

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

CANADIAN FILM, 1945-50: AN INSTITUTIONAL AND CULTURAL  
ANALYSIS.

by Robin T. Burgoyne

A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

CALGARY, ALBERTA

April 12, 1989

© Robin Burgoyne



National Library  
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service    Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada  
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-54191-1

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

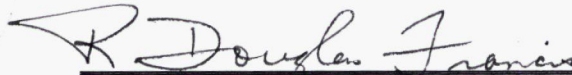
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Canadian Film, 1945-1950: An Institutional and Cultural Analysis" submitted by Robin T. Burgoyne in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.




Supervisor, Anthony W. Rasporich,  
Department of History



David B. Marshall,  
Department of History



R., Douglas Francis,  
Department of History



Helen E. Holmes,  
Faculty of General Studies

April 12, 1989\_\_\_\_\_

## ABSTRACT

Motion-picture production does not occur in a cultural vacuum. Although a product of one or more individual sensibilities, film is also greatly affected by the cultural and social climate from which it is derived. This is not to say that motion-pictures do not often make significant contributions to the shaping of cultural mores and values. But that aspect of the motion-picture industry will not be dealt with here. What are discussed here are some emerging social and political attitudes following the Second World War and their effects upon the Canadian motion-picture industry. This thesis comprises an examination of the intellectual climate of opinion and public attitudes of the immediate postwar period. It then examines the effect that this climate of opinion had upon the development of the institutional structure of the postwar film industry. The final section constitutes an examination of the content of nonfiction films of the postwar era. By approaching the study of Canadian motion-pictures in this fashion it is thereby projected that a better understanding of the postwar period in Canadian history and the dynamics of how public opinion came to be reflected in motion-pictures will thereby be gained.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor Dr. A.W. Rasporich for his valuable input throughout this project. As well, the assistance and cooperation of Bernard Lutz of the National Film Board Archives and the individuals at the National Television, Sound and Film Archives was greatly appreciated. For the many friends who have given their moral support, thank you. Finally, I would like to thank my parents who, as always, have lent their tremendous encouragement and support to my endeavors.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### INTRODUCTION

#### CHAPTER I Canadian Ideas and Public Attitudes In The Postwar Period.-----p. 11.

1. Canada's Intellectual Community-----p. 13.
2. Public Opinion-----p. 20.
3. The Role of Government-----p. 25.
4. Education-----p. 35.
5. Culture-----p. 42.

#### CHAPTER II Canadian Film Of The Postwar Period:An Institutional Approach-----p. 49.

1. The National Film Board:Postwar Criticism of Its Operations.-----p. 49.
2. Shifts In The Structure Of The NFB-----p. 58.
3. Support For The NFB-----p. 64.
4. Negative Reactions To The American Motion-Picture Industry-----p. 68.
5. The Canadian Cooperation Project-----p. 73.
6. The National Film Society-----p. 79.

CHAPTER III Canadian Films Of The Reconstruction Era: A Reflection of Public Attitudes-----	p. 87.
1. Private Film Companies-----	p. 90.
2. General Postwar Trends: Isolationism in Canadian Film-----	p. 94.
3. Social Concerns-----	p. 97.
4. Progress and National Destiny-----	p. 109.
5. Psychological Themes-----	p. 114.
CONCLUSION-----	p. 127.
Bibliography-----	p. 135.

## INTRODUCTION

In the study of motion-pictures many film historians have tended to overlook the full value of nonfiction film in the understanding of both political and social history, and the historical development of film. Traditionally the notion that a nonfiction film is by its very nature a biased historical document has led many to shy away from examining aspects of the genre. This attitude is due, to a large extent, to the nature of nonfiction film itself; that is, when nonfiction filmmakers set out to produce a film they usually do so with a specific purpose in mind, which most often involves the desire to change public attitudes or behavior.

This perception that the concepts or information put forth in nonfiction film are biased or more contrived has led, it seems, to the development of a rather narrow approach to the study of nonfiction film. Film historians and critics have been inclined to focus upon the process whereby motion pictures have been used to try to influence society, or a group of individuals within society, and have tended to ignore the impact that public perceptions have had on the creation of nonfiction films. In Canada this has meant that a great deal has been written on the National Film Board in terms of its role as a public opinion-maker and educator, yet very little has been written about other aspects of nonfiction film development in terms of its being a form of



popular culture.

Leo Lowenthal has contended that "The radio, the movies, the newspapers and the best seller are, at the same time, models for the way of life of the masses and an expression of their actual way of life."<sup>1</sup> This statement holds no less true for the products of nonfiction filmmaking than it does for the more "popular" form of fiction film. Lowenthal has also stated that, "Popular commodities serve primarily as indicators of the sociopsychological characteristics of the multitude. By studying the organization, content, and linguistic symbols of mass media, we learn about typical forms of behavior, attitudes, commonly held beliefs, prejudices, and aspirations of large numbers of people."<sup>2</sup> If these factors are recognized when approaching the study of nonfiction film one realizes that a much wider view of the medium than has been taken previously is necessary. One is also forced to look beyond a simple structural approach whereby one examines the way in which films are produced and the impact they have had upon their intended audience and society as a whole. With these factors in mind, the approach taken here melds several aspects of the Canadian film industry, in order to understand the symbiotic relationship between the films as finished products and their audience. Such an examination of nonfiction film as a historical entity

---

1. Leo Lowenthal, Literature and Mass Culture: Communication in Society Vol 1., (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1984), p. 15.

2. Ibid., p. x.

is also especially vital in the Canadian film media which has been dominated by nonfiction film.

In order to appreciate fully the development of Canadian film during the postwar years, one must also return briefly to the evolution of Canadian nonfiction film. The development of Canada's nonfiction film industry has often been credited to one man, John Grierson. Grierson was a Scotsman who began his career in film in Britain during the early nineteen-thirties, starting in 1928 with his appointment as head of the Empire Marketing Board(EMB), a government organization designed to develop markets for British goods. It was through his work with the EMB that Grierson was able to develop his ideas regarding motion-pictures, ones which had largely been influenced by the realism of the nineteen-twenties Soviet film industry.<sup>3</sup> During these years he attempted, through his positions at the EMB and its successor, the General Post Office, to bring a sense of realism and social conscience to the cinema, an act which ultimately created tension between him and his superiors.<sup>4</sup>

Due to this increasing tension Grierson resigned from the General Post Office in 1937 and was later asked by federal government minister, Ross Mclean, to come to Canada

---

3. James Clifford Rodney, Phd dissertation, "The National Film Board of Canada: Its Task of Communication," (Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1968), p. 83.

4. Forsyth Hardy ed., Grierson on Documentary, (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1966), p. 87.

to study the problems of the existing film services and to help to set up a agency which would coordinate government film-use in the country. In 1938 a proposal for the new government film agency was put forth and accepted, culminating in the passage of the National Film Act which officially created the National Film Board. Following its creation, Grierson was asked to move to Canada to oversee the development of the Board as its first Film Commissioner. As it turned out, Canada was the perfect setting for Grierson to develop his ideas regarding motion-picture use. At the time the country had no film industry to speak of, and government film use was at best sporadic and disorganized. As well, the almost complete domination by Hollywood of the Canadian motion-picture market was so well established by this time that it seemed not even worth attempting to break its control. It was natural, then, that individuals and government should turn to the idea of trying to develop a substantial non-fiction motion-picture industry in Canada.

Grierson brought to his new position as Film Commissioner a very distinct approach to the motion-picture industry, very definite views on the appropriate use of film and a very dogmatic personality by which to ensure that his ideas were implemented. His approach to motion-pictures was founded upon several basic premises. One was the idea that film should commit itself to "crystallizing civic sentiments and to furthering national goals."<sup>5</sup> Another was the notion

---

<sup>5</sup> Richard Meran Barsam, NonFiction Film: A critical history, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc. 1973), p. 8.

that the film medium ought to be used to contribute to greater communication among nations, and therefore to the development of international understanding.<sup>6</sup> Both of these ideas were based upon a concept of the role of education in shaping the attitudes and behavior of the public. At the heart of Grierson's philosophy of education lay the notion that there was merit in totalitarian influences if they were used for the sake of good and humanity, in other words he believed that the end justified the means.<sup>7</sup> If individuals had to be molded in order to create a better society then the loss of individuality was justified. He believed that, "The spirit of competition which was such a decider of initiative yesterday has become only rugged irresponsibility today."<sup>8</sup> The role of those involved in education, which included in his mind those producing non-fiction films, was then to supplant this rugged individualism and irresponsibility with an understanding of responsible citizenship. Grierson felt that education was not only important in a general sense, that is in creating responsible citizens, but in the case of Canada, which had a very loose sense of national identity, he felt, "Whenever you've got a problem of national identity like that, you need to reestablish or reaffirm your own identity. Education becomes a priority, it is how you make

---

6 Hardy, Forsyth. Grierson on Documentary, p 29

7. James Beveridge, John Grierson: Film Master, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1978) p. 162.

8. Ibid., p. 161

the most of your people if you have limited resources."<sup>9</sup> These ideas concerning internationalism, and the need for the creation of a national identity which were based upon civic responsibility relied heavily for their implementation upon his concept of education. In Grierson's eyes, the population had to be influenced in order that their actions and ideas be part of a positive rather than negative force.

His ideas then ultimately became the motivation behind the work of the National Film Board. The NFB had immediately upon its creation been asked to play a pivotal role in the Canadian war effort; films produced by the Board were, in keeping with the philosophy of John Grierson, "designed to inspire Canadians to participate fully in a global war for 'men's minds.'"<sup>10</sup> Thus, the NFB had begun its existence under very strict wartime controls, and under Grierson's influence, with a very strong sense of national purpose and mission to develop Canada's international policy.

This sense of national purpose which had been developed in the NFB during the war years remained subsequent to Grierson's departure. Although films immediately became less didactic in approach following the war the emphasis upon the NFB's role as a promoter of the national agenda remained. What did change, however, was that internationalism, which had been promoted in films during the war years and for a

---

9. Ibid., p. 153.

10. Peter Morris, "After Grierson: The National Film Board 1945-1953," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol 16. No 1. (Spring 1981), p. 4.

short time thereafter, was effectively dropped. Also, nonfiction films which during Grierson's day had tried to instill a sense not only of national pride, but also of responsibility, now began to focus upon the promotion of the very type of narrow nationalism which Grierson himself had attempted to avoid.<sup>11</sup> In essence, Canadian nonfiction film had moved from a medium which presented a wide vision of the world to one which expounded a narrow sense of nationalism.

Why did these changes take place? Attitudes toward the Canadian motion-picture industry in the postwar period reflect a general change in the social and political climate of the country. Canadians were eager to return to a state of stability and prosperity and to deal with issues on a national and even communal level. International events such as the Gouzenko affair, the lack of success of the United Nations, to name a few, all contributed to the phenomenon spoken of in the House of Commons whereby, "In recent months optimism has give place to pessimism. Recurring waves of hope, of cynicism and fatalism have swept across the world."<sup>12</sup> Those feelings led individuals and governments to focus on more immediate problems of national reconstruction. The Canadian motion-picture industry, which had come to be seen primarily as an educational tool,-to no small extent due

---

11. For a detailed account of Grierson's views on nationalism and internationalism see, Joyce Nelson, The Colonized Eye: Rethinking the Grierson Legend, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1988),

12. Canada, House of Commons Debates, March 18 1946, p. 38.

to the influence of John Grierson and the NFB, -was seen as a perfect vehicle for addressing some of those problems. As historian Joyce Nelson explains, the nature of the structure of the NFB wartime film circuits, that is, "having the wartime NFB focus on 'the moods of resolution", while at the same time importing films from outside to meet the "moods of relaxation"<sup>13</sup> reinforced Canadians' expectations of the Canadian film industry. The NFB had come to be seen as an instrument, a public vehicle for the development of appropriate attitudes. It also came to be viewed in its role as dispenser of public information and as a promoter of the process of national development, -but not as a form of entertainment; -that was to be left to Hollywood. Although the educational aspects of the Griersonian approach to film were recognized and perhaps extended even further during the postwar years, the overtly political objectives of his philosophy, such as those concerning internationalism and the responsibilities of national citizenship were largely abandoned.

As a result of changing postwar attitudes and Grierson's own departure in 1945, a number of changes were made to the structure of the National Film Board. More emphasis was placed on its role as a national film-distribution facility and on its new role in encouraging private film production in the country. In this way, the private film industry also

---

13. Nelson, Joyce. The Colonized Eye, p. 151.

developed as a major participant in the national reconstruction process. Companies were set up in order to make films for governmental, philanthropic and church organizations. Their main interest, however, was in soliciting contracts from industry, which itself had begun to use films both to promote its products and to motivate employees in order to increase production. These film companies promoted Canadian nationalism, and in so doing they also promoted the economic and political values of capitalism and democracy upon which national goals depended. These values included such concepts as family, individualism, and good mental health all of which, it was thought, would help to develop a strong and prosperous society, a society which in turn would help to create stability and security in the lives of individuals.

In examining the motion-picture industry during the postwar period, not in isolation but in relation to the general climate of opinion of the period, one can begin to understand the ideas behind the emergence of that public opinion more clearly. Government policy and attitudes presented to the general public through other avenues were not only factors which contributed to the development of public opinion but were themselves also products of public attitudes. Similarly, those values and ideas which were then presented in nonfiction film and which were intended to shape public attitudes and behavior must also be examined in terms of their being a reflection of societal attitudes. It is by



recognizing this interrelation between public opinion and film can one truly understand the nature of the nonfiction films of the period and what they were trying to convey. As well, by using this approach one can also attain a greater understanding of the cultural context of the period. Finally, by understanding the developments of the postwar period and their influence on nonfiction film one can also begin to understand more fully the reasons why the Canadian film evolved in the fashion it did in the years following World War Two.

## CHAPTER ONE

### CANADIAN IDEAS AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD.

Canadian film during the five year period covered in this study was greatly affected both by the intellectual and the social climate of the period. The world that Canadians had grown accustomed to had largely disappeared as a result of World War One, the rapid transformation of the roaring twenties, the Depression, and finally, World War Two, -all of these events had dramatically shaken individual and collective sensibilities. These perceptions, coupled with the growing disillusionment and anxiety created by the Cold War, produced new ideas and attitudes which substantially influenced the way in which individuals responded to issues of the postwar period.

Even before the declaration of peace had been announced, individuals and politicians had begun to think seriously about the postwar future. Approximately 750,000 soldiers were expected to return to Canada<sup>1</sup>, and it was hoped that with their homecoming things would return to "normal". The question to be answered then became, what exactly would "normalcy" entail in the postwar world and how would it be

---

1. National Library of Canada, Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, Gallup Poll release, March 6, 1944.

brought about. Just as in the World War I, "There was widespread hopes that a new, more humane world was being born out of the ashes of the cruelty and sacrifice that had just passed."<sup>2</sup> However, unlike the period following the first War which had been characterized by regional, class and ethnic conflicts,<sup>3</sup> the period immediately following the World War II was characterized by a more unified sense of national purpose and coherence. Individuals wanted to believe that the world would become a better place after the war and they were willing to work towards that end. As was stated in one book written on the issue of reconstruction, "Individuals are frequently told these days, that after the war life is going to be different, that Canada is going to be a better place to live in, that there will be security, justice and plenty."<sup>4</sup> However, it went on to state, "If this promise is not to be frustrated and our high hopes disappointed, we must be prepared to discuss now in a realistic manner the modifications of our institutions necessary to fulfil man's aspirations for a better world."<sup>5</sup> And, indeed once the war was over, government, intellectuals and the general public all began to focus upon the question of what modifications might be necessary in order to improve the state of Canadian

---

2. Robert Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974), p. 320.

3. Ibid., p 320.

4. Alexander Brady and F.R. Scott, Canada After the War. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1945), p. 2.

5. Ibid., p. 2.

society.

The desire to reform institutions and to stimulate the economy was, however, seen primarily in terms of creating the stability and security which it was thought could be achieved by returning to more traditional values and ways of life., Therefore, when individuals called for reform during the postwar years they were ostensibly talking about creating a society based upon new premises, but really they were addressing the change which was perceived to be necessary in order to reaffirm and promote those traditional values and way of life. One may ask what these issues have to do with Canadian film. First, the attitudes which were fostered during the postwar period greatly affected the way in which the industry was perceived and the function that it was expected to perform in Canadian society. Also, these perceptions were ones which were reflected in the films of the period. With this in mind then, it is necessary to look at the film industry of the period, not just as a cultural medium but as an intregal part of a larger political and social fabric.

(1) Canada's Intellectual Community

For Canada's academics and intellectuals in particular, World War II and the postwar period was a time of substantial re-evaluation. Like many of those around them, they were horrified by the events of war and disillusioned by the

failure of international negotiations and treaties to bring an end to political tensions. According to historian Carl Berger:

The war in Europe, and later the cold war with Russia, stimulated a questioning of the assumptions on which Canadian history had been written. There was hardly one reappraisal of the direction in which historical scholarship should move which did not recognize the contemporary crisis of values and beliefs in western civilization...There was a widespread recognition that the historian had a duty to contribute to a more adequate understanding of the liberal institutions and democratic values that were at stake and to demonstrate to Canadians how central these had been in the past.<sup>6</sup>

Not only historians but other academics and intellectuals also began to reassess their values and ideas in order to bring them into line with what they perceived to be the new postwar realities. For example, Frank Underhill who had been a vehement supporter of socialism in Canada began to examine the basis for his association with the

---

6. Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 173.

cause, for the war had, "challenged his faith in human rationality, in the perfectibility of institutions and in the benevolent management of experts,"<sup>7</sup> all of which were precepts upon which the concept of socialism hinged. The war also illustrated to him, "what organized power could do in the hands of fanatics who [cared] for power alone."<sup>8</sup> If unlimited state power was ultimately negative, Underhill argued, then democracy and freedom were the positive forces needed to counteract it. Underhill was therefore, an adamant supporter of the United States, for he perceived it to be the bastion of democracy, and a means to fight off the threat of totalitarian influences, specifically the Soviet Union.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time another intellectual perspective was taken by Harold Innis, who had formerly been writing economic history of Canada, but had turned his attention to theories of communication, which produced two works, Empire and Communications (1950) and The Bias of Communication (1951). Innis looked at the effects of modern communications, and came to the conclusion that those who controlled forms of communication also wielded a great deal of political power. Innis had also become acutely aware during the war, of the

---

7. Ibid., p. 198.

8. Frank Underhill, "Random Remarks on Socialism and Freedom," The Canadian Forum, Vol xxviii, no. 319, (August, 1947), p. 110.

9. Berger, Carl. The Writing of Canadian History, p. 198. For a summary of Underhill's changed views as a result of World War II, see also R. Douglas Francis, Frank H. Underhill: Intellectual Provocateur, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 128-144.

disruptive effect of new forms of communications on civilizations and therefore, their propensity to cause social and political upheaval.<sup>10</sup> He, as a result, became increasingly concerned with the growing monopoly by the United States of important sources of communications.<sup>11</sup> To Innis control of means and modes of communication also meant increasing power, power which not only had great implications in terms of the retention of a Canadian identity, but which went even further.<sup>12</sup> In Empire and Communications, Innis concluded that, "The instability involved in dependence on the media in the United States and the Western world has facilitated an appeal to force as a possible stabilizing factor."<sup>13</sup>

In his later work, The Strategy of Culture, Innis addressed this concern very specifically, expanding upon the thesis which he had developed in Empire and Communications. In The Strategy of Culture Innis addressed the question of the American influence as perpetuated through the proliferation of American culture and its control of the various means of communication. He stated, "We can only survive by taking persistent action at strategic points

---

10. Marshall McLuhan, "The Later Innis," Vol LX. No. 3., (Autumn, 1953), p. 389.

11. Berger, Carl. "The Writing of Canadian History," p. 192.

12. Ibid., p. 187-193.

13. Harold Innis, Empire and Communications, with forward by Marshall McLuhan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 170.

against American imperialism in all of its attractive guises. By attempting constructive efforts to explore the cultural possibilities of various media of communication and to develop them along lines free from commercialism,"<sup>14</sup> He also put forth another reason for his concern with the development of culture, in that, "A cultural heritage is a more enduring foundation for national prestige than political power or commercial gain."<sup>15</sup> Canadians, Innis argued, needed to develop their cultural heritage not only in order to bolster national prestige but also to protect itself from the overwhelming American influence. He was increasingly concerned with the East-West split<sup>16</sup> but unlike many others who had jumped on the anti-Soviet bandwagon in the postwar period, he instead concerned himself with what he saw as a much greater menace closer to home, the United States.

Marshall McLuhan was another young Canadian intellectual who reacted strongly to the political and social developments of the postwar period, particularly the pervasiveness of American mass culture. McLuhan, as a student of Innis, carried his ideas regarding communications further and examined the world situation, as Innis did, in view of the rising influence of American mass media. In an article

---

14 Harold A. Innis, The Strategy of Culture, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1952), p 20.

15. Ibid., p. 3.

16. Donald Creighton, Harold Adams Innis: Portrait of a Scholar, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p 123.



written in 1946 McLuhan wrote that, "the best hope for social improvement lies in the analysis and evaluation of modes of social being"<sup>17</sup>, in other words, culture. He also believed that contemporary society required, "higher exertions of intelligence than [had] existed previously,"<sup>18</sup> and McLuhan called out for an increase in public intelligence and personal integrity in order to maintain some sort of stability and to understand the rapidly changing world. He felt argued strongly,

Really in the same order of cause and effect, mechanized or total war had fostered prosperity and economic well-being which is itself an immediate exposure of a situation in which we tend to have lost control and view of our own purposes. As the creator of wealth and opportunity for all, war has put peace to shame in our time. War has provided higher education and higher consumer standards for more people than peace ever did. So it is surprising that a war party has not supplanted present political parties."<sup>19</sup>

---

17. Marshall McLuhan, "Footnotes in the Sands of Crime," Sewanee Review, Vol 54, No. 4. (October, 1946), p. 619.

18. Marshall McLuhan, The Mechanical Bride, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1951), p. 3.

19. Ibid., p. 128.

If modern society had lost control and a view of social purpose, then McLuhan hoped that an evaluation of the new technology, modes of communication and their effects would bring it back into focus.

These are just a few examples of the way in which Canadian academics responded to the postwar world. Their concerns regarding the international situation, however, also drove them to look at national concerns. The rise in Canadian nationalism following World War II resulted in academics and intellectuals such as Underhill, Innis and McLuhan trying to relate some of their ideas about international issues to the Canadian situation. If the world was in a rather precarious position, then it seemed even more important for Canada to entrench itself, to examine ways to make the nation stronger so that it would not be swallowed up in the chaos of international politics. Culture, as can be determined through the views of Innis and McLuhan in particular, was seen as a key element in creating a national identity and in bringing about some of the reforms which were perceived to be necessary during this period. All facets of Canadian life, including cultural media such as film, were then examined not only by intellectuals, but as a result of their influence, by the government and the general public. Media were examined with the hope of creating, through the development of a national identity, a strong country that could withstand the sometimes overwhelming force of international politics.

## (2) Public Opinion

While academics and intellectuals responded to the developing international scene, the general public was likely influenced far more by specific political events, the most immediate of which was the Gouzenko Affair. This spy scandal which was revealed in 1946 rocked the western world and was pivotal not only to East-West relations, but also to the general climate of opinion in Canada. Prior to the revelations brought about through the Gouzenko affair, public attitudes towards communism and the Soviet Union can best be described as generally tolerant. A 1945 opinion poll found that of those surveyed 46 percent were confident that Canada would be able to maintain friendly relations with the Russians following the war; only 34 percent were not.<sup>20</sup> This popular view of the Soviet Union can be summed up by a statement made by one author who wrote that in 1942 many believed that, "Out of the enforced partnership of the two countries in stopping Hitler has come a deep-seated respect for the heroism and endurance of the Russians."<sup>21</sup> By 1946 however, attitudes toward Russia had become decidedly less positive, largely due to the events of 1945 and after:

---

20 J.L. Granatstein, A Man of Influence: Norman A. Robertson and Canadian Statecraft 1929-1968, (Ottawa: Deneau Publishers, 1981), p. 171.

21. Brady, Alexander and F.R. Scott, Canada After the War, p. 133.

Until the moment of the Gouzenko defection the West was more of was settling into the public view of the Soviet Union being maybe not perfect but benign and very friendly. We had to think that way. From 1942 until the end of the war the Soviets were our dear friends and brothers.<sup>22</sup>

In Canada and elsewhere, the Gouzenko affair was therefore a turning point in public opinion. While the notions which characterized the Cold War had already been entrenched in the minds of government officials, for the general public the developments brought forward in the Gouzenko case precipitated a real change in attitudes.<sup>23</sup>

Although a Royal Commission was set up to deal with the spy case and ran behind closed doors beginning on February 6 1946, a public announcement regarding the spy case was not issued by the government until February 15. Public reactions to what had happened, like those of government officials were those of disbelief. However, with the publication of evidence from the Royal Commission the public had no other choice but to acknowledge that Russia might indeed not be the benign power which it was once thought to have been. Many now felt, as one writer who stated in the Toronto Globe and

---

22. John Sawatsky, Gouzenko: The Untold Story, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1984), p. 276.

23. Ibid., p. 277.

Mail, "A false conception of the other party's sincerity and good faith has been built up, now to be rudely disillusioned."<sup>24</sup>

As more and more individuals were implicated in the case, Canadians began to re-evaluate not only their attitudes towards the Soviet Union, but towards the idea of world peace and security in general. For many it had begun to appear as though the defeat of Hitler did not guarantee peace in the world, that there were other threats looming on the political horizon as well. The scope of these anti-Communist sentiments was expressed in articles written at that time in the Canadian magazine, Saturday Night. Readers were told that the stock markets were reacting to "a very serious state of apprehension about the international situation," and that, "the relations between the Russian world and the American world (of which the British nations [were] in effect members) [were] rapidly approaching, if they have not reached, the stage at which they must become worse before they become better."<sup>25</sup> Some even went so far as to say that the Gouzenko Affair had created a "hysterical state of mind."<sup>26</sup> Many had become extremely fearful of the Russians and Communism, to a large extent because of Gouzenko, and as a consequence, hopes for a postwar world devoid of war and conflict soon disappeared. As Frank Underhill stated, "The Soviet

24. The Globe and Mail, February 18, 1946.

25. Saturday Night, September 7, 1946.

26. Saturday Night, March 30, 1946.

experience on top of Fascism, reminded my generation that man was, indeed, imperfect and that corruptions of power could unleash great evil."<sup>27</sup>

On top of these domestic events, international organizations which enjoyed more public confidence immediately preceding the war were perceived to lost some of their effectiveness. In one month, from May to June of 1946, dissatisfaction with the dealings of the United Nations rose from 27 percent to 44 percent.<sup>28</sup> Confidence in its ability to prevent a third world war began to wane, as unity of purpose and consensus within the organization itself broke down into disagreement and distrust. Even by the end of 1945, an editorial in Saturday Night magazine argued that "the world of the atomic bomb needs a supra-authority with somewhat more power, and supported by somewhat more loyal acceptance in all quarters, than the United Nations Organization seems likely to enjoy in its present form must be fairly obvious to the great majority of thinking people."<sup>29</sup>

With the events of 1945 and 1946, Gouzenko and the terribly unsuccessful first meeting of the United Nations in San Francisco, the public had become almost totally disillusioned, so much so in fact that by 1947 talk of the

27. Frank Underhill, "The Politics of Freedom," The Canadian Forum, XXIX, No. 347. (December, 1949), p. 197.

28. National Library of Canada, The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, Gallup Poll release, September 20, 1946.

29. Saturday Night, December 22, 1945.

possibility of war had been supplanted by talk of its eventuality. According to one writer, "people [were] saying World War III [was] inevitable."<sup>30</sup> By 1947 a full 51 percent of individuals questioned by the Gallup poll, believed that the United Nations would not succeed in preventing a third world war, while only 31 percent felt that it would be successful.<sup>31</sup> Another poll conducted in 1948 found that a full 82 percent of respondents believed that there were nations which wished to dominate the world. A full 80 percent of those who answered this question in the affirmative, believed that the nation which most wanted to dominate was the USSR.<sup>32</sup> These changing attitudes affected in the postwar years by the Cold War psyche and new perceptions of international relations permeated public opinion and resulted in many economic and social changes.

One of the most substantial of these changes was a growing preoccupation with national issues. Increasingly after 1946 Canadians began to look at the problems of reconstruction with more concern towards the internal cultural and material well-being of the country while international issues took a secondary position.

Coupled with the anxiety which had been created during the preceeding years, the perceptions and fears regarding the

30. Maclean's Magazine, August 1, 1947.

31. The National Library of Canada, The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, Gallup Poll release April 12, 1947.

32. The National Library of Canada, The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, Gallup Poll release August 11, 1948.

state of international affairs did much to contribute to the character of the postwar period. Attitudes toward almost every facet of Canadian life were affected by the emerging desire to return to the security and stability of preceding years. In turn, popular viewpoints formulated during this period, some of which will be examined here, then affected the development of the Canadian film industry dramatically, both in terms of its institutions and the content of the films themselves.

### (3) The Role of Government

Given the fact that Canada had virtually no feature film industry and nearly all of the documentary films were produced by a government film-body Canada's motion picture industry was affected more than in most countries by government policy and public opinion. It is important then, in order to fully understand the motion picture industry during this period, to have an understanding not only of government policy and public opinion but also how those two factors interacted.

The development and reformation of the Canadian nation, ultimately came to be seen as the responsibility of the government, and apparently openly sanctioned by public opinion. When the question was asked in a 1944 Gallup Poll whether individuals would "like to see the country make many changes or reforms or if they would like to see it remain as



it was", 71 percent of the respondents answered that they would like to see changes and reforms.<sup>33</sup> Respondents did not want to see the return of poverty and insecurity which had plagued them for so many years and government was commonly perceived to be the only means of preventing the return of those conditions. One conservative wrote, "For as many years as the war will have lasted so will normal industry, normal habits, normal thinking, normal family life, have been steadily disappearing."<sup>34</sup> The objectives of the reconstruction era were then, it seems, an attempt to get back to those "normal" ways of living and thinking. Reconstruction, although primarily an economic development, was to be a psychological process as well, a change in state of mind. As this same author commented, "Postwar Reconstruction [was] a tremendous task facing the whole world and involving every human activity and every phase of outlook and conduct."<sup>35</sup> Within the context of these objectives the federal government was then viewed as being the primary instrument whereby economic and social security could be assured and a stable and prosperous postwar society made possible.

With the world in a seeming state of flux, Canadians wanted the government to provide some semblance of security,

---

33. The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. Gallup Poll release August, 1944.

34. Newton-White, E. Canadian Restoration, p. 5.

35. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

both economic and social, at least in their own country. One of the most striking illustrations of the impact of these changing attitudes is found in Leonard Marsh's Report on Social Security of Canada, a document to which has been attributed the development of the modern welfare state in Canada. The report itself was initiated in 1935 as a response to depression conditions, particularly unemployment, and to the growing perception that governments might be able to contribute to the alleviation of social problems and individual distress.<sup>36</sup> During the war, however, its objectives came to be seen in a slightly different light. By 1943 when the report was released, social security had come to be seen not simply as an act of charity or government-sponsored philanthropy but as a means of creating national prosperity and security, security which was perceived to be, "the most potent antidote to fears and worry over the uncertainty of the times."<sup>37</sup> In accordance with Keynesian ideas which were having a substantial impact at this time, governments and individuals began to assert that "social security organization [was] only part of the total post-war reconstruction program which [was] necessary; and that social security legislation itself [had to] be fitted into a series of policies essential for economic restoration and the

---

36. Leonard Marsh, Report on Social Security for Canada 1943, With introduction by Author and preface by Michael Bliss, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), xiv.

37 Leonard Marsh. "Report on Social Security for Canada 1943", pp. 17-18.

maintenance of production and income at high levels."<sup>38</sup>

This view that state action should create national stability, began to have political repercussions by the early nineteen forties and eventually resulted in direct political action. By 1944 growing support for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation had culminated in an astounding victory in the Saskatchewan provincial elections.<sup>39</sup> Attitudes towards the CCF at this time were reflected in opinion polls taken at the time which indicated that Canadians were overwhelmingly concerned that their fears of recurrent depression or political and social unrest such as had followed the First World War be allayed. If the CCF with its platform of social and economic reform could give them those assurances, then the Canadian people would vote for them.<sup>40</sup> As one serviceman wrote in 1944, "We want our party leaders to promise us full employment, social security, and all that sort of thing this time." This he states, is "so that we may reap some personal advantage of our hard work."<sup>41</sup>

38. Leonard Marsh, "Basis of Social Security," Canadian Business, vol 16, (June, 1943), p. 6.

39. Walter Young, The Anatomy Of A Party: The National CCF 1932-1961, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 103-114. See also Leo Zakuta, A Protest Movement Becalmed: A Study of Change in the CCF, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), pp. 58-70.

40. J.L Granatstein et. al., Twentieth Century Canada, , (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, second ed., 1986), p. 293.

41. C.N. Senior, with a forward by Wilfrid Bovey, When The Boys Come Home: Their Post-War Opportunities in Canada, (Toronto: W.M Collins Sons & Co. Canada Ltd., 1944), p. 182-183.

In light of this shift in public expectations, the Liberal government then began to make the sorts of changes in social and economic legislation which would ingratiate themselves with their electorate, and prevent economic and political disaster at the polls once the war had ended. In the 1944 speech from the throne the Liberal policies were stated as follows; "While the post-war objective of our external policy is world security and general prosperity, the postwar objective of our domestic policy is social security and human welfare."<sup>42</sup> In order to carry out these objectives the creation of three new government departments was announced. The most powerful of these newly created ministries was the Department of Reconstruction. This department was entrusted with the task of "promoting a high and steady level of employment and income."<sup>43</sup> Over the next three years, the ministry developed a number of measures designed to secure these ends and to solve specific problems encountered during the transition to peacetime circumstances. Their most challenging task was to deal with the problem of potential unemployment. The Canadian government had "officially committed itself to securing a high and stable level of employment and income, and thereby standard of living."<sup>44</sup> The Ministry of Reconstruction with the very

---

42. Canada, House of Commons Debates, January 1944, p. 2.

43. Donald Creighton, The Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976), p.89.

44. Robert Bothwell and William Kilbourn, C.D. Howe: A Biography, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1979), p. 196.

influential Liberal minister C.D. Howe at the helm, was designed to oversee the transition to peacetime economic circumstances and to make this transition as smooth as possible. Under his guidance, measures such as the creation of the War Assets Corporation, which was designed to facilitate the recovery of any money which might be derived from the sale of military materials was established. The Contract-Settlement Board was also set up to ensure that any outstanding war contracts would be settled quickly and fairly. Finally, under the Ministry of Reconstruction, the National Housing Act was established.

The Department of Veterans Affairs was another ministry created by the Mackenzie King government in 1944 to ensure that the smooth transition to peacetime. Any problems encountered specifically by veterans were to be handled by this department. These included such tasks as dealing with veterans' pensions and allowances, job counselling, medical services, and a host of other functions.

The last of the new ministries created in 1944 was the Department of Health and Welfare headed by Brooke Claxton, who was at the same time chairman of the National Film Board. As C.N. Senior stated, "service men and women must, as quickly as possible, to be reconditioned to living as individuals to face competition as individuals."<sup>45</sup> This was the job of the Department of Health and Welfare, to help to

---

45. Senior, C.N. When The Boys Come Home, forward.

rehabilitate individuals, both physically and mentally, and in the future to oversee issues relating to public health which affected the country as a whole. Dental care, pre-and post-natal care, and in general, physical and mental health in Canada, were to be the central responsibilities of the department.

Solutions to various problems and concerns expressed by Canadians were addressed not only through these newly created ministries, but also through the legislation and policies of a number of other federal departments. Perhaps the most important of these in the reconstruction process was the Department of Labour which played a vital role in dealing with the problem of finding employment for some 750,000 returning soldiers.<sup>46</sup>

One of the ways it attacked this problem of ensuring that returning veterans had jobs to come back to was to encourage women who had taken over places in the workforce during the war to return to the home. During the postwar period the government, through the Department of Labour, mounted a campaign to facilitate these ends. They not only encouraged women to withdraw from the workforce but in some cases actually directed the removal. Examples of this can be found as early as 1944, when government legislation allowed the government to distribute "baby bonus" cheques. This bonus, given parents for each child to the age of sixteen,

---

46. The National Library of Canada, The Canadian Bureau of Public Opinion. Gallup Poll release, March 6, 1944. p. 19

was distributed with the intent of providing a supplemental income for intending parents, thereby stimulating the economy by giving families increased spending power.<sup>47</sup> Other examples of government intervention in this area are the 1947 legislation which was enacted in the House of Commons barring women from holding positions within the federal government, the 1947 withdrawal of tax reforms which had allowed working wives to earn substantial incomes without heavily penalizing their husbands and finally, the almost complete withdrawal of government support for daycare following the war.

Women were instilled with the idea, through the implementation of such legislation and through the media, that the wife should work in her home, for it was impressed upon them now that the home was where women belonged. Employment during the war years was not seen as a natural course of events but as a short-term sacrifice made during the exigencies of wartime. When the war was over it was understood that women would naturally wish to return to the home.<sup>48</sup> As writer Robert Atwan stated;

The postwar generation quite understandably attempted to create a better society by

---

47. Bothwell, Robert and William Kilbourn, C.D. Howe: A Biography, p. 195.

48. Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II," in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice eds., The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, ed. by (Toronto:McClelland and Stewart Ltd.), p. 145.

preserving the shape and structure of world institutions as they existed before the conflict. The baby boom, the record number of housing starts-especially in the suburbs and the rise in church attendance, all indicate a desire to reaffirm the values of middle class family life. In such a society, women's traditional role of wife, mother and consumer could only be heightened in importance.<sup>49</sup>

Another primary concern of the postwar years which the government had to deal with was the emerging housing shortage. The government, and the general public were intensely concerned with making provisions for the returning soldiers in order that they have homes in which to live and to raise their formative families. A National Housing Act was passed, which was designed to encourage the building of new houses. According to a recent historical account of the period, the idea of providing homes for individual families had become almost an obsession in the years following the war, an obsession which was termed the "edifice complex"- "buildings being constructed without much thought for their eventual function." It states that "The origins of this complex may be discerned in the perception of the future held

---

49. Robert Atwan et. al., Edsels, Luckies and Frigidaires:Advertising the American Way (New York:1979), p.8, cited in "Henrietta the Homemaker, and 'Rosie the Riveter':Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine 1939-1950," Atlantis, Vol 8. (Spring, 1983), p. 63.



by Canadians of middle age in the fifties. For them the task was to accommodate wealth and progress".<sup>50</sup> By 1946 the postwar housing shortage had reached a climax. It was in that year that the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation was created in order to control the development of housing facilities in Canada. By 1947, the CMHC had issued 19,000 mortgages at low interest rates and 76,738 units had been constructed.<sup>51</sup>

The Mackenzie King government attacked all of these concerns with great vigor due to the increasing public consensus that the government should be responsible for the welfare of individuals. Through legislation and social programs it was thought that the government could not only control the economy of the country as a whole, but to a certain extent the economic situation of individuals; and Canadians were now willing to put up with increased government control in order to achieve social and economic security.

In order to gain this increasing control, government had to keep a tighter rein on the information that was conveyed to the public. The NFB in particular came to be seen as a perfect means for the promotion of government policy. Also, film generally came to be seen as a socializing agent and therefore, the whole motion picture industry came under close

---

50. Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English. Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 169.

51. Ibid., p. 100.

scrutiny by both government and the general public. The right values and ideals had to be portrayed by government, through the media and by public education if reconstruction was to be successful. Again, one can look at the increase in government intervention in the area of film in Canada as part of a growing interventionist philosophy apparent both in the minds of policy makers and the general public.

#### (4) EDUCATION

Education was another of the major public concerns of the postwar period. Evidence of this burgeoning interest in education can be found in the increase of enrollment in Canadian universities following the war. The number of individuals attending university increased, in three years, from 59,436 in the 1944-1945 academic year<sup>52</sup> to 109,430 in the 1947-1948<sup>53</sup> academic year. However, the desire to attain a higher level of education was only one manifestation of shifting perceptions of education which emerged during the postwar years. A new understanding of the role that education should play within society had developed as a result of changing postwar attitudes. The sense of national purpose which had emerged as a result of World War II, as indicated earlier, led not only to a general acceptance of

---

52. Canadian Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book, 1947.

53. Canadian Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book, 1950.

increased government intervention in everyday life but also through less direct means such as the control of culture and state education.<sup>54</sup> The role of education had, it seems, come to be emmeshed in the general spirit of nationalism and in promoting the national agenda which had been set for the country. This national agenda can be roughly stated as the creation of prosperity through economic development and a return to more traditional values and ways of life. Within this context, the public school system came to be viewed as a means by which the state could perpetuate the ideals of democracy, especially in the face of the growing threat of Communism.

The perspective from which the public viewed education during this period was crystallized in the words of educator, J.G. Althouse, the Chief Director of Education for Ontario during the immediate postwar decade. What he felt the objectives of education ought to be, in light of the current developments in world politics at the time, was expoused in a statement to a group of fellow educators:

The first was the assumption that knowledge would result in wisdom—that the more men knew, the more certain they would be to use that knowledge wisely. The second unwarranted

---

54. Edward T. Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education", in J.D. Wilson and Robert M. Stamp, Louis Philippe Audit eds., Canadian Education: A History, (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970), p. 416.

assumption was that democratic government was never likely to be seriously challenged, that government of the people and for the people was the only arrangement that would satisfy all the people. Two world wars and a depression have pretty well dispelled those cheerful illusions. We retain our conviction that democratic government is the best for free men, and we retain our determination to be free, but we are forced to admit that huge masses of humanity hold freedom far less dearly than we do.<sup>55</sup>

In light of this he contended, "So in public education we must bring our young people to see that freedom is not a natural state into which we grow inevitably and without effort. It is the result of unceasing vigilance and struggle."<sup>56</sup> In other words, education was to contribute to the maintenance of the democratic values which were so central to the Canadian viewpoint. It would also help to ward off the development of irrationality which was so closely associated, in his view, with the ideas of fascism and communism.

A young political science professor at Queen's

---

55. J.G. Althouse, Addresses by J.G. Althouse, (Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1958), p. 34.

56. Ibid., p. 35.

University, J.A. Corry, wrote a book in a similar vein Democratic Government and Politics, which was published in 1946 with a revised edition appearing in 1951. The book was initially written in order "to provide some description of comparatively recent developments in democratic government and to sketch an analysis of the politics of democracy."<sup>57</sup> and also had behind it the concept that in order to create a better citizenry it was necessary to educate individuals in the ideas and philosophy behind democracy. The first edition was written simply as a text laying out the democratic structure which existed in Canada. The growing concept of using education as a means of protection against what was increasingly seen as the perils of Communism can be seen through the changes made to the second edition of the text some five years later. In this second edition, the positive aspects of democracy were applauded along with a scathing condemnation of communist and fascist influences in the world. In that second edition Corry stated,

However, in recent years, the grisly episodes of dictatorship in Nazi Germany and Facist Italy and the established Communist dictatorships in Russia and Eastern Europe have warned us again that the alternatives are very real and unpleasant. We cannot take

---

57. J.A. Corry, Democratic Government and Politics, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1st ed., 1946), p. v.

democracy for granted. If democratic government is to maintain itself a genuine alternative to dictatorship, it must be able to draw deeply on the informed understanding and vigorous participation of a large number of its citizens. This gives a special urgency to the study of democratic government.<sup>58</sup>

According to Corry and many others who also used the catchphrase during this period, "the Cold War" was a fight between East and West, "A war of ideas, a battle for men's minds"<sup>59</sup>, and it was therefore the duty of the educational system to create the right types of attitudes so that the war for the public mind might be won.

School and university administrators were not the only ones who perceived public education in this manner. Others were also calling for a reform of the educational system so that the needs of Canadian society might be met and its concerns addressed; for instance, the educational journal, Food for Thought, which was published by The Canadian Association for Adult Education, presented education as a means of fostering and securing the democratic system. Editorials and articles stressed the notion that the educational system in Canada presented a perfect avenue by

---

58 J.A. Corry, Elements of Democratic Government, (New York: Oxford University Press 2nd ed., 1951), p. 42.

59. Ibid., p. 12.

which the proper attitudes toward citizenship and its responsibilities could be impressed upon individuals. For example, in one article the writer argued; "that the field of adult education should be extended. I have in mind its extension into the field of trade and industry, which will embrace the ideal of helping every employee to lead a happier and informed working life, and a fuller and a happier private life, a life that will help him to become a better citizen."<sup>60</sup>

These views were also aired in public forums outside of those dealing strictly with education. An indication of this media interest can be found in Maclean's and Saturday Night, magazines which also espoused the notion that public education was fundamental to the creation and maintenance of democracy. In an article for Maclean's magazine in 1948, historian Arthur Lower wrote,

In Russia the schools are expected to turn out zealous young communists. In Canada what are they expected to turn out? That is precisely the weak spot in our educational armor. We are not sure of what our schools are to turn out. It is easy to resort to a shibboleth and say "young democrats," but it would not be too difficult to show that most people who use such terms have vague ideas of what they mean.

---

60. Food For Thought, December, 1946.

Here is the area of our education which most needs examination."<sup>61</sup>

Later articles in the same magazine also presented this vision of the role which should be undertaken by Canadian educational systems.

An indication of how the general public viewed the educational system can be found in a Gallup Poll conducted in August of 1947. In that survey individuals were asked, "which of the following statements comes closest to your idea of what changes, if any, should be made in Education?"<sup>62</sup> Twenty-nine percent of those who responded answered that the, "schools should do more to develop goodwill towards people in all countries."<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, however, a full 60 percent of respondents answered that, "The schools should teach more practical subjects and aim at teaching people how to get ahead in the world."<sup>64</sup> As The Canadian Bureau of Public Opinion stated in their comments, "The idea that "citizenship" should be the chief object of education [had] come to the fore in the past few years."<sup>65</sup> In reply to their question, however, those at Gallup found that the

---

61. Maclean's Magazine, November 15, 1948.

62. The Canadian Bureau of Public Opinion, Gallup Poll August 30, 1947.

63. Ibid., August 30, 1947.

64. Ibid., August 30, 1947.

65. Ibid., August 30, 1947.



general comments regarding the issue were that school curricula should be changed in order that training might be provided in, "more practical subjects to prepare future citizens for jobs, to impart knowledge useful in making a living."<sup>66</sup> These two concepts of educational reform which were being espoused were, however, not incongruous. Providing practical training for individuals through education while promoting the democratic ideals meant simply equating individual social and economic well-being with that of the nation as a whole.

These calls for the reform of the Canadian educational system had a great impact upon the Canadian film industry. As previously stated, Canadian film had come to be viewed in its capacity as an educational tool during the postwar years. Therefore, all of the values and ideas which individuals were demanding be taught through formal education, were also to be promoted through the vehicle of nonfiction film.

#### (5) CULTURE

Just as formal education was being examined in order to bring it in greater proximity to the goals and objectives of the nation as a whole, so also was culture, as an extension of formal education. The connection between education, culture and nationalism was popularly perceived in this way: "Learning as an end in itself [was] no longer valid in a

---

66. Ibid., August 30, 1947.

nation which [needed] the trained minds of its youth for the rough new world to come, which [needed] music, arts, literature and philosophy only as they [mingled] actively with the people."<sup>67</sup>

The culmination of these utilitarian ideas can be observed in the development of the Massey Commission, or The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences as it was formally called. The Commission was set up by the federal government in 1949 and was perhaps the most significant federal response to the growing tide of Canadian nationalism during the postwar years.

Developed in order to investigate the interaction of three components: nationhood, culture, and education, the Commission spent nearly two years travelling throughout Canada hearing submissions from a total of 462 organizations and individuals. Included in its statement of purpose was this declaration; "Education is the progressive development of the individual in all his facilities, physical and intellectual, aesthetic and moral."<sup>68</sup> It went on to state that, "Modern society recognizes, apart from the common experience of life, two means of achieving this end, formal education in school and universities, and general non-academic education through books, periodicals, radio, films, museums, art galleries, lectures and study groups. These are

---

67. Saturday Night, January 13, 1945.

68. Royal Commission On National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences Report (Ottawa, 1951), p. 6.

instruments of education;"<sup>69</sup> With this in mind, the commission then concluded that; "All civilized societies strive for a common good, including not only material but intellectual and moral elements. If the Federal Government is to renounce its right to associate itself with other social groups, public and private, in the general education of Canadian citizens, it denies its intellectual and moral purpose, the complete conception of the common good is lost, and Canada, as such, becomes a materialistic society."<sup>70</sup> The commission then, as an instrument of the federal government, had as its mandate to investigate how cultural institutions, as extensions of formal education, could be used to contribute to the "common good" of the nation. According to the Commission of Appointment, it was perceived to be "in the national interest to give encouragement to institutions which express national feeling, promote common understanding and add to the variety and richness of Canadian life, rural as well as urban."<sup>71</sup>

The final report of the Massey Commission came out in 1951 and its reception was generally positive. Individuals had felt for some time that the government should take more interest in the arts and education and therefore welcomed the recommendations for greater monetary and moral support by government of both educational and cultural institutions.

---

69. Ibid., p. 6.

70. Ibid., p. 8.

71. Ibid., p. xvii.

There were, however, also critics of the Massey Commission and its recommendations, the most notable of whom was Frank Underhill. Underhill's criticism was based upon two main contentions. First, he felt that the views which were presented in the Massey Commission were not representative of the country as a whole. He pointed out that big business and individuals outside of the intellectual elite had not been heard from at all. The report would therefore be perceived, he contended, by average Canadians as the work of "long-haired highbrows" who had little understanding of the concerns of the general population. Underhill's second, and perhaps most prominent concern with the report was its "anti-Americanism."<sup>72</sup>

The Massey Commission had not been developed solely as a result of general precepts of Canadian nationalism but was a result of a more immediate concern as well, which was "an anxiety on the part of an intellectual elite over the pervasiveness of mass culture. The tastes and standards of industrial and commercial democracy had, of course, been a common subject of comment in the United States for some time. It was no less pronounced in certain quarters in Canada."<sup>73</sup> In Canada however, the pervasiveness of American mass culture was seen not only as a threat in terms of the general erosion of the intellectual and cultural climate but was also seen by many as a threat to the very existence of an independent

---

72. Frank Underhill, "Notes on the Massey Report," The Canadian Forum, Vol 31, (August, 1951), p. 102.

73. Berger, Carl p. 179.

Canadian nation. One group, The Canadian Writers' Committee complained that "a mass of outside values is dumped into our cities and towns and homes...We would like to see the development of a little Canadian independence, some say in who we are, and what we think and how we feel what we do."<sup>74</sup> In response to these fears, the Massey Commission had come out with a report which commented very openly on the dangers of this continuing American influence.

Frank Underhill however, felt that the position taken by the Commission was perhaps too dramatic and somewhat naive. He wrote:

The Commissioners seek a national Canadian culture which shall be independent of American influences. Several times they speak of these influences as 'alien'. This use of the word 'alien' seems to me to reveal a fallacy that runs through much of Canadian nationalistic discussion. For we cannot escape the fact that we live on the same continent as the Americans, and that the longer we live here the more are we going to be affected by the same continental influences which affect them. It is too late now for a Canadian cultural nationalism to develop in the kind of medieval

---

74. Quoted in "Fourth Estate: Power or Pressure," Saturday Night, August 28, 1951.

isolation in which English or French nationalism was nurtured.<sup>75</sup>

Some felt like Underhill, that the report was not representative of the general population of Canada, and yet others questioned whether its recommendations would ever be implemented or whether the report would go the way of many other government commissions and end up sitting on a shelf. The idea that arts and education could be used as in a cultural tool to further the ends of the Canadian nation, greatly affected the way in which culture, and cultural institutions, were perceived during the postwar years.

The National Film Board and the Canadian motion picture industry in general, were included in this view. Motion pictures in Canada were seen, especially in the absence of a feature film industry, as one of several cultural media through which the objectives of the government and people could be furthered by education. Documentary films in particular began to be viewed as primarily a educational medium, one which could be exploited, along with the education system generally, in furthering the objectives of the Canadian people.

Upon examining the ideas put forth by academics, the media, and the general public, one can see that a marked shift in popular attitudes occurred during the postwar

---

75. Underhill, Frank. "Notes on the Massey Report," p. 179.

period. Whether through social reorganization, increased government intervention, or through education, Canadians were looking to get back to an age of perceived stability and security. This conservatism led to an marked increase in nationalist sentiment, which in turn, affected almost every aspect of Canadian life during the postwar years, including the motion picture industry. The industry and the films themselves can be seen as a means not only of measuring public attitudes, but also of better discerning the societal factors which resulted in the development of those same attitudes.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CANADIAN POSTWAR FILM:AN INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

The shift in public opinion after World War Two is reflected in two aspects of the Canadian film industry, firstly in the way that government and the general public viewed the industry and the expectations that they had of it, and secondly, in the types of films that came out of the period and the messages conveyed in them. In terms of the way in which the government, and the public, responded to the film industry the National Film Board is the most obvious place to begin an examination of the changes which took place. The Board was, both during the war and in the years shortly thereafter, at the heart of the Canadian government's film policy. Although the government voiced its support for the idea of the development of a private film industry in Canada, it also recognized that this development could not be brought about overnight.

#### (1) The National Film Board:Postwar criticism of Its Operations

From its beginnings, the NFB had gained a great deal of notoriety for its work and had at the same time become a tremendously prestigious organization. It had grown from an



institution which employed only eleven people who were working together to produce a few films in support of Canada's war effort, to one whose mandate was wide in scope and employed a staff of well over five hundred.<sup>1</sup> But the National Film Board's phenomenal growth, its increase in responsibility and prestige, had not developed without setbacks by any means. It had already, by the early 1940's, been labelled by some government officials, as a subversive, left-wing organization, a label that was to haunt it for many years.

Many of the criticisms which were levelled at the National Film Board were directed specifically at John Grierson himself, largely as a result of his perceived left-wing sympathies. In 1942 informants spoke to the FBI and contended that Grierson was a "definite communist sympathizer."<sup>2</sup> In December of that same year Leon Dolan, the head of the Government Motion Picture Bureau wrote to Mitchell Hepburn, Premier of Ontario at that time, stating his rather negative views of Grierson, and providing information on him that could prove to be a source of embarrassment for Hepburn's rival, Mackenzie King. The memorandum which he sent to Hepburn suggested that he might try to uncover proof of Grierson's Communist leanings. Dolan also remarked that he believed that "there [was] sufficient

---

1. National Film Archives, NFB Annual Reports 1945-50.

2. Kirwin Cox, "The Grierson Files", Cinema Canada, No. 56, (June-July 1979), p. 17.

waste and corruption in the Film Board to defeat the King government."<sup>3</sup>

Although there seems to have been little truth to any of these allegations and none of them were deemed serious enough to warrant public attention at the time, it became apparent that the NFB was treading on thin ice politically. It is not surprising then, that with the resumption of peace in 1945 there was a growing a sense of uneasiness among those associated with the Board as to their future. There were also further attacks by the old critics of the organization. In order to curb the onslaught of criticism, Grierson had spoken out in October of 1944 to dispel a rumor that the National Film Board was attempting to gain control of the Canadian Motion Picture industry.<sup>4</sup> When an article in The Canadian Film Weekly in December of 1945 examined the question of the future of the Board, an issue which had been raised by legislators, the press and those in the motion picture industry on several occasions, the author came to the conclusion that, "the work of the Board would continue on the same scale, with an emphasis on peacetime topics."<sup>5</sup>

To many, however, the future of the NFB did not seem to be at all secure. Grierson had left the organization in November of 1945 on the premise that he believed that a Canadian should be running the organization. Along with him

---

3. Ibid., p. 18.

4. Canadian Film Weekly, October 11, 1944.

5. Canadian Film Weekly, December 26, 1945.

went many of the Board's most important film-makers, such as Raymond Spottiswoode and Stuart Legg, both of whom had shared Grierson's philosophy and vision from the beginning. With the resignation of these top film-makers also went a large number of NFB employees as well, in fact the number of staff dropped in one year from 787 to 589.<sup>6</sup> Many were victims of the initial post-war budget cuts at the Board but there were also many others who left of their own accord. In the latter category, for example, there were those who simply wanted to withdraw from the workforce, such as women whose husbands had just returned from overseas. But there were also those who had come to believe that the prospects for the National Film Board in the future were very limited, and therefore left to go to other jobs, some of which were in the nascent film industry.<sup>7</sup> The parting words of John Grierson serve to illustrate the trepidations experienced by those who had an interest in the preservation of the National Film Board. In his final words to the House of Commons he stated that he hoped that the members would not

miss the significance of Donald Nelson's pronouncement that the film is the most effective instrumentality with which to promote the industrialization of the world'

---

6. Marjorie Mackay, History of the National Film Board of Canada, (National Film Board of Canada, 1964), p. 60.

7. Ibid, p. 60.

and the most influential means for expanding world trade. In particular, I hope that all parties of the House of Commons, in considering the appropriation of funds for the Board's work, will bring to their deliberations the same largeness of view which they have so notably demonstrated in the years of my commissionship.<sup>8</sup>

Grierson undoubtedly realized that the days when his ideas regarding film would meet with an almost completely sympathetic audience were numbered, and that if the organization was to remain in existence it would have to adapt to changing postwar circumstances. This involved convincing the Canadian public that the NFB had a positive role to play in achieving the national goals of postwar reconstruction. It would also mean convincing a country in the throes of the Cold War that the NFB was not a left-wing organization and that it was not sympathetic to the Communist cause.

Grierson could not, however, have foreseen how serious matters would eventually become. The future of the National Film Board became even more precarious shortly after his departure when it was revealed that one of his former secretaries, Freda Linton, had been implicated in the extraordinary Gouzenko spy trials. According to the

---

8. Canadian Film Weekly, Vol 10, No. 34 (August 22, 1945).

information presented at the hearings, she had allegedly attempted to use Grierson to secure a position of strategic importance within the Canadian government, and any information that she might gain access to would then be passed along to the Russian government.<sup>9</sup> Results of the 1947 inquiry determined that there was no reason to believe that Freda Linton's plan had been successful. Yet this did not, by any means, deter the adversaries of the National Film Board from demanding changes to the organization as a result of these allegations.

On July 11, 1946 the public onslaught began. At the forefront of the movement to purge the NFB was the Progressive Conservative MP from Peterborough, Ontario, Gordon Fraser. He raised the question of government support for the Board before the House of Commons, when he maintained that the organization needed "fumigating" in order to rid it of its subversive and corrupt elements.<sup>10</sup> Evidence of the left-wing nature of the Board was presented in the fact that the organization had started a fund to raise money for those persons implicated in the Gouzenko spy case. The Hon. Brooke Claxton, Minister of Health and Welfare and chairman of the National Film Board, responded to the main allegations put forth by the Conservatives by denying that the NFB had been subject to Communist infiltration or that it was sympathetic

---

9. Cox, Kirwin. p. 19.

10. Canada, House of Commons Debates, July 11, 1946, p. 3362.

to the Communist cause.<sup>11</sup> Political criticism, however, did not subside; Fraser and his colleagues continued their attacks upon the NFB in May of 1947, once again stirring up the controversy surrounding the organization. Terms such as "White Elephant" were used and the Board was said to have, "outlived its usefulness" and was cited as being a "needless expense to the country."<sup>12</sup> Throughout the House of Commons MP's were calling for stricter controls of the National Film Board, its administration and accounting procedures, and a drastic reduction was once again proposed for the Board's operating budget.

Not only did opposition members in the House of Commons level attacks on the National Film Board, but the newly emerging independent film industry also added its voice to the hue and cry. During the Second World War there were only three motion production companies operating in Canada, most of which were doing contract work for the NFB , but by the year 1947 the number of companies actually working in the field had grown to twelve,<sup>13</sup> and by 1950 it had risen to 30.<sup>14</sup> This new private motion picture industry naturally resented having to compete with the a government agency such

11. Canada, House of Commons Debates, July 19, 1946, pp. 3648-3664.

12. Canada, House of Commons Debates, May 6, 1947. p. 2833.

13. "Canada's Film Future Has Wealth and New Careers", Saturday Night (January 5, 1946), p. 5.

14. National Film, Sound and Television Archives(NFSTA),Ottawa. Vertical File 791.413 1(71)N "List of Commercial Film Producers and Laboratories in Canada,"

as the Board and therefore began to accuse the NFB of stifling film production in Canada by virtue of the monopoly position it held in government film-production.

It is therefore not surprising that the most decisive strike against the NFB was initiated by The Financial Post, a business journal, which not only represented the interests of the Canadian financial community but was also sympathetic to the idea of the privatization of the Canadian film industry. The Post published an article in November of 1949 which revealed that the Department of National Defence had discontinued the use of the NFB for the production of sensitive material until such time as the RCMP security screening of all of the Board's staff had been completed.<sup>15</sup>

With this announcement came a further demand for the resignation of Robert Winters, the Board's chairman, and a demand for a complete overhaul of the Board's administrative structure. On December 15, it was announced that drastic changes would be made and that the man who would be making those changes would be Arthur Irwin and not the present head of the organization, Ross Maclean, whom Grierson had successfully recommended to take over his position. Irwin's job was described as being to give effect to the screening of the personnel of the Board by the RCMP, and to reorganize it as well, "in all its aspects, cultural, commercial and inter-governmental."<sup>16</sup>

---

15. "Film Board Monopoly Facing Test?", Financial Post, November 17, 1949.

16. The Ottawa Journal, December 15, 1949.

With the subsequent firing of Ross Maclean and the installation of Arthur Irwin as the head of the NFB, opponents of Grierson, his organization and his philosophy had been dealt a final death blow. Evelyn Cherry, a well known producer of agricultural films at the Board, was once asked whether these accusations and allegations affected the Film Board at all. In response, she stated that; "The whole nature of the Film Board changed "<sup>17</sup> She argued that as well as creating a general tension, direct censorship, which was necessary in order to avoid further public criticism of the Board, took a tremendous toll on morale. Film-makers now recognized the necessity of practising self-censorship as a form of self-preservation, for example, "even the word "democracy" was one that one used very carefully, and the word "peace" was never used."<sup>18</sup> Also, problems gaining access to foreign films, a source for much of the National Film Board's philosophical and creative inspiration, developed as a form of censorship which greatly restricted its work.<sup>19</sup> With these types of restrictions placed on the Board's activities as a result of political and public pressure, hopes of adhering to Grierson's philosophy and methods of film production had been all but obliterated. The increased

---

17. N.F.S.T.A., John Kramer interview with Evelyn Cherry, microfilm file research for film "Has Anyone Here Seen Canada!" December 19, 1977.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.



political and social climate in the early years following World War Two thus had forced the National Film Board to review its policies and objectives in order that they be brought more into line with postwar popular opinion.

As a national institution, the NFB was examined thoroughly during these years, both in terms of its relationship to government and in terms of its role as a cultural and educational institution. Individuals wanted assurance that the government would control this film-making body so that within the context of its dual mandate it would present the right types of values and ideas to the Canadian people. One of the most important of these was the promotion of Canadian nationalism. Individuals wanted the NFB to help to create the type of social and economic climate which would help Canada in the implementation of its reconstruction program, to help to rebuild the nation.<sup>20</sup>

## (2) Shifts in the Structure of the NFB

The government and the National Film Board itself responded to these trends and to the political criticism levelled at the Board. General changes in public attitudes towards the institution brought about alterations in the structure of the NFB, and types of films produced. In the early years following the war one can see two substantial

---

20. P.A.C., RG 27 Vol. 858, "Summary of References to The National Film Board in submissions to The Massey Royal Commission," file 8-3-19-3-4. pt. 11.

trends emerging in workings of the National Film Board. The first was the attempt to pacify the private film industry by a reduction in the involvement of the NFB in the area of production, and a resulting emphasis upon its activities in the area of the motion-picture distribution both in Canada and abroad. This was not simply an NFB decision, however. A confidential letter written to the Minister of National Revenue, J.J. McCann by the Minister responsible for the National Film Board at the time, Robert Winters stated quite clearly that production at the Board should take second place to the development of its distribution services. In his words, "The most important function of the Board would appear to be to interpret Canada to Canadians, with the secondary function of interpreting Canada to other nations. The performance of these functions is largely a matter of distribution[sic]."<sup>21</sup> The NFB would be a means of ensuring that every possible encouragement and support was to be given to private motion-picture companies that wished to venture into the area of production. This support was to be accomplished by creating a distribution network which could be used as a forum for their products, as well as by having the NFB share some of its technical expertise with private film producers.

The second change was a decisive trend toward the production of films on "safe" subjects in order to avoid

---

21. Public Archives of Canada (P.A.C.), RG 33 Vol. 48, "Confidential letter From Robert G. Winters to Hon. J.J. McCann, dated April 5, 1950.", file 18.

creating further public controversy. Again this would seem not to have been a choice made by film-makers or those directly responsible for production at the Board. Thus, not only did the NFB have to worry about criticism from the general public but they also had to concern themselves with government intervention. In that same letter, which was given in confidence to members of the Massey Commission, Winters wrote, "In interpreting Canada it is highly important that the greatest scrutiny be exercised over what aspects of Canada's life are to be reflected to Canadians and others, and how these aspects are to be depicted."<sup>22</sup>

Legislative changes in the organizational structure of the Board which occurred during the late 1940's can then be seen as a culmination of these many years of debate with regards to the organization. The hiring of a Toronto consulting firm, Woods and Gordon Ltd., was simply the first step towards the implementation of changes which were generally agreed to be necessary in order that the Board's peacetime role be entrenched in legislation, and public confidence in the organization restored.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps not simply by coincidence, Robert Winters, chairman of the NFB, announced the hiring of the firm on November 15, 1949 just before The Financial Post printed its astonishing article which revealed the security screenings of Board employees.

---

22. Ibid., letter dated April 5, 1950.

23. C. Rodney Jones, Film As A National Art: NFB of Canada and the Film Board Idea, (New York: Arno Press, 1977), p. 136.

The Woods-Gordon report was completed by March of 1950, and as a result of the criticisms levelled at the NFB it was expected, particularly by those at the Board, that recommendations would be put forth that the organization's many powers, particularly in the area of production, be cut.<sup>24</sup>

These recommendations, however, were not forthcoming. Instead, the Woods-Gordon report came out strongly in favor of the Board, citing many of its problems as ones which were not of its own making. It was logical then, that the suggestions made by the consulting firm be adopted into law. On June 21, 1950 a resolution was placed before the House of Commons to adopt a new Film Act and the Bill was passed without much debate. The act of 1950 was not a radical departure from that of 1939, although it did introduce some fairly substantial changes. One of these was the clause which now allowed the Board to produce as well as to distribute films, whereas in the 1939 Act they were only authorized to "advise upon the making and distribution of national films."<sup>25</sup> Another deviation from the tenets of the original Film Act was the Board's authorization to "represent the Government of Canada in its relations with persons engaged in commercial motion picture film activity for the Government or any department thereof."<sup>26</sup> In the Act of 1939

---

24. Ibid., p. 146.

25. Ibid., p. 697.

26. Ibid., p. 709.

the Board was only authorized to represent the government with newsreel or non-commercial film organizations. Finally, the 1950 Act allowed the National Film Board to undertake research in the area of film, although it was required to pass on this information to the private motion-picture companies.<sup>27</sup>

These changes, which were brought about in 1950, show that the Liberal government's confidence in the Board had been restored and thus, individuals were willing to place more responsibilities in its hands. The National Film Board had come through this critical period rather unscathed, but it had done so not solely upon its merits as a film-making institution but rather through its ability to produce films which were largely noncontroversial and by adapting itself to the changing political and social climate of the period. The implied concept of the "moral imperative" which had been embodied in Grierson's 1939 Film Act, had all but disappeared following the war and the Board had instead taken on a role as a promotional institution which would contribute to the achievement of the economic and social objectives of Canadian postwar reconstruction.

In examining the reactions by Canadians to the National Film Board in the post-war years, one can begin to see how many of these public responses were a reflection of the period. People responded to the organization based upon what was obviously a group of commonly-held assumptions. In order

---

27. Ibid., p. 709.

to understand what these assumptions were, one must try to determine what was at the base of the type of praise and criticism generated by the Board.

First, there were two basic grounds upon which the NFB was criticized, one being the supposed leftist philosophy it espoused and the other with its spending. The first and major bone of contention dealt with the political philosophy it espoused. Not only was it contended that the members of the organization itself were advocates of a left-wing philosophy, but also that the organization itself was accused of occasionally putting forth these views in the films which they produced. Films such as Inside Fighting Russia(1942) and The People Between(1948) were deemed to be expressing leftist sentiments and the films were therefore, subsequently either taken out of circulation,-or as was the case with The People Between, edited to such an extent that the original theme of the film became indeterminable. Secondly, the Board was chastised for wasting public funds because of its extravagance. Not only was it said to be wasting taxpayers' money, but it was using funds which were granted to it to stifle free enterprise.<sup>28</sup> Many believed, especially the motion-producers in Canada, that the National Film Board, or as some would contend, by extension, the Government of Canada, had no place interfering with the development of what ought to be a private industry.<sup>29</sup> Although one cannot ignore

28. The Financial Post, October 29, 1949.

29. Mackay, Marjorie History of the National Film Board of Canada, p. 62.

the existence of political and economic forces behind these arguments one can presume that they were to some extent well received by the public at large.

### (3) Support for the NFB

One may also look at sources from which the National Film Board drew the most public support. During these years praise was primarily bestowed upon the NFB for its ability to convey a sense of Canada and its potential, not only to Canadians but to other countries as well, since it would "in the interests of world trade furnish for other countries information about Canada, its resources and its people."<sup>30</sup> Quite clearly, Canadians were looking for films which reflected their new national aspirations, and the NFB apparently had managed to fulfill this function.

Evidence of this fact is found in comments which were forthcoming regarding the Board. For instance, one correspondent writing in the Ottawa Citizen spoke of "the newer productions of the Board, films through which this sense of national consciousness, this new and strong reliance on our own traditions runs like a central theme."<sup>31</sup> Another individual wrote that; "during the war, films were used to help mobilize the people in far places, as well as in the

---

30. "Films-Visual Interpreter of the Canadian Scene," Echoes (Spring 1947).

31. The Ottawa Citizen, November 16, 1946.

cities, behind the national effort. There is no less need now to carry on with the work for national unity, to marshall the forces of good will to win the peace."<sup>32</sup> Public perceptions of the National Film Board, however, were most evident in comments dealing with the question of the role of the National Film Board in Canadian cultural life found in the briefs presented to the Massey Commission.<sup>33</sup> The Canadian Citizenship Council in its brief to the Commission wrote that:

Perhaps no single agency during the past ten years, with the possible exception of the CBC, has done more to acquaint Canadians with our great national heritage--our people, our culture, our achievements, our problems, our natural resources, our industry and our scenery. Through films, graphics, and extensive consultation and film services, the Canadian people have come to know Canada better, to appreciate our heritage, and to understand more clearly our difficulties.<sup>34</sup>

The Public Affairs Institute of Ottawa stated that it felt

---

32. The Ottawa Citizen, May 27, 1947.

33. Ibid., p. 8.

34. P.A.C., "Summary of References To The National Film Board in submissions to The Massey Commission."



that the "basic underlying purpose of these films [NFB films], is the unifying of our nation by interpreting East to West, North to South; holding a mirror up to Canada."<sup>35</sup> In fact, most of the recommendations presented to the hearings by various organizations generally advocated an increase in financial support for the organization so that the Board could continue to produce and distribute films in the "national interest." Almost every group appearing before the Commission made its recommendations based on this premise of the essential Canadianism of the organization and the notion that the activities of the National Film Board were therefore of substantial public value.<sup>36</sup>

The Board was also highly praised during the postwar years for its role in the dissemination of information into rural parts of the country, not just about areas of national concern, but also about practical problems which affected individual communities. Increasingly, the NFB had developed films which facilitated the spread of "useful" knowledge dealing with such issues as labor, production and health to areas throughout Canada. As early as 1942, the National Film Board had developed film circuits in schools, community centres, industrial plants and rural areas,-all of which were designed to bring these films to a larger segment of the general public.<sup>37</sup> Although it was said that the NFB was

---

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. National Film Board Archives, NFB Annual Report, 1945-46. By 1945 there were a total of 85 rural circuits. As

"inmeasurably valuable in helping to create and expand a strong and true Canadian spirit."<sup>38</sup> The second aspect of its mandate, that is of helping to bring information to the people, had become extremely important. It was so important, in fact, that in accordance with its new mandate, the Board spent \$862,000 on distribution during the year 1947, while spending only \$766,000 of its budget on production.<sup>39</sup> As one comment by Donald Buchanan, director of film distribution at the National Film Board: indicates, "What had started out to be a war information film programme, directed from above...slowly changed in emphasis, as local desires and problems began to find expression through the medium of reports sent in by the chairman of the circuit and volunteer showings."<sup>40</sup>

An appeal to nationalist sentiment in Canada had always been an aspect of the NFB. But by the end of the war the Board had begun to adapt its nationalistic rhetoric to the new postwar situation. During the post war years the sense of nationalism which had been imbedded in the NFB's approach to filmmaking helped it to gain a great deal of support. Film Board members were more than willing to deal with the

---

well, industrial circuits had shown 116 showings to an average attendance of 132,712 per month. Trade union circuits showed films to 292 local unions with an average attendance of 26,426 per month.

38. Canadian Film Weekly, June 18, 1947

39. Canadian Motion Picture Digest, March 22, 1947

40. P.A.C., RG 33 Vol 28. Donald Buchanan, "Documentary and Educational Films in Canada."

ultimately safe theme of Canadian superiority, and in turn, Canadians had become extremely receptive to the soothing messages of nationalism. Gone were the notions which Grierson had promoted of using film to create a level of international understanding; for Canadian film had clearly come to reflect, and to promote, the preoccupation with national issues which dominated the period.

(4) Negative Reactions to the American Motion-Picture Industry.

One of the issues which came to the fore during the reconstruction period due to the emerging nationalism was the issue of the role of American influences in Canada. One of the ways in which it was perceived that those influences were most prominently conveyed was through the Hollywood film industry. Canadians had long questioned the morality of American culture as portrayed through the motion-pictures, and during the postwar period the desire to return to more traditional values made the issue of their control all the more immediate. The common fears of the effect of American films on individuals in general, and Canadian youth in particular, was expressed in a submission to the Massey

Commission in which the author wrote,<sup>41</sup>

Radio and films reach not merely the mind of youth but its heart. By their very nature they call forth emotional responses. They glamorize a way of life akin to that of the advertising world. Wealth and power are far more attractive in fabulous movieland, than humanity or service. The sinister fact is that commercial radio and films influence not only tastes but morals. The behavior of today's youth is being strongly influenced by the two industries whose standards of success are the profits they make.<sup>42</sup>

The author presented the argument that culture and education, particularly the NFB in its capacity to fulfil these roles as a cultural and educational medium, should work to help to educate youth and to help mould them into model citizens.

Another way in which many felt the perceived negative influence of American culture as presented in Hollywood movies could be countered was to try to bring in motion-pictures from other countries, particularly Great Britain.<sup>43</sup>

---

41. P.A.C. RG 33 Vol 28., E.A. Corbett "Film and Youth."

42. Ibid

43. Saturday Night, September 9, 1944 and Canadian Business, February 1949.

One editorial written in 1944 stated, "One of the worst features is that the great majority of pictures shown have been produced, quite naturally from the American viewpoint, and quite frequently a wrong impression has been left in the minds of the Canadian boys and girls. With an increasing popularity foreseen for British films, this difficulty may eventually be abolished."<sup>44</sup> Arthur Rank, a wealthy British film-producer, took advantage of this climate of opinion to develop control of Odeon theatres in Canada. In 1943 Rank bought the chain with the idea of using it to provide a showcase for his own and other British film productions. While trying to gain support for his operations in Canada, Rank made a point of conveying an image of himself as a devout Methodist and of emphasizing the fact that the morality of the films shown by the theatre chain would be of the highest calibre. In accordance with this idea, a Saturday childrens' program was developed which was designed not only to provide a opportunity for children to be exposed to motion-pictures but also to instill the "correct" values in the participants. In general, Rank received a very warm reception in Canada, one might say primarily because of the sense of morality which, it was indicated, would be an inherent part of the Odeon theatres' approach to motion pictures.<sup>45</sup> The warm reception was also perhaps due to the

---

44. Ibid.

45. "The Amazing Mr Rank", Maclean's, 58:11 1945, pp 26-27. and "World Wide Movie Was is Moving in On Canada", Saturday Night, 60: 1944, pp 6-7.

influence of Rank's representative and president of Odeon theatres in Canada, Leonard Brockington, who had extremely close ties with government officials, particularly the influential cabinet minister, Brooke Claxton.

Not only were the dangers of American popular culture, primarily in the form of motion pictures, to be countered through the development of Canadian culture and education and perhaps a reduced importation of Hollywood films, but also by the censorship of individual motion-pictures.

When measures were announced to increase the level of censorship in various provinces there were a few cries from those who were opposed to the idea of this type of direct government intervention. The Canadian film industry in particular spoke out against developments in the area of censorship, such as the extension by many provinces of censorship laws into the realm of 16mm films. One motion picture body, the Joint Planning Commission which was formed in 1950, voiced its grievances stating that the restriction of factual material, such as 16mm nonfiction films, was a violation of basic democratic rights.<sup>46</sup> Despite a few objections to the idea of censorship at this time there seems, however, to have been little resistance to the concept of censorship, individuals generally agreeing that control of film and other media was necessary in order to protect society. What seems to have been at issue was really only

---

46. The Film Services Committee of the Joint Planning Commission, Survey of Film Services in Canada, (Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950.), p. 96.

the extent and methods by which these restrictions should be imposed.<sup>47</sup>

Though censorship activity in this area during the postwar years was not very substantial, the explanation may lie in the report of the Joint Planning Commission which stated, "It is important to remember that the films particularly those from Hollywood, have already been subject to the most elaborate system of self-censorship ever devised, set down in a detailed 'code'."<sup>48</sup> This code, of course, dealt with offences against common "morality" and the handling of any material which might be deemed in the least political, or more specifically, "anti-democratic", points of view which would probably have not passed the censor boards anyway. Thus, Canadian censor boards did not have many films which had to be rejected during the postwar period, for it seems that the self-censorship prescribed by filmmakers themselves was adequate. For example, The Alberta Film Censor Board during the five year period from 1945-1950 only rejected a total of 18 films, an astounding figure considering there was an average of about 4000 films which passed through for inspection each year.<sup>49</sup>

The reasons for the development of censorship and the

---

47. See, Malcolm Dean, Censored! Only in Canada: The History of Film Censorship-the Scandal Off the Screen, (Toronto: Virgo Press, 1981), pp. 17-48.

48. Ibid., p.95.

49. Provincial Archives of Alberta. 70.414 "Department of the Provincial Secretary Annual Reports."

reactions to it indicate a great deal about the factors that influenced the film industry during the postwar period. First, censorship after World War II developed to some extent as a result of public pressure to curb some of the more negative aspects of American culture. Secondly, another premise behind postwar film censorship was the protection of Canada from what was perceived to be the growing threat of Communism. Third, the reactions, or lack thereof, to the imposition of stricter censorship laws can be seen as an indication of the growing acceptance of government intervention in almost every sphere of Canadian life.

#### (5) The Canadian Cooperation Project

The approach taken by government to the development of the Canadian film industry during this period is exemplified by the Canadian Cooperation Project (CCP), a measure which was introduced in 1947. The CCP represents a necessary focal point for any analysis of the relationship between the Canadian government, society, and film during this period.

The Canadian Co-operation Project evolved as a measure designed to help Canadian politicians to deal with a balance-of-payment crisis with the United States. Canada had developed a staggering trade deficit especially with the U.S. and was, as a result, experiencing a shortage in American currency.

In response to a situation which had already become



desperate, C.D. Howe announced the implementation of the "Emergency Exchange Conservation Act" which restricted the flow of virtually all luxury items from the United States into Canada. The bill was designed to conserve U.S. dollars by restricting the importation of those American goods into Canada. But Howe also discerned that the film industry in Canada had "special characteristics requiring special consideration."<sup>50</sup> In addressing the question of the feasibility of placing quotas on American films, Howe maintained that,

There are some special features in the case of Canada which make a simple quota basis of restriction inappropriate. A substantial amount of the U.S. dollar cost of the industry to us is in the earnings of U.S. motion picture properties, in Canada. This is over and above the approximate \$12 million a year paid in rentals on imported films. The total annual exchange cost of the industry is estimated at \$20 million on which \$17 million is in U.S. dollars,...The financial facts of the Canadian movie-going public, and the harmonious relations we have enjoyed with the U.S producers--in short, the special situation of the industry--called for a more imaginative

---

50. P.A.C. RG 27/III B20 vol. 143, "Speech C.D. Howe".

and constructive approach than quota restrictions. As I mentioned on Friday, discussions with the industry are proceeding,<sup>51</sup>

Although at first the Canadian government, through the press, had presented its intentions behind the CCP as: "To cut down the U.S. dollar drain which [had] Canada paying out some \$18,000,000 this year on American film percentages, Canadian policy makers have launched an immediate drive to increase film production in this country".<sup>52</sup> Discussions, between the Canadian government and Hollywood film producers, eventually led to the creation of the CCP, a program which was in no way designed to increase production in Canada, as the government had earlier indicated a new film program might. Rather, it was created almost solely as a form of advertising, to bring American tourism and business to Canada.

As an idea, the CCP was first developed in the United States by a number of businessmen in Hollywood, largely as a result of mounting fears that the "Emergency Exchange Conservation Act" would result in tighter restrictions on American film distribution in Canada. With the arrival of television and the resulting dramatic decline of box office revenues, public interest in motion pictures had begun to

---

51. Canada, House of Commons Debates. February 23, 1948 p 1494.

52. Variety, (November 25, 1947).

diminish. Many movie theatres had already closed. Hollywood producers and distributors therefore, became very concerned with hints that there might restrictions placed on access to the huge Canadian market which they had already developed in the prewar period.

But Hollywood companies also did not want to have to develop production in Canada in order to maintain this market. This is clearly illustrated in a letter written by Mr J. J. Fitzgibbons, president of Famous Players to Twentieth Century Fox, in which he stated:

There are people in Canada as in other countries where American films are released who insist upon American companies building studios all over the world and scattering their production activities in an uneconomic fashion. If we are to avoid extreme pressure for expensive and expansive studio operations in Canada then we must demonstrate to the Canadian government our capacity to really do a job for the Dominion,<sup>53</sup>

The Canadian government, it became clear, was willing to give up these requirements in return for other benefits which they felt the American filmmakers could offer. The objectives of

---

53. P.A.C., RG 20 vol 575 A-338 T. "Pres. Twentieth Century Fox from Fitzgibbons, Famous Players Canada Corp.", vol. 5.

the program, from a Canadian standpoint then became:

(1) The obtaining of more American production in Canada. 2) The purchase of more Canadian products for the American market. 3) The opportunity for Canadian capital to participate in American production and markets. 4) The promotion of American tourist traffic in Canada. 5) The presentation of general information about Canada to the American public.<sup>54</sup>

Donald Gordon, the Deputy-Governor of the Bank of Canada, in his letter to C.D. Howe indicated that the latter two objectives were to be stressed, for in his words, "The general American public attitude is undoubtedly the key factor which will determine whether or not better economic relations between Canada and the United States are to be obtained."<sup>55</sup> The continued emphasis placed upon the economic benefits of the CCP is evident in the letters of government leaders such as C.D. Howe wherein he stated that, "The U.S. industry is helping Americans to appreciate and understand our economic and other problems, and is encouraging them to visit Canada and to know and buy our goods."<sup>56</sup>

---

54. P.A.C. RG 20 vol 575 A-338-1 "Donald Gordon to Deputy Governor of the Bank of Canada C. D. Howe, vol. 5.

55. Ibid.

56. P.A.C. RG 20 vol. 575 A-338-1 "Howe to McCann, July 13,

By 1949 the C.C.P. had been responsible for the showing of 251 Canadian motion pictures in the American theatres. The subjects of these productions were broken down as follows: (1) twenty-six short subjects, mostly travelogues; (2) fourteen feature-films using Canadian subject matter, although there was no specification as to how much Canadian content must be involved, either in the form of setting or simple references to Canada; and (3) there were 211 newsreel sequences.<sup>57</sup> It seems, therefore, that the bulk of the CCP activities involved an increase in Canadian content in newsreels shown on American screens, and often the newsreels were produced in Canada. This continued emphasis by the government upon the use of film to promote tourism is again a strong indication of preponderance of utilitarian motives surrounding public perception of the Canadian motion-picture industry during this period. It illustrates the fact that film was thought of as a means to encourage and develop Canada's economy, whereas the cultural and aesthetic aspects were viewed as secondary considerations. It also illustrates the extent to which American values and the concept of having closer economic ties with the United States were embraced during the postwar period.

---

1948", Vol. 5.

57. P.A.C. RG27 vol 585, "Report on the Canadian Cooperation Project from Archibald A. Newman, Film Liaison Officer, Department of Trade and Commerce, submitted to Dominion Provincial Tourist Conference, Ottawa, Nov. 7-9, 1949, file 8-3-19-3-4-1 pt. 2.

(6) The National Film Society

The development of private institutions in Canada to facilitate the distribution of motion pictures also reflected the commonly-held public attitudes and ideas of the postwar period. One of these institutions was the National Film Society which was renamed the Canadian Film Institute in 1950. The National Film Society was conceived in 1935, initially, "to raise the standard of public taste in films, so that good films of all kinds will meet with understanding and appreciative audiences."<sup>58</sup> In order to achieve these ends, the National Film Society acquired funds from the Carnegie Corporation to create the necessary framework, not only for the national organization but also for the numerous local film societies which were to emerge spontaneously. Up until this time, although public interest in the educational use of films was high, it had remained rather sporadic.<sup>59</sup> Nothing had been done to facilitate the effective use of the new motion-picture medium for educational purposes.

In April 1935, the first meeting of persons interested in creating a film society was held and at that meeting three motions were passed. One of these motions stated that the society should be a non-profit organization, and another that branches of the society should be set up throughout Canada.

---

58. Ibid,

59. P.A.C. RG 28 vol 24 Donald Buchanan "Documentary and Educational Films in Canada."

The most significant of these motions, however, indicated that the National Film Society's "main purpose [would] be to encourage the study and appreciation of the technique and art of the motion picture through the private showing to its members of selected films of an artistic or experimental nature."<sup>60</sup> After many arguments, the Board finally extended the NFS's mandate to include the promotion of "sound pictures and television as educational and cultural factors in the Dominion of Canada and elsewhere."<sup>61</sup> As Donald Buchanan, the key founder of the NFS stated, the society was founded partly to help local groups import foreign films for cultural activities in the educational film field."<sup>62</sup>

Although one cannot determine precisely when the shift occurred, it is evident that in the period following the Second World War the educational objective consumed almost the complete attention of the organization. In 1948-49, the NFS had attained a membership of over 200 organizations which were almost exclusively groups concerned with educational activities.<sup>63</sup> These included the Association of Canadian

---

60. Charles Topshee, "The Canadian Film Institute", Food for Thought (January, 1956), p. 156.

61. Yvette Hackett, "The National Film Society of Canada 1935-51: It's Origin and Development", in, Flashback People and Institutions in Canadian Film History, ed. with an intro. by Gene Walz, Canadian Film Studies Vol. 2 (Montreal: Mediatexte Publications Inc.), p. 138.

62. National Film, Sound and Television Archives, Ottawa, Vertical file 791.413 1(71)N Donald Buchanan "Documentary and Educational Films in Canada (1935-50)", file 2.

63. N.F.S.T.A., Ottawa, Vertical file 791.413 1(71)N "The National Film Society of Canada: History and Development", file 1.

Advertisers, Canadian Association for Adult Education, Canadian Catholic Federation of Labor, Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Canadian Public Health Association, to name but a few.<sup>64</sup> There was also a Scientific Film Division of the NFS which was created in order to, "encourage and co-ordinate the use of scientific film in education, and industry as well as to develop as widely as possible an appreciation for the scientific method and outlook,"<sup>65</sup> Members of the society were groups which were involved predominantly in areas such as business or education, for it was felt that "the value of 16mm film has been convincingly demonstrated during WW II. It has been so successful in training the Armed Forces that its further use in the field of adult education, as a selling technique, as a factor in employer-employee relations, and as a schoolroom teaching method is assured."<sup>66</sup> Most of those involved in the NFS had come to acknowledge the practical and educational aspects of documentary at the expense of aesthetic considerations. Although the distribution of non-fiction films in these areas was popular, the NFS still ran into some problems.

During the war, Canada's production and distribution system had developed at an amazing pace, due to the

---

64. P.A.C. MG 28/I 179, vol 44. "National Film Using Organizations, 1950."

65. "Survey of Film Services in Canada," p. 6.

66. N.F.S.T.A. Vertical file 791.413 1(71)N "The National Film Society of Canada: History and Development", file 1.



exigencies of wartime. Once the war was over and the country settled into peacetime pursuits, however, it was discerned that a grave problem existed. Because the motion picture field had developed so rapidly, the organization developed for the distribution of films had dissolved into disarray. The NFB, NFS government departments, film councils, and community libraries all had a hand in the distribution of films, and it was apparent that some sort of restructuring had to be done in order to eliminate the many redundant services offered in the country.

In 1946, the NFS developed the Joint Planning Commission which was to investigate the status of film services in Canada. In 1949 the Joint Planning Commission was given the task of producing an extensive report on Canada's film services and developing recommendations on how these services might be improved. The report was issued in 1951 and it contained a number of recommendations, but primarily it suggested that the NFS should concentrate on three main areas, which included the establishment of a circulating library, specialized film libraries, and the development of a body designed to facilitate the coordination of all of the various local film societies. These objectives would be achieved through the withdrawal by other organizations from those areas in which they were competing with the NFS.<sup>67</sup>

Although the NFB had dealt with film distribution up until 1945, large numbers of film councils which had evolved

---

67. "Survey of Film Services in Canada," p. 16.

from volunteer projection committees set up by the NFB during the war, gradually began to grow and to take on more of the responsibilities for Canadian non-fiction film distribution. The number of these councils grew steadily during the postwar years. In 1947 the number of councils was 195, and in four years that number had jumped to 308.<sup>68</sup> Membership in the film councils had by 1950 grown to include a total of 6,500 organizations.<sup>69</sup>

Membership in these film councils is an indicator of the type of films which were being presented to the public at that time and by whom they were being requested. By far the most significant film-users were church groups. In a survey of the member organizations carried out by the Joint Planning Commission in 1950, church groups constituted 171 of the group membership.<sup>70</sup> The next most significant group were lodges which numbered 77. As well as the direct involvement in film councils there was also a very significant indirect involvement through such venues as youth groups and service clubs, all of which were heavily influenced by the churches. Churches were by this time sponsoring their own films; as well, with their significant representation on the film councils one must presume that they also had a great deal of influence upon the types of film requested by the councils. Churches, by their very nature conservative institutions,

---

68. Ibid., p. 16.

69. Ibid., p. 15.

70. Ibid., p. 15.

contributed in this way to the limited view of the role which motion pictures should play in the lives of individuals. The general public and other organizations did not, however, seem to mind these limitations and restrictions which were inadvertently being developed in film-use.

A user survey conducted by the Joint Planning Commission to determine what types of films member organizations wanted to see, and the areas which they wanted to see film-use expanded into, reveals a number of recurrent themes. Women's Institutes requested such topics as home and garden beautification, health, child psychology, co-operative farming, dressmaking, Canadian themes, art and children's classics. The YMCA and YWCA asked to cover such topics as: recreation, children's interests, sports, crafts, camp-life, citizenship, Canadian themes, teenage psychology, labor problems, race prejudice, and psychological themes.<sup>71</sup> One noteworthy observation about this survey is that none of the groups involved in the film councils requested, or expressed an interest in, films dealing with international or overtly political issues. Not only were films dealing with these issues not requested by these groups, but there seems also, in the case of international affairs, to have been no interest in even gaining information about other countries. There were requests for travelogues, but interest in foreign countries it seems did not go beyond this superficial level. Films which were requested predominantly involved issues

---

71. Ibid., p. 26.

directly affecting individuals and communities, and to a great extent ignored larger questions of international concern.

The NFB and private film companies produced films with an awareness of the mindset of their audience but also of the general topics which they knew their audience wished to see. In this way the trend of the NFB in the postwar years towards films dealing with specific individual and community problems can be seen to have wider grounds than simply the desire to avoid further controversy. The NFB by its very nature had to create motion pictures that the public at large would generally want to watch. Failure to do so as a government institution would have threatened its very existence and rendered it totally ineffective in fulfilling its public mandate. Producing films which would be very popular and therefore, would receive wide distribution through its own distribution system and through organizations such as the film councils, the NFS and film libraries, was therefore important to the NFB. Private motion-picture companies also were beginning to produce films sponsored by private industry. Again a wide distribution for the motion picture was imperative if the producers wanted to keep the sponsors happy and thereby gain public prestige and increase profits.

Informational films, during the war were, because of the necessities of wartime, restricted to a one-way conveyance of information. But after the war, due to the increase in the use of film in business and industry, film was no longer

viewed as a Griersonian "hammer" by which mass public attitudes could be shaped. As one observer wrote during this period,

Individuals, it was suggested would go to see non-fiction films if two basic conditions [were] fulfilled. The first [was] that the film be of service to him, either in his breadwinning occupation, in his role of family provider and leader, or in his relationships with the community at large. The second condition is simply that the films be readily and easily obtainable.<sup>72</sup>

People were demanding films which were non-controversial and practically applicable to their daily lives. Prosperity and stability had become the primary watchword of the reconstruction era, and the nonfiction film industry had emerged in such a fashion as to be able to fulfil its role in creating the stable societal atmosphere which individuals and legislators envisioned. And the motion picture industry's institutions were almost as much a part of this process as were the individuals who made the films and the people who watched them.

---

72. N.F.S.T.A. microfilm of research material for film "Has Anybody Here Seen Canada!" reel 1. Arthur Elsey "Film Industry in Canada?".p.2.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### CANADIAN FILMS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA: A REFLECTION OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES.

The public's view of the motion picture industry in Canada was, like their attitudes towards the films themselves, indicative of the general ethos of the period. The workings of the NFB, as outlined in the previous chapter, are just one illustration of the ways in which the infrastructure of the motion picture industry was affected by public attitudes of the period. But it was not only the film industry which was affected by those social and political forces but the motion pictures themselves as well, for the making of motion pictures is in fact, a symbiotic relationship which emerges between film-makers and society in general. Film-makers may wish to change commonly held assumptions or ideas but to do so they must appeal to some innate sense of consciousness, or work through the filter of commonly-held assumptions or audiences will fail to respond to their messages. Film-makers in this way are not only influenced by, and a product of, the society from which they emerge, but they also have to work within the constructs of popular opinion. Therefore, in Canada, as in any country if one wants to comprehend the relationship between general societal and political values and the films which are derived

from them, one must begin by trying to understand the sense of public consciousness and the commonly-held assumptions which underlie the motion-pictures.

The years following World War II with which this study is dealing, were a time of flux. Attitudes and ideas, and even the general character of the Canadian nation changed as individuals adapted to new peacetime circumstances. The country was in the mood to start over, to return to a "normal" state, and individuals needed to feel confident that a positive future was in the making, not only for themselves but also for their country.

This changing mood of the country was reflected in a general sense, through a change in the approach which was taken to non-fiction film during the postwar years. The NFB, for example, developed a much lighter approach to its films after the war. Evidence of this shift can be found in the fact that by roughly 1946 the famous "voice of doom" had been dropped from National Film Board documentaries, along with the severe background music which had characterized the Board's films since its inception. The themes of the films themselves generally had become less serious, if problems were presented, immediate solutions were also put forth. Virtually all of the films made by the NFB and private film-makers during this period were very positive not only in tone and approach, but also in terms of subject matter as well. Nationalistic rhetoric abounded, and unpleasant topics were avoided as film-makers tried to project a positive vision of

the future both for individuals and the country as a whole.

In order to understand how this optimistic vision was expressed one can begin by looking at the specific subjects which were receiving attention at the time. As indicated previously, a large percentage of Canadian film both during the war and shortly thereafter was produced by the National Film Board. Slowly, however, particularly after 1947, independent motion picture producers began to emerge and by 1950 their numbers totalled thirty.<sup>1</sup> For the most part, those companies have left no records of any kind from which historians might draw information. However, companies such as Budge Crawley's, Crawley Films Ltd. and Ben Norrish's Associated Screen News, which burgeoned during the post-war years, did leave a trail of information about their activities, and examining this data can give one a sense of the types of subjects which were being dealt with by filmmakers at this time. This knowledge, along with extensive information which the National Film Board has to offer, may be used to create an overall picture of the direction that Canadian film was taking during those years, and to conceptualize how these trends reflected trends in the Canadian society at large.

---

1. National Television and Sound Archives (NFTSA), Ottawa. Vertical file 791.431 1(71)N "List of Commercial Film Producers and Laboratories in Canada."



(1) Private Film Companies

Crawley films are a useful beginning in trying to gain an understanding of the kinds of films private companies were producing during this period, as they were not only the most productive but also the most dynamic. The company began production in 1934 and later worked mainly on contracts for the NFB during the war. By 1944, however, the company was engaged in full-time independent production, and by 1945 it had grossed \$40,000 and had made 12 films<sup>2</sup>. In 1950, these numbers rose to a gross of over \$200,000, with over 58 motion pictures and filmstrips being made.<sup>3</sup> One of the most interesting statistics, however, lies in the fact that by 1949 80% of their output was for commercial customers.<sup>4</sup> Companies which used Crawley films were firms such as Eaton's, Hudson's Bay, Birks and Bell Telephone, all of which commissioned training films to be shown to their employees.<sup>5</sup>

To give examples of the type of films being commissioned: the Department Stores of Canada and Crawley Films made a series of films called "Careers In Retail Selling", which included such titles as: Selling Your Personality, Who Threw That Monkey Wrench?, films on managerial problem-solving techniques, (Telephone Technique,

2. The Financial Post. (Jan 20, 1951).

3. Ibid.

4. The Financial Post, (April 9, 1949).

5. Ibid.

Knowledge Of Merchandise, The Right Approach), which illustrated the possible benefits to a department store and its clerks when good sales practices were in effect, (Success Story, Sense Into Dollars, and Close That Sale), all of which outlined effective sales techniques.<sup>6</sup> Other organizations such as The Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, and Imperial Oil also used Crawley to make their training films, along with others on industrial safety.<sup>7</sup> These films exemplify a decisive trend in Canadian films during the postwar years towards business concerns and techniques, in other words topics which had practical application in boosting economic prosperity and productivity. Although this was the type of motion-picture production that Crawley films was endeavoring to promote, the level of their success indicates the extent to which the business community in Canada had embraced the notion of film as an instrument of persuasion and the increasing concern with economic development in the country.

Crawley also produced films which were privately funded or financed by various levels of government and these included films on such topics as travel, conservation and industry, as well as mental-health films. Finally, the last category of customers serviced by Crawley were philanthropic or church organizations. The Boy Scouts, St John's Ambulance, Rotary Clubs, and others all used Crawley Films to

---

6. National Film, Sound and Television Archives (NFSTA), Catalogue of Crawley holdings.

7. Ibid.

promote their organization's activities.<sup>8</sup> It seems that by this time religious organizations, as well as industry, had come around to the idea of using film to "sell their products", or to promote their institutions. One was Other Sheep I have Known, a "record of the work being done in the Kongra Valley by the Church of England in Canada through its missions at Palompur, Kongra town and Manali."<sup>9</sup> Others included Report On Japan, sponsored also by the Church of England in Canada, Rosary Sunday, which was sponsored by the Catholic Church,<sup>10</sup> and Ad Jesum Per Marian, a record of the Marian congress of 1947. Finally, a film called Missionary Society dealt with the missionaries work in India, which showed that "competitive and organized games help to teach tolerance of each others' ideas and build good citizens."<sup>11</sup>

These motion pictures sponsored by private institutions, like those sponsored by corporations, also reflect the attitudes and values which emerged in the postwar years, one of was the desire to create a strong nation based upon the traditional values of hearth and home. Organizations, especially the churches which were the main proponents of these values, used motion pictures such as those produced by Crawley to convey their ideas and mission more effectively.

The character of the times can also be detected in the

---

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Missionary Society, (Crawley Films, 1947).

films of another motion picture company operating at this time, Associated Screen News. Although this company did make a few documentaries and fictionalized documentaries, the company's main operation was producing newsreels. Historian Nicholas Pronay, upon examining British newsreels of the period, observed that the fact that newsreels were shown along with feature films as a part of a total entertainment package meant that editors shied away from dealing with any sorts of controversial or "touchy" subjects. He observed that, "This kind of arrangement accounts for much of the banality of so much of newsreel footage, for the very structure of the newsreel industry committed the medium to emphasize consensus rather than conflict, to stress the points of similarity, identity of outlook and interest."<sup>12</sup>

The contents of the newsreels produced by Associated Screen News from 1945-50 certainly support these observations. Topics dealing with sports formed a perhaps disproportionately large section of the newsreels; also, "human interest stories", and stories involving dignitaries and heads of state comprised considerable space in the newsreels. In the ASN's year-end compilations over the years 1945-50 not a single issue was dealt with that could be termed controversial. Indeed, the 1947 ASN Headlines stated that it was, "a year of great controversy, are dresses long

---

12. Nicholas Pronay, "Newsreels: The illusion of actuality," in The Historian and Film, ed. Paul Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 112-114.

or short?"<sup>13</sup>, illustrating just how far newsreels had strayed beyond the realm of social commentary. Not only do the newsreels of this company during this period reflect a desire to avoid controversial subjects and a tendency to present news that was comforting, but they also show a marked increase in national consciousness. Almost exclusively, newsreels dealt with national rather than international issues and their news was almost always positive and upbeat, thus catering to a rising Canadian nationalism by giving the impression that the country was on the verge of what was perhaps a national renaissance.

(2) General Postwar trends:Isolationism in Canadian Film

Some of these trends which developed in Canadian newsreels and privately sponsored films of the period such as the rising isolationist and nationalist sentiments, the increased concern with economic prosperity and social stability, can also be found in the films of the NFB. During the war the National Film Board had devoted much of its production effort to films designed to be shown in the theatres just before the main feature. Specifically, the Canada Carries On, and the World in Action series were produced throughout the war to fulfill this function. Canada Carries On was designed not only to educate and to inform Canadians about the war effort but also to create a greater

---

13. 1947 Headlines, (Associated Screen News, 1947).

understanding of the country so that once the war was over Canadians could begin to concentrate on national development. The World in Action series was, by contrast, influenced by Grierson and his vision of global cooperation and responsibility, and it tried to place the events of the war within an international context.<sup>14</sup> It is not surprising, given the atmosphere of the time, that the World in Action series was quickly disbanded after the war ended. Not only was its direct dealing with the immediate problems of war no longer necessary, but its message of the need for international understanding and cooperation was not one that received a popular reception.

For a short time immediately following the war many motion pictures expounded the notion of internationalism, for people believed that the world was "in the midst of a world revolution. It [was] no longer possible to think or plan locally. As never before [individuals were] world citizens, for the world [had] become a neighborhood."<sup>15</sup> This common perception can be seen very distinctly in many of the documentary films which were produced in the short period immediately following the Second World War. Films such as Now The Peace, (NFB 1945) Food-Secret of Peace, (NFB 1945) and Voice of Canada (NFB 1946), to name a few, all presented the notion that Canadians should take responsibility for the

---

14. Doug Herrick, "John Grierson: The Canadian Connection," Cinema Canada, Vol 49/50 (Sept-Oct, 1978), p. 32.

15. Maclean's, (Jan 1, 1945).

international situation, not only in providing relief for war-torn countries but also in actively working toward lasting world peace.

The general level of cynicism regarding international affairs which emerged after the end of the war, however, soon came to be reflected in films. The initial impetus for the promotion of international understanding and cooperation had disappeared, and so too had its expression in film. What replaced then, the humanist faith that the tragedy of war could be averted through human reason? From an examination of Canadian motion-pictures of the period, one might say that it was the philosophy of intense conservatism, individualism and materialism which engulfed North America. Suddenly, it seems, Canadians had become preoccupied with creating a stable society and with their prospects for the future. This in turn resulted in a move toward the development of Canadian nationalism which so strongly took root during the postwar years.

Communism became the central point for most of the concerns of the postwar period simply because it was perceived to be a threat to the democratic way of life, a way of life which had come to be associated with economic prosperity and social stability. Yet, despite the fact that the threat of communism was a focus for much of the postwar period the issue was essentially ignored in Canadian motion pictures other than in the most subtle of ways. Instead of using blatant anti-communist propaganda, film-makers pressed

the positive aspects of democracy, particularly Canadian-style democracy. In this way, Canadian films of the period reflected the "Cold War" attitudes which were so much a part of the postwar ethos. The films generally presented the positive ideals of democracy pitted against a covert implication of the communist threat to that system. This formula, which had been used for some years, was expressly presented in one proposal put forth in 1950 by Arthur Irwin, the new head of the National Film Board. In this proposal, Irwin suggested that the NFB construct a whole series of films under the title "Freedom Speaks" which, in his words, would be "designed to counter Communist propaganda with a positive statement in effective dramatic form of the values which we as a free people believe to be basic to democratic society."<sup>16</sup>.

### (3) Social Concerns

The first and most dominant concern in creating the type of postwar society that Canadians desired centered around the idea of creating more stable family life in the country, and again this concept finds its expression in the films of the period. The previous years had eroded the ties of family unity and it was now perceived as time to put the pieces back together. Strong family life was therefore presented as an

---

16. P.A.C. RG 27, vol. 862, file 8-3-19-3-5-3, "Memorandum to the Minister, December 15, 1950."



intregal part of the reconstruction proccess,-a way in which the country could become stronger and in doing so become more affluent.

The most prevalent aspect of this move to reestablish the structure of the traditional role of the family was the conscious attempt to reintroduce women into their former roles as wives and mothers. In a memorandum written to M.A. MacNamara from Margaret Grier 1946, states with reference to a film titled, To The Ladies, that the film was designed as a "tribute to the great contribution Canadian women made to the war effort," and to show how they, "may be of value to themselves and the country in general during peace." She states that "this film...is very good on the whole except that too great an emphasis was laid on hurrying the married woman back to her home as soon as the crisis was over. Though it may be policy, the commentary seemed rather too obvious in this respect."<sup>17</sup> An indication of the roles that women were expected to take on can be found in the fact that out of thirty-eight films of the period which were viewed for this study, there are only two films which showed women in any type of working capacity other than that of wife and mother.

In one of the two films which showed a woman in a nontraditional role, the woman was portrayed as an extremely aggressive. She was also shown to have severe psychological

---

17. P.A.C., RG 27 vol 615, file 17-5-17-1, Department of Labour, "Memorandum Margaret Grier to M.A. McNamara, March 11, 1946."

problems. This film was in the "Mental Mechanisms" series film and was titled, Feelings of Hostility. In this film the central character, Clare, had been raised by a mother who was very bitter and hostile after having been left alone to raise her daughter, following the death of her husband. The mother is portrayed as an ambitious woman who lives vicariously through her daughter, yet paid little attention to her other than to take the credit for Clare's accomplishments. The result was that Clare became a cold and ambitious woman, for although she had success, "success does not make her happy. It bars her from warm friendly relations, her success gained at the expense of others."<sup>18</sup> The message of this film was clear. Women who aggressively pursued a career did so at the risk of becoming extremely bitter and depriving themselves of meaningful relationships with others. As well, those women who did not follow the traditional female roles as wives and mothers were deemed to be somewhat unnatural and undoubtedly unhappy. One simply had to look at the emotional problems that Clare was experiencing to realize the negative effects of denying the innate nurturing instincts which were a part, it was implied, of every woman's emotional make-up.

Careers and Cradles, made in 1948, is another film which depicted woman in a role outside of the home, and it reveals a great deal about the predominant attitudes concerning women. The film was originally titled, Women are People. When the film came out it took note that the report on

---

18. Feelings of Hostility, (NFB, 1948).

reconstruction studying the postwar problems of women stated that; "Women should have recognition of their right to work at whatever employment they choose, provided of course they are qualified." It was in recognition of this fact, and the fact that statistics showed that one out of four women working was married, that the National Film Board made the film which emerged under the title Careers and Cradles.<sup>19</sup> The NFB information sheet on the film states that; "Canadian women have achieved a revolutionary change in status. The film notes the significance of the change, introducing women who today command respect as leaders in government, industry, science and the arts."<sup>20</sup> However, the true perspective of the film was reflected when it stated assuringly, that "Women have no intention of giving up families and homes but in keeping with progress they successfully combine them with educational endeavors."<sup>21</sup> At the onset of Careers and Cradles the narrator explained that "Women are fed up being the inferior sex."<sup>22</sup> They have, the film stated, gotten to a point where they "can practice any profession within their capabilities. However, at one point the narrative also remarked that, "Beauty...is still one of the chief attributes of women."<sup>23</sup> This was shown to be true in one of the most

---

19. The Gazette, (September 5, 1947).

20. N.F.B. Archives, P.A.C. No. 11902, Box 1, File 01-024, "Careers and Cradles", NFB Info. Sheet."

21. Careers and Cradles, (NFB, 1947).

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

obvious of the visual images presented in the film. A woman was shown standing on the bus going to work; the camera then moves to a shot of the woman who was obviously very conscious of her sexuality. The narrative then proceeds to tell us that women are competing "on an equal footing with men;"<sup>24</sup> however, the extreme close-up of the same woman teetering on her high heels suggests that this is, in fact, not the case. Following its survey of clearly very exceptional women who have managed to make inroads into the male sphere outside of the home, the film then goes on to look at women in the home, it points out that, "for every eight women who married in grandmothers' day twelve choose marriage today."<sup>25</sup> Although it was definitely not clear what was meant by this statistic, what was clear was that the film-makers were attempting to establish the popularity of marriage at that point in time.

Careers and Cradles at no point acknowledged that there might be women who preferred not to remain in the home because they found it unfulfilling or unrewarding. Women's entrance into the workplace as a means of selffulfillment was not necessary if only women would take the right attitude toward homemaking, for it is stated that,

the woman who has been educated  
on equal terms with her brother  
may have a new attitude toward  
marriage. It is no longer her  
only concern. She has been

---

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

encouraged to develop a live interest in current affairs, literature and the arts, to offset the limitations of what may be a lonely and monotonous life.<sup>26</sup>

The film then cut to a sign which reads, "House of Ideas". These ideas, however, turn out not to be of an intellectual sort, but were of such things as the model-kitchen and amazing appliances shown in the visuals. With this, the whole focus of the film shifts to the idea that though more educational and career opportunities appearing to opening up for women, their roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers would remain predominant, for "she will never abandon her role as wife and mother; she looks forward to a greater share in the world of today and tomorrow."<sup>27</sup> Careers and Cradles suggests that this share, rather than being a share of the power or control, was in the prosperity and material wealth which postwar Canada had to offer. As Teresa Nash points out with regards to the film, "The commentator explains that, 'the woman of today is trying to solve her problems in the twentieth century.' It was made clear from the rest of this sequence that "the way of the twentieth century" was to buy goods for the home and to play the traditional role within that domestic sphere."<sup>28</sup>

---

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Nash, Teresa. "Images of Women In National Film Board of Canada Films During World War II and The Post-War Years", Phd. Thesis (McGill University, 1982), p. 593.

Careers and Cradles is not the only film of this period which emphasized these types of traditional relationships. If women were portrayed in films of this period at all, they were shown in roles as nurturers and consumers. Film-makers had to be careful about showing women in roles other than these, for if they did audiences might react in much the same way as one individual who wrote to the producers about the film 5 Steps To Better Farm Living stating that in the film, "too much emphasis is given in the visuals to women or girls doing heavy work."<sup>29</sup>

In the book Captains of Consciousness Stuart Ewan details the way in which the advent of mass consumerism precipitated the separation of the male and female spheres.<sup>30</sup> Canadian films during the postwar period clearly illustrated a desire in Canada, as in the rest of the Western world, to return to the former relationships between men and women and production and consumption, as well as the overall desire to reestablish the solid economic and social stability which had been disrupted for such a long period of time.

The reasons for this emphasis the conservative role of the family in society and women's primacy within the family unit were conceptualized particularly clearly in one film called Family Circle. This film presented the theme that it

---

29. P.A.C. No. 111926, Box 25, File 09-013. "WDJ to Mrs Cherry. Sept 4, 1944."

30. Stuart Ewan, Captains of Consciousness, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976), p.p. 113-123.

was the family which created an emotional haven from which individuals could escape the complexities of the modern world. At the beginning of the film we are presented with images of, "a dictatorial father presiding as judge and jury over his submissive wife and children." Then these images are juxtaposed against images of chaos or, "life today with all of its competing influences which are threatening to tear apart the family solidarity of grampa's time." The audience was assured that "we have an ordered way of life here and nothing will upset that," but the film, however, suggests that there "was" a threat to this ordered way of life. The implication was that this threat came in the form of dissenting ideas. Parents arguing or conflicts between what a child learns in the classroom and what she or he is told at home all threaten the coherence of the society and thus they are deemed to be socially detrimental. Children, we are told "need calmness and serenity," for it is from the home, "where the world comes from." A strong family life along with solidity of opinion was a means of combatting the deconstructive forces of the modern world, one of which, one must presume was communism.<sup>31</sup>

Images used in voicing these concerns with stability and the future, both of individuals and the Canadian nation, were not only those of the family but of agriculture and the preservation of the land. Not only do many of the films of this period deal frequently with these topics, but it is also

---

31. Family Circles, (NFB, 1949).

their manner of dealing with them that is revealing. The land has always been perceived in the popular mind as a constant element and thus has been associated with the idea of stability. Also a society whose members are tied to the land is, for the most part, more sedentary and stable than one which is tied to the marketplace. There are two themes which are used then, in the films, to develop this concept. One was the need for conservation of the land and its fertility, and the other was the retention of strong family life, but more particularly, the familial connection to the land.

A most explicit example of this type of film is Prairie Homes, which was produced by the NFB in 1947. This film deals with several of the problems which faced Canadian farmers. However, the film centered on the creation of homes on prairie farms. The family that the film centered on lived on a farm with "a home of pleasant surroundings, a home they and their grandchildren might enjoy."<sup>32</sup> The couple had created a wonderful home; the challenge however, we are told, was to keep the young on the farm. Images of members of the family playing tennis on a newly created tennis court and in general enjoying prosperity, were presented as ways of making farm life more attractive and alleviating the problem of youth leaving the farm. Another avenue to contentment was shown in another part of the film. Betty, the daughter was,

---

32. Prairie Homes, (NFB, 1947).



"thinking of a bright idea,"<sup>33</sup> and it is made apparent through the visuals that her thoughts should be, and are, related to marriage. Thus it was through marriage and a strong family life, it is implied, that she would find happiness. Again, this film presented a definite view of the land and agriculture as a means to the creation, not only of a good solid sense of rootedness, but of a solid and traditional family life as well. And this strong agrarian and family life was conveyed as a means of creating the prosperity and solidity which was in turn presented as the avenue to contentment.

In another motion picture sponsored by the Junior Farmers' Association and Imperial Oil, Farmers for the Future, farm and the traditional agrarian and familial way of life were again venerated as the avenue to stability and hope for the future. This film centered upon an engaged couple called Bill and Peggy who "represent Canada's farmers and rural homemakers of tomorrow, the young people who will bear the responsibility of perpetuating our great heritage in agriculture and the future of our economic and national life."<sup>34</sup> The film stressed the notion that the young people must be equipped to take over and to run Canadian farms. In this case, "Bill's project represents the foundation for his own farming career and future with Peggy,"<sup>35</sup> and by

---

33. Ibid.

34. Farmers For The Future, (Junior Farmers' Association and Imperial Oil, 1949).

35. Ibid.

implication, the future of their community and Canada in general. At the Junior Farmers' Association meeting, which Bill and Peggy attend, the business, "is conducted along the lines of parliamentary procedure," which, "helps train individuals for future leadership in civil and community affairs."<sup>36</sup> Not only is the notion of agriculture as a means to a secure future propounded, but also the idea of the traditional family, which again, was presented as the key to the future. There is no question that the couple were to have a family once they are married, for it was the very training which they were receiving in the film which would allow them to raise a family to carry on the agricultural tradition to future generations. In keeping with this theme the image of a father passing on knowledge of the land and how to work it was frequently used in this film and many others of this period which dealt with agriculture.

One of these films sponsored by the Ontario Plowman's Association and produced by Imperial Oil in 1946 was The Imperial Plowing Match and Farm Machinery Demonstration. Young boys are shown in plowing contests, preparing for what it seems, would be their later role in life, the continuity of the farm. Fathers handing down the traditional way of life to the next generation are an integral part of the message put forth in this film. At its outset, the film indicated that it would be dealing with the very serious

---

36. Ibid.

issue of "soil conservation" However, as the film progressed, it was apparent that this was not at all what was being dealt with. The perspective was a familiar one: for the film developed the theme that through the use of proper and productive farming techniques a secure future would be assured. It also clearly associated the agrarian way of life with the heritage and future destiny of the Canadian nation, a destiny it was implied, which held great things.

It was believed that Canada's national destiny was tied very closely to its economic potential, and thriving farming businesses were one way of creating and sustaining the nation's strength and prosperity. Postwar films dealing with farming and agriculture then began to present farming as a business. No longer, it seems, were the spheres of business and farming seen as separate entities; they were one and the same. Farmers were presented as businessmen who had to keep up with the latest scientific and technological developments in their field in order to develop a viable and profitable enterprise, just as their counterparts in business had to. Farmers were urged to consider work on the farm in the same terms as any businessman would. For instance, Workers On The Land, centers upon a family who were having problems trying to convince the farm hand, who has announced that he wants to marry, not to leave the farm to work elsewhere. The film states that this is important, for as in any business "a good worker is worth a great deal,"<sup>37</sup> and, "it's good business,"<sup>38</sup>

---

37. Workers On The Land, (NFB, 1946).

to create a solid trustworthy workforce in the community. The whole film centers upon the idea of creating this stability by keeping workers happy and productive. The solution to the problem in this case, was for the farmer to build a separate house for the new couple to live in. Stable and prosperous communities, it is implied, were dependent upon the type of lifestyle presented in the film which benefitted the individual farmers and society at large by boosting productivity and thus increasing profits.

#### (4) Progress and National Destiny

The theme of progress and the development of prosperity is one that appears frequently throughout Canadian films of the period. Even in the films dealing with agriculture the emphasis is placed upon the acquisition of material objects and wealth. In fact, such artifacts as tractors, household appliances and other material objects are treated, at times, in these films with an almost godlike reverence. Roland Barthes, in his seminal work of 1957, Mythologies, dealt with the notion that in most of society's objects take on meanings above and beyond those which they naturally imbued. In the context of history, Barthes says, objects take on this meaning by the very fact of their historical context.<sup>39</sup>

---

38. Ibid.

39. Roland Barthes, Mythologies, (New York: Hilland and Wang, 1957), p. 109-159.

One can apply these notions very well in trying to analyze film because as a visual medium film uses these connotations in order to convey additional meanings and thus establish their message. For instance, it is evident from the treatment of technological objects such as tractors, plows, stoves and fridges, that the associations with these objects go well beyond that of their actual usefulness or capabilities to perform certain functions. An example of this is the case of the tractors. They have derived additional cultural meaning and connotations which have to do with such positive concepts as progress, success and the ability to control the environment. Thus, when such non-fiction films encourage the audience to invest in, and to understand the new technology, they are asking for the audience to accept and to have faith in progress and technology in general. For example, in Farmers for the Future, the new home technology is displayed; the notion of progress is largely associated with these objects, and thus, by extension, the notion of a positive future. These images do not encourage the audience to question the necessity for the acquisition or use of these goods, for to do so would be to deny progress and one's family's place in the future.

Other manifestations of this idea of a national destiny which would be achieved through progress and prosperity are also found in other postwar films. For instance, films glorifying the extent of Canada's resources and its unbridled potential for production are extremely prevalent. In film,

Oil for Canada, the country is lauded for its rapid and extensive development and growth. The message is very clear; that is, if Canada's industrial potential is going to be utilized vast supplies of oil would be needed. This oil, it is suggested, although currently acquired from South America, and to an even greater extent the United States, is so fundamental to the country's development that measures must be taken to alleviate Canada's dependence upon foreign sources. The way in which this argument is presented also indicates a certain attitude towards Canada's industrial development. Images of a stark and underdeveloped South America, for instance, are contrasted with the images of "lovely new cities,"<sup>40</sup> in Canada. The suggestion is, perhaps, that Canada is superior to South America if for no other reason than its greater resources and development. Again, industry and technology are revered in Oil in Canada, which presents an example of the way in which the positive treatment of technology in film was calculated to elicit very specific emotional and intellectual responses from the audience.

Camera angles are another important feature affecting the way in which the audience responds, or are meant to respond, to the individual subjects being dealt with in film. Film-makers generally agree that the impact of a shot depends upon two factors: the distance of the shot and the angle from which it is taken. Distance affects the audience's reactions

---

40. Oil for Canada, (NFB, 1949).

in terms of the degree to which individuals respond to the image: the closer the shot, the greater the emotional impact and the greater the identification. Camera angles also have a great deal to do with the types of messages conveyed to the audience and the way in which they respond to the visual images. A low angle shot, that is a shot taken from below the subject, for instance, increases the amount of respect or admiration generated for the subject. It is very important then, in analyzing what film-makers meant to accomplish in a the film, to notice these aspects of its composition.<sup>41</sup>

These observations are extremely useful in analyzing Oil for Canada?, for camera techniques have been used very clearly to create certain attitudes throughout the film. The most dominant aspect of the use of visual images in the film is their value in presenting Canada's technology and industry. Scenes of tractors, dredging machines and other equipment are treated with close, low angle shots, thus creating a sense of awe and admiration. And as previously stated, it is from the connection with these forms of technology and the resources which they are exploiting that Canadian nationalism was said to have derived. Canada's greatness, according to the films of this period, was based upon premises very different from those of even ten years before. Ideas of Canadian moral superiority, which were a dominant aspect of the nationalism before this time, had

---

41. Densus DeNitto, Film:Form and Feeling, (New York:Harper and Row Publishers Inc., 1985), pp. 13-46.

dissipated. This shift in the basis of nationalist ideology from a perception of Canada's moral superiority to an acknowledgement of her economic superiority following the war is apparent in many of the Canadian non-fiction films of the post-war period.

The 1947 NFB film What is Canada?, claimed that for Canadians, "their country is a land pioneering in new industries and scientific discoveries, offering greater opportunities."<sup>42</sup> Another film, Power Valley, dealt with the building of a power plant in Shawinigan Falls where, "The falls were harnessed and with the power obtained from them, Shawinigan feeds major heavy industries which have been since created where an Indian village has become factory city."<sup>43</sup> The film went on to expound the positive aspects of these developments and to look at the way in which modernization, and its technological developments, had improved the quality of life in Canada. Again, the film implied that Canada's greatness was derived from these developments. However, the final statement of the film is truly indicative of the way individuals saw, or perhaps simply wanted to see, their country. The closing narrative stated that "This has been the story of one man's vision and his ability to bring his vision to actuality in just one section of a vast country whose resources are yet in the process of development. The

---

42. What Is Canada?, (NFB, 1947).

43. National Film Board Archives, P.A.C. no. 11932, Box 31, file 10-525. "NFB Info Sheet Power Valley."



untapped wealth and power of the country are the heritage of all, farmer and banker, engineer and factory worker."<sup>44</sup>

(5) Psychological Themes

Along with the growing interest in the process of reconstruction and economic development there developed a growing concern for the level of mental health in the country.<sup>45</sup> This was in part, due to the fact that there were a large number of individuals during this period who were experiencing mental illness as a result of the emotional stress which had emerged during the turbulence of the preceding depression and war years. It was also, however, due to the growing perception that having individuals who were incapacitated by mental illness was not only harmful to the individual but was also detrimental to society in general. By contrast, it was felt that through the efforts of the department of Health and Welfare in the area of mental health, Canada could produce "healthy and cooperative member of the community."<sup>46</sup> To a country which was looking toward redevelopment, having mentally-ill individuals in society was not only a social problem but an economic one as well for it led to lower productivity. At the 1951 conference of the Canadian Mental Health Association one psychologist gave his

---

44. Ibid., "Power Valley Info Sheet."

45. Saturday Night, (March 27, 1948).

46. Saturday Night, (August 14, 1948).

prescription for mental health. His first recommendation was, "Do your job with increasing zeal; the more interest you have in it, the less you will worry about alarms of war."<sup>47</sup> This idea is just one indication of how the concepts of worker productivity and mental health had become entwined.

There were thus an increasing number of motion-pictures dealing with mental illness after the war, most of which were concerned with its prevention. The most popular of these films were a part of the Mental Mechanisms series, developed in 1947 by Robert Anderson. Anderson started the film series as a result of his perception of a public need for education about the nature of mental illness. Anderson felt that mental illness was too little understood and that as a result, afflicted individuals were receiving neither adequate care nor enough sympathetic understanding.<sup>48</sup>

The Mental Mechanisms series evolved into a mainstay of the NFB repertoire, and proved to be very popular. Films in the series generally followed a set format. An individual was introduced to the audience, given a unique character, and then shown to have a psychological disability which not only controlled his or her life in some negative fashion but also decreased the ability to function within society. The films then went on to give a prognosis of the nature and derivation of the individual's psychological malady and to suggest how the illness might be avoided. Some of the titles included in

---

47. Food for Thought, (June 1, 1951).

48. Robert Anderson, Interview with author, (January 1987).

this series and which followed this format were: Feelings of Rejection (1947), Feelings of Hostility (1948), Drug Addict (1948), Over Dependency (1949), and Feelings of Depression (1950).

One of these, Feelings of Rejection is a film about Margaret who is unmarried but, "by all appearances a quiet competent girl."<sup>49</sup> Margaret's problem stems from "her overwhelming fear of losing love and not being wanted,"<sup>50</sup> we are told. In fact, she is so concerned with gaining acceptance that she overcompensates and loses completely the ability to say no, but more importantly, she also cannot deal with "situations calling only for normal competition." Margaret's lack of competitive zeal is presented as a real handicap, because this lack assertiveness curbs what the film terms, "the normal desire for doing," and she is not able to, "take part with confidence and satisfaction in the world of [her] fellow men."<sup>51</sup> Margaret, it is explained, "is not the only individual with this difficulty."<sup>52</sup> The film suggests that individuals like Margaret who, due to mental illness, cannot engage in competition which is at the heart of the capitalist system in some way threaten its very existence and therefore must be treated.

The film, however, gives no suggestion that the problems

---

49. Feelings of Rejection, (NFB, 1947).

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

which Margaret is experiencing might be the result of flaws in society as a whole. Through close-ups of the character and the intensity with which the focus is placed upon her, the film indicates that the problem rests within Margaret herself. It is stated that, her problem lies in the fact that, "some lessons of childhood [in this case Margaret's means of gaining acceptance], can be learned too well and can be carried over into adult life."<sup>53</sup> The only thing, therefore, that is needed is for Margaret to recognize and deal with her problem and to unlearn this negative behavior. Society bears no responsibility other than to help Margaret to understand those problems; however, it does bear the brunt of the problem in the form of decreased worker productivity.

In another Mental Mechanisms film, Feelings of Depression, John, a successful businessman, is suffering from depression. This depression, we discover, is a result of his latent resentment of his mother's obvious favoritism toward John's brother and, "inability to incorporate her love for both brothers."<sup>54</sup> The solution to John's problems then is very simple: all that is needed is for John to recognize his feelings and then "with ...understanding he will find his way toward a fruitful release of his abilities."<sup>55</sup> Again, the onus is placed squarely upon the individual to deal with his or her own psychological problems.

---

53. Ibid.

54. Feelings of Depression, (NFB, 1950).

55. Ibid.

Finally, the most controversial of all of these films in the Mental Mechanisms series was one titled Drug Addict. This film was barred from the United States on the grounds that, "The treatment given the addict in the film did not "coincide" with that of the U.S. narcotics officials. The film treats the addict as in need of sympathetic medical care, whereas the Narcotics Bureau felt that the addict should be subject to criminal correction."<sup>56</sup> Although not banned in Canada, it did receive much the same criticism. The fact that the film did not meet with general public acceptance can, perhaps, be attributed to the fact that it was one of the only films of the series which did not deal with a "safe" or pleasant subject and it was not blatantly obvious about placing the responsibility for the individual's disability and his or her recovery solely upon the shoulders of the individuals themselves. Yet, the film in no way suggested that accountability for the drug addict's position rested with society in general. In this film Anderson suggested that the individual who abused drugs had a serious psychological problem and implies again that the root of the problem lay with the individual themselves. The drug addict, "seeks a contentment which is not within himself,"<sup>57</sup> and it is the responsibility of the medical profession to simply to help the individual correct this psychological malady in order to become once again a functioning member of society.

---

56. Motion Picture Herald, (Feb. 19, 1949).

57. Drug Addict, (NFB, 1948).

The use of drugs, as in other forms of mental illness, was approached, again from the perspective that it decreased worker productivity and contributed to the emergence of other social problems.

All of those films which were a part of the Mental Mechanisms series placed the blame for personal malfunction squarely on the individual. The society or state in which these individuals lived was not presented as a factor. The characters, or the individuals who raised them, were presented as the sole catalysts in the problems which beset them. Robert Anderson once said about his films that they were, "to use and not just to see."<sup>58</sup> and this didactic concept was an integral part of his approach to the behavioral topics dealt with in this film series. They were clearly intended to be used by individuals and institutions to help correct deviant or non-productive behavior, but they did not point toward any meaningful social or political change.

In the guide to another Mental Mechanisms film, The Feelings of Rejection, parents were encouraged to take an active concern in the problems of their community such as lack of jobs, poor wages, poor or corrupt government, social prejudice, low living standards and inadequate medical care. However, the approach to problems was very optimistic, in that their solutions were presented as being easily derived

---

58. Public Archives of Canada, RG 33/28, Vol. 24, "Robert Anderson: A Film-maker Looks At His Craft."

from within the confines of the present social and political structure. The guide which was distributed to be used in conjunction with the film stated that, "Parents who really want to advance democracy and mental health (the two go hand and glove) can join others in the effort to alleviate these social problems."<sup>59</sup>

These comments were fully consistent with the perception that good mental health was necessary in order to create an effective, prosperous community and nation, and to perpetuate the democratic ideal. However, the actual film conveyed none of the ideas of social reform which were laid out in the guide. The fact that this small acknowledgement of social ills was expressed only in the guide to the film indicates how far motion pictures of the period had moved away from the area of social criticism. One individual wrote, with reference to the Mental Mechanism series, that, "such films showed that our scientists are not lagging behind those of other nations and pointed to their value in turning out better citizens."<sup>60</sup> Turning out better citizens, it appears, was what the Mental Mechanisms series was all about.

Films in the Mental Mechanisms series were, however, not the only films dealing with mental illness during this period. The Department of Health and Welfare through the NFB was also producing a large number dealing with psychology,

---

59. P.A.C. MG 30 D346, Vol. 1, "Guide to 'Feelings of Rejection.'"

60. P.A.C., MG 30 D346, Vol 1, "Guide to 'Over Dependency.'"

particularly issues concerning the correct methods of childrearing. One of the most interesting of the films produced at this time is one which was made as a part of the popular NFB Canada Carries On series, titled What's On Your Mind? This film deals with the problem of mental illness, its causes and prevention. At several points in the film it seems to suggest that perhaps there might be some connection between the state of society in general and the increase in mental illness; "for who can measure the wear and tear on the mind in the search for a place to live." Furthermore it adds, "What wasteful ravages are made on the nerve centres of the brain by the uncertainties of the job."<sup>61</sup> However, statements such as these were overridden by the other more pronounced theme in the film; that is, "Prevention should be stressed. Parents must exercise care in shaping the development of their children, so that they may grow into healthy normal citizens."<sup>62</sup> Normal citizens, in essence meant healthy productive workers. The film began with a rather ominous shot of a rather deranged looking man who "no longer able to cope with life's problems...escaped into his own fantasies."<sup>63</sup> The message which stood out in the film then, either intentionally or unintentionally, was that the problems within society did not need to be corrected, but

---

61. What's On Your Mind?, (NFB, 1947).

62. N.F.T.S.A., Micro-Film Index, "Info Sheet, 'What's On Your Mind?'"

63. What's On Your Mind?, (NFB, 1947).



rather the individual's inability to deal with those problems.

The question then arose as to why those people who had psychological problems were unable to deal with the difficulties and the frustrations of everyday living. The film-makers seemed to argue that parents, and in particular mothers, planted the seeds of the psychological ills which individuals develop later in life. In one scene a psychiatrist tells a child's parents that "breakdowns come later after a bad childhood."<sup>64</sup> A bad childhood, the psychiatrist goes on to say, is one where the child does not feel completely secure in the environment, with parents disagreeing, and particularly mothers nagging. All of these negative situations were the ingredients for an unhappy childhood and possible psychological problems in the future. Again, individuals, in this case the parents, were responsible for the emergence of mental illness. Riots and suicide depicted at the end of the film, all present a vision of what might emerge if individuals in the society did not work towards alleviating the causes and results of mental illness, that is, social chaos and confusion.

The influence of psychological factors on the wellbeing of the population, on the general social climate of the country and, more directly, productivity itself, was determined to be most directly connected with the workplace. This idea began in North America following World War I, with

---

64. Ibid.

the notion that there was a direct connection between human behavior in the workplace and productivity. With these ideas in place and with the growth in labour unionism during the nineteen-twenties, it was natural that management would eventually take up the notion of trying to regulate human behavior. At that time, it was generally believed that "the more thoroughly management understood the workers the less chance there would be to make those drastic errors which had nurtured unionism."<sup>65</sup> The idea of controlling workers' behavior, which had begun during World War I as a response to the need for increased production remained popular. But, according to Loren Bartz, industrial psychology, a discipline designed to control the worker in order to benefit management, really took root "in World War II [when] American management became convinced that the behavior of people-employees and consumers was the key variable upon which much of its success and failure rested."<sup>66</sup>

Various schemes developed with the help of industrial psychologists to help management understand, and therefore control, workers' behaviour. Industrialists liked the idea of using the tools of social scientists, one of which was film, in order "to build initiative, cooperation, and the will to work within our people."<sup>67</sup> Bartz suggests that

---

65. Loren Bartz, The Servants of Power, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1960.), p. 15.

66. Ibid., p. 142-143.

67. Ibid., p. 167.

within this framework, the issue of leadership emerged shortly after 1946.<sup>68</sup> Management was not longer intensely concerned with the technical aspects of industrial production but, rather with control of the human factor because it had come to be seen as a key to increased production. Industrial psychology was also important in controlling the worker for purposes of increased production. Understanding human relations, "in short, was the only certain way to avoid a conflict,"<sup>69</sup> and thus to avoid social problems and loss of productivity.

It is apparent from an examination of Canadian films produced at this time that these ideas were not confined solely to industrial United States. In one film, Over Dependency, Jimmy, the main character, will not rouse himself from bed to go to work. Beside him the clock ticks away as a metaphor for the productive hours that he is wasting. We are told that Jimmy has missed a lot of work and that it is due to an "emotional conflict" which, even when he was a boy stopped him from engaging in "normal competitive games."<sup>70</sup> Although this problem is shown to affect his family a great deal, Jimmy's boss is phoned for advice and he phones the household often, thus indicating very strongly the stake that industry has in Jimmy's mental-well being. Films associating mental well-being with productivity were common during this

---

68. Ibid., p. 169.

69. Ibid., p. 193.

70. "Over Dependency", (NFB 1949).

period.

As well, films which were shown to workers, such as the series on industrial safety instigated by the Department of Labour, also utilized the new concept of using motion pictures to control workers' behaviour and thus to increase productivity. Films on trade unionism such as Take It Up With The L.M.P.C., all encouraged workers to cooperate in order to produce these goods of peace. In the words of the film's narrator, "Industry is working to produce the goods of peace. The boss is working...You're working..."<sup>71</sup> . As mentioned earlier industry was also now using films such as those produced by Crawley films on a unprecedented scale to train their workers in correct production methods as well as maintain the correct attitudes toward work. An indication of how industry responded to the the idea of using film, according to a survey taken of several companies by Crawley Films in 1950, 30 percent of respondents stated that they would use films and 12 percent were to to sponsor film production themselves.<sup>72</sup> These were just a few examples of what was an increasing trend towards the use of Canadian motion pictures by industry as an educational tool during the postwar years, not only to impart information but to also create the right occupational attitudes toward work.

In conclusion, films of the post-war period were

---

71. P.A.C., No. 112050, file 02-045, Box f 149., "Script, Take It Up With The L.M.P.C."

72. P.A.C. RG33/28 vol. 48 "Crawley Commentary, Crawley Films Ltd." file 48.

characterized by the stress placed on the ideas of individualism over collectivism, and control and stability over progressivism. As Gary Evans points out, during the war Canadian films espoused the themes that, "the people were fighting to save democracy, to wipe tyranny from the earth, to affirm the worth of the individual free spirit in the era of 'mass men' to achieve worldwide neighborliness, to enjoy material abundance for all, to undertake resource development, to acquire knowledge, and to offer service to the community."<sup>73</sup>

Once the war had ended it was time to cash in on the fruits of victory, to begin to work towards the achievement of national objectives. Individualism and concern with the creation of a psychologically well-adjusted population, stable and traditional family life, and materialism were all seen as part of the move to achieve these ends. Film-makers, politicians, and individuals had come to understand the impact of film and had come to believe that, "the conflict between East and West was essentially a struggle of ideas and that the film medium was one of the most effective means for expressing the ideas for which [the] country [stood]."<sup>74</sup>

---

73. Gary Evans, John Grierson and the National Film Board: The Politics of Wartime Propaganda, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), p. 132.

74. Chris Whynot, "The NFB and Labour, 1945-50", Journal of Canadian Studies, vol. 16 NO. 1, (Spring, 1981), p. 18.

### CONCLUSION

While there is no doubt that John Grierson's ideas radically affected the way in which the National Film Board and the entire film industry evolved during the postwar years, his leadership was not the only formative factor in its development. According to Canadian film historian Peter Morris, during the war years at the NFB, "Grierson's influence on the young filmmakers' conception of their role was total: film was most properly used as a tool of social communication. But on the form and shape of that "tool" there were differences, differences that began to surface mostly after Grierson's departure."<sup>1</sup> Popular ideas and the general mood of the country altered significantly following the war, and those changes, in turn, did much to transform the character of the film industry, and as Peter Morris suggests, the form of the motion-picture as a "tool" of communications.

What precisely were the social influences and ideas which determined the structure and shape of Canada's postwar motion-picture industry? The general mood of the country had undergone a significant transition, wrought by the previous years of war and depression. For nearly twenty-five years individuals had been grappling with moral and political

---

1. Morris, Peter. "After Grierson: The National Film Board 1945-1953." Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 16, No. 1. (Spring, 1981), p. 10.

questions, as well as worrying about their own safety and wellbeing. The uneasy state of international affairs following the war and realizations brought about by the Gouzenko affair did little to re-establish a sense of security.

A byproduct of this widespread atmosphere of uncertainty was that Canadians began to focus on establishing the stability which could be achieved through the creation of national unity and prosperity, and individuals began to look toward government for the leadership needed to achieve those ends. This conservative social trend which emerged as a result of public opinion and the government policy which evolved as a result of it, was reflected both in motion-pictures and in motion-picture institutions such as the NFB and private film companies.

One of the prime factors influencing the format of changes to the motion picture industry was the notion of public education. New attitudes toward education not only affected the way in which Canadians felt that the objectives of the reconstruction era could best be achieved but also affected the way in which the film industry was perceived to fit into the process of national development. John Grierson described the function of education as being "the immediate and practical one of being a deliberate social instrument...holding citizens to the common purpose their general has set for them... Education is activist or it is

nothing."<sup>2</sup> Although still viewed primarily as a social instrument following the Second World War, Grierson's particular notion of education as activist had most certainly been dropped. In motion-pictures specifically, the dogmatic and overtly political propaganda of wartime was replaced by a less political approach. Education, and thus non-fiction film as an extension of formal education, had become a means by which traditional values and behavior were to be reaffirmed and the basis for those traditional values clarified.

It was largely as a result of these notions regarding education which emerged following the war that the Canadian film industry continued to be devoted almost exclusively to non-fiction film, a cultural medium which was seen as especially well-fitted for educating the public toward the goals of reconstruction. These goals were essentially the creation of social stability through the return to traditional values and the creation of both national and individual prosperity. The ideas that Grierson had developed through his wartime films, such as the concept of internationalism and individual social and political responsibility, were suddenly no longer congruent with the mindset of Canadians nor the direction that the country was taking. These themes were therefore given significantly less emphasis in the films of the NFB and in their place came

---

<sup>2</sup> P.A.C., John Grierson, "Education and the New Order," p. 1.



nationalistic films which centered almost entirely upon national and individual concerns. Likewise, private film also developed in such a way during this period so as to deal with practical problems of national and individual concern;

Canada's motion-picture industry...[was] based fundamentally upon the industrial film, the educational, the documentary and the travelogue... the real money maker in Canada [was] still the industrial film, welcomed by the leading public utility, transportation, mining, agricultural, fishing and manufacturing interests of the country for its public relations, advertising, and promotion."<sup>3</sup>

In short, private filmmaking in Canadian had devolved into the realm of promoting economic development. Like those films sponsored by government, privately sponsored non-fiction films also reflected a desire to gain economic security and to ensure social stability through economic development.

Economic materialism was reflected in the National Film Board and in privately produced motion-pictures of the postwar period, illustrating the predominance of the concern

---

<sup>3</sup> Harry Chapin Plummer, "The Industrial Film," Canadian Business, (February, 1947), p. 23.

with national economic restoration and development. Nationalism was expressed now less in terms of a concept of moral superiority, and more in terms of Canada's vast economic potential. The primary goal of motion-pictures had become the creation of the conditions under which this economic potential might be realized.

One way in which it was perceived that economic development might be fostered was through the restoration of traditional values and ways of life,-a theme which appeared frequently in films of the postwar period. Films consistently encouraged individuals to get married, and to start large families. The agrarian ideal was also a frequent theme of postwar Canadian films. Agriculture was not only presented as a business upon which economic revitalization and the destiny of the nation hinged but also as a superior way of life. Equally, the role of women was also an issue which dominated the postwar period and the motion-pictures of the period reflect this concern. Women were presented as the basis of the family unit. It was therefore felt that if traditional family life was to be re-established in the country, women would have to be encouraged to resume their traditional roles within the family unit. Consequently motion-pictures of the period portrayed women almost exclusively in traditional roles within the home, and women working outside of the home were not portrayed in films of the period at all.

Finally, mental health was a key social issue which was

dealt with frequently in Canadian films of the postwar period. This social concern stemmed not only from the fact that at the time there was a generalized interest in psychology, but also because mental health had come to be seen as an important part of the reconstruction process. In order for the country to return to a "normal" state, individuals had to be taught how to deal with new postwar realities. Individuals also needed to learn to cope in the postwar world if the country was to have a stable and competent workforce. Tied in with this idea was the perception that a stable family life necessitated the recognition of mental disabilities and the movement toward their treatment. These ideas were summarized by one psychologist who, "emphasized the experience of the last war, that children must suffer least when they have the assurance of parental love and care, and that now we must try to strengthen family life against the threat of a "society on the edge". Family life, and especially maternal care or the best possible substitutes for it, require the full use of all our social resources, family agencies, education for motherhood, marriage counselling, psychological and psychiatric services and child caring agencies."<sup>4</sup>

These are but a few of the salient themes which emerged in Canadian films of the period. They, and in fact the whole Canadian film industry, reflected a very conservative postwar

---

<sup>4</sup> "Mental Health in a Period of Stress", Food for Thought, vol 27, (June 1, 1951), p. 15

society, a society which was trying to make sense of what seemed at that time to be an extremely chaotic world. The role of motion-pictures in Canada was no longer seen as an instrument for social change, as Grierson and many like him had once perceived it to be. Now it was more closely related to the mandate presented by one corporate voice: "the best informational film will be one in which a competent storyteller who is interested in human beings attempts to make some intelligible arrangement out of the chaos of his subject or out of the muddle of human life."<sup>5</sup>

In 1951 the Massey Commission report on the Arts, Letters, and Sciences in Canada was completed, and with its completion signalled the establishment of a national film policy in Canada. It was a policy born of the developments of the preceding twelve years and one which was to have long term implications for the Canadian motion-picture industry. The Massey Commission report examined film production exclusively in terms of nonfiction film, a move which illustrated not only attitudes which had developed toward film at the time but also illustrated the government's decision not to encourage the development of a motion-picture industry in the country.

This lack of incentive for Canadian filmmakers preordained that there was to be virtually no feature film

---

5 P.A.C. The Royal Bank of Canada Monthly Letter, "Movies in Education and Industry" (February, 1948), RG 27, Vol 858, file 8-3-19-3-4-1 pt. 9.

industry in Canada for nearly twenty years. During the forties only one feature film was made outside of Quebec and filmmaking continued at an extremely slow pace through the mid nineteen-sixties. It was not until 1967 that the government bowed to public pressure and agreed to support the Canadian feature film industry in the form of the Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC), a fund set up to help subsidize aspiring Canadian filmmakers. Following World War II while most countries were working toward developing their feature film industry Canada was still simply trying to encourage the development of a private non-fiction film industry. It was a policy which resulted in Canada lagging behind other countries in terms of its expertise in the area of motion-picture production, a condition from which the country is just beginning to recover.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### I PRIMARY SOURCES

#### (a) MANUSCRIPTS

Government of Canada, "House of Commons Debates." 1945-1950.

National Film Board Archives(hereafter NFB Archives),  
National Film Board Annual Reports,1945-1950.

NFB Archives, "The National Film Board of Canada.", Box  
3210, A72.

NFB Archives, Press Report Files, 1945-1950

NFB Archives, Production files, (various films 1945-1950).

NFB Archives, "The Relationship of NFB Production to  
Government Policies 1945-1953.", File 3012 Box 2948.

NFB Archives, "Facts About The Film Board.", File 3210, Box  
A72.

NFB Archives, "Women's Archival Film Study Package: How They  
Saw Us." File 2118.

National, Film, Television and Sound Archives (hereafter  
NFTSA) 4 Days In May (6 to 9), Films, workshops, Share  
and Exchange, (National Film Board, 1980).

NFTSA, "Has Anybody Here Seen Canada.". research materials  
on microfilm.

NFTSA List and description of films in the Crawley Films  
collection.

NFTSA, "National Film Society" vertical files.

National Library of Canada, "The Canadian Institute of  
Public Opinion: Gallup Poll Surveys," 1945-1950.

Provincial Archives of Alberta, Department of the Provincial  
Secretary, 70.414, 2310 "Annual Reports".

Provincial Archives of Alberta, Department of the Provinvial  
Secretary, 71.170/1, "Censor Board files".

Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC), Robert Anderson  
papers, MG30, D346, Documents pertaining to activities  
in film production, 1945-50.

PAC, Evelyn Cherry papers, MG31, D31, Documents pertaining to activities in film production, 1945-1950.

PAC, Crawley papers, MG28/III. Papers pertaining to film production activities of Crawley Films Ltd, 1945-1950.

PAC, C.D. Howe papers, MG27/III B20 142 and 143.

PAC, Proceedings of "the Royal Commission On National Development in The Arts, Letters and Sciences.", RG 33/28.

PAC, Records of the Department of Labour, RG27, Vol 615, Records pertaining to the National Film Board.

PAC, Records of the Department of Labour, RG27, Vol 858, Records pertaining to the National Film Board.

PAC, Records of the Department of Trade and Commerce, RG20, Vol 575 and 578, Documents pertaining to the Canadian Cooperation Project.

(b) Films

Art For Everybody, (National Film Board NFB- 1948), NFTSA -Ottawa.

Atlantic Crossroads, (NFB-1945), National Film, Television and Sound Archives NFTSA-Ottawa.

Begone Dull Care, (NFB-1949), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Canadian Headlines of 1945, (Associated Screen News-1945), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Canadian Headlines of 1946, (Associated Screen News-1946), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Canadian Headlines of 1947, (Associated Screen News-1947), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Canadian Headlines of 1948, (Associated Screen News-1948), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Canadian Headlines of 1949, (Associated Screen News-1949), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Canadian Headlines of 1950, (Associated Screen News-1950), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Dear Babs, Vocational Training Dept of Labour and Klever Klad Presses Ltd.-late 1940's), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Drug Addict, (NFB-1948), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Family Circles in the "Window on Canada" series, (NFB-1949),  
NFTSA-Ottawa.

Farmers for the Future, (Imperial Oil and the Junior Farmers  
Association of Ontario-1949), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Feelings of Depression, (NFB-1950), NFB Archives-Montreal.

The Feelings of Hostility, (NFB and the Dept. of Health and  
Welfare-1948), NFB Archives-Montreal.

The Feeling of Rejection, (NFB and the Dept. of Health and  
Welfare-1947), NFB Archives-Montreal.

The Fight Against Cancer, (NFB-1950), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Food-Secret of Peace, (NFB-1945), NFB Archives-Montreal.

The Great Canadian Shield, (NFB-1945), NFB Archives  
Montreal.

Guilty Men, (NFB-1945), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Has Anybody Seen Canada:A History of Canadian Movies, (NFB  
1978), NFTSA-Ottawa.

He Acts His Age, (Crawley Films-1949), NFTSA-Ottawa.

The Imperial Plowing Match and Farm Machinery Demonstration,  
(Imperial Oil for the Ontario Plowmen's Association-  
1946), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Invisible Armour, (NFB-1948), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Know Your Baby, (Crawley Films-1947), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Land in Trust, (NFB-1949), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Local 100, (NFB-1950), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Look to the Forest, (NFB-1950), NFB-Archives-Montreal.

The Loon's Necklace, (Crawley Films-1949), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Now the Peace, (NFB-1945), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Of Japanese Descent, (NFB-1945), NFB Archives Montreal.

Oil for Canada, (NFB-1949), NFTSA-Ottawa.

On to Fortune, (Crawley Films-1948), NFTSA-Ottawa.



One World or None, (NFB-1947), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Our Daily Bread, (Associated Screen News-1945?), NFTSA-Ottawa.

The Outside Run, (Associated Screen News-1950), NFTSA-Ottawa.

The People Between, (NFB-1947), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Peoples of Canada, (NFB-1947), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Prairie Homes, (NFB-1947), NFB Archives-Montreal.

R.C.M.P. File 1365, (NFB-1947), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Road to Recovery, (NFB-1945) NFTSA-Ottawa.

Safe Clothing in the "Accident's Don't Just Happen" series, (NFB-1949), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Statesman in the Making, (Progressive Conservative Association-1948), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Stuff for Stuff, NFB and Philip Ragan Productions-1948), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Summer is For Kids, (NFB-1948), NFTSA-Ottawa.

What's On Your Mind, (NFB-1947), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Who Is My Neighbour, (Crawley Films and the NFB-1946), NFB Archives-Montreal.

Who Will Teach Your Child, (NFB-1948), NFTSA-Ottawa.

Workers On The Land, (NFB-1946), NFB Archives-Montreal.

#### (c) Published Materials

The Canadian Film Weekly, 1945-1950.

The Canadian Moving Picture Digest, Jan. 1945-Dec. 1950.

Food for Thought Jan. 1945-Dec. 1950.

Maclean's Magazine, Jan. 1945-Dec. 1950.

Saturday Night, Jan. 1945-Dec. 1950.

## II SECONDARY SOURCES

### (a) Articles

"The Amazing Mr Rank." Maclean's Magazine, 5, June 1945, p. 11.

"The Basis of Social Security." Canadian Business, June 1943, p. 6.

Bassett, Cyril. "Film Board to Rule Industry?" The Financial Post, Vol. 1, No. 43, (October, 1949), p. 1.

Bland, M. Susan. "Henrietta the Homemaker, and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine 1939-50." Atlantis, Vol. 8, (Spring, 1983), pp. 61-86.

"Canada's Road to Social Security." Canadian Business, March 1944, p. 44.

"Canadians in Drive for Production To Cut Down U.S. Dollar Drain." Variety, 25, November 1947, p. 1.

"Col. Blimp Comes to Canada." Canadian Business, February 1949, p. 25.

"The Council for Culture." Saturday Night, 12, June 1951, p. 7.

Cox, Kirwin. "The Grierson Files." Cinema Canada. No. 56. (June-July 1979), pp. 16-24.

"Crawley Gross Rises in 1950." The Financial Post, 20, January 1951, p. 14.

"A Crew-Cut View Of The Massey Report." Maclean's Magazine, 15, July 1951, p. 2.

"Cultural Time-Table." Food for Thought Vol.12, (December 1951), pp. 1-2.

"Does Canada Owe Its Artists A Living." Saturday Night, 24, July 1951, p. 11.

"Education and the Massey Report." Saturday Night, 19, June 1951, p. 10.

Elder, Kathryn. "The Legacy of John Grierson." Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 21, No. 4, (Winter, 1987), pp. 152-161.

- Evans, Gary. "The Politics of Propaganda." Cinema Canada, No. 56 (June-July 1979), pp. 12-15.
- "Film Board Facing Major Test?" The Financial Post, 19, November 1949, p. 1.
- "Fourth Estate: Power or Pressure?" Saturday Night, 28, August 1951, p. 12.
- "A Growing Interest in the Mind and Something of What It Does." Saturday Night, 27, March 1943, p. 19.
- "Have Independent Films a Look-In?" Saturday Night, 14, August 1951, p. 24.
- Herrick, Doug. "John Grierson: The Canadian Connection." Cinema Canada, No. 49/50 (Sept-Oct, 1979), pp. 32-40.
- "Honeymoon Hobby Began \$200,000 Movie Business." The Financial Post, 9, April 1949, p. 15.
- "How Movie Men Would Clip Wings of NFB." The Financial Post, 22, April 1950, p. 2.
- "The Industrial Film." Canadian Business, February 1947, p. 23.
- Innis, Harold A. "The Problem of Mutual Understanding with Russia." Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LIII, No. 1, (Spring, 1946), pp. 93-100.
- Journal of Canadian Studies, Special film edition, Vol. 16, No. 1. (Spring, 1981).
- Kitchen, Brigitte. "The Marsh Report." Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol 21, No. 2, (Summer, 1986). pp. 38-48.
- "The Massey Report." Food for Thought, Vol. 12, (October 1951), pp. 1-9.
- McInnes, Graham. "Canada: Producer of Films." Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 52, No. 2. (1945), pp. 185-194.
- McLuhan, Marshall. "American Advertising." Horizon, #93-94, pp. 132-41.
- McLuhan, Marshall. "Another Aesthetic Peep-Show." Sewanee Review, Vol. 53 (Autumn, 1945), pp. 674-676.
- McLuhan, Marshall. "The 'Color-Bar' of BBC English." Canadian Forum, Vol 29 (April 1949), pp. 9-10.
- McLuhan, Marshall. "Footprints In The Sands of Crime." Sewanee Review, Vol 54, (October 1946), pp. 617-34.

- McLuhan, Marshall. "Inside Blake and Hollywood." Sewanee Review, Vol 55. (October 1947), pp. 710-715.
- McLuhan, Marshall. "The Later Innis." Queen's Quarterly, Vol LX. No. 3 (Autumn, 1953), pp. 385-394.
- McLuhan, Marshall. "Mr Connolly and Mr Hook." Sewanee Review, Vol 55 (July 1947), pp. 167-172.
- "Mental Health in a Period of Stress." Food for Thought, Vol 27, (June 1951), pp. 15-17.
- "Mental Health of Canada's Future Citizens." Saturday Review, 14, August 1948, p. 22.
- "The Minority Culture Report." Saturday Night, 26, June 1951, p. 15.
- "No Unity In Our Social Plans." Saturday Night, 24, July 1943, p. 16.
- "On Selling Education." Saturday Night, 19, June 1951, p. 7.
- Sangster, Allan. "On the Air:The Massey Report." Canadian Forum, Vol XXXI. (August 1951), pp. 109-110.
- "Social Security for Canada." Saturday Night, 20, March 1943, p. 6.
- "The Theory Behind The Marsh Report." Saturday Night, 27, March 1943, p. 6.
- Underhill, Frank. "Liberalism a la King." Canadian Forum, Vol XXVII. (February 1948), pp. 257-258.
- Underhill, Frank. "The Massey Report." Canadian Forum, Vol. XXXI. (July 1951), p. 1.
- Underhill, Frank. "Notes On The Massey Report." Canadian Forum, Vol XXXI. (August 1951), pp. 100-102.
- Underhill, Frank. "The Politics of Freedom." Canadian Forum, Vol. XXIX. (December 1949), pp. 197-199.
- Underhill, Frank. "Random Remarks on Socialism and Freedom." Canadian Forum, Vol. XXVII. (August 1947), pp. 110-111.
- Weckler, Nora. "Education for Democracy." Canadian Forum, Vol. XXIX. (April 1949), pp. 8-9.
- "World-Wide Movie War Is Moving In On Canada." Saturday Night, 9, September 1944, p. 6.

(b) Books

- Allen, Robert C., and Gomery, Douglas. Film History Theory and Practice. New York: Newbery Award Records, 1985.
- Althouse, J.G. Address by J.G. Althouse. Toronto:W.J. Gage Ltd., 1958.
- Althouse, J.G. The Structure and Aims of Canadian Education. Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Ltd., 1950.
- Ashley, C.A. ed. Reconstruction in Canada. Toronto:University of Toronto Press, 1943.
- Barnouw, Erik. Documentary:A History of the Non-Fiction Film. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Barsam, Richard Meran. NonFiction film:A critical history. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1973.
- Barsam, Richard M. NonFiction Film:Theory and Criticism. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1976.
- Barthes, Roland. Mythologies. Translated by Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang, 1957.
- Berger, Carl. The Writing of Canadian History:Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- Berton, Pierre. Hollywood's Canada:The Americanization of Our National Image. Toronto: McLelland And Stewart, 1975.
- Bettie, Eleanor. The Handbook of Canadian Film. 2nd ed. Toronto: Peter Martin Ltd. in association with Take One Magazine, 1977.
- Beveridge, James. John Grierson:Film Master. London: Collier MacMillan Publishers, 1978.
- Bothwell, Robert;, and Drummond, Ian; and English, John. Canada Since 1945:Power, Politics, and Provincialism. Toronto:University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- Bothwell, Robert., and Granatstein, J.L. eds. The Gouzenko Transcripts. Ottawa: Deneau Publishers and Company Ltd., 1982.
- Bothwell, Robert., and Kilbourn, William. C.D. Howe:A biography. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited,

1979.

- Brady, Alexander., and Scott, F.R. Canada After The War. Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1945.
- Brown, Frank. Pattern For Prosperity. Vancouver: Mitchell Print and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1946.
- Bruce, Jean. After the War. Don Mills: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Limited, 1982.
- Cassidy, Harry M. Social Security and Reconstruction In Canada. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943.
- Corry, J.A. Democratic Government and Politics. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1946.
- Corry, J.A. Elements of Democratic Government. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Creighton, Donald. The Forked Road:Canada 1939-57. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976.
- Creighton, Donald. Harold Adams Innis:Portrait of a Scholar. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.
- Dean, Malcolm. Censored!Only in Canada:The History of Film Censorship-the Scandal Off the Screen.Toronto: Phenomena Publications, 1981.
- Denitto, Dennis. Film:Form and Feeling. New York: Harper and Row Publishers Inc., 1985.
- Dexter, Grant. Canada and the Building of Peace. Toronto: The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1944.
- Evans, Gary. John Grierson and the National Film Board:The Politics of Wartime Propaganda. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Ewen, Stuart. Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976.
- Felman, Seth., and Nelson, Joyce. Canadian Film Reader. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1977.
- The Film Services Committe of the Joint Planning Commission. Survey of Film Services in Canada. Toronto:Canadian Asociation for Adult Education, 1950.
- Fiske, John. Television Culture. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1987.

- Francis, R. Douglas. Frank Underhill: Intellectual Provocateur. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- Granatstein, J.L. A Man of Influence: Norman A. Robertson and Canadian Statecraft 1929-68. Ottawa: Deneau Publishers & Company Ltd., 1981.
- Hampton, Benjamin B. A History of the Movies. New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1970.
- Handling, Piers. ed. Self Portrait: Essays on the Canadian and Quebec Cinemas. translated by Marie Claude Hecquet and Antoinette Vidal. Ottawa: Canadian Film Institute, 1980.
- Hardy, Forsyth. ed. Grierson on Documentary. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1966.
- Innis, Harold. Empire and Communications. revised by Mary Q. Innis with forward by Marshall McLuhan. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Innis, Harold. The Ideas File of Harold Adams Innis. edited with introduction by William Christian. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- Innis, Harold A. The Strategy of Culture. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952.
- Jacobs, Lewis. The Documentary Tradition. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 1971.
- Jacobs, Lewis. The Documentary Tradition: From Nanook to Woodstock. New York: Hopkinson and Blake Publishers, 1971.
- The John Grierson Project. John Grierson and the NFB. Toronto: ECW Press, 1984.
- Jones. D.B. Movies and Memoranda: An Interpretive History of the National Film Board of Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Film Institute, 1981.
- Knellman, Martin. This Is Where We Came In: the career and character of Canadian film. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Ltd., 1977.
- Lovell, Alan., and Hillier, Jim. Studies in Documentary. London: Martin and Secker & Warburg Limited, 1972.
- Low, Rachel. Documentary and Educational Films of the 1930's. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979.

- Low, Rachel. Films of Comment and Persuasion of the 1930's. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979.
- Lowenthal, Leo. Literature and Mass Culture:Communication in Society, Vol. 1. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1984.
- Mackay, Marjorie. History of the National Film Board of Canada. Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 1964.
- Mackenzie King, W.L. Industry and Humanity. Toronto: The MacMillan Company Limited, 1947.
- Marsh, Leonard. Report on Social Security for Canada 1943. with preface by Michael Bliss. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.
- Mast, Gerald. A Short History of the Movies. Indianapolis: Pegasus, 1971.
- McCann, Richard Dyer. The People's Films:A Political History of U.S. Government Motion Pictures. New York. Hastings House Publishers, 1973.
- McLuhan, Marshall. The Mechanical Bride. Boston: Beacon Press, 1951.
- Morris, Peter. ed. The National Film Board: The War Years. Ottawa: Canadian Film Institute, 1965.
- Morton, W.L. Building Post-War Canada:Some Factors and International Aspects. Toronto: The Canadian Institute of Public Affairs, 1943.
- Nelson, Joyce. The Colonized Eye:Rethinking the Grierson Legend. Toronto:Between the Lines, 1988.
- Newton-White, E. Canadian Restoration. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1944.
- Pickersgill, J.W., and Forster, D.F. The Mackenzie King Record. Vols 2 and 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Pierson, Ruth. They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.
- Rhode, Eric. A History of Cinema From Its Origins to 1970. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.
- Roberts, Leslie. C.D.:The Life and Times of Clarence Decatur Howe. Toronto: Clarke,Irwin and Company Limited, 1957.



- Robinson, David. World Cinema:A Short History. London: Eyre Methuen, 1973.
- Rodney, James C. . Film as a National Art: NFB and the Film Board Idea. New York: Arno Press, 1977.
- Rotha, Paul., Road, Sinclair., and Griffith, Richard. Documentary Film. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1968.
- Rotha, Paul. Documentary Film. with and introduction by John Grierson. London: Faber and Faber, 1951.
- The Royal Commission on National Development In The Arts, Letters and Sciences 1949-1951. Report Of The Royal Commission On The National Development In The Arts,Letters and Sciences. Ottawa: The Kings Printer, 1951.
- Sawatsky, John. Gouzenko:The Untold Story. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1984.
- Senior, C.N. When The Boys Come Home:Their Post-War opportunities in Canada. Toronto: W.M. Collins & Sons Co. Ltd., 1944.
- Shore, Marlene. The Science of Social Redemption: McGill,the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Smith, Paul. ed. The Historian and Film. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Socknat, Thomas. Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Spottiswoode, Raymond. Film and Its Techniques. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1951.
- Theall, Donald. Understanding McLuhan:the medium is the rear view mirror. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971.
- Toll, Robert. Blacking Up:The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America. New York:Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Walz, Gene. Flashback:People and Institutions in Canadian Film History. Montreal: Mediatexte Publications Inc. by the Film Studies Association of Canada, 1986.
- Wilson, J.D., and Stamp, Robert M. Canadian Education:A History. Louis Audet ed. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970.

Wilson, J.D., and Stevenson, Hugh A. Precepts, Policy and Process: Perspectives on Contemporary Canadian Education. London, Ont.: Alexander, Blake Associates, 1977.

(c) Theses

Nash, Teresa. "Images of Women in National Film Board of Canada Film During World War II and The Post-War Years." Phd. Thesis. McGill University, 1982.

Pendakur, Manjunath, "Canadian Feature Film Industry: Monopoly and Competition." Phd. Thesis. Simon Fraser University, 1979.

Rodney, James Clifford. "The National Film Board of Canada: Its Task of Communication." Phd. Thesis. The Ohio State University, 1968.