A Muse* or *The Abuse*. *The A Muse* was an issue edited by the Arts and Science Society, while *The Abuse* was a satirical issue.

The 27 February 1951 issue provides the first example of *The Muse*'s pages used in open conflict with the SRC. This case saw the Engineering Society fight the SRC's decision to force the society to charge admission at its social in order for the SRC to recoup monetary losses incurred during that school year. The overall contentiousness of this issue was magnified due to the recognition of the Engineering Social as the highlight of the year for most Memorial students.<sup>10</sup> Following a meeting between the SRC executive and the Engineering Society executive, *The Muse* reported that the SRC had issued an ultimatum to the Engineers: "It stated that the Engineers may charge at their social themselves, and turn over an admission price for every couple admitted. This was certainly no compromise. President [Engineering Society] Max Tomlinson flatly refused

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<sup>10</sup> "Engineers Battle with S.R.C.: Results of Feud Yet Unknown," *The Muse*, 27 February 1951. The mitigating factors of the feud were known though. The social held by the engineers was, as tradition dictated, called 'The Barn Dance.'

to accept the ruling saying it was against his policy.<sup>11</sup> In response to the ultimatum the Engineering Society's executive resigned in protest.<sup>12</sup> The social went ahead and was enjoyed by those in attendance.<sup>13</sup> It is unknown whether or not students actually paid for admission.<sup>14</sup>

The following year did not begin well for SRC-*Muse* relations. During the first SRC meeting of November 1951, it was announced that the SRC had been, according to its records, paying an average of three dollars per week, or six dollars per issue, to keep *The Muse* afloat. Ed Quinlan, business manager for *The Muse* for 1950-1951 and 1951-1952, denied having ever received any money to pay for anything from the SRC. The treasurer for the SRC from the previous year also denied having paid any monies for the operation of the paper. *The Muse* was not impressed by the implication of having to rely on the SRC for monetary support, so much so that it condemned the previous year's SRC and reminded its readers that it "was not noted for being particularly concerned as to where their money went, but this paper does not intend to be a scapegoat for their debts,

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<sup>11</sup>"Engineer Executive Resigns En-Masse: Tomlinson, Taylor And Graham Quit Positions In Disgust," *The Muse*, 14 March 1951.

<sup>12</sup>"Engineer Executive Resigns En-Masse," *The Muse*, 14 March 1951.

<sup>13</sup>"The Chatterbox by The Mudpuppy," *The Muse*, 9 April 1951. Several references to men and women enjoying themselves at the Social were included.

<sup>14</sup>Neither in the Engineering Society's report in *The Muse*, see "The Drifting Draughtsman," *The Muse*, 9 April 1951, or in the Engineering Society's report in the *Cap and Gown*, which strangely enough had as its Engineering Society contributor Max Tomlinson, see "Engineering Society," *Cap and Gown*, 1951, 40. The *Cap and Gown* did not even make mention of the disagreement between the SRC and the society.

real or imaginary.” The explanation for the misunderstanding appears to be included in the article — at least the situation from which the misunderstanding arose: “We wish to insure the students that we faced a bill of one hundred and sixty-nine dollars at the printers last week, and all for last year’s work.” The SRC most likely found that bill on its desk and, while they were ultimately responsible for outstanding debts for any club, society, organization under its auspices, it did not want to pay off the debt for *The Muse*. To assure and encourage the students of 1951-1952 that *The Muse* would be all right, an editorial reminded students: “It is only through interest shown in the buying of subscriptions this year that we were able to settle this outstanding debt. We hope to be financially sound with regard to further issues through advertising and expanded sales.”<sup>15</sup> This appears to be a flimsy excuse, as the monies raised through subscriptions were initially earmarked to pay for the current year’s issues, not the previous year.

Beginning in the academic year 1951-1952 the SRC/CSU began to be depicted by *The Muse* as tyrannical, dictatorial, and power-happy.<sup>16</sup> An explanation of the

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<sup>15</sup>“Muse Denies Help From S.R.C.” *The Muse*, 9 November 1951.

<sup>16</sup>“Year-Book Editor Says S.R.C. Is ‘Dictatorial,’” *The Muse*, 29 November 1951; “Council Campaigns For Co-Operation,” *The Muse*, 13 December 1951, in this article the author urged “the SRC to drop their ‘lettres de cachet’ attitude; and give students a week to swallow their resentment before speaking of punishments.”; “The Breakfast Of The Gods,” *The Muse*, 13 December 1951; “The Representative Council Of The Gods,” *The Muse*, 18 December 1951; “SRC Holds Unconstitutional Vote To Make Meeting Constitutional,” *The Muse*, 2 February 1952; “Accepts Constitution At Meeting With SRC,” *The Muse*, 16 February 1952, in this article the author accuses the SRC of passing a constitution with the Athletic Union that gave them supreme authority over everything the Athletic Union had authority over. This article proved to be greatly exaggerated and

relationship between the two can be found in a letter-to-the-editor in which the author, signed R.C.L., suggested that the SRC was seeking complete control of the paper. "The SRC are again adopting a policy [sic] of dictatorial rule, and they show definite totalitarian tendencies. The MUSE has long fought for freedom of the paper, and they are again faced with this childish, and stupid and nonsensical problem of how to avoid the SRC's love of control."<sup>17</sup> This battle was a paradox for both the SRC and *The Muse* because it was premised on a financial relationship between the two. *The Muse* received annual funding and office space from the SRC, and was after all, an official SRC publication. This partially explains the support that *The Muse* gave for raising student fees for the following year.<sup>18</sup>

Beginning in 1952-1953 the SRC announced that it would be enforcing a more stringent set of rules regarding general cleanliness in the university:

The Council will not be a group of fairy-godmother janitors who restrict their activities to mopping up after Socials and keeping ash buckets in a vertical

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received a bitter reply from the President of the Athletic Union, in which he suggested *The Muse* change its name to *Pravda*.; "Accept Constitution: S.R.C. Refuses Tolerate Opposition On Polling Day," *The Muse*, April 8 1952; and "A.U. Members Resign In Protest of S.R.C. Action," *The Muse*, 8 April 1952, in this article the author states "the three women delegates to the Memorial Athletic Union resigned in a protest to the overbearing action of the President of the Students Representative Council." Ironically, the president of the SRC that year, John Lewis, would be remembered by his fellow students as being one of the outstanding students of their time.

<sup>17</sup>"Letter to the Editor," *The Muse*, (n.d.) 1952.

<sup>18</sup>See "Raise Student Fees?" *The Muse*, 22 October 1953, for an explanation of why the paper felt it deserved an increased grant from the SRC.

position. Neither will we cover up for that small group of bad boys whose only method of gaining social recognition is to act the fool and delinquent juvenile. To the great majority of students this epithet is unapplicable [sic] and all we request is that waste containers, sinks, and toilets be used only for what they are intended. On those who abuse privileges which the student body has striven for years to acquire and has successfully maintained, we declare total war. Cellophane, cardboard cartons and milk cans will be placed in the containers provided but not on the floor or in washbasins but in the same place they do in the normal home.<sup>19</sup>

Also included in the SRC policy was a policy statement from SRC president, Hubert Kitchen, regarding his plans for fiscal responsibility: "The social programme will feature many parties rather than a few costly fiascos." Kitchen was extremely unimpressed with the manner in which the previous year's fiscal policies had been carried out, declaring, "last year students wasted \$100,000."<sup>20</sup> *The Muse* offered no comment decrying the new policy during the rest of that year. They did, however, support the SRC's decision to ban rule-breakers from socials: "Although it would seem that this is a rather high-handed action, we must realize that the SRC has the duty of keeping order," and reminded students to "consider thoroughly whether their unfortunate friends are being mistreated or whether they are receiving just penalty," which was rare given its editorial policy.<sup>21</sup> *The Muse* went so far as to give support to the SRC's proposed raising of student union fees.

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<sup>19</sup>"S.R.C. Announces Policy," *The Muse* (n.d.) 1952. Before the body of the article began, Jim Devereaux, editor-in-chief, included as Editor's Note: "This is a report from the S.R.C. office. The "MUSE"[does] not necessary [sic] adopt these policies as their own."

<sup>20</sup>"S.R.C. Announces Policy," *The Muse* (n.d.) 1952.

<sup>21</sup>"The Black List," *The Muse*, 3 February 1953.

It is likely that *The Muse* was supportive of President Kitchen because of how hard he had been working to obtain the desperately needed lockers, as well as the many hours logged in the effort to obtain a canteen for students.<sup>22</sup>

Editorial policy for *The Muse* was fairly consistent throughout this period. Under the editorship of William Rompkey, the paper expressed its editorial policy as “to support the worthy, laud the diligent, and exemplify the faulty, according to the right and freedom of the press.”<sup>23</sup> Part of the exemplification of the faulty included targeting the SRC, but the student body as a group received criticism as well. In 1955 the voter turnout for the SRC election was so low that *The Muse* berated everyone involved with the election: “This year the S.R.C. elections were a flop. First of all, it was given no more publicity than a lost math book. The S.R.C. did not even post a voters’ list — which, according to the Constitution it is required to do seven days prior to the elections.”<sup>24</sup> For those at *The Muse* it seemed ridiculous that positions on the SRC were being won by acclamation or, as was seen as the worst possible scenario, no one ran for the positions. It was not, then, surprising to learn that some on the council did not want to do much more than attend the meetings. On the topic of committee appointments the “President pointed out that if any member did not want to serve on any committee he need not. However, this seems to be

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<sup>22</sup>“Kitch Makes Appeal For ‘Cap and Gown’ Material,” *The Muse*, 26 February 1953.

<sup>23</sup>“The Muse,” *The Muse*, 15 September 1955.

<sup>24</sup>“MUSE-INGS,” *The Muse*, 27 October 1955.

inconsistent ... these people have been elected to the Council to serve — not to shirk from any duty, no matter how unpleasant that duty may be.”<sup>25</sup> This apathy on the part of students and members of the SRC would provide the writers of *The Muse* with plenty of fodder.

Latter during this period the CSU and *The Muse* traded barbs with one another. For those at the paper similar themes replayed themselves. CSU elections only mustered the few non-apathetic students to vote, despite the increase in overall enrolment. Included in an admission that the audience was the apathetic portion of the student body, an editorial from 15 January 1959 read:

The turnout for the election of candidates to the CSU is typical of the attitude which students are taking towards extra-curricular activities this year. Out of a total enrollment of eleven hundred[,] fifty people turned up. This is sickening, disgusting and wrong. However we are not writing this editorial to castigate you or to cry on your collective shoulders, rather it is an appeal to the few people who read the editorials in the *Muse*. You are the people who have some kind of interest in student affairs. It is to you that we make our appeal and it is you who have the ability and, we hope, the interest to assume positions of leadership in student activities.<sup>26</sup>

Foreshadowing this editorial was an article from 30 October 1958 that reported Gushue as believing there existed “a more serious attitude towards study this year on the part of students.”<sup>27</sup> While he was referring to a lower failure rate from students, which most

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<sup>25</sup>“The Observation Tower: Tuesday Oct. 11,” *The Muse*, 27 October 1955.

<sup>26</sup>“Alas Gentle Reader,” *The Muse*, 15 January 1959.

<sup>27</sup>“Who Me!” *The Muse*, 30 October 1958.



agreed was a good thing for the university, it appears that his statement had a down-side — students were participating at lower rates than before. Perhaps student apathy was not as bad as some made it out to be. This appears to be true in light of the \$4,000 that was raised to aid in the relief effort for the Springhill, NS, mine disaster.<sup>28</sup>

While many students may not have bothered voting in a CSU election, it is a far cry to suggest that they did nothing while at Memorial other than study. Unfortunately for *The Muse*, it suffered just like the CSU did and was a victim of the apathy of students, mainly for academic reasons. Its student editors, contributors, and photographers were not always available for the whole year due to academic ineligibility. Compounding this problem was that the rest of the student body did not have much enthusiasm for *The Muse*, as a 9 February 1959 editorial indicated: "There is no point putting out a paper if the students show no interest in it."<sup>29</sup> This was true, despite the paper having done a credible job for that year, especially by including many poignant Canadian University Press articles. One of those made students aware of the thorny issue of academic freedom: "Scandal In Manitoba: United College Prof. In Trouble," outlined the initial happenings of what is still remembered as the Harry Crowe Affair.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>"\$4000 For Springhill," *The Muse*, 20 November 1958.

<sup>29</sup>"The Last Muse!" *The Muse*, 9 February 1959. This came on the heels of Ken Anderson's resignation as Editor, although he was still listed in that position for that issue, which was not the last for that year, two more followed it.

<sup>30</sup>"Scandal In Manitoba: United College Prof. In Trouble," *The Muse*, 22 October 1958. For more on Harry Crowe see Michiel Horn, *Academic Freedom in Canada: A History*

During this period students tried to obtain increased involvement in student discipline from the university's administration. Near the end of the winter term of 1959, a new system of discipline to work in conjunction with the rules of conduct was introduced for discussion by the CSU, to be implemented in the fall of 1959. A system based on demerit points, popular at other Canadian universities, was on trial for the 1958-1959 year; however, it was declared "a farce," and a revised system would have to be in place for the upcoming year. For the CSU the problem arose from its inability to define what constituted a serious offense. The system eliminated petty fines for petty offenses and replaced them with demerit points; fifteen accumulated points could result in expulsion.<sup>31</sup> The CSU proposal included a demerit point scale corresponding with offenses, to be used in punishing offenders. Trials were to be conducted by a triumvirate consisting of one each from the faculty, CSU, and the general student body; a majority decision required for conviction. The need for a new system of discipline arose due to a lack of enforcement, unclear rules, and no set of trial guidelines. This led one council member to state that for the new system: "Its immediate enforcement is of the utmost importance."<sup>32</sup> This system, and the power granted to the two students on the triumvirate,

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(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 220-245.

<sup>31</sup>No incident of any student being expelled under this system is included in the pages of *The Muse* or anywhere else for that matter.

<sup>32</sup>"New Discipline System Planned," *The Muse*, 19 February 1959.

meant students had more power in governing and policing themselves than before.<sup>33</sup>

Late in the autumn of 1960, *The Muse* included a short article that suggested MUN drop Memorial from its name. The author reminded the reader that “no slur is meant against the men who gave their lives for us in the two GREAT WARS,” and that “U of N conveys the true meaning of this institution and the people who attend it”; however, the author suggested that the reason for asking for the change was that it was “positively embarrassing [sic] ... explaining ... the term MEMORIAL.”<sup>34</sup> In an unprecedented move, Les Thoms, editor of *The Muse* for 1960-61, changed the masthead of the paper from “*The Muse. Memorial University of Newfoundland*” to “*The Muse. University of Newfoundland*.”<sup>35</sup> In that issue there would be no fanfare regarding the changing of the masthead, although in the next issue, the headline read: “‘MUSE’ Editor Reprimanded By Council.” Les Thoms defended his action: “In an attempt to determine the feelings of the Student Body on whether the name of this University should be changed to read the University of Newfoundland, the Muse intentionally left out the ‘Memorial’ in its Jan. 19<sup>th</sup> issue.” CSU executives were not pleased, although the changed masthead “brought no reprimands from the university authorities.” The CSU

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<sup>33</sup>No record indicates that this system was adopted for 1959-1960 or 1960-1961

<sup>34</sup>“Take the ‘M’ Out of MUN,” *The Muse*, 15 November 1960.

<sup>35</sup>Masthead, *The Muse*, 19 February 1961. Throughout this issue and the next, the word Memorial was dropped from the name of the University, U of N and University of Newfoundland were seen instead of MUN or Memorial University of Newfoundland.

issued a stern demand for Thoms to revert back to the original masthead. While the council was right in their reasoning, Thoms felt they went too far when they asserted that changing the masthead was “a decision of general policy which should have had the prior paproval [sic] of the Council of the Students’ Union as the official publishers of the Muse.” *Muse* staff at the CSU assembly demanded and won an opportunity to poll the students on whether or not they wanted the name of the university changed. For the students working for the paper the attempt by the CSU to block the polling of the students cemented their belief that the CSU was dictatorial.<sup>36</sup>

The masthead for the second non-Memorial issue read “*The Muse*: Published By The Under-Graduate Students Of Newfoundland’s Only University.”<sup>37</sup> Due to the pressure exerted upon him by the CSU, Thoms issued a personal editorial on the front page, instead of on page two as normal. In a statement of purpose he stated:

If I back down from the decision made by myself and the Editorial staff of the Muse I will be letting the paper become a puppet of the council, nothing more than a mouthpiece for the CSU. This I feel would defeat the purpose of the Muse. I contend that any censure by the CSU on this matter is an infringement on the freedom of the student press. This was not libelous, the act by the Muse was not in poor taste, it was not immoral. Therefore I feel that the CSU went a little too far in making the decision, they had no right to interfere [sic] in policy making of the Muse. Also you will see that in this issue the Muse staff are sticking to their guns and have refused to re-insert “Memorial” in the Masthead. As long as I am Editor, and as long as I feel the Muse is expressing the opinions of the Student

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<sup>36</sup>“MUSE’ Editor Reprimanded By Council: The Story,” *The Muse*, 24 January 1961. The result of the vote to hold an assembly was not included in the article.

<sup>37</sup>Masthead, *The Muse*, 24 January 1961.

Body, the Masthead will remain as it was in the Jan. 19<sup>th</sup> issue.<sup>38</sup>

Believing the disagreement to be among students, Thoms and the editorial staff felt confident that their side would be shown to be justified.

This sense of security was shattered shortly after the second "University of Newfoundland" *Muse* was published. Following the publication of the 24 January 1961 issue, Thoms was officially censured by the CSU. While Thoms may not have feared or respected the authority of the CSU, there was a force in Newfoundland that could exert enough influence and force him to change back to the original masthead.<sup>39</sup> The St. John's Branch of the Canadian Legion weighed in heavily against the proposed dropping of the word "Memorial" from any part of the university. An article detailing the Legion's monthly meeting was put on the front page of the 7 February 1961 issue. The Legion stated:

The Branch is of the opinion that the only real authority qualified to authorize a change in the name of the Memorial University of Newfoundland are the people of Newfoundland in view of the fact that it was they who built the University as a Memorial to the war dead of World War I, and certainly not a "minority group" of students attending classes at Memorial, most of whom were not even born when World War II started and were not even attending day school when it ceased, and

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<sup>38</sup>Les Thoms, "Editorial," *The Muse*, 24 January 1961.

<sup>39</sup>CSU members for that year were: Lorne Wheeler, President; Al Haynes, Athletic Union Chair; Howard Sainsbury, Societies Co-ordination Chair; Vern Somers, Finance Committee Chair; Andy Crichton, Publications Chair; Leo Barry, Discipline Committee; Margaret Walters, Social Committee Chair; members-at-large: John Crichton, Louis Dawe, John Lundigan, Ralph Moore, Bill Rowe, and Glen Shephard.

who know little or nothing of the many sacrifices demanded of a country at war.<sup>40</sup>

To counter the power and influence of the Legion, *The Muse* included a short article that balanced the scales. The man who held the title of "Visitor" to MUN, Lieutenant Governor Sir Leonard Outerbridge, believed "that he felt sure that there was no intention to pass over or belittle the memory of those who fell in battle or the debt that we shall ever owe to them."<sup>41</sup>

The battle between Thoms and the CSU did not end with this issue at this point. Thoms reminded students and the general public that no one at the university felt disrespect for the war dead. Thoms suggested that the question of changing the name should still go to the students for their consideration. Thoms reasoned that on the new campus a fitting memorial could be erected for those who fought, but: "The Memorial University of Newfoundland is our Provincial University and thus on this ground alone should be renamed."<sup>42</sup> He believed that at the gates of the new campus a sign should read as follows: "THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND founded in honour and memory of those who fought in the two great wars."<sup>43</sup> The issue went no further, as the new campus did not have gates.

Despite the editorial staff taking a firm stand against the CSU, they did heed the

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<sup>40</sup> "Legion Blasts Editor," *The Muse*, 7 February 1961.

<sup>41</sup> "No Offence Taken When No Offence Meant," *The Muse*, 7 February 1961.

<sup>42</sup> "Quot Homines Tot Sententiae: A Provincial University," *The Muse*, 7 February 1961.

<sup>43</sup> "Quot Homines Tot Sententiae: A Provincial University," *The Muse*, 7 February 1961.

words of the Legion and compromised. They did, however, include in the following issue a banner headline that announced that Les Thoms had been fired by the CSU. The reason given by the CSU was that Thoms had disregarded the directive of the council to revert to the former masthead of *The Muse*, instead of “published by the Under-Graduate Students of Newfoundland’s Only University.”<sup>44</sup> In a weak explanation, CSU President Wheeler stated about the firing: “It was regrettable that we ever had to take that action. I think, and I believe the CSU agrees with me, that Mr. Thoms has done a very creditable job with the paper.” Hardly the words used to describe a person being fired. An article that listed which students received merit pins indicates that Les Thoms received the “Silver Merit Pin” and Lorne Wheeler the “Gold Merit Pin.”<sup>45</sup>

Following the firing of Thoms, Peter Lebars took over as editor. In one of his pieces as editor he declared that no compromise would ever be made with the CSU. He accused the CSU of taking the situation too far in its handling of Thoms — the CSU contacted a lawyer for a legal opinion on the Publishing Act of Newfoundland to determine if they could indeed remove Thoms from his position — suggesting the whole issue could have been solved, if saner heads had prevailed within the CSU. A meeting could have been held with Thoms and an agreement could have been reached without seeking legal opinions. “The Council forced the issue to such an extent that neither side

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<sup>44</sup>“Thoms Fired,” *The Muse*, 8 February 1961.

<sup>45</sup>“Merit Awards Announced,” *The Muse*, 21 February 1961. This issue did not include a masthead.

could back down."<sup>46</sup> In a final and very firm stance against the CSU Lebars issued a list of ten guidelines that *The Muse* intended to forever follow:

1. The Muse Shall Not Be A Mouth Piece.
2. The Muse Shall Not Be Coerced.
3. The Muse Will Not Bow Down.
4. The Muse Will Always Look After The Students.
5. The Muse Will Always Rise Up Against Injustice, Even If It Means Losing An Editor Or Two.
6. No Sacrifice Is Too Great For The Student Body.
7. The Muse Is For The Students, Not The Council.
8. The Muse Will Oppose The Council In The Interests Of The Students.
9. The Muse Stands For Compromise.
10. The Muse Shall Always Triumph, For Its Cause Is Just.<sup>47</sup>

To cap off *The Muse*'s displeasure with the CSU's firing of Thoms, it included a full page cartoon showing Wheeler pinning Thoms down with one foot while holding up the "Act of the House of Assembly of Nfld." The caption at the bottom mused: "Power is delightful ... Absolute power is absolutely delightful." In bold, block, and very large letters at the top of the cartoon read "C.S.U. We Love You," followed in the bottom right hand corner in small letters "Like A Hole In The Head."<sup>48</sup> This was the last exchange of the year for the two combatants and the Parade Street campus.

Healthy debate between and among students was viewed as a positive experience for students to go through. They joined a country that flourished upon the ideals of a

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<sup>46</sup>"Comprise Versus Newspaper Act," *The Muse*, 21 February 1961.

<sup>47</sup>"To Whom It May Concern," *The Muse*, 21 February 1961. This list was repeated in the final issue of the year as well.

<sup>48</sup>Cartoon, *The Muse*, 21 February 1961.



democracy that included an opposition mechanism. For those students in “power,” they learned valuable lessons about delegation, responsibility, and long hours of seemingly unappreciated work. The hard work they did put in was appreciated, although not always overtly or consistently, but every society and club on campus owed something to the SRC/CSU, at least in terms of funding and permission to operate on campus. For *The Muse*, its editors over the years felt that they had an almost moral obligation to the students to provide information, in the manner of a voice of opposition party to the SRC/CSU. The opposition to the SRC/CSU that the paper provided for students was of great help, especially for those students who frequently were, for one reason or another, unable to attend the various assemblies and meetings held by the SRC/CSU.

It would be unwise to suggest that the people involved with both the SRC/CSU and *The Muse* did not get along with each other. With the level of student apathy on campus during this period, the people involved with one often were also involved with the other. William Rompkey, for example, during his time at Memorial was president of the SRC, followed by a year as editor-in-chief of *The Muse*, followed by another year as president of the SRC. Arthur Knight was also involved on both sides of this long standing debate. While it is true that many students during their time at Memorial got involved with neither organization, both organizations strove to meet the needs of the students; one provided parameters and events for students and the other tried to keep the students informed about all sides of any issue that dealt with their activity, behaviour, or an issue that might just be of interest to them. As we have seen in this section, the two

organizations had instances of direct and prolonged disagreements about what were perceived to be fundamentally important issues, such as students' rights and responsibilities. At times, however, aspects of students' rights and responsibilities were blurred by the furtherance of individual and somewhat personal agendas.

### **Case Study Two: St. John's Amateur Hockey League Vs. Memorial Students**

Playing hockey at Memorial was an important part of the sporting life for many students. The St. John's Amateur Hockey League (SJAHL) represented the highest level of hockey played in the city. League officials began to reorganize and revamp how the league operated, including the contentious issue of scheduling for the autumn of 1956. Part of the revamped league provided an interesting incentive for teams in both divisions. Which ever team finished last in the 'A' Division would be relegated to the 'B' Division for the following year, while the team that won the 'B' Division crown would be promoted to the 'A' Division. The decision to enter the league was formally made by Doug Eaton; however, it was done for the hockey players, and for the students of Memorial as well. The author of an article that announced the application opined: "In the interest of sport, and for the enthusiasm and 'school spirit' a varsity hockey team would arouse, we sincerely hope it is [accepted]."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>"Memorial To Re-Enter City Senior Hockey," *The Muse*, 27 September 1956.

It was this type of enthusiasm that led students to start to support hockey, at least at this stage if only because of the possibility of having a hockey team. In the following issue of *The Muse*, students learned that Eaton had told his potential team that their chances of joining the SJAHL were minimal at the very best. Coach Eaton asked the men to all try out for the Vocational team so that they could still at least play together, and then potentially go on an exhibition tour as a MUN team.<sup>50</sup> "However, this proposal is not likely to meet with any wide approval, for most of the players, especially the St. John's residents, already have an affiliation with some club team."<sup>51</sup> Instead of accepting the pessimistic appraisal of the situation, Memorial's hockey players stuck together and with the rest of the students, awaited the league's decision.

Memorial did have a difficult time with its application, due to the dates chosen by the SJAHL for each division to play.<sup>52</sup> The 'B' Division would only play from October to

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<sup>50</sup>Students were eligible to play for another team in the league, or in another league, if they chose to. The Vocational squad that Coach Eaton suggested his men play for a team that was organized from the Vocational Institute. For more information on the Vocational Institute see "Vocational Institute," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, Volume V* (St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications, Ltd, 1994), 489.

<sup>51</sup>"Coach Suggests Muns Play For Vocational," *The Muse*, 11 October 1956.

<sup>52</sup>SJAHL officials were responding to the importation of players from the mainland Canadian provinces. The level of play had risen to the point that teams brought in 'ringers' in order to improve their chances of winning. It is possible that Memorial was not interested in playing in a division made up of teams whose sole purpose was to win; instead of playing for the fun of the game. The distinction between the 'A' and 'B' divisions was level of playing ability, although based on newspaper readings there is no evidence that Memorial's players were not capable of competing in the 'B' division.

December and the 'A' Division from January to April, which was as unusual for a hockey team to play as could have been devised, since no one had previously played for only a portion of the winter. As Memorial wished to be in the 'B' Division, some rather important obstacles presented themselves. December was the time for exams and students returning home for the holidays. The regular season for the 'B' Division would end at the same time as classes and the playoffs would conflict directly with exams, and so Memorial could not guarantee its team would be available during those dates — a guarantee that appears to have been mandatory for every team in the league. The students of Memorial were none too pleased with not being granted entry, and, perhaps just as important, was the manner in which the league dealt with the team, which was barely at all. The SJAHL's meeting in mid-October was secret, and it was with a telephone call that Coach Eaton learned the bad news; no reason was given to Eaton for the exclusion, although many speculated that it was because of the exam conflict.<sup>53</sup>

A significant act in their attempts to remove the injustice of the SJAHL's decision manifested itself with a hanging, in effigy, of the SJAHL from the main building on campus. *The Muse* reported: "Apparently the actual hanging of the effigy was the work of only a limited number of students, but from comments around the University, it is clear that the majority of the students favoured the action." It is impossible to ascertain the immediate reaction of President Gushue or faculty members at the time to this display of

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<sup>53</sup>The Armchair Athlete. "Mostly About Sport," *The Muse*, 11 October 1956.

non-violent protest. *The Evening Telegram* included the photograph of the effigy with this caption:

This is believed to be the first such demonstration in the University's recorded history. The unprecedented move seems to have had its origins in the widespread discontent among the students over the refusal of the Hockey League to allow a MUN team to become a member of the Junior League. Just who the actual hangmen were is being withheld, but the students in general seemed to be quite sympathetic to the cause.<sup>54</sup>

The effigy caused a fair backlash against the students. Some tried to pacify the protesters, such as Harvey Clarke of *The Evening Telegram*: "I understand how the students feel. But there isn't any sense fighting something you can't beat. Why not enjoy the hockey games from now on. Memorial College is bound to be around for some time and there will be other years."<sup>55</sup> Those in charge of the SJ AHL were none too pleased with their league being hung in effigy either. Students involved in this act of protest were believed to have committed the act because "students are no loner willing to accept meekly 'a kick in the face' of this magnitude."<sup>56</sup> Memorial students were faced with an important decision to make in the days that followed: how far would they go in protest?

Support for Memorial's entry into the SJ AHL also came from SRC President William Rompkey. This is very important to note, especially when it took less than a day

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<sup>54</sup>Photograph, *The Evening Telegram*, 1 November 1956.

<sup>55</sup>Harvey Clarke, "Just Sport. Hockey Just Starting Lots Of Action Ahead," *The Evening Telegram*, 3 November 1956.

<sup>56</sup>It Can't Happen Here — But It Did!" *The Muse*, 9 November 1956.

for *The Muse* and the students to change their minds about Rompkey and the SRC on this issue. On the Monday following the protest Rompkey issued a letter to the *Daily News* that he co-signed with *The Muse*'s editor, William Lebans. In this letter the pair argued: "The University has its place in society and in sporting circles."<sup>57</sup> At this point the two were in agreement about Memorial and hockey, following the letter's publication, and almost simultaneous to it, the two no longer agreed on Memorial's exact place in hockey. Unfortunately for Rompkey, the mood of a great many students turned sour in the weeks that followed.

A protest, "Operation Hockey," was organized for the first game of the SJAHL hockey season, scheduled for 2 November 1956. Students from Memorial attended in a form of collective protest, at the stadium they used only their voices and home-made signs to show their displeasure with the hockey league. Unknown to the protesters prior to arriving at the Stadium, the mayor of St. John's was scheduled to give a short speech to open the SJAHL season. As the mayor began his speech the students in attendance, numbering around 200, began to boo. Student protesters were loud enough to cause the mayor to stop his speech, which forced the mayor to raise his voice considerably, in order

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<sup>57</sup>William H. Rompkey and William Lebans, "MUN States It's Case," *The Daily News*, 5 November 1956. This letter also appeared on the same day in *The Evening Telegram*, although the names were withheld and the sentence that introduced it: "The following is a release from the Memorial University Students Representative Council," was not there as well. "Memorial Wants Team In League," *The Evening Telegram*, 5 November 1956.

to be heard above the noise.<sup>58</sup> This collective action was the cause of the trouble that would follow. William Lebars put his editorial for the 9 November 1956 issue on the front page:

It is unfortunate that Mayor Mews was present at the demonstration which took place at the Stadium on Friday night; it is unfortunate that he chose to associate himself with the members of the St. John's Hockey League; it is unfortunate that he adopted the tone which he did, obviously in the heat of anger at not being heard.<sup>59</sup>

Those non-students in attendance were not pleased with the students of Memorial for acting in what was seen as a disrespectful manner towards the mayor. *The Muse* shot back, declaring: "St. John's will just have to realize that a group of 900 high-spirited University students cannot be ignored."<sup>60</sup> The sporting community, especially the St. John's sporting press, did not agree with the high-spirited students. *The Daily News* weighed in with this report of the 2 November events:

Hundreds of students attended the hockey game last night and gathered in one section of the Stadium bleachers. When the official opening was to take place the students booed, drowning out the speakers. Mayor Mews told the students that their conduct was not dignified for Memorial University students and especially in the Memorial Stadium built in memory of St. John's war dead. The Mayor's few words brought silence from the students.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Students all sat together in one section of the stadium, and so those in other sections could hear the mayor when he raised his voice.

<sup>59</sup>"An Editorial," *The Muse*, 9 November 1956.

<sup>60</sup>"An Editorial," *The Muse*, 9 November 1956. All 900 students did not go to this protest.

<sup>61</sup>"Not Dignified," *The Daily News*, 3 November 1956.

Both sides had dropped their gloves, each taking a stance from which they could not easily back down. Also, both sides began using allusions to Newfoundland's past to justify their respective actions and words.<sup>62</sup>

Due to the unprecedented scale of this protest, and without a set of guidelines to govern the actions of the SRC during it, *The Muse* published two supplements to inform students of the "facts" of the current controversy. The first issue appeared on 9 November 1956, the coincidence of appearing on the same day as *The Evening Telegram/Daily News* articles is explained by the editorial staff: "This supplement is necessary because the regular Muse went to the printers last week before the present controversy arose."<sup>63</sup> The controversy that had arisen centred on the decision taken by the SRC and its president to seek a meeting with Mayor Mews to offer an apology/explanation. Later in that week, at an assembly that had been called for by *The Muse*, the students voiced the opinion that the SRC should not apologize to the mayor, but the SRC executive voted to do so.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>The editorial went on suggesting: "When an injustice of one type or another is committed, the natural course of action is to attempt to remove that injustice. This is the principle on which both World Wars were fought. This is the principle which those brave men, to whom both Memorial University and Memorial Stadium are dedicated, died to uphold. This is one of the most important principles upon which our democracy is based — the right to protest an injustice and remove that injustice." "An Editorial," *The Muse*, 9 November 1956.

<sup>63</sup>No title, *The Muse: Supplement*, 9 November 1956 (Underlining in original).

<sup>64</sup>Assemblies were still a regular part of the university's weekly schedule, extra assemblies occurred infrequently, and normally only in extraordinary circumstances. For



By deciding to go ahead with the meeting with the mayor the SRC was presented with a motion for a vote of non-confidence; again an unprecedented move in the history of the SRC. In the editorial for the first supplement a rather strong reminder was sent out to the students:

If this majority now decides to keep in office the present Council they will be in every respect comprising [sic] their principles. They have proven their opposition; the natural consequence of the action is to follow through and remove the Council .... This special supplement to the MUSE is designed to ... plead with students to follow their principles and reject this council which has shown that it cannot be conditioned by student opinion; to pave the way towards the establishment of a responsible responsive executive [sic] organization.<sup>65</sup>

During the SRC meetings and deliberations surrounding this issue two of its members, Graham Skanes and Bill O'Driscoll, resigned from the council in protest. In the first supplement, a blow by blow account of the actions and meetings of the SRC was included. A poignant statement was included by *The Muse* that reflected the awkward, yet constitutionally justifiable, position of Rompkey and the SRC on this issue:

"Constitutionally the SRC has the right to act on its own decision without the consent of the Constituents."<sup>66</sup> An important aspect of representative government invoked by the SRC was that plebiscites, referenda, and assemblies to gain approval or support for every

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example, the 1958-59 timetable has no course or lab on Tuesday and Thursday in the 12:10 - 1:00 p.m. time slot to allow for assemblies or meetings.

<sup>65</sup>"Editorial," *The Muse: Supplement*, 9 November 1956. Partially out of this protest and the realization of the very severe limitations of the SRC, the Council of the Students Union was born.

<sup>66</sup>"The Facts," *The Muse: Supplement*, 9 November 1956.

issue, were not necessarily part of representative government. Rompkey was, in fact, the one to accept the motion to hold the vote of confidence. *The Muse* reported: "Bill said that as he saw it, if the students did not trust the Council to make decisions for itself without going to the students every time a question arose, then they had no confidence in the Council. He announced that a vote of confidence by secret ballot will be held shortly."<sup>67</sup> He did go to the Mayor to offer an apology and an explanation on behalf of the students of the university.

In doing so, however, Rompkey's actions led *The Muse* to issue a second supplement to inform students of the activities of the SRC. This supplement was quite damning of Rompkey and his decision. "This action by the SRC is outrageous," cried *The Muse*.<sup>68</sup> The banner headline for this supplement declared "SRC Violates Student Rights,"<sup>69</sup> a title that caused grave concern for those involved, especially those interested in the finer points of the SRC Constitution. In a move that perhaps went too far, the editorial staff of the paper included this message to Rompkey, Mews, and *The Daily News'* George Perlin:

It's really too bad that the Mayor was offended and that Conservative George's sense of dignity of the office of Mayor of St. John's has been insulted. Should not our President, in a time of crisis like this, go to the body which he represents and see what they really feel about the whole thing before he goes on his knees for

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<sup>67</sup>"The Facts," *The Muse: Supplement*, 9 November 1956.

<sup>68</sup>"Editorial," *The Muse: Supplement*, (n.d.) 1956.

<sup>69</sup>Banner Headline, *The Muse: Supplement*, (n.d.) 1956.

something in which he had no part and which he indeed discouraged?<sup>70</sup>

Perlin was without a doubt extremely disappointed with MUN: "I consider the behavior of the group of students ... to be disgusting."<sup>71</sup> The dander had risen, both sides feeling more and more justified as the days passed.

A call for action was issued in the second supplement that caused a great deal of negative reaction. Borrowing the experience of Hungarian students, an article in the second supplement read:

Are we going to permit the SRC visit the office of Mayor and "explain (i.e. apologize) on behalf of the students when a majority of us obviously don't want it. Are we going to bow to tyranny in our own university when students in Hungary are dying by the hundreds to strike a blow against tyranny. We believe in the democratic system. We believe that if a majority opposes an action then, the will of that majority must prevail.

The exercise of public opinion is one of the essential features of democracy. This is stressed in virtually every lecture in political science or history at this University. We must not bow to the wishes of our omnipotent SRC in every whim which they seek to fulfill.<sup>72</sup>

Ideas of democracy were tossed around during the chaos in order to justify action or inaction, depending on which side spoke. The *Here ... in Newfoundland* magazine published an editorial that blasted the students of Memorial for their participation in "Operation Hockey," reminding them that they do not live in Hungary and that the

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<sup>70</sup>"Hold On Bill!!!!" *The Muse: Supplement*, (n.d.) 1956.

<sup>71</sup>George Perlin, "Sports In The "News,"" *The Daily News*, 6 November 1956.

<sup>72</sup>"Students of Memorial University Of Nfld — Arise!!!!" *The Muse: Supplement*, (n.d.) 1956.

tyranny they felt was being imposed on them was minute in comparison. "We have more peaceful and civilized means of expressing ourselves on such trivial points as the acceptance of your hockey team than staging meaningless public demonstrations such as was witnessed during the past month in Memorial Stadium." In conclusion, the author of the editorial paternalistically advised: "Please, students, simmer down and try to restore some semblance of the University respectability which you shattered so mercilessly during the past month. Stop making much ado about nothing, as your own revered Shakespeare would say. And make us proud of you."<sup>73</sup> The 200 students involved in the original "Operation Hockey" comprised one-fifth of the student population, too many to quiet quickly.

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<sup>73</sup>"The Learned Ones," *Here ... In Newfoundland* 1.6 (30 November 1956), 5. This article appeared fairly late after the crisis, and also after the last issue of *The Muse* for that term. The editorialist also stated that: "In a community like St. John's, where demonstrations or physical action is almost unheard of in any major issue." Contrary to that statement are the numerous riots and demonstrations in St. John's by the unemployed during the 1930s. See James Overton, "Riot, Raids and Relief, Prisons and Parsimony: The Political Economy of Public Order in Newfoundland in the 1930s," in Elliot Leyton, William O'Grady, and James Overton, eds., *Violence and Public Anxiety: A Canadian Case* (St. John's: Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1992), 195-336. The first issue of *The Muse* in January included an editorial response to the magazine. Sid Noel, editor-in-chief, responded to the accusations that there existed at Memorial "ranks of pro-Communists" and that a "revolutionary movement" existed at Memorial. "Any writer who so much as insinuates that any group is pro-Communist without concrete evidence to justify that charge is guilty of slanted, yellow journalism; the journalism one might expect to find in an American big-city tabloid, not in a recently-started local magazine which is trying to favourably impress the reading public .... Frankly, I don't believe you have such evidence. If you do, I challenge you to produce it." It is borderline hypocritical to accuse the magazine of using such phrases when *The Muse* was also guilty of using virtually the same phrases. See S.J.N. "An Open Letter To "Here" Magazine," *The Muse*, 16 January 1957.

As for hockey, the protest resulted in Memorial's hockey future brightening considerably. Before "Operation Hockey" Memorial students could only have played with club teams, while the university had no ice time anywhere.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps a sympathetic chord was struck among the hockey community of St. John's regarding the poor running of the SJAHL. A few short days after the protest the "management of the P.W.C. [Prince of Wales College] arena ... [came] forward with the proposal that the MUNs practice twice weekly at their arena and play an exhibition game every Sat. night." *The Muse* reported that Memorial had "been literally flooded with offers to play, both in St. John's and in other communities. By our demonstration we won the support of Newfoundland." Hockey was certainly going to be played by Memorial students, the question was for who and where.<sup>75</sup>

From all of this, the vote of non-confidence went ahead with both sides ominously anticipating the results. The SRC constitution read that fifty-one per cent of the students present at an assembly were required to pass the non-confidence vote. At this assembly 741 students were present and by a public count around 600 students actually voted. This resulted in 354 voting for non-confidence, a total of forty-eight per cent of those present, but of those who allegedly voted the motion passed at fifty-nine per cent. The non-

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<sup>74</sup>Throughout the period under investigation, nowhere, at any time, did the issue of Memorial having its own arena come up, even as part of the new campus.

<sup>75</sup>"What Did Operation Hockey Accomplish ????" *The Muse: Supplement*, 9 November 1956.

confidence side needed an additional seventeen “No” votes to carry the motion, although of the people that did vote, the non-confidence won. During this crisis a total of four SRC members resigned: the aforementioned Skanes and O’Driscoll, Art May and Pat O’Flaherty joined them later in resignation.<sup>76</sup> The SRC had barely survived a serious challenge to its authority and legitimacy, only with the help of a technicality.

Not all that came from this crisis was negative for the students of Memorial. They realized that they did have a collective voice that was heard by the public. The SRC learned that it had serious constitutional vulnerabilities and outdated clauses that needed revamping or dismantling. These problems were overcome when the SRC overhauled itself, reconstituting itself as the Council of the Students’ Union, which began operation in the fall term of 1957. Hockey players were still able to play hockey, albeit not in the SJHL. As for *The Muse*, its coverage of the crisis indirectly resulted in its winning the Jacques Bureau Trophy for best Canadian University Press (CUP) newspaper published once per week or less, although it is unclear if the two supplements were sent to the CUP office when the normal issues were sent.<sup>77</sup> Above all student apathy was partially eradicated, something that almost everyone at Memorial was more than pleased to witness. It was near impossible for students to avoid getting involved or at least

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<sup>76</sup>“354 Say ‘Out’: 24 Votes Short Non-Confidence; 4 Members of Council Resign,” *The Muse*, 22 November 1956.

<sup>77</sup>“The Muse Awarded Jacques Bureau Trophy,” *The Muse*, 16 January 1957.

interested in this crisis.<sup>78</sup>

Unfortunately, the only means to remember this event — that is, if students did not keep their copies of the newspapers — is found in the *Cap and Gown. 1957*, with the SRC offering this: “The most important single ballot was the vote of confidence originated by the S.R.C. when the students had voiced their disapproval of the President’s visit to the Mayor after a demonstration at the St. John’s Stadium.”<sup>79</sup> The Athletic Union report included this scant reference: “There was no varsity entry in City Hockey Competition this year, but we did play six exhibition games and were victorious in four.”<sup>80</sup> This was something that the SRC and its cronies did not want students to remember.

Students who returned the following year, however, received a reminder of the incident in the 2 November 1957 issue of *The Muse*. In the article “Memorial Commemorates ‘Night Of The BOO,’” the number of students involved in the original protest rose from 200 to 300. Concluding the summary of the events of November 1956 were the lines: “To use an old adage, it’s water under the bridge and while no one would

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<sup>78</sup>That not all students were directly involved is derived from an informal interview conducted with Dr. Maynard Clouter, who attended Memorial from 1955-1962 beginning at the age of sixteen. Conversation: Maynard Clouter with Stefan Jensen, 24 October 2001.

<sup>79</sup>“Student’s Representative Council. Report,” *Cap and Gown. 1957*, 54.

<sup>80</sup>“Athletic Union. Report,” *Cap and Gown. 1957*, 85.

want to go through it again it can't be said that University life was dull."<sup>81</sup> The events of November 1956 went far in helping to make the students of Memorial more visible members of the community of St. John's. In which league a MUN hockey team would play was an issue raised many times in the following years as well. Interesting to note are the suggestions from the St. John's sporting press that they agreed in principle with the protest of the SJAHL's decision; it was the booing of the mayor that they objected to. It is impossible to speculate as to what kind of public protest would have been acceptable for them.<sup>82</sup>

### **Case Study Three: Political Activism and Participation**

Memorial University students also took time from their studies to contemplate the issues surrounding their extra-university lives. For every student who attended Memorial during the period under investigation, one fact holds true: they were all born before Newfoundland entered into confederation with Canada. The Terms of Union spelled out the constitutional relationship between the province and the federal government. Everything was not so cut and dried for the first twelve years of union.

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<sup>81</sup>"Memorial Commemorates 'Night Of The BOO,'" *The Muse*, 2 November 1957.

<sup>82</sup>For example see, Noel Vinicombe, "From The Press Box," *The Daily News*, 5 November 1956 and Noel Vinicombe, "From the Press Box," *The Daily News*, 7 November 1956.



In 1957 the renegotiation of Term 29 of the Terms of Union began with trepidation, as the federal Progressive Conservative Party came to power under the leadership of John Diefenbaker.<sup>83</sup> Prior to 1957, Smallwood's Liberal Party government of Newfoundland had had extremely cordial relations with the federal Liberal government and with Prime Minister St. Laurent. It was differing interpretations of the obligations that the federal government had to Newfoundland that were at the centre of this dispute. Term 29 read as follows:

In view of the difficulty of predicting with sufficient accuracy the financial consequences to Newfoundland of becoming a province of Canada, the Government of Canada will appoint a Royal Commission within eight years from the date of Union to review the financial position of the Province of Newfoundland and to recommend the form and scale of additional financial assistance, if any, that may be required by the Government of the Province of Newfoundland to enable it to continue public services at the levels and standards reached subsequently to the date of Union, without resorting to taxation more burdensome, having regard to capacity to pay, than that obtaining generally in the region comprising the Maritime Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island.<sup>84</sup>

In 1957 a Royal Commission was established in accordance with the statute to study the issue and advise the federal government on the amount and duration of payments to be made to Newfoundland in order to comply with and satisfy Term 29. When the Royal

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<sup>83</sup>Term 29, was one of fifty terms of union between Canada and Newfoundland that formally outlined the constitutionally arrangement between the two. Term 29 was titled: "Review of Financial Position."

<sup>84</sup>As reprinted in Chadwick, *Newfoundland. Island Into Province*, 252. Term 28 outlined a specific transitional grant scale, to which Term 29 referred. Term 28 was set to end following the twelfth year of confederation or at the end of 1961.

Commission put forward its recommendations, Diefenbaker followed most of them and offered only eight million dollars per annum until the clause in Term 29 had been satisfied, instead of Smallwood's recommended fifteen million dollars per annum in perpetuity.<sup>85</sup> In 1959, Diefenbaker alienated Newfoundland considerably more when he announced that the money was not to continue into, or past, 1962.<sup>86</sup> The reaction from Newfoundland was acrimonious at best. Students collectively organized in a rare show of public support for the premier and province with a march to the steps of the House of Assembly.

Several hundred university students marched to the House of Assembly from the Parade Street campus. Diefenbaker was singled out for ridicule by students and Smallwood. The use of signs with derogatory slogans about Diefenbaker were made by students prior to commencing the march. This protest was an extremely important event for students at Memorial and for Newfoundland too because the money that was to come from the federal government had already been earmarked by Smallwood for various

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<sup>85</sup>Frederick Rowe, *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980), 511. See also S.J.R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971, 261, and Peter Neary, "Party Politics in Newfoundland, 1949-1971: A Survey and Analysis," in J.K. Hiller and Peter Neary, eds., *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 205-245.

<sup>86</sup>This was in accordance with the federal government's interpretation of how terms 28 and 29 were to work together.

projects, including ones included in his modernization plans.<sup>87</sup>

Students at Memorial, especially those students who were supporters of Smallwood and the Liberal Party, did not agree with Diefenbaker's treatment of Newfoundland on this issue.<sup>88</sup> Believing in fair play and honest dealing, many students felt that Diefenbaker and the federal government had gone back on their word, or in this case a formal contract. In a highly spirited show of support for their premier, and in a unified voice of anti-federal opposition, the students visibly showed their displeasure. Many students "were incensed" over this issue and decided that it was appropriate in this case to show their collective attitude.<sup>89</sup> Their show of support proved to be a great reassurance for Smallwood, as he had not always had a great deal of popular support from Memorial students. Many students recall with fondness that they were a part of the protest, especially being thanked for their support by Joey Smallwood.<sup>90</sup>

Smallwood's unpopularity with students derived from two main issues. The first issue was Smallwood's use of language that besmirched the people of Canada in a way

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<sup>87</sup>Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood. The Unlikely Revolutionary* (McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968), 187.

<sup>88</sup>Charles Beckett to Stefan Jensen, 29 August 2001; George Martin to Stefan Jensen, 2 September 2001; and Philip W. Patey to Stefan Jensen, 21 September 2001: all were strong believers and members in the Liberal Party. Others would not have been so supportive, such as Progressive Conservative Party member Al Haynes. See Al Haynes to Stefan Jensen, 24 September 2001.

<sup>89</sup>George Hiscock to Stefan Jensen, September 25 2001.

<sup>90</sup>Thomas Curran to Stefan Jensen, October 30 2001.

that led many Newfoundlanders to believe that Canadians did not want or care for Newfoundland. The rhetoric was so weighted that Smallwood insinuated that the Canadian government and Canadians in general were allegedly plotting to destroy everything Newfoundland stood for.<sup>91</sup> This was especially difficult for those who accepted Smallwood's arguments about the benefits of joining Canada. David Quinton recalls, in opposition to the treatment received by Newfoundland from Ottawa, reading a poster at the protest that read: "Diefenbaker: Thief and Taker."<sup>92</sup> The second issue that Smallwood was questioned and criticized on were the numerous delays in the construction of the new campus. Many students began and ended their programmes at Memorial during the period between the laying of the corner-stone and the commencement of construction. All the while Smallwood promised that the campus was coming, and soon.<sup>93</sup> That he was still able to receive their support on the issue of Term 29 is all the more important in light of those two issues.

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<sup>91</sup>This rhetoric was most prominent during the 1959 International Woodworkers' Association loggers strike. See H. Landon Ladd, "The Newfoundland Loggers' Strike of 1959," in W.J.C. Cherwinski and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History* (St. John's: Canadian Committee for Labour History, 1985), 165-182. "I still feel angry and indignant that we were all almost without exception, hoodwinked by Smallwood's rhetoric into believing that a legitimate Canadian union was a devil-inspired conspiracy to debauch the God-fearing Christian people of Newfoundland," recalled E.H. King. See E.H. King to Stefan Jensen, 3 September 2001.

<sup>92</sup>David Quinton to Stefan Jensen, 13 September 2001.

<sup>93</sup>See "Student Delegation Interviews Premier," *The Muse*, 9 November 1956, for the best example of Smallwood deflecting criticism over the delay.

#### **Case Study Four: Students' Views on Communism and Democratic Society**

For the students of Memorial time was spent contemplating what democracy meant, what it meant to live in a democracy, and how democracy should work. The Cold War had started following the end of World War II and a threat from Communism was perceived. This case study deals with the political activism, views, and organizations that existed on the Memorial campus during this period. Throughout this period, discussion on communism was repeated in various guises on the pages of *The Muse*. While only occasionally did any of the authors come close to positivity when referring to communism, some were somewhat approving of the work being done in the Soviet Union, especially in reference to the support shown to its universities. Over the years the attitude of those writing in *The Muse* became more favourable on these issues. Part of this development was the formation of the Social Democratic Movement and the success of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in the Model Parliaments at MUN, and throughout Canada, as well as the discussions and debates in the common rooms and classrooms of Memorial by left-leaning students. Coupled with the discussion on communism, there were articles that dealt with the idea of democracy, both of the forms it takes on and the form it should be. These articles dealt with other issues as well, such as how the SRC/CSU should be run, while others dealt with how democracy was being practiced and/or suppressed in the nations of the world.

Worrying about the future, most often in regard to armed conflict, was a topic

discussed often, and the solutions that were proposed covered the gamut. In *The Muse*, this began in the first year it was published. One editorial offered in 1951:

"Peace! Peace and Co-operation"" [sic] That is the universal cry in our day, both nations and of rulers of nations, the cry. However, it is ignored; it's pitiful wail smothered in the thunder of civil strife, in the blasts of guns and atomic weapons, in the heart-rending cries of victims of war. Man is so busy searching for some universal truth that will bring peace and contentment that he fails to look in the one place where the true secret of successful, peaceful living lies—in his own heart, and in the hearts of his friends and family. ... All of which goes to say that if we really want success, peace and happiness, whether it be in the home, the University or the Nation, we must be tolerant of the feelings and wishes of other people and we must, insofar as we can, help these people to the realization of their ambitions.<sup>94</sup>

The conflict in Korea was a focal point for this type of pro-democracy, pro-United Nations peace initiatives, and support for international efforts to establish and maintain democracies around the world. Those most interested in these issues tended to join the International Relations Club, in which they formally debated the merits of the various efforts undertaken around the world to ensure the triumph and survival of democracy.<sup>95</sup>

Often in *The Muse*, criticism of the SRC/CSU appeared in the form of opposition to procedures that should have been taken according to its constitution. Students considered the SRC/CSU's pattern of ignoring its own constitution as symbolic of the difficulties associated with operating a representative government and the ease in which constituents can become untrusting of their representatives. This was the case in late

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<sup>94</sup>"Editorial," *The Muse*, 15 March 1951.

<sup>95</sup> "International Relations Club," *Cap and Gown*. 1951, 42.

January 1952 when the SRC held an unconstitutional vote to change the rule that required it to obtain two-thirds support from the student body at an assembly before implementing any policy or decision. Waiting for the required quorum of students at the SRC assemblies did not occur in 1951-1952 and the SRC wanted to change the rules so they could get things done. In this instance, those at *The Muse* appear to have agreed with the need for the SRC to be able to get things done. The two sides did not agree that the SRC could do anything but follow the letter of their own laws.<sup>96</sup> This type of disagreement repeated itself during this period. There were times when the students felt that the SRC/CSU was being too paternalistic, leading to cries in *The Muse* such as: "We can show the authorities that we are ready for democracy or that we must still be treated like children."<sup>97</sup>

National Federation of Canadian University Students (NFCUS) was a national organization that MUN students gradually came to support. SRC President William Rompkey witnessed first hand how much support the students had for NFCUS. When Rompkey returned from the NFCUS conference in Montréal he was greeted by a throng of students at the Torbay Airport — professors even let their classes out early to help.<sup>98</sup> A sizeable motorcade was organized and an extremely warm reception followed the ride

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<sup>96</sup>"SRC Holds Unconstitutional Vote To Make Meeting Constitutional," *The Muse*, 2 February 1952.

<sup>97</sup>"Freedom and Responsibility," *The Muse*, 17 October 1957.

<sup>98</sup>"Rompkey Off To Montreal," *The Muse*, 11 October 1956.

back to campus.<sup>99</sup> During the reception Rompkey told the students about the benefits of belonging to the NFCUS, such as discount travel, scholarships, and contests to promote school spirit.<sup>100</sup>

Support for NFCUS had never been unanimous, as was the case in 1952. At a 1952 meeting of the NFCUS the question of a student exchange with Russia was discussed and voted on; the pro side won both votes.<sup>101</sup> Derived from the debate on this subject was a threat to secede from the NFCUS from l'Université Laval and the University of Ottawa.<sup>102</sup> The discussion on the exchange was picked up at the NFCUS annual conference the following year. Staff at *The Muse* opposed the exchange, echoing the opposition at the conference, stating: "That it would accomplish nothing since the Red students would be hand-picked anyway. This would defeat the purpose of the exchange,

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<sup>99</sup>"Wild Welcome For Will!! Students Stage Mass Motorcade," *The Muse*, 25 October 1956.

<sup>100</sup>In an interesting prediction of the future, Rompkey said of the other delegates: "The calibre of the students who represented twenty-one Canadian universities was truly of the highest, and one could visualize among them future statesmen and politicians." "Rompkey's Impressions," *The Muse* 25 1956. He provided no list of the other delegates, however, had other delegates made similar statements, they would have been correct about William Rompkey, who was appointed to the Senate of Canada in 1995, following over twenty years as a MP, first in 1972 for the riding of Grand Falls-White Bay-Labrador and in 1988 in the newly created riding of Labrador. See "Rompkey, William Hubert," in Cyril R. Poole, ed., *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador. Volume IV* (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1991), 631.

<sup>101</sup>The record of the vote to receive Russian students was eleven yes and four no with three that abstained. The record of the vote to send students to Russia was ten yes and four no with six that abstained. "Student Exchange With Russia," *The Muse*, (n.d.) 1952.

<sup>102</sup>"Student Exchange With Russia," *The Muse*, (n.d.) 1952.



by not allowing the freedom for which the project was suggested—Freedom to learn.”<sup>103</sup> The objections to the exchange were grounded in fear and apprehension; considering the fall-out from the Igor Gouzenko scandal and the likelihood that the Soviet Union was continuing such operations. Students did not want to be responsible for providing opportunities for such activities to recur.<sup>104</sup>

For students of Memorial, the university system in Russia appeared to have some advantages, despite the fear of indoctrination.

General courses at university are five years in length. In the first year students spend much of their time on humanities, but by the fourth year hey [sic] take more technical subjects pertaining to their specialization. Historical and dialectical materialism are compulsory in all years. In the last year they write a theses [sic] while holding a job in their specific area, be it teaching or engineering.<sup>105</sup>

The advantage was found in the work experience as a mandatory component of the programme. Practical experience in their field would have provided Memorial students with a better sense of what their careers would be like, as well as making themselves more attractive as employment candidates. Not all students, potentially, would have minded the compulsory historical and dialectical materialism component either, such as Memorial’s “raving” student “socialist” J. Stewart Ralph.<sup>106</sup> While some wondered why

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<sup>103</sup>“Russian Exchange Question Topic N.F.C.U.S. Convention,” *The Muse*, 22 October 1983.

<sup>104</sup>It is unknown whether or not the exchange took place as the extent record for *The Muse* does not include the complete 1954-1955 publication run.

<sup>105</sup>“By Their Works,” *The Muse*, 20 November 1959.

<sup>106</sup>J. Stewart Ralph to Stefan Jensen, 29 August 2001.

Memorial did not have a ban on Communists speaking on-campus, they would have been in favor of that system of education.<sup>107</sup>

As aforementioned in this chapter, and in Chapter Three, the Social Democratic Movement was the first political organization on campus. Because the group was not an official branch of any party, it was allowed to exist on campus.<sup>108</sup> The ban on political parties, however, did not mean that students were not political or unaware of the world of politics outside the university. Newfoundland had been bitterly divided over Confederation and throughout this period found opportunity to distrust Smallwood further. This was manifested itself most visibly in 1959 during the International Woodworkers' of America strike, which Smallwood repressed with vengeance.

The necessity to forbid official branches of political parties on campus was partially because of the administration's paranoia over the number of students failing due to too many extra-curricular activities. Forbidding official political party affiliation to groups on campus may have been a rule put in place to prevent the official political parties from encouraging students to work for them during election campaigns. Also, the reason for keeping political parties off Memorial's campus was because the university

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<sup>107</sup>"Reds Can Speak At Wayne State: No Ban At Memorial," *The Muse*, 1 November 1960.

<sup>108</sup>Party activities that year were highlighted by respected historian, Dr. Gordon Rothney's [Head: Department of History at MUN] talk on the Regina Manifesto of 1933 and the Winnipeg Declaration of 1956. "Democratic Socialist Movement," *Cap and Gown*. 1957, 79.

was simply not felt to be the place where politics belonged, just as it was non-denominational in character, it was non-political as well.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter provided a discussion of specific instances of student action, disagreement, and student political activity. The four case studies presented here, while brief, establish the type of student that Memorial students were and desired to be. Disagreement on specific issues was an important part of university life, and for the most part students enjoyed the disagreements because they provided opportunities for debate, intellectual growth, and exposure to differing opinions. The most contentious, period long, division among students is found in the constant, unending differing of opinions between *The Muse* and the SRC/CSU. Students made themselves visible to the community in a show of collective resentment during their protest of the SJAHL's decision to not admit the MUN team to their league. The political activity on campus was not limited to the SRC/CSU; it included debate on democracy, communism, and most political events of the day. Political activity and discussion was not always through official channels or parties, but occur it did, which many students no doubt relished.

Canadian universities during this period faced similar problems and incidents among student populations. At Mount Allison University, the student union was

reconstituted in 1953 in order to be more representative and fair.<sup>109</sup> The main reason for this was the extremely successful experience that Canadian universities had with their veterans, especially in regards to their involvement in student government. Student governments during this period became more important vehicles for student involvement in university affairs, so much so that university officials realized that the more power the students had over themselves, they generally behaved much better and the number of disciplinary actions taken declined.<sup>110</sup> In the realm of student politics, NFCUS was an organization to which the majority of Canadian university student unions belonged.<sup>111</sup> Likewise, student apathy was rampant across the Canada during this period. Historians Charles M. Johnston and John C. Weaver describe this period at McMaster as “The ‘Apathetic Interval’”<sup>112</sup>

Of course, not all students on Canadian university campuses were apathetic. Historian Nicole Neatby reminds us that in Québec during this period, especially 1958, students in that province took dramatic public action against the provincial government, including a three month occupation of Premier Maurice Duplessis’ ante-chamber in

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<sup>109</sup>John Reid, *Mount Allison University: A History. Volume II: 1914-1963* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 273.

<sup>110</sup>For example see Michael Hayden, *Seeking a Balance. The University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 216.

<sup>111</sup>Robin S. Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 466.

<sup>112</sup>Charles M. Johnston and John C. Weaver, *Student Days. Student Life at McMaster University from the 1890s to the 1980s* (Hamilton: McMaster University Press, 1986), 81.

Québec City by three Université de Montréal students, which received support from university students across Québec in the form of a one-day general strike that paralyzed all of the universities in that province.<sup>113</sup> Student activities during this period were significant enough for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to investigate, although the investigations almost never were about actual criminal activity. The RCMP investigated the Student Christian Movement, as well as suspected student members of the Labour-Progressive Party.<sup>114</sup> Paul Axelrod suggests that RCMP surveillance on Canadian universities “continued long after the end of World War II.”<sup>115</sup>

The most important facet of student life during this period that this chapter demonstrates is that students were very active outside of the classroom. By imposing themselves on the life of the university and the community, students at MUN established that their collective voice was heard. Students took the knowledge they acquired in the classroom and applied it to their lives and the world in which they lived. Unjust decisions that had an impact on their lives were met with resistance and as outlined in this chapter also with collective action. The university during this period was a vibrant and exciting place for students to imbibe knowledge and experience their world in new ways.

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<sup>113</sup>Nicole Neatby, “Student Leaders at the University of Montreal from 1950 to 1958: Beyond the ‘Carabin Persona,’” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 29, 3 (Fall 1994), 26.

<sup>114</sup>S.R. Hewitt, “Spying 101: The RCMP’s Secret Activities at the University of Saskatchewan, 1920-1971,” *Saskatchewan History* 47.2 (Fall 1995), 24.

<sup>115</sup>Paul Axelrod, “Spying on the Young in Depression and War: Students, Youth Groups and the RCMP, 1935-1942,” *Labour/Le Travail* 35 (Spring 1995), 62.

Memorial's students were a far cry from a static group of people who spent every waking moment in the library. This is evident in "Operation Hockey," which involved the very public demonstration involving the booing of the mayor of St. John's.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

### Summary

University students of the 1950s are not often remembered in institutional histories because they did not make the same impact as the radical students of the 1960s. Instead, they are amalgamated with an understanding of that decade that stresses normalcy and the calming reassurance that recovery from World War II was well underway. Memorial University (MUN) students of this period conformed to many of the attributes that Newfoundland society deemed acceptable for the brightest of its youth. Within and despite those societal constraints Memorial students were not a static group. Undergoing a series of intellectual gains during their years at the Parade Street campus, MUN students became more aware of the world around them, and especially of Newfoundland's relationship with Canada.

Memorial students during this period were part of a new Newfoundland, highlighted for them by the elevation of Memorial University College (MUC) to the status of a university, which was a point of pride for the legislators at the first session of the House of Assembly. Students too believed themselves to be a part of an important time in Newfoundland's history; they were the future; a future that needed highly educated and well trained individuals to fulfill employment needs in a modernized Newfoundland. While some students contemplated leaving the province for undergraduate studies, most students during this period would not have left

Newfoundland for their university education and were extremely thankful that Newfoundland did indeed have a university of its own.

Memorial's students saw their university grow and expand during this period, although the progress made towards the new campus did not occur fast enough or soon enough, for many to reap the benefits of uncrowded hallways and laboratories filled with new equipment. The years MUN operated on the Parade Street campus were not without innovation or quality education. Many students found that the education they received at MUN stood them in good stead when they enrolled in other universities, whether for professional or graduate degrees. This was true for those students who had successfully negotiated the preparation gap that existed between Grade XI matriculation and first year university level courses. In order for students to receive the full breadth of a university education they needed to engage themselves with extra-curricular activities on or off campus.

Memorial's students by the end of this period experienced an increase in their numbers as well as the number of faculty members, courses and programmes offered, and buildings on campus, not to mention those who witnessed the building of the new buildings at the Elizabeth Avenue site. The expansion and growth of all aspects of MUN did not occur by accident or without guidance; developments followed a pattern that was derived from Newton's report on the university. Coupled with Newton's report was a report submitted by Professor Theakston that outlined the physical plant requirements for the new campus. Autumn 1961 marked an extremely important moment for MUN, a



moment that continued and accelerated the ideals set for higher education in Newfoundland that were articulated during the debate that occurred in the House of Assembly in the summer of 1949.

Students took seriously their position in St. John's and Newfoundland. Practical jokes and 'normal' university activity were tolerated, even if the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary was called to the campus after a Soviet Union flag was seen flying on the MUN flagpole as a April Fool's Day prank in 1957. Hockey held a prominent position in the sporting lives of many Memorial students during this period and the decision by the St. John's Amateur Hockey League to deny admission of a Memorial team, because of potential scheduling problems, caused students to react in a collective protest against what they saw as a great injustice committed on the university by a group that did not deal with them fairly. An active protest of the league consisted of students hanging an effigy of the league and booing the mayor of St. John's during the opening ceremonies for the league's first game of the season in November 1956. St. John's newspapers chastised the students for what they saw as inappropriate behaviour. The chaos that occurred on campus during the days that followed highlighted the attitudes of students towards authority. The apology from William Rompkey on behalf of the students was not supported by many students and certainly not by *The Muse* and its staff.

Students at MUN during this period experienced university life in much the same manner as the vast majority of Canadian university students did at their respective universities. Canadian university students, while not exactly the same across the country,

fit within a basic set of societal parameters that supported proper behaviour and attitudes towards university education and authority. Religion played an important role in the lives of almost every Canadian university student during this period. While not always in an outward and visible form, students believed firmly in the value that their religious beliefs and experiences held for them and the ways and means that those beliefs augmented their university experience.

### **Conclusion**

The purpose of this thesis was to demonstrate the experiences of students during the first twelve years the university operated on the Parade Street campus. To make students the primary subject in historical studies is not an entirely new endeavour, although within the existing literature that deals with higher education in the province of Newfoundland this thesis fills a much needed gap. A historical focus solely on the experiences of university students in the 1950s is also not an entirely new field of study. The work already done by historians such as Mona Gleason, Nicole Neatby, and Catherine Gidney, all indicate that the period has some vitality.<sup>1</sup> While their work is

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<sup>1</sup>See Mona Gleason, "'A Separate and 'Different' Education': Women and Coeducation at the University of Windsor's Assumption College, 1950-1957," *Ontario History*, 84,2 (June 1992), 119-131; Nicole Neatby, "Student Leaders at the University of Montreal from 1950-1958: Beyond the 'Carabin Persona,'" *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 29,3 (Fall 1994), 26-44; Nicole Neatby, "Student Leaders at the University of Montreal During the Early 1950s: What Did Catholics Want?" *The Canadian Catholic Historical*

specific to the 1950s, the work that purports to encompass that decade is not thorough. Editors Axelrod and Reid do not include article dealing with 1950s in their collection, *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, although Michael Behiels' article concludes in 1955. Behiels does not focus on students but on faculty, and the introduction of the social sciences into the curriculum in Québec under the guidance of Georges-Henri Lévesque.<sup>2</sup> In fact, Axelrod suggests: "The tranquility, apathy, and political quiescence that has characterized images of the 1950's should not overshadow the reality of a people hard at work, seizing upon opportunities that had been vanquished by the depression and delayed by the war."<sup>3</sup> This image does not necessarily refute the stereotype, it does, however, affirm it by suggesting that students were not lazy or apathetic; instead it suggests that students were just spending their time working hard on studies and not participating in other activities. This thesis has demonstrated that students at MUN were not necessarily

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*Association, Historical Papers*, 62 (1996), 26-44; Nicole Neatby, *Carabins ou activistes? L'idéalisme et la radicalization de la pensée étudiante à l'Université de Montréal au temps du Duplessisme* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); and Catherine Gidney, "Poisoning the Student Mind?: The Student Christian Movement at the University of Toronto, 1920-1965," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series 8 (1997), 147-163.

<sup>2</sup>Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society. Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). Michael Behiels, "Father Georges-Henri Lévesque and the Introduction of Social Sciences at Laval, 1938-1955," in Axelrod and Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, 320-342.

<sup>3</sup>Paul Axelrod, "Higher Education, Utilitarianism, and the Acquisitive Society: Canada, 1930-1980," in Gregory S. Kealey and Michael S. Cross, *Modern Canada. 1930-1980's. Readings in Canadian Social History Volume 5* (Toronto: and Stewart, 1984), 185.

just the type of student described by Axelrod. They spent time participating in political, cultural, and religious activities on-campus and off.

This thesis focused on students and revealed that the student body during this period was comprised of a wide range of young adults. Their relationship to the university that students enjoyed went beyond simply attending classes, their lives were inextricably tied to the day-to-day life of the university, and as each year passed more and more people in Newfoundland had their lives attached to the Parade Street campus.<sup>4</sup>

In 1990 K. Brian Johnston argued that the history of Memorial needed to be written by a member of the Department of History. Also, that it could be written in parts, with a collective goal of removing the “almost total ignorance most of the university community has of Memorial’s development.” He continued to suggest that students from the college and university needed to be interviewed and their memories recorded for researchers.<sup>5</sup> This thesis completes, for now, a piece of the research needed before a complete history of MUN can be written. Any such history will have to take into account the experiences and lives of students both on and off campus.

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<sup>4</sup>Ralph Matthews argues that during this period Newfoundland saw a significant increase in its juvenile population between 1949 and 1967. This population comprised the pool from which the university drew from for its enrolment. See Ralph Matthews, “The Smallwood Legacy: The Development of Underdevelopment in Newfoundland 1949-1972,” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 13,4 (Winter 1978-79), 90.

<sup>5</sup>K. Brian Johnston, *Government and University — The Transition of Memorial University From A College To A University*. PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1990, 335 and 336.

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Gill, Baxter J. — Newton, NF	Green, R.E. — Nepean, ON
Harnett, Hubert — St. John's, NF	Harris, Leslie — St. John's, NF
Haynes, Al — Surrey, BC	Hiscock, George — Manuels, NF
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Lawrence, Otto — Kitchener, ON	Lee, Audrey S. — St. John's, NF
Lundrigan, William A. — Corner Brook, NF	

Martin, George — Clarenville, NF	May, Arthur W. — St. John's, NF
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Peddle, Roland C. — Lethbridge, AB	Petten, Mona — Port de Grave, NF
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**Appendix 1**

Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research. Correspondence, Approval, Questionnaire, Consent Form, Research Proposal, and Letter of Information Concerning Contact Information: Researcher, Supervisor, and Office of Research.



# Memorial

University of Newfoundland

Office of Research

June 22, 2001

**ICEHR No. 2000/01-072-AR**

Mr. Stefan Jensen  
Department of History  
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Mr. Jensen

The Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research has examined the proposal for the research project entitled "*Social History of Memorial University Students, 1949-1961*" in which you are listed as the principal investigator.

The Committee has given its approval for the conduct of this research in accordance with most of the procedures described in the proposal submitted. However, the Committee feels that some modifications are required, as outlined below, in order to fulfil the intention of the Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans:

1. That the researcher acknowledges to participants that it is a history project that you are doing and ask permission from them to reveal identities in your published research.
2. A letter, or statement, of information needs to be provided to potential participants so that they know what they are being asked to do if they choose to participate.
3. Clarification on the disposition of the research data after the project is completed
4. Participants be given the name and contact information for your supervisor and advised that questions about the study may be directed to either yourself or your supervisor, and
5. Participants be advised that questions of an ethical nature may be directed to the Chairperson of ICEHR through the secretary, Ms. Eleanor Butler at the Office of Research.

S. Jensen  
June 21, 2001  
page 2

Please forward the requested information to the Secretary of the Committee, Ms Eleanor Butler, at the Office of Research before beginning the research. A letter confirming the Committee's approval will be sent once the Committee has satisfied itself that these points have been dealt with. If you have questions regarding the information requested, you should contact Dr. Stafford, a Faculty of Arts Representative on the ICEHR.

If you should make any other changes either in the planning or during the conduct of the research that may affect ethical relations with human participants, these should be reported to the ICEHR in writing for further review.

Thank you for submitting your proposal.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'T. Seifert', with a stylized flourish at the end.

T. Seifert  
Vice-Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee  
on Ethics in Human Research

TS/emb

cc: Dr. A. Stafford, Department of Philosophy



# Memorial

University of Newfoundland

Office of Research

July 18, 2001

**ICEHR No. 2000/01-072-AR**

Mr. Stefan Jensen  
Department of History  
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Mr. Jensen:

Thank you for your letter clarifying your intentions for the research project entitled:  
*"Social History of Memorial University Students, 1949-1961"*.

The Committee is pleased to confirm its approval of this project in accordance with the proposal submitted and this additional information on the condition that the following modifications are incorporated:

1. That your letter to participants state that participants should contact the Chair of the ICEHR for questions of an ethical nature.
2. That the letter to participants include a brief description of what the research is about and what respondents are being asked to do.

This approval is valid for one year from the date on this letter: if the research should carry on for a longer period, it will be necessary for you to present to the committee annual reports by the anniversaries of this date, describing the progress of the research and any changes that may affect ethical relations with human participants.

We wish you well with your research.

Yours sincerely,

T. Seifert  
Vice-Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee  
on Ethics in Human Research

TS/emb



# Memorial

University of Newfoundland

Office of Research

July 23, 2002

**ICEHR No. 2000/01-072-AR**

**TO:** Mr. Stefan Jensen, Department of History

**FROM:** Secretary, Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR)

**SUBJECT:** *Annual Progress Report for Research Project entitled "Social History of Memorial University Students, 1949-1961"*

The above project was granted ethics approval by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research in July 2001. Please complete the annual report form below and return to the ICEHR Secretary, Office of Research.

If this form is not returned within one (1) month, your ethics clearance will expire and your file will be closed.

1. Is this project still active? Yes ☒ No ☐

If "Yes", what is the anticipated completion date? Aug 31 / 2002

2. Have there been any changes to this project since the original ethics approval that would affect ethical relations with human participants?

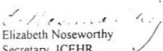
Yes ☐ No ☒ (If "Yes", please attach a brief statement explaining changes)

(For Student projects, this statement of changes should include signature of faculty supervisor)

*Signature:*

Principal Researcher 

Date Aug 13 / 2002

  
Elizabeth Noseworthy  
Secretary, ICEHR

/en  
cc: Supervisor

## RESEARCH PROPOSAL

I am attempting to write a social history of Memorial University students who attended the university while it operated on the Parade Street Campus, 1949-1961. Higher Education was a priority for the newly formed province of Newfoundland, as well as a special project for the premier, Joseph Smallwood. Elevating the Memorial University College to that of a university propelled higher education in Newfoundland to the same high levels found elsewhere in Canada. With a competent President in place, A.G. Hatcher, coupled with an already well respected professoriate, the new university needed to accommodate a larger student body. This would require new professors and new facilities, both of which were slow in obtaining. Prior to the elevation students could complete the first two years of a university degree before transferring to a Canadian, American, or British university for completion. In some respects this led some Newfoundland youth to leave the nation for all four years of their undergraduate degree. The elevation provided Newfoundland with a means to keep more students at 'home' and at the same time hoping to keep them here for their employment careers.

Universities have but one common purpose: educating students. While universities come in various shapes and sizes, with different strengths and weaknesses, what keeps their doors open are undergraduate students eager to learn. The experience of a university education can, and often does, cause many important and beneficial changes to occur in the student. Merely being exposed to new literature, new ideas, and a more demanding learning environment can cause students to adapt and grow mentally. It is my intention to study the growth and development of students as well as their values, manners, behaviour, and prejudices while at Memorial. In order to complete my thesis the student newspaper, *The Muse*, will be examined extensively for indications of which behaviour was condoned, which attitudes were condoned, and what type of person should a student be while at university. Supplementary to *The Muse* is the questionnaire that I wish to send to Memorial Alumni. This questionnaire is designed to gain insights into the lives, in general, of students and the campus during the period under investigation. The most significant aspect of the questionnaire deals with expectations prior to enrollment, while in attendance, and in retrospect, of students to the university and what they hoped to get from it.

Dear Respondent:

Before you answer the questionnaire it is important that you read this letter first. I am a candidate for the Master of Arts programme in the Department of History at Memorial University of Newfoundland. As such I am required to research and write a history thesis. This questionnaire represents an important part of my research. It is important for you to know that participation with this research is completely voluntary on your part. It is also important to know that your identity in conjunction with your answers will be used in my thesis, as well as in future, potential publications.

After I am finished my programme your responses will remain at the University in the possession of Dr. Malcolm MacLeod. He will also make available your responses to other historians as may be requested from him. Future disposition of the responses will be left to his discretion. As well I will have a copy of your responses for future publications.

If, at anytime, you have a question regarding the questions being asked or the study in general, you may write or email myself and I will answer you as best I can. If you have any questions that you feel should be asked of my supervisor, please feel free to ask him as well. Should you have any questions about the ethical nature of this questionnaire, or Memorial University's guidelines for this type of research, please feel free to contact Ms. Eleanor Butler at the Office of Research.

Please mail your responses to my address listed below.

Thank you for your participation

My Address

Stefan Jensen  
c/o Department of History  
Memorial University of  
Newfoundland  
St. John's Newfoundland  
A1C 5S7  
107spj@mun.ca

My Supervisor

Dr. Malcolm MacLeod  
c/o Department of History  
Memorial University of  
Newfoundland  
St. John's Newfoundland  
A1C 5S7  
mmacleod@mun.ca

Office of Research

Ms. Eleanor Butler  
Office of Research  
Memorial University of  
Newfoundland  
St. John's Newfoundland  
A1B 3X5

**MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND STUDENT HISTORY PROJECT**  
**May 2001**

**REQUEST FOR WRITTEN INFORMATION**

1. Family and Childhood:

Where were born and raised?  
Father's Occupation? Mother's Occupation?  
Describe your high school level education.  
How many brother and sisters? Were you the oldest? youngest?  
To which denomination did you and your family belong?  
When and why did you decide you would go to university?  
Do you think you would have gone to university outside Newfoundland?  
Did any of your friends, relatives, or classmates leave the island for university?  
Did their decision to leave Newfoundland have an impact on you or your decision to attend Memorial?

2. Memorial University of Newfoundland:

What years did you attend Memorial?  
What program were you enrolled in?  
Upon beginning your university career, what were your expectations for university?  
Among faculty members, who did you think was:  
    Best teacher, and why? Most or least popular with students, and why? Your favorite?  
Who were the outstanding students during your time, and in what way(s)?  
Explain your arrangements for living and meals.  
Outside of classes, were you free to do as you liked?  
Explain the extent to which your social life involved people at Memorial.  
To which clubs or societies did you belong? Which were the most popular/least popular?  
Who comprised your circle of friends? Were they friends from home?  
What were your impression of foreign students? (U.S. or U.K. for example)  
To what extent did you practice your religion while at university?  
Were there divisions among students based on denomination? economic status? Townie vs. Baymen?  
Was student government effective? Was the S.R.C. independent of faculty administration?  
Was the university effectively run? Were there any significant disagreements about the running of MUN?  
Among outside influences in the university, did British, Canadian or American influences predominate?  
Describe one or two of the most interesting things that happened while you were a student at Memorial.  
To what extent did your years at Memorial shape the person you are today?  
While a student, what were your political views? What did you see the future of Newfoundland should be?  
How did you spend your summers, or time between study terms at Memorial?

3. Subsequent Career:

Did you pursue studies elsewhere? Why or why not?  
Where did you live following university? Did you leave Newfoundland? Did you return home?  
What was your occupation immediately following university?  
What was your main occupation?  
Did Memorial fulfill your expectations for university?



# MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND STUDENT HISTORY

## Release form for those providing written information.

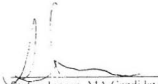
At the request of Stefan Jensen, I am voluntarily providing information about my time at Memorial University, and subsequent events, with the understanding that the material will be used in preparing historical studies for publication, and will in the future be available at Memorial University to be used by students of Newfoundland affairs. Also, I grant permission for my identity to be used in conjunction with the information I provide.

Signed:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Respondant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Respondant's Permanent Address

  
Stefan Jensen, M.A Candidate

  
Date

**Appendix 2**

Permission From Memorial University of Newfoundland Registrar, Glenn W. Collins To  
Examine Office of the Registrar Files, 1949-1961.



# Memorial

University of Newfoundland

Office of the Registrar

July 29, 2002

Mr. Stefan Jensen  
196A Forest Road  
St. John's, NF  
A1A 1E6

Dear Mr. Jensen:

We are able to accommodate your request to access student files for the years 1949-61 in order to obtain information required for your MA thesis. Before you begin this work we will need you to read and sign the enclosed Undertaking of Confidentiality Form.

We would like to advise you that in order to get this information you will need to peruse approximately 12,000 records which are in alphabetical order by surname, not in chronological order. Perhaps it would be in your best interest to look at the records before you commence work to determine if this is a reasonable task. Please contact Claudette Kennedy at 737-4443 to discuss setting up a time to do this.

Yours truly,

Glenn W. Collins  
University Registrar

GWC/leo


- c. Dr. M MacLeod, Department of History  
Ms. C. Kennedy, Office of the Registrar



**Appendix 3**

Agreement From Centre of Newfoundland Studies to Accept For Long-Term Storage the Responses From Questionnaire Approved by Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research.

INBOX: 1 of 1

Move | Copy | this message to: 

Delete | Reply | Reply to all | Forward | Bounce | Resume | Save as

Back to  
INBOX <1/2>

Date Tue, 7 May 2002 09:54:24 -0230

From Debby Andrews &lt;deboraha@mun.ca&gt;

To r07sptj@mun.ca

Subject long term storage in CNS or CNSA

Parts  Message Source

Stefan,

The Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives is willing to receive your survey responses. See the attached note. You can contact Bert Riggs 737-4349 when you want to donate your material.

From: Bert Riggs <briggs@mun.ca>  
To: Debby Andrews <deboraha@mun.ca>  
Sent: Tuesday, May 07, 2002 9:19 AM  
Subject: Re: long term storage in CNS or CNSA

Debbie,

&gt;

&gt; We will take it.

&gt;

Bert

&gt;

&gt; &gt; Bert are you interested in having this?

&gt;

&gt; &gt; Debby

&gt;

> > Hello, I am finishing my MA in History under Dr. Malcolm MacLeod and I  
> > conducted a mail out survey to Memorial University alumni from  
> > 1949-1961.> > In accordance with university regulations I must find a university  
> > facility for the long-term storage of the responses. There are less  
> than> > 50 responses, some as short as a page or two (including consent forms)  
> up> > to a small folder worth of material. Dr. MacLeod suggested I contact  
> you> > about placing this material in the CNS or CNSA. It would be greatly  
> > appreciated if you could indicate either your acceptance, even

&gt; &gt; conditionally, or another contact person or department within the

> > university that would be willing to accept these letters for long term  
> > storage.

&gt;

&gt; &gt; Stefan Jensen

Regards,

Deborah Andrews  
Centre For Newfoundland Studies  
Queen Elizabeth II Library  
Memorial University of Newfoundland  
St. John's, NF  
A1B 3Y1

Tel 709-737-4858

A HISTORY OF MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY  
STUDENTS, 1949-1961

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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**TOTAL OF 10 PAGES ONLY  
MAY BE XEROXED**

(Without Author's Permission)

STEFAN P.T. JENSEN







