"In step with Canada's future": The restructuring of the Boy Scout movement in Canada.

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"IN STEP WITH CANADA'S FUTURE"
THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT IN CANADA

by

Jeffrey Bonhomme

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
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ABSTRACT

IN STEP WITH CANADA'S FUTURE
THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT IN CANADA

by
JEFFREY BONHOMME

This study examined the development and restructuring of the Boy Scout movement in Canada. By focusing specifically on changes introduced in the 1960's, this examination assessed the changing needs of adolescent males, as perceived by sociologists and psychologists of the day.

Throughout the early years of the movement's existence in Canada there was little need to continually appraise the validity of the programmes. With little competition from outside sources, there was no real pressure to keep the programme emphases current and hence enacted changes were designed to alter the programme only. By the 1960's Scouting was caught unprepared for the dramatic changes in Canadian adolescent society.

In contrasting the programme changes of the 1960's to those introduced in the late 1940's and 1950's, it was determined that the earlier changes were submitted by the Scouting hierarchy in ignorance of the needs and desires of the average adolescent male. In the 1960's the Movement was made boy-centred in an attempt to meet the needs of the modern adolescent male.
Comparison with existing literature on this topic was not possible as this is virtually the first concise analysis of Scouting's developmental history in Canada.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the leaders of the Twenty-Fifth Windsor Scouting group, whose efforts help to make Scouting possible and to the Cubs and Scouts of the group whose enthusiasm and faith make the sacrifices well worthwhile.

SCOUTERS

W. John Airey - Assistant Scoutmaster / Deputy Cubmaster
Randy Hill - Assistant Cubmaster / Troop Scouter
Kevin Jewell - Assistant Cubmaster
Alvin Crundwell - Group Committee Chairman

Cubs

Rory Alnwick  Caleb Mellanby  Adam Lucier
David Paterson  Jesse Cooke  Matthew Tucker
Tory Jones  Brad Stock  Richard Drouillard
John Mucaki  Ricky Sinasac  Mike D'Andrea
Daniel Guzman  Tom Baxter  Daniel Bergeron
Andrew Jarvis  Doug Baxter  Chris Lo
Alex Telka  David Jewel  Justin Porter
Willie Ascott  Mike Thompson

SCOUTS

Johnathon Travis  Lucas Pratt  Przemek Rudowski
Adam Stewart  Bryon Telka  Joseph Cooke
George Lesperance  Justin Bisson  Nicholas Pernal
Shawn Robinson  Micheal Jarvis  Rusty Dickens
Jacob Landon  Terrance Jones  Robert Baxter
Jason Bergeron  Joshua Mellanby
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special tribute is due to Dr. Larry Kulisek, who lent enthusiasm, skill and a wide range of experience to this effort. His commitment to excellence and tremendous patience has been nothing short of inspiring.

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I would also like to thank Mr. William Davidson, whose superb teaching skills inspired me to excel.
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SYLLABUS OF TERMS

Beaver - Youth Scouting member, 5 - 11 years old.

Wolf Cub - Youth Scouting member, 8 - 11 years old.

Boy Scout - Youth Scouting member, 12 - 15 years old.

Venturer - Youth Scouting member, 15 - 18 years old.

Rover (Rover Scout) - Young adult Scouting member, 18 - 23 years old.

Scouting - generic term describing the active administration of a section programme or a variety of section programmes.

Section - Scouting programme defined by age bracket (ie. Beavers, Cubs, Scouts, Venturers and Rovers).

District Council - Scouting organization contained within a set geographic boundary - responsible to Provincial and National Headquarters.

Provincial Council - Administrative Scouting body for a particular province - responsible to National Council.

Canadian General Council. Dominion Headquarters. National Council - all are terms used for the main administrative body of Scouting in Canada (located in Ottawa).

Imperial Headquarters - World Scouting Headquarters in London, England prior to its move to Geneva, Switzerland.

Scouter - generic term used for an adult leader in any Scouting section.

Cubmaster - pre-1968 term for the senior leader in a Wolf Cub Pack.

Scoutmaster - pre-1968 term for the senior leader in a Scout Troop.
STATEMENT OF OBJECTIVES

Scouting came to Canada at a time when there were few other outlets for Canadian youth. The variety and excitement of the programme drew thousands of boys to the Movement. Throughout the two World Wars, Scouting continued to grow at a steady pace. During the 1950's and early 1960's enrollment in Scouting increased dramatically as a result of the baby boom.

In the immediate post-World War Two period the Canadian General Council launched a series of projects designed to improve the quality of the programming. These involved changes in programme format and structure without corresponding changes in their approach to youth. By the late 1950's the administrators of Scouting recognized the need to radically restructure their programmes in order to keep in step with Canadian Society. Throughout the 1960's Scouting utilized outside professionals and experienced leaders to construct a modern, boy-centred programme.

This paper will trace the roots of Scouting's difficulties in Canada and will examine the changes initiated during the 1950's and 1960's. To understand the problems as perceived by the Scouting hierarchy, this paper utilizes the source documents pertinent to the programme changes and examines the reports of the Psychologists and Sociologists whose findings were used in the revisions. The purpose of this paper is not as much to criticize the process of the revisions as it is to
understand how these changes were arrived at.

This paper is virtually the first concise investigation into Canadian Scouting's developmental history. Source documents were scattered and unavailable through conventional libraries and archives. Acquiring the necessary documentation required hundreds of hours of research in the Scouting archives.
SECTION ONE

The life of Lord Robert Stephenson Smythe Baden-Powell and the foundation of the Boy Scout Movement.
"Our greatest obligation to our children is to prepare them to understand and deal effectively with the world in which they will live and not the world we have known or the world we would prefer to have."

The Scout Leader, November, 1962
Robert Stephenson Smythe Powell was born in London, England, on February 22, 1857, the seventh son of the Reverend Professor Baden Powell and Henrietta Grace Smythe.1 With his father's death in 1860, the Baden-Powell family skirted the fine edge of financial disaster. Using the influence of her late husband's academic position with Oxford, Henrietta Baden-Powell placed some of her children in exceptional schools. In 1870 she managed to place Robert in Charterhouse and secure a substantial scholarship for his use.2

Never an exceptional student, Robert's Masters would often comment that he was a bright enough boy, but that he constantly fell asleep during his lessons.3 His extracurricular experiences at Charterhouse provided him with many of the skills he employed later in life. Although he had a definite talent for the Arts, being extremely proficient in music and drawing, the skills which later made him famous were obtained in the woods surrounding the school.

Whenever he left the confines of Charterhouse and wandered in the copse along its periphery. In this out-of-bounds area he would stalk prey, hunt rabbits, learn how to skin and cook those he caught, and build small smokeless fires upon which to cook them, without betraying his presence to the vigilant Masters.5

In essence, Baden-Powell received two distinctly different forms of education in his youth; his academic training, in
which he scarcely maintained a passing grade, and his woodcraft training, which became the central focus of his Military and Scouting careers. In 1875, at the age of eighteen, he applied to Oxford University, where despite his father's reputation with the institution, he was unable to secure acceptance. An education based on woodcraft rather than upon solid academic performance was not sufficient to gain admittance to the University.

In July of 1876, he happened upon an advertisement of an open competitive examination for commissions in Her Majesty's Army; ninety appointments in the infantry and thirty in the cavalry. He wrote the examinations for both sections, placing fifth overall in the Infantry and second in the cavalry. After a period of basic training he was gazetted out to the Thirteenth Hussars and shipped off to India.

Baden-Powell was not typical of the officers of the British Armed Forces, most of whom were financially secure, coming from influential families, seeking out the prestige that accompanied the officer class. Baden-Powell, coming from a "humble" background did not revel in the stature of being part of this corps. He took seriously his duties and recognized the important part that he and the other officers played in the maintenance of the Empire.

In 1883 he was made adjutant to Colonel Baker Russel and promoted to the rank of Captain.

With the eruption of the second Zulu War and the massacre
of British troops, reinforcements including Baden-Powell's regiment were called up. During the Zulu Campaign, Baden-Powell maintained a comprehensive diary, noting experiences and tips for future reference. He added materially to his store of information for the booklet on "scouting" he hoped some day to write.11

In 1890 Baden-Powell became an intelligence officer under the British command in Malta. During this tenure he employed his growing scouting talents as he spied on opposing forces in order to obtain particulars for his superiors. Later that same year he was transferred to the military command in South Africa to participate in quelling the Ashanti. During the five year campaign, Baden-Powell trained young officers in tracking, mapping and woodcraft.

Shortly after the failed raid staged by Sir Leander Starr Jamieson and his supporters, the Matabele of South Africa rose in revolt. Baden-Powell's regiment was assigned as part of the force to quell the chaos. Commissioned to train many of the new recruits, he chose an unorthodox approach for the British Cavalry, incorporating many of his own theories of scouting and reconnaissance. The men he trained were given functional lessons on stalking and scouting, and were subsequently detailed into groups of two or three and given practical exercises to demonstrate their capabilities.13 Successful completion of this training bestowed upon the recruits the special privilege of wearing the "scout" badge
(later the symbol of the Scout Movement) on their sleeve. For his services against the Matabele, Baden-Powell was promoted to the rank of full Colonel. 14

The pinnacle of Baden-Powell's thirty-one year military career was his defence of the North Cape Colony town of Mafeking in 1899. From a military standpoint the town was insignificant, with no natural defenses and no real strategic importance to the Boers. To defend the town, he had the services of seven hundred and fifty men of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Regiment, and three hundred able-bodied townsmen.16 The shortage of heavy field artillery posed the major dilemma in defending Mafeking. An equal number of Boers equipped with heavy field pieces would have presented a serious challenge to any commander defending the town whereas Baden-Powell at Mafeking was outnumbered nearly six to one, by a force of over six thousand Boers.

Faced with such daunting odds, Baden-Powell resorted to a series of ruses. He constantly moved his men to different defenses around the town to give the attacking Boers the impression of a much larger force.18 As the Boer laagers were distant enough from the perimeter of the town that their ability to see detail was limited, Baden-Powell ordered the men to string up phoney wire barricades. Although the town did not possess any wire to use for defences, Boer intelligence simply assumed that the stakes held actual wire, and hesitated to mount a frontal assault.19 Under seige,
several townspeople joined military engineers in the railyard and constructed a seige gun out of piping and railroad rails. The experimental piece underscored the cooperation between the civilians and the defenders and proved to be a vital addition to the town's defences.20

Throughout the two hundred and seventeen days of the seige, Baden-Powell frustrated the Boer attackers with his 'sleight-of-hand'. Food supplies were rationed and new currency and stamps were printed as he assumed near dictatorial powers.

Noticing that young boys often refused to remain in the bomb shelters during the shelling, Baden-Powell commissioned one of his officers, Major Lord Edward Cecil, to harness the energy of these youth. The result was the Mafeking Cadet Corps.21 This unit was detailed to help deliver messages to the men at the front lines, deliver civilian mail, act as orderlies and take turns at the lookout posts.22 Baden-Powell followed closely the work of the Cadet Corps. He was amazed at the eagerness with which the boys accepted responsibility and the thoroughness and fearlessness with which they had carried out their assigned tasks.23 The concept of grouping young boys together in small bands, led by one of the boys themselves, was the genesis of the Patrol System for the Scout Movement.

The early months of the South African War were disastrous for Great Britain. From the beginning the highly trained,
smartly drilled professional British soldiers were no match for the Boer troops. Defeat followed defeat for the British as they employed traditional battle tactics against the fast moving, unconventional Boers. The siege of Mafeking began as another embarrassment for the British, but with the passage of time, its defence became a national rallying point. Britons flocked to read the regular messages which were posted regarding the disposition of the town; saving Mafeking from the Boers became a national obsession. When news of the relief reached England, Baden-Powell became a national hero and was promoted to the rank of Major-General.24

In those days B-P's fame as a soldier eclipsed almost all popular reputations. Millions who could not follow closely or accurately the main events of the War looked day after day in the papers for the fortunes of Mafeking, and when finally the news of the relief was flashed throughout the world, the streets of London became impassable, and the floods of sterling, cockney patriotism were released in such a deluge of unbridled, delirious, childish joy as was never witnessed again till Armistice Night 1918.25

Winston S. Churchill

In September of 1898 he began work on a rough draft of a book called Cavalry Aids to Scouting.15 This draft was the genesis of his book, Aids To Scouting for N.C.O.'s And men, later re-written as Scouting for Boys.

Following the Boer War, Baden-Powell formed the South African Constabulary, a mounted police force designed to keep the peace in the absence of regular British forces. In designing a suitable uniform, he diverged from the standard dress practices of the rest of the Army; using a khaki shirt
with a soft collar, with the "scout" badge worn where appropriate and the broad brimmed stetson. This design, without modifications, became the first Boy Scout uniform.26

In 1903 Baden-Powell was offered the position of Inspector-General of Cavalry for Great Britain and Ireland, with responsibility for the Cavalry in Egypt and South Africa. In March of 1903, he returned to England and assumed his new responsibilities. In 1907 his term as Inspector-General expired, and on the tenth of June, he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-General and placed on the Reserve at half pay pending his next appointment.27

Upon his return to England, which he had visited only briefly during the past thirty years, he found a nation that had undergone profound changes. The South African War had been an embarassment to the British and its costs had inflicted severe damage on the economy. What Baden-Powell saw was a nation in decay from within.

A report of conditions in the British capital, just published after exhaustive study, revealed the shocking fact that thirty percent of the population of London -- a city that prided itself on being the richest in the world -- were suffering from malnutrition. Another report showed that of more than two million school boys, only about a quarter of a million were under any kind of good influence after school hours. The terrible consequences of life in the slums of the larger British cities were becoming more and more evident. Vandalism and vice were rampant -- particularly among the younger generation. Hooliganism was becoming a cause of public anxiety. Special places of detention for youths -- among them Borstan in Kent were filled to overflowing.28

There was a desperate need to provide some positive form of outlet for the energies of Britain's youth.
Several youth organizations existed, but, with the exception of one of them, few drew a substantial number of youth. The Boys' Brigade was the brainchild of William Alexander Smith, a Scottish merchant. As a devout Sunday School teacher, Smith was troubled that many of the boys seemed too unruly for their teachers. In 1883, he formulated a programme which would better serve their interests. Smith proposed turning these boys into young soldiers. He outfitted them with uniforms, drilled them with rifles and devised a general athletic programme of sports and gymnastics to keep the boys fit. The declared purpose of the Boy's Brigade was: "The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys, and the promotion of habits of obedience, reverence, discipline, self-respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness". By 1904, the Boys' Brigade had attracted 54,000 boys in the British Isles.

In April of 1904, Baden-Powell was the guest inspecting officer at the annual review of the Boys' Brigade.

The enthusiasm of the boys and their leaders opened Baden-Powell's eyes to two important facts: that boys would come eagerly in their thousands of their own accord to be trained where the training had its attractions for them, and that hundreds of adults were willing to sacrifice time and energy in the service of training these boys.

Baden-Powell was concerned, however, with the programme of training. The boys were emulating the military drill which, Baden-Powell feared created automata rather than individuals. After his inspection, he suggested that if the Boys' Brigade
produce a more dynamic syllabus. It could attract ten times its current numbers. Smith challenged him on the spot to create such a programme, using his book *Aids to Scouting* as a basis.33

The essential purpose of *Aids to Scouting* was to prepare men for war. Its focus on small group interactions and outdoor activities, was ideal for a youth movement. What was needed was not a major revision of the book, but rather a selective removal of the military connotations it contained, along with an accompanying program of progression.

While Baden-Powell was reviewing his work in England, another youth movement was just getting underway in the United States. Ernest Thompson Seton, a noted naturalist, had been commissioned by the *Ladies Home Journal* to prepare a series of articles on American woodcraft.34 In the process, Seton began to form the idea of a youth movement based upon Indians, woodcraft and the outdoors. In 1906, he published *The Birch Bark Roll*, the handbook for his new group, *The American Woodcraft Indians*.35 Hearing that Baden-Powell was devising a youth programme in England, Seton sent him a copy of *Birch Bark* for his consideration. Shortly thereafter, while on a tour of England, Seton met with Baden-Powell to discuss concepts and exchange ideas.

Baden-Powell did not intend to create a separate youth programme with Scouting. In his desire to assess the feasibility of his scheme he sent copies of his draft
programme, "Boy Scouts, a Suggestion" to a multitude of influential men for their comment. The Scouting scheme was to be a codicil to existing youth programmes such as schools, YMCA's, Sunday Schools, football clubs, Boys' Brigades, and other similar youth organizations.

With the completion of his book, Scouting For Boys, Baden-Powell organized a practical evaluation of his ideas and programmes prior to publication. To test whether his scheme would interest boys of different upbringing and education, he recruited youth from various walks of life. He selected boys from Eton and Harrow, the Boys' Brigade, secondary schools, farms and working class families. Prior to departure for camp he arranged them into his first experimental patrols.

Upon careful consideration, he selected Brownsea Island, an isolated spot in southern Poole, to conduct his initial camp.

During this encampment he put into practice his concepts for working with patrols and individual Scouts. The experiment demonstrated clearly the viability of his programme. After the camp he embarked on a lecture tour to promote Scouting. Scouting for Boys was published in six fortnightly issues beginning on January 15, 1908. It sold out virtually as fast as it hit the newsstands.

To propagate his idea, the hero of Mafeking possessed the skills of a maverick general and, less remembered, those of journalist, actor, artist and spy - all of which talents were reflected in the Movement's burgeoning ideology. This swiftly grew into the weirdest blend of Old Tory militarism, Arthurian mysticism, masonic secrecy.
and ritual, non-sectarian religiosity, nature and beast worship, and a passion for peoples (Red, Indian, Australian aborigine, African tribesmen) whom Christian imperialism had tried for centuries to destroy. To thousands of urban, industrialised lads in fat, crumbling Edwardian England, his call sounded like a sacred dinner bell. They donned shorts, seized staves, pledged dangerous vows, and rallied to their self-elected Chief.38

In the stifling world of Edwardian youth, Scouting was heralded as a boy's paradise. It provided a fascinating programme of activities, based on the experimental camp, and attractive enough to whet the appetite of any normal boy for more of the same.39 In this child's paradise there existed Patrol calls and secret signs; camping and life in the open; exploration; boat cruising; mountaineering; night work; pathfinding; weather lore; practical astronomy; the use of the compass; signalling by Morse and Semaphore and smoke; despatch running; tree felling; stalking animals and birds and shooting.40 These and many other activities dear to the hearts of boys but too often hitherto regarded by their elders as crimes, were here shown to be not only permissible, but useful pursuits.41

The uniform itself induced many to enrol in Scouts. Shorts, though considered normal wear today, were a radical change from the garments worn by the boys of Victorian and Edwardian Britain. The badge system was an even more attractive feature. Wearing a badge demonstrating proficiency in a particular skill proved to be an incentive for development from the beginning.

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Scouting for Boys emphasized the active doing of good rather than the passive abstention from bad; and even where it was necessary to condemn a practice its author was always careful to avoid the words "forbidden", "must not" and "not allowed". In the same way cleanliness of body and mind, honour, loyalty, sobriety, continuence, early rising, thrift, and other virtues were held out as essential attributes taken for granted every Scout would wish to possess.

Scouting's initial popularity can be traced to two distinct factors. The first, a lack of constructive outlets for the energy and enthusiasms of Britain's youth, heralded success for an organization whose aim was to provide just such an avenue. Equally important was the popularity of Baden-Powell himself. In an era which had produced few heroes in Britain, Baden-Powell's defence of Mafeking was not forgotten. He became larger than life. When he organized and promoted Scouting, much of the ensuing interest arose from an instant recognition of his accomplishments rather than from the acknowledgement of his program.

Baden-Powell could organize an immensely popular programme, but he could not erase his thirty year military career. To many of his detractors, his was a military-inspired movement designed to teach young boys the skills of war. In their eyes he remained a General and his earliest handbook was infused with military expressions and terms. Scouting for Boys mandated that each Scoutmaster have an Adjutant, and
each Patrol Leader a Corporal as a second-in-command.44

Aside from the military terminology in the early handbooks, the Scouting Movement faced internal problems from the volunteer leadership. Early Scoutmasters paraded in public in authentic military uniforms, adorned with Scout badges and bedecked with sabres, pistols, spurs, aigulets, gauntlets and riding crops. The practice of military-style drill was not infrequent, and was in some respects considered part of the programme by Baden-Powell. Despite these excesses many people felt that, militaristic or not, the Movement provided an active programme for boys.

Baden-Powell sought to rid Scouting of this negative image. In his correspondence with leaders and in his lectures, he made every effort to eliminate military connotations from Scouting. Although he was able to control the problem within the movement itself, he had absolutely no jurisdiction over public opinion. While lecturing in Oregon, he was heckled by a large crowd who labeled him "King Chief Butcher" and issued documents exposing the "truth" about Boy Scouting. Notwithstanding the rarity of these anti-Scouting sentiments, they were cause for concern. Despite his vigorous efforts to demonstrate the positive aspects of his "peace Scouts", the spectre of militarism remained with Scouting for many years.

On January 4th 1912, a milestone in Scouting was reached as King George V signed the Articles of Incorporation, granting Scouting a Royal Charter to operate. By the outbreak of the
Great War, Scouting was firmly established in Great Britain. In what was a surprise to Baden-Powell, Scouting spread rapidly to virtually every other nation in the world. His original intention was to create Scouting to serve as a youth organization for Britain alone. He had not envisioned the Movement taking root on an international basis.
SECTION TWO

Establishment of Scouting in Canada; parallel youth movements in the United States and Scouting's service role throughout the Great War.
PREFACE TO SECTION TWO

To Every Canadian Boy:

From what I have seen of you Canadian boys I have a great admiration for you. You are already good Scouts in the woods but to be perfectly reliable you must also be sure that you are disciplined and can obey orders, however distasteful they may be, without any hesitation and cheerily.

Canada can be a very big nation in a few years if each one of you determines to do his bit in making it so. A nation is not made merely by its wealth, it is made by its men. If they are men of grit and energy who work together like a football team, each in his place, "playing the game" in obedience to the rules and to the orders of the captain, they will win, they will make it a great nation. If they only loaf through the game, each in his own way, it is not likely that the country will succeed against others.

So - play up, Canadian lads! "Play the game". Sink your own personal comfort, think for your country, and work hard. each one of you, to be an all round good Scout who can be relied upon in a tight corner to stick it out and obey orders.46

Your Friend

Robert Baden-Powell

16
Returning to England after the South African War, Baden-Powell found a significant number of young boys using his book as a guide to outdoor activities. Hence, while the formal organization of Scouting did not materialize until 1907, rudiments of the programme had been practiced since 1900. As copies of his army manual were distributed to other countries, this situation was repeated. Such was likely the case in Canada where there is no concrete date to mark the organization of the first "Scout" group. Although the date of formation is officially recognized as 1908, there are photographs and records documenting the existence of "Scout" groups in this country as early as 1906. Following Baden-Powell's experimental camp at Brownsea Island, an Imperial Headquarters was established in London, England. With the institutionalization of Scouting, definite programmes and guidelines were initiated and arrived in Canada shortly after they were introduced in England. According to the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, the original programme "sought to develop and fix in Canadian boys the fundamentals of British good citizenship, honour, truthfulness, integrity, dependability, tolerance and good-sportsmanship, based upon the foundation of the Scout's initial promise, to 'do his best to do his duty to God'".47

As Canada established Scouting, the United States was undertaking a similar project. Over the next five decades the Boy Scouts of America would diversify to a much greater extent
than would the Boy Scouts of Canada.

Canadians, often accused of being more British than the British themselves, imported virtually the entirety of British Scouting.48
The United States imported only the concept of Scouting which they developed into a programme uniquely American.49 With a strong sense of pride in the Scouting syllabus of their own creation, it was less complicated to initiate changes as they became necessary.

In the first decade of the twentieth century there were few groups in Canada able to provide an outlet for the energies and enthusiasms of youth. Prior to Scouting's appearance, there was a dearth of organized outlets for the energies of Canada's youth. In the United States, however, several organizations for boys were emerging. Collectively they offered an embarrassing richness of choice and possibility for American youth.

In 1902 the Ladies Home Journal commissioned Ernest Thompson Seton, a noted wildlife artist, to prepare a series of articles on American woodcraft.50 Inspired, Seton took the assignment one step further and produced an experimental programme based upon woodcraft and Indian Lore. Seton was born in London, England in 1860, spending his boyhood in Canada, before returning to England to study at the Royal Academy in 1879.51 Always interested in the welfare of youth, he began administering camps for underprivileged children.

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shortly after his move to Connecticut in 1898. He conducted his first experimental Woodcraft Indian camp in 1902.

It is the exception when we see a boy respectful of his superiors and obedient to his parents. It is the rare exception, now, when we see a boy that is handy with tools and capable of taking care of himself under all circumstances. It is the very, very rare exception when we see a boy whose life is absolutely governed by the safe old moral standards.

To combat the system that has turned such a large proportion of our robust, manly, self-reliant boyhood into a lot of flat-chested cigarette smokers, with shaky nerves and a doubtful vitality, I began the Woodcraft movement in America.52

Ernest Thompson Seton 1910

In his handbook for the Woodcraft Indians, Seton stated that the purposes were:

- the promotion of interests in out-of-door life and woodcraft, the preservation of wild life and landscape and the promotion of good fellowship among its members. The plan aims to give the young people something to do, something to think about and something to enjoy in the woods, with a view always to character building, for manhood, not scholarship, is the first aim of education.53

In October of 1906, while on a lecture tour of England, he visited Baden-Powell in London. Seton later wrote that his Birch Bark Roll had greatly influenced Baden-Powell, and that the Englishman appropriated his Woodcraft programme nearly in full.54 "He adopted the Woodcraft Scheme of honor badges with trifling modifications."55 Ironically, this initially-successful American youth organization was founded by a British-born Canadian expatriate.

At approximately the same time, Daniel Carter Beard initiated another youth group. In 1905, using as a medium
various recreation magazines, he founded the "Society of the Sons of Daniel Boone", whose purposes were:

The elevation of sport, the support of all that tends to healthy, wholesome manliness; the study of woodcraft, outdoor recreation, and fun, and serious work for the making and support of laws prohibiting the sale of game and the preservation of our native wild plants, birds and beasts.56

In addition, Beard hoped to "awaken in the boy of today, admiration for the old-fashioned virtues of American Knights in Buckskin and a desire to emulate them."57

Aside from the manifest similarities of their organizations, Beard and Seton held one significant "curious" element in common. Youth groups of the day were generally based upon some form of religious training or indoctrination. Their meetings were usually held in a church hall or stationary meeting establishment. Both Beard and Seton recognized the essential need to re-introduce American boys to the wilderness. In the first decade of the twentieth century virtually no one went camping. The crucial attraction for both of these groups, quite apart from their "naturalist" bases, was their camping programmes. Exact enrollment figures are not available, but it is estimated that at the time of the creation of the Boy Scouts of America in 1910, neither group had more than 2,000 boys on its rolls.58

In August of 1909, wealthy American publisher William Dickson Boyce, was on business in England. Travelling in a London fog, he became disoriented, until approached by a lantern-carrying boy who took his travel case and directed him
to his destination. The lad refused a tip, informing him that he was a Scout and that they did not accept gratuities for the performance of good deeds. This so intrigued Boyce that he visited the Scout Headquarters to inquire more about Scouting.

Boyce returned to the United States and organized a Scouting Movement. Unknown to him, the YMCA had already begun to utilize the British Scouting programme. Ironically, the YMCA in the United States was fulfilling the original mandate of Baden-Powell's programme by offering it as a supplement to their own.59

On February 10, 1910 Boyce filed incorporation papers for the Boy Scouts of America (B.S.A.), whose stated purpose was:

To operate, through organization, and cooperation with other agencies, the ability of boys to do things for themselves and others, to train them in Scoutcraft, and to teach them patriotism, courage, self-reliance, and kindred virtues, using the methods which are in common use by Boy Scouts.60

With the incorporation of the Movement, Boyce was besieged with requests for information regarding Scouting. On June 21, 1910 he established a committee to institute a formal programme. This delegation consisted of educators, officers of YMCA's, leaders of the Big Brothers, American Red Cross and Public School Athletic Leagues. Amongst the delegates were Daniel Beard and Ernest Thompson Seton.61

By August, the first manual, entitled *Boy Scouts of America: A Handbook of Woodcraft, Scouting and Life Craft* was

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The initial Boy Scouts programme was not what Seton had hoped that it would be. He had envisioned a curriculum based far more solidly upon his Woodcraft League. Instead, it was grounded almost completely upon the programme outlined by Baden-Powell. Furthermore, the position of Chief Scout quickly devolved into a largely ceremonial post. With the arrival of James E. West as Executive Secretary in 1912, there erupted a schism in the Movement.64

West was driven to produce a national organization for the Scouts by whatever means necessary. Early members of the Movement remember "watching West crush anyone or anything he deemed inimical to the interests of the new Movement."65 As Scouting expanded, Seton's ideas clashed with those of West, with Seton losing virtually every argument in the National Council. The final break between Seton and the B.S.A. came in December of 1915. Seton called a press conference, where he announced his resignation as Chief Scout, complaining that the National Council was still using his name. West stated
that there was no resignation to accept, as the National Council had failed to re-elect Seton as Chief Scout. With the Movement already solidly entrenched on Baden-Powell's model, Seton's departure did not cause any major upheaval. Seton's Woodcraft Indians persisted, but was never a major competitor for recruitment. He urged boys to return to primitive nobility in defiance of modernization; in so doing he went against the mainstream of American society which openly embraced the Scout movement. Boy Scouting succeeded where the Woodcraft Indians failed.

The Boy Scouts of America was not the only group to operate under the title of "Scouts." Even before the first handbook was published, other clubs began to operate under the guise of "Scouting". Although most of these groups quickly amalgamated with the B.S.A., one group, supported by publisher William Randolph Hearst, lingered in competition. Hearst's group, "The American Boy Scouts", was quasi-military. These "Scouts" trained with real weapons, practiced military tactics and engaged in simulated battles in addition to the archetype of hiking and camping. Although the B. S. A. was the undisputed leader of the "Boy Scouts", Hearst's group persisted for a considerable period of time, failing only when Hearst withdrew his support after allegations of financial mismanagement.

Hearst's Scouts highlighted a problem facing all "Scouts" in the early years. Although the American Boy Scouts
comprised a fairly small group, the combination of its high profile and its similarity in name, caused recruiting difficulties for the B. S. A. The participation of Hearst's boys in pseudo-military practices was repugnant to many immigrants arriving in America, having fled military service in their homelands. They feared that the Boy Scouts was merely a facade erected to impart into American youth a desire to enter the armed forces in later life.

The spectre of militarism was the greatest stumbling block for the Boy Scouts in their early years. From his earliest writings on Boy Scouting, Baden-Powell stressed the need for boys to be able to follow orders. Opponents of Scouting interpreted this and other tendencies as militaristic. When early Scouts dressed in tunics and breeches, carried knives and staves and practiced drill, it was difficult for Scouting to disclaim the charge.

In his original edition of Scouting for Boys, Baden-Powell wrote emphatically:

There is no military meaning attached to Scouting. Peace Scouting comprises the attributes of colonial frontiersmen in the way of resourcefulness and self-reliance and the many other qualities which make them men among men. There is no intention of making the lads into soldiers or of teaching them bloodthirstiness. At the same time under "patriotism" they are taught that a citizen must be prepared to take his fair share among his fellows in the defence of the homeland against aggression in return for the safety and freedom enjoyed by him as an inhabitant. He who shirks and leaves this duty to others to do for him is neither playing a plucky or fair game.70

Perceived military connotations alone would not have crippled the Movement. Many parents and organizations felt that a

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certain amount of military training was suitable for young Canadian boys. In fact, some parents may have been disappointed to find that Scouting was in fact non-military.

Early Canadian Scouting did not undergo the same fusion of youth groups that was the case with American Scouting. Having adopted wholesale the British model, Canadians also adopted the early military image of British Scouting. The confusion regarding the status of Scouting was clearly evident in the debates of the House of Commons over the Bill to Incorporate Scouting in Canada.

Private Bill No. 195 was introduced to the House on May 22, 1914. The Honorable Mr. Lemieux opened discussion by stating: "I would have preferred to see this Bill promoted by the Minister of Militia, rather than by a private member." Lemieux qualified his remarks by affirming that: "I am not averse at all to military exercises for the boys for I think it is a good thing that they should know the rudiments of militia and defence. I only regret that the Minister of Militia is not in his seat so that he might have explained more fully the effect of this legislation." At the time of these debates, Scouting in Canada had been in existence for six years. Despite the active growth of the Movement and its growing publicity, there was still great confusion over its aims and its essential purpose.

The Honorable Mr. Lemieux was typical of a portion of the Canadian population who believed that Scouting was para-
military and that this was one of its attractions: "I am not opposed to it at all; but I would like to have a measure of this kind, which affects the yeomanry of the country, and which, to a certain extent, will encourage our young men to join later in our militia system."73

The Bill was defended by the Honorable Richard Bedford Bennett who argued that "The Boy Scout movement can in no sense be said to be military; it has no military purposes nor aims." His definition of Scouting, as given to the House stated that:

Primarily it desires to make young boys understand that they have a sense of duty towards those [with] whom they are associated and towards those amongst whom they live........to do kindly acts, and to live their lives as though they were trustees for what they hold, not for themselves, but for those about them, and for generations not yet born.74

Bennett concluded by stating that Scouting, if anything was a means of offsetting the trend towards militarism. The bill was read, passed, and received Royal Assent on June 12, 1914.

Scouting was contagious. It caught hold in Ontario, and spread quickly to the other provinces. His Excellency Earl Grey, Governor-General and Chief Scout for Canada, together with his Honor J. M. Gibson, Lieutenant Governor, Dr. K. A. Pyne, Minister of Education, and a number of prominent citizens from all parts of the province, met in Toronto City Hall to select people who were interested, and who would assist in the Boy Scout Movement and form a council for Ontario.75 The early structure of Scouting in Canada had to
be flexible in order to accommodate the diverse needs required in this country. *Scouting for Boys* had been written for British boys. Could Scouting be adapted to the relatively multicultural mix that was Canada in the Edwardian period? Baden-Powell's Scouting was designed for the more temperate climate of the British Isles. Canadian winters were capable, for up to eight months of the year, of preventing virtually all outdoor activities highlighted by the original British programme. If Canadian boys followed the Scouting programme to the letter, the result would be a series of church-basement meetings for upwards of three-quarters of the year. British Scouting would not be so easily adapted to Canadian conditions.

Canadian Scouting, however, had several potential advantages over its British counterpart. Despite the climate, Canada was an enormous geographical amalgam. In the few months that allowed outdoor work, troops camped and hiked in conditions far less confined than those of Britain. Although a full-scale winter programme was not developed until much later, many troops took advantage of the snowy conditions unavailable in Britain.

The climate in Canada gave rise to a uniform controversy which emerged almost with the inception of Scouting in this country. The uniform was designed as an exact copy of the kit worn by Baden Powell in India. In the earliest Canadian troops, official dress was usually a conglomeration of uniform

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and non-uniform parts with a few original notions added in. With the creation of the Stores Department shortly after Scouting's incorporation in 1914, "regulation" uniforms became available and all Scouts were strongly encouraged to own a complete uniform. This kit consisted of knee-length stockings with tassled garters, short pants, scout belt, collared short-sleeve shirt, group scarf and stetson.

The novelty of wearing such a distinct uniform was a tremendous draw for the movement in its early years. Shorts, deemed "indecent" in the Victorian period, were seen as a badge of honor. With the onset of the Great War, boys in both Canada and the United States flocked into Scouting in order to get into a uniform. An official history of the Boy Scouts of America chronicles an increase in membership of over sixty percent during the war.

Attractive though the uniform may have been, it was poorly suited for Canada. With the extreme cold experienced during most of the year, short pants and short-sleeved shirts were inappropriate for anything but indoor wear. Although most Canadian cities experience a temperate climate from mid-spring to early-autumn, the bulk of the Scouting programme is carried out from early-autumn to early-summer. Climactic conditions made the uniform practical for only a few short months each year. Canadian Scouting adhered to a uniform design completely unsuited to its needs for more than half a century. Despite several cosmetic changes in materials and colours,
the basic style of the uniform remained for decades, until the late 1950’s when a Programme and Uniform Sub-committee implemented a serious review.

Scouting’s position on religion proved to be a point of concern to many parents considering enrolling their sons in the programme. Although not a religious Movement, Scouting does stress religious content. Scouting claimed to be non-denominational but professed atheists were not permitted to join. At the opening of meetings, and at encampments, Scouts were encouraged to participate in "Scouts Own" worship services. The first line of the Scout promise read: "I promise to do my duty to God and the King." Two distinct areas of thought arose from this: those parents who did not want their sons involved with a group that was "multidenominational", and those who wanted their sons in a group that contained a definite programme of religious indoctrination. The avowed purpose of including some form of worship in the meetings was to provide an incentive to the boy to translate into action loyalty to God and his church. The rules for Canadian Scouting, originally titled, Policy, Organisation and Rules, gave ample protection against boys or leaders being in any way encouraged to attend religious services other than their own. The rules stated clearly that youth were not under any circumstances to be persuaded to attend a worship service that was not of their own denomination.
Each operating Scout Troop needed a sponsor, a group or institution which provided the boys with a meeting facility, appointed a Group Committee and helped oversee the proper operation of the Troop. In Canada, organized religion provided the majority of sponsorships. Most religious institutions operated "open" groups; meaning boys of any faith could attend the Scout meetings. Others however, operated closed groups, restricted to those who belonged to their particular faith or even church.

Canadian Scouting faced additional difficulties as a result of its historical divisions. The first province to establish Scouting was Ontario, with its mix of ethnic and religious groups. Quebec was more cautious. In early years Quebec newspapers equated Scouting with Free Masonry, and parents were cautioned to keep their sons away from Scouting's debilitating influences. Gradually Scouting was accepted, but there was a strong desire to establish an exclusively Catholic Scouting section. The differences between the French Catholics in Quebec and the rest of Scouting in Canada generated increasing friction, resulting in a schism in the movement.

Canada's entry into the war in August of 1914 brought about tremendous changes in the fledgling Movement. Young boys flocked into uniform and older Scouts hastened to enlist. Expected increases in enrollment failed to materialize however, as adult leaders joined the armed forces. The drain
on manpower seriously depleted the pool from which Scout leaders were drawn, forcing the reduction of the minimum age of Scoutmasters to 19 and of Assistants to 17 years by April of 1915.84 At the same time, their wartime service earned Scouting increased public recognition and acceptance. With every scrap drive and Savings Bond issue, the Boy Scouts came closer to becoming a household word. Their record of service earned them a solid place in Canadian society.

With the cessation of hostilities, Scouting moved to improve its image as a peace Movement. Despite the service rendered during the war years, many people still viewed Scouting from a military perspective. The endorsement given by the League of Nations helped to dispel some of this image. At the 1920 World Jamboree, the League praised Scouting saying, "Scouting is not only non-military, just as it is non-political, but through international gatherings and exchange of visits it is actively engaged in spreading the ideas of Universal peace and goodwill, and in this role has received the hearty commendation of the League of Nations."85

Despite this proffered praise, Baden-Powell did not put much faith in the League of Nations. He stated that:

The only way towards bringing about universal peace in Europe is not by trying to cure the present generation of their prejudices, not even by building palaces for peace conferences, but by educating the next generation to better mutual sympathy and trust and the larger-minded exercise of give-and-take.86

According to him, the only really practical step taken to that end was;
the Boy Scout Movement, where, with our brotherhood already established in every country and getting daily into close thought and fellow-feeling by means of correspondence and interchange of visits, we are helping to build the foundation of the eventual establishment of common interests and friendships which will ultimately and automatically bring about disarmament and a permanent peace.87

The conclusion of the war brought about profound changes in the movement. In just over a decade the movement had migrated to Canada and had established itself a niche in Canadian society. The war years had accelerated the process of development, resulting in an unsettled growth pattern in the movement. It had been a period of tremendous upheaval in Canada, shattering myths and questioning credibility. Scouting, barely established in this country adhered to recognizable and safe norms at a time when the rest of the nation underwent immense changes. While Canadian society marched forward, Scouting faltered in its first steps, clinging to precepts which rapidly became dated. Publicly, Scouting was developing into a recognizable entity. The movement was trapped in a paradox between its quest for stability and its corresponding need for co-development with society. By the end of the Great War Scouting’s greatest threat was its own internal organization.
SECTION THREE

Scouting's development as a service-oriented organization in Canada; the development of the Wolf Cub and Rover Scout sections and the entrenchment of a Scouting bureaucracy in Canada
From the beginning Scouting sought to instill certain qualities in its boys. Baden-Powell, never an enthusiastic schoolboy himself, sought to develop other aspects of a boy's life. Instead of instructing them with a dry, stereotyped curriculum, Baden-Powell believed the secret of education was to get each pupil to learn for himself.88 His intent was neither to circumvent nor downplay the significance of formal education, but rather to complement the academic system.

They take the intellectual development, we go rather more for the development of character, and that, after all, is the most important attribute for prevention of the social diseases of slackness and selfishness, and gives the best chance to a man of a successful career in any line of life.89

History has demonstrated that in many respects Baden-Powell's concepts were in advance of his time. He stressed character building over textbooks and believed in learning through experience at a time when education was rationalistic and highly intellectual in its instructional methods. Despite the fundamental differences in approach, educators recognized the value of the training that the Movement could offer, and came to accept Scouting as a substantial ally. Baden-Powell sought to fill in the areas where education was lacking.

Teaching boys outdoor skills and an appreciation of nature was important, but these alone were not the movement's central aim. While individualism was in full swing, Baden-Powell preached socialization and a mixing of the social classes.90 To the aggressive nationalism of his time, he countered with
the concept of a world brotherhood. Training boys in knotting, camping, first aid and all that was not covered in the schools was a fine pursuit, but the aim of the Movement, as it spread across the globe, was to unite youth and adults in peaceful camaraderie.

After the restoration of normal international relations Baden-Powell held an international camp to bring boys from all over the world together in a peaceful gathering at Olympia, England. In searching for a name for the camp, he happened across the term "Jamboree" which meant a "A carousal; a noisy drinking bout; a spree; hence, any noisy merry-making." Despite the concerns of his contemporaries, he determined to use that title for the international camps.

Baden-Powell had many different reasons for wanting to run a successful Jamboree. The most important aspect of the camp was to see if a significant number of boys from around the world would attend and whether they would work well together throughout the week. Scouting had touted itself as an international brotherhood, and the Jamboree was a crucial test of this assertion. Its success demonstrated to B. P. that nations eventually could coexist peacefully if the youth of each nation were trained for peace. The passive avoidance of evil and hostility needed to be replaced by actively doing good. It was in this aspect that Baden-Powell felt the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides* could be of greatest service. At the conclusion of the Jamboree, in a gesture of admiration and
respect for Baden-Powell, the Scouts unanimously proclaimed him "Chief Scout of the World." 92

At the closing ceremony Baden-Powell’s address to the assembled Scouts made clear his ambition to create an international peace movement: Brother Scouts, I ask you to make a solemn choice. Differences exist between the peoples of the world in thought and sentiment, just as they do in language and physique. The war has taught us that if one nation tries to impose its particular will upon others, cruel reaction is bound to follow. The Jamboree has taught us that if we exercise mutual forbearance and give-and-take, then there is sympathy and harmony. If it be your will, let us go forth from here determined that we will develop among ourselves and our boys that comradeship, through the world-wide spirit of the Scout brotherhood, so that we may help to develop peace and happiness in the world and good will among men. 93

A Jamboree, despite its substantial attendance and symbolic value, contributed only a small token to the actual establishment of a lasting world peace. In order to further that goal, Scouting had to be encouraged and developed in all nations. The Jamboree proved an effective instrument in accomplishing that ambition. The high profile under which it was carried out sharply focused public opinion and interest upon the burgeoning Movement. The faltering membership experienced in Canada throughout the War years was halted; the Jamboree helped to re-enforce the original enthusiasm for Scouting. The first World Jamboree was a watershed for the Movement. Members of the League of Nations were impressed by the esprit de corps between Scouts and leaders of formerly hostile nations.

One particular problem, that of the younger boy, quickly became evident in Scouting nations around the world. Since
the creation of Scouting, Scoutmasters faced a deluge of requests from underage boys who wished to join troops. Many of these were younger brothers or friends of Scouts who wanted to get into uniform. The minimum age requirement of twelve years had been established to prevent significantly younger boys from entering troops: boys of fourteen, fifteen or older would not want to be involved in a Troop with boys of eight or nine.

Baden-Powell criticized a number of "ridiculous Troops" where young boys of eight or nine had been admitted in order to swell the ranks. The almost invariable result had been the loss of the older boys -- those for whom the programme had been designed. Notwithstanding the potential loss of the older Scouts, younger boys were in most cases incapable of mastering the Scout programme. Proficiency badge requirements were normally beyond their intellectual and physical scope. Faced with this dilemma and the significant number of young boys attempting to enter troops, Baden-Powell felt compelled to design a programme for them. It resulted in an entirely new Scouting section whose format would give these underage boys a distinct focus along with some of the rudiments of the Scouting syllabus. To create a unique programme, Baden-Powell utilized the writings of Rudyard Kipling whose Jungle book, detailing the adventures of the Seeonee wolf pack in India, formed the imaginary background of "Wolf Cubs". Baden-Powell realized that creating a programme which served
merely as a "holding pen" for Boy Scouts was doomed to failure. Instead, he created a complete three year syllabus for boys aged eight to eleven years. Each age bracket comprised a "section". By 1916 Scouting had two such sections: "Boy Scouts" and "Wolf Cubs", each with its own distinctive programme, but with an intended continuity between them. Although Wolf Cubs were not intended merely as "fodder" for the Scout Troops, these boys were strongly encouraged to continue into the Boy Scout programme when they became eligible.

As long as only one section existed, boys were forced to wait until their twelfth birthday to join. With the appearance of the second section, boys could enter the association at eight years of age. Over time the Wolf Cub section became an increasingly powerful entity within Scouting, attracting boys solely for the sake of being Cubs.

The original intent to give the younger boys a programme to suited their interests, while preparing them for Scouts, gave way to the establishment of a distinct sub-section which quickly rivalled the Scouts in enrolment. As the Wolf Cub section continued to increase in stature, proportionately fewer boys made the transition into the Scout section and the continuity diminished.

Boy Scouts was developed for male youths from twelve to eighteen years of age, but it was rare for a boy to remain in the program until his eighteenth birthday. How to retain the
older Scout quickly became a dilemma. Baden-Powell realised that active boys could progress through most of the program and earn a majority of the proficiency badges within three years. By the time a boy reached his fifteenth birthday, Scouting had lost much of its challenge and appeal.

"British" and "Canadian" Scouting were not alone in this concern. The Boy Scouts of America began encountering difficulties in retaining their older boys shortly after the Great War. The B.S.A. placed older Scouts in separate troops and gave them the title "Vanguards". This creation of a new sub-section represented a common approach in dealing with the older boy problem. Senior boys were segregated in different troops where they were introduced to an advanced programme with increased freedoms and responsibilities. Such early attempts of the B. S. A. to deal with these boys represented cosmetic alterations at best; simply creating an advanced section did not deal with the essential concerns of adolescent boys.

Within the Victorian cycle of education and employment;

at the age of fourteen boys finish their schooling in the three R's, and are then supposed to be sufficiently grounded educationally to specialise for a particular line in life.97

Baden-Powell recognized that many Scouts, upon reaching the mid-point of the programme at 14, were facing the realities of unemployment. Less than half of these boys secured professional positions.

Baden-Powell had no doubt that Scouting's system of
progression and accomplishment entrenched boys with the necessary tools to succeed. To a great extent this blinded him to the actual problem at hand. Reviewing his program he concluded that by creating a "Senior Scout" section for the older boys, with increased responsibilities and challenges, he could retain their interest and further develop their character. He proposed a higher grade of badges and tests to challenge them further, but recognized that some other form of inducement would be necessary. Accordingly, he suggested that a distinctive new uniform should be designed to separate the older Scouts physically from the younger ones.98

Along with these modifications, Baden-Powell recommended entrusting these Scouts with increased responsibilities such as first aid and campcraft training.99 They could act as assistants to the Scoutmaster in working with new Scouts and in the administration of specific tests. Scouting simply created a more challenging programme based upon its existing format. This represented a stimulus-response approach to problems. The adult guardians of the movement perceived a need to challenge further the older boys and accordingly developed a new programme section. Although this was done with their best interests in mind, it is doubtful that these interests were fully understood. This proposal for senior Scouts had a luke-warm reception even in its earliest days.

Faced with increasing dropouts amongst the older Boy Scouts, Baden-Powell designed an entirely new section and
programme: Rover Scouts, which was introduced in 1919. Baden-Powell did not want Rovers to be tied down by hard and fast rules and regulations. At first, hesitant and reluctant to compose a manual for the new program, in 1922, he produced *Rovering to Success*. Rovers, though designed to be a separate program for the oldest youth members, fell into the same "holding-pen" trap as did Wolf Cubs. The original focus of the movement was on the Boy Scout and the program was designed specifically for that age bracket. These additions to the Movement were designed to retain the younger and older youths, and hence their programmes could be regarded as supplementary.

The first Rover Crews were established in Canada in 1921. In the first year of its existence, the new section succeeded in attracting only thirty-six boys. Rovering was at best only a partial solution to the older boy problem. Providing them with an alternate section and programme: "a brotherhood of the open air and service", did not address the fundamental needs of maturing Scouts. In the virtual vacuum of knowledge regarding the psychology of the developing adolescent culture, Scouting undertook to create a new "pidgeon-hole" into which the older boys could be placed. The action taken by Scouting in these early years demonstrated a fixation with programme, rather than a comprehensive understanding of youth.

In the first ten years of the new sections' existence in
Canada, Boy Scouts increased by 2,423 members, Wolf Cubs by 15,917 and Rovers by 1,469. In contrasting Rover membership with the marginal growth experienced by the Boy Scout section, its development seems commendable. Nevertheless, the Wolf Cub section, pre-dating Rovers by only five years, had experienced tremendous growth. Simple reposition from Scouts into Rovers should have boosted the new section tremendously. The fact that so few Scouts took advantage of Rovers presaged the subsequent future of this section. Despite the assurances of the Provincial Councils that Rovers was emerging as a major force, Scouting officials would have recognized that the marginal growth of this older branch indicated clearly, that it was not addressing the primary concerns of older Scouts. Although Rovers was not a disaster, its failure to attract substantial numbers of older adolescents indicated that Scouting did not understand fully the needs and desires of this age group. This very problem would plague the Movement throughout the next four decades, culminating in the 1960s.

The structure of the Provincial Councils contributed to the slow growth of Scouting during the immediate post-War years. These administrative bodies were staffed by volunteers who monitored the programme in their own provinces. The growth of Scouting, particularly in Ontario, necessitated the restructuring of the Councils in 1920, at which time a professional salaried staff was installed.104 The following year, provision was made for field work which entailed the
hiring of Provincial Field executives to oversee districts and councils in their province. This expansion of services allowed for more efficient management of the three programme sections and the ability to recruit more actively new boys.

Throughout the 1920's, Scouting worked to enhance and improve its image. Conservation projects were undertaken across the country. In Ontario, a Scout forest was established at Angus where extensive lumbering had rendered the tract barren and useless. The owners donated it to the Provincial Council who, in turn, endeavoured to establish it as a camping facility. Every year over the Victoria Day weekend hundreds of Scouts and Scoutmasters descended upon Angus and carried out a mass planting of trees. In addition to the practical demonstration of environmental awareness and the development of a workable Scout camp, Scouting secured increased public awareness and favour.

Scouts participated in numerous "clean-up" projects and acted as messengers and guides at most larger fairs and public gatherings. They were often called upon to assist with the handling of traffic at large public assemblies. Toronto Scouts were utilized to usher at the opening of the Ontario Legislature. In addition to these public services, numerous church yards were cleaned, soldiers' monuments were cared for, elderly citizens were assisted and shut-ins were entertained. "The Boy Scout," according to the Toronto Globe, "has earned the respect and whole-hearted encouragement of the

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citizens of Ontario." 107

The second World Jamboree was held in Copenhagen, Denmark in the summer of 1924. In the interceding four years since the first such gathering, the political situation in the world had changed dramatically. In his closing remarks to the World’s Scouts at the conclusion of the second Jamboree, Baden-Powell commented that:

No one could have forseen five years ago what we have now seen in this camp --- viz. boys of different nations who were then at desperate war together now living together in cheery comradeship. This fact alone should be an inspiration to continue to foster that comradeship and to strengthen our net of Scouting and spread it yet wider. Here lies before the leaders, before every member in fact of our brotherhood, a wonderful opportunity of vast and far-reaching promise for the future peace and happiness of the world. 108

By the mid-1920’s, Canadian public opinion of Scouting was increasingly positive. The image of a military-inspired organization disintegrated in the face of widespread public services undertaken by the movement. Nonetheless, criticisms of Scouting were not focused solely upon military connotations, nor were all such censures passive.

The 1928 "Anti-Scout" campaign reflected a genuine hatred of the movement. The organizers declared that the purpose of Scouting was to assist the schools in training the workers' children to be supporters of capitalism, imperialism and militarism. 109 Another group, the Teachers' Labour League agreed:

The militarists and nobility in control, the
capitalists who provide the funds, all alike agree with the aims of the Scout movement. These are to train working class children to be loyal to their employers and traitors to their class, to be ready to serve as cannon fodder in the approaching war which modern imperialism is leading to and for the preparation of which the Jamboree forms an essential part. 110

In the atmosphere of rising socialism, allegations that the movement was both imperialist and capitalist were dangerous. As Scouting expanded, its detractors became more vehement, fearing that such a large movement was a menacing force.

Baden-Powell sought out a common basis upon which boys of varied religious denominations could meet. His vision broadened to incorporate boys of religions other than Christianity, all worshipping God, but each according to the doctrines of his own faith. Through the guidelines of the Scout law and with an infusion of nature, he hoped that boys would be drawn closer to their faith. 111 To his detractors, the attempt to use nature as an incentive to worship bordered on pantheism. 112 A religious man himself, B-P believed that boys were inherently good and that with a little direction, they could be steered to a moral and uplifting life. Responding to accusations of religious indoctrination, Baden-Powell stated:

We in Scout-work recognize as a first step that everything on two legs that calls itself a boy has God in him. The worst little hooligan has inherent glimmerings of good moral qualities — at least he can admire pluck and daring, he can appreciate justice, he can show loyalty and chivalry for a pal and thriftless openhandedness — which all means the spark of divine love is there, although he may — through the artificial environment of modern civilization — be the most arrant
little thief, liar, and filth-monger unhung.
Our job is to give him a chance. We have to probe and
discover those sparks of good and blow upon them till
they glow and burn away the dross that covers them: in
other words we can help the soul to develop itself by
giving it good work to do on lines that interest the lad
and lead his God-given instinct into daily-life
practice.113

Baden-Powell was not sentimental about boys. He realized that
they could, if given the wrong incentives, be vicious and
destructive. To counter this, he introduced some marginal
religious training into the peripheries of the programme.
Religion was not a distinct segment of Scouting, but rather,
it was part of the movement's foundation.

In 1929, Scouting celebrated its "Coming of Age" Jamboree at
Arrowe Park in England. Near its conclusion, Baden-Powell was
informed that the King had proposed to bestow a Barony on him;
creating him Lord Baden-Powell. Without hesitation he
refused the honour.114 He did not feel that he deserved the
honour, nor did he relish the "elevation" which would
accompany the title.115 He felt such a title would distance
him from the boys he wished to serve. The Duke of Connaught,
himself an advocate of Scouting, finally convinced Baden-
Powell to accept the title for the sake of the Movement.116

The 1929 World Jamboree stimulated a wave of interaction
between Canadian and American Scouting. Although such
activities had been in existence for several years, this
Jamboree kindled the proliferation of camporees; mini-
Jamborees between the United States and Canada.117 As the
cost involved in attending a World Jamboree was beyond the
reach of most North American Scouts, camporees had a special appeal.

The 1929 Jamboree also stimulated numerous cross-border visits and camps. These activities not only aroused public awareness of Scouting, but they also concretely demonstrated the possibilities of an international peace movement. Border communities began a regular series of visits and camps demonstrating that Scouting was not merely a "national" organization. Such endeavours included experimental camps in upstate New York, visits to the Canadian National Exhibition and the International hike commemorating the opening of the Windsor-Detroit Tunnel.118

The year 1929 heralded an era of drastic changes in Canada and around the world. The Stock Market crash ended the prosperity of the 1920's and plunged Canada into a catastrophic depression. Canadian Scouting, just coming into its own, faced a decade of uncertainty and instability.

When the depression struck, enrolment fees were fifty cents for a Scout and twenty-five cents per Cub. Despite the grave financial times, the National Headquarters felt that the expense was still within the reach of virtually all of the boys who wished to join.119 Aside from registration fees, the uniform was the major expenditure for Scouts, costing in excess of ten dollars. Many Troops, in an effort to service as many boys as possible, introduced uniform substitutions or simply operated without any uniform at all. Some Troops

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dictated that no Scout could own a new uniform, so that the less fortunate boys would not feel inferior. Increased enrolment, despite the worsening of the depression, demonstrated the success of the Movement in Canada. Although Scouting could be construed as a luxury, it was still one which many families deemed worth the investment.

The hard times of the 1930's presented Scouting with untold opportunities for public service and gestures of goodwill. During the 1920's Toronto area Scouts had established a "toy shop", where donated playthings were repaired and distributed to needy families. With each succeeding year, more Troops established such facilities, refurbishing as many toys as possible for the Christmas season.

Aside from toys, Scouts scavenged the neighbourhoods collecting canned foods and extra clothing. On a single day in Toronto, Scouts gathered more than 186,000 garments. The Boy Scout, in full uniform, with his basket of canned goods, politely soliciting donations for the needy, endeared the movement to the public. These collections, done largely in conjunction with such organizations as churches, welfare agencies, the Salvation Army and government relief bodies, underscored clearly Scouting's role as a worthy assistant to "professional" support groups.

Scouting's service role became a powerful inducement for enrolment throughout the Depression. The very visible and positive stature of the Movement during those difficult times
convinced many parents of the benefits of the Boy Scout programme. In addition to collections and participation in relief efforts, many district councils provided summer camps for children whose parents were on relief. These encampments provided the children with a proper diet and an interesting programme and furnished Scouting with a powerful tool for recruitment.

By 1932, the National Scouting organization was in financial trouble. Without a steady income, the National Council relied on monies from the sale of uniforms and registrations and also from donations from civic-minded citizens. As the Depression deepened, fewer Scouts purchased uniforms and fewer citizens donated funds. The annual report for 1932 underscored the severity of the situation. Provincial Councils would have to continue operating on a reduced budget and rely upon the support of their members to remain solvent. Concurrent with this lack of funds was the National Council's inability to assess adequately the shortcomings of older boy programmes.

The year 1933 marked the first time since the Great War that the growth rate of Canadian Scouting slowed significantly. Despite the surge in youth interest, the number of available leaders scarcely increased. As more men lost their steady employment, spare time could not be spent in volunteer service. Temporary part time jobs, or travelling in search of work became many people's central focus.
Furthermore, many senior scouts left the movement in order to secure some type of employment to supplement the family income. In addition, the lack of available funds had negated the hiring of additional office staff at the Provincial and National Headquarters, limiting the number of new Scouts which the movement could process and maintain.

When Adolf Hitler came to power, Boy Scouts of Germany was abolished.127 Nazi Germany created the Hitler youth, in which membership was compulsory. The Hitler-Jugend was based largely upon the programme of the Boy Scouts.128 The major difference was that the Jugend were imbued with Nazi ideology.129 The Boy Scouts Association was at first undecided as to how to deal with this new youth group. Although Baden-Powell had always stressed the benefits of fraternizing with other youth movements, he had serious reservations about the Jugend.130 Despite this he felt that an effort should be made to understand that movement, and possibly befriend those boys. At a meeting with Joachim von Ribbentrop and Baldur von Schirach, Baden-Powell was told of the great debt which the Jugend owed to Scouting.131 They were convinced that there was no reason why the two movements could not have close relations. Baden-Powell was not convinced and as relations between the two nations deteriorated, any semblence of fraternity was discontinued.132

In 1935 the Chief Scout and the World Chief Guide paid a much-awaited visit to Canada. They were met by rallies
consisting of thousands of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, focusing public attention upon the movement as nothing else could. Baden-Powell had an ulterior motive in visiting Canada. Despite the Pope's endorsement of Scouting, a schism had developed between the English and French speaking Scouts in Canada, resulting in the formation of a separate Catholic Scout organization in Quebec. After several visits with Cardinal Villeneuve, an affiliation was established with the Scoutes Catholiques de la Province de Quebec. This affiliation, though a distinctly different branch of Scouting, was instituted under the jurisdiction of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association. Although he had failed to rectify completely the differences between the French Catholic Scouts and the rest of the Canadian Movement, he had prevented a unique and potentially antagonistic branch of the movement from developing.

In 1935 National Council recognized that Rover Scouts, as a viable section was not living up to its expectations. While the Boy Scout and Wolf Cub sections were increasing steadily, Rovers was barely holding its own. A period of slow growth, such as that experienced by the Scout section could have easily been explained, but Rovers in fact had not experienced truly satisfactory growth at any point in its existence. According to the Ontario Provincial Council:

the Rover Scout branch is not yet as firmly established as the older branches, and just what Rovering is all about is still not understood clearly in many centres or by many would-be Rovers.
The slow growth of the senior Scouting section was a warning to the Provincial and National Councils. In attempting to deal with the declining number of senior Boy Scouts, the Movement had created a more involved and advanced programme concept. The continued drop-out of the older Scouts, combined with marginal enrolment in the Rover Section, demonstrated the lack of appeal of "senior Scouting". Though officials began to recognize this, it was not until decades later that definite steps were taken on a national level to deal with the problem.

By 1939 Scouting was firmly entrenched as a positive force in the fabric of Canadian society. Despite its growth, the movement was faced with increasing dropouts of senior Scouts and an utter failure of its Rover Scout programme. By the dawn of the Second World War the Movement was confronted with its failure to retain the older boy.

*(The Girl Guide organization was founded by Lord Baden-Powell shortly after he created Scouting. They are governed by different bodies)*
SECTION FOUR

Scouting's service role throughout World War Two; the initiation of changes to the Scouting programme.
The fifth World Jamboree, held in the summer of 1937, was hosted by the Netherlands. In the intervening four years since the Jamboree in Hungary totalitarianism had drastically increased in the world. In closing the camp, Baden-Powell drew the Scouts' attention to the Jamboree's symbol, Jacob's Staff, an ancient guide for mariners. As the world drifted closer to war, he attempted to impress upon the nations' youth the significance of the many arms of the staff which symbolized acceptance and the uniting of all of the world's people, regardless of race, creed or colour.136

The Netherlands encampment was the last Jamboree for Baden-Powell. Spaced four years apart, the 1941 World Jamboree, to be hosted by France, was indefinitely postponed due to the war.137 In 1939, Baden-Powell was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize as the person who

in 1938 and for thirty years previously had most and best promoted the fraternity of nations and the abolishment or diminution of the standing armies and the formation and increase of peace congresses through the Boy Scout movement.138

Baden-Powell never received the award, as none were issued during the war.

September of 1939 brought the war which Baden-Powell and his Movement had attempted to prevent for over thirty years. A second major conflict just twenty years after the conclusion of the Great War devastated him. His efforts to promote world brotherhood were overwhelmed by intense nationalism. Shortly after the commencement of hostilities, he departed for Nyeri,
Kenya with his wife, relinquishing all decision-making authority to the Imperial Council.

With Canada's entry into the war, Scouting was placed once again at the service of the nation. Having been baptised by the Great War, Scouting was prepared to participate in the necessary "home front" tasks. National Headquarters announced that Scouting would do its utmost to serve the nation throughout the crisis.

What the days ahead hold for Scouting no one can foretell, but we march forward with the hope and prayer that by this time next year we may see definite signs of a real world peace. But we while have the responsibility of making Scouting contribute to the welfare of Canada's young manhood, it becomes our duty, more than ever before, to do all within our power to maintain this great movement and extend its influence still farther.139

Lt. Col. L. H. Millen
Provincial Commissioner for Ontario

The Second World War provided the Boy Scout movement with an opportunity to serve Canada as never before. Despite significant contributions by the movement in the First World War, its relatively small size somewhat lessened its impact.

By 1939, Canadian Scouting numbered over 100,000 members and was in a position to make a substantial contribution.

In joining with national service organizations, Scouts participated in most of the major "home front" wartime projects. They assisted the Red Cross at donation centres, packaging plasma and prisoner-of-war boxes.140 Collection drives of every description were carried out in all major
centres across the country, where Scouts compiled enormous quantities of scrap aluminum, brass, tin and other needed materials. When a campaign was initiated to amass reading materials for the soldiers, Scouts gathered tens of thousands of books and magazines.

In addition, Scouts acted as coast watchmen and assistants in the air raid services. They worked on farms, growing "victory gardens" and raising livestock. Certain projects garnered enormous returns; the "fill up the barrel" project initiated by the Toronto Scouts, brought in almost ninety-three thousand cans of food. In some centres salvage work pioneered by Scouts grew to such an extent that the boys could no longer handle it alone, and its supervision was taken over by adult organizations. In at least one instance this was reversed, the Scouts taking over where an adult organization had failed.

Scouting's numbers showed a gradual decrease during the war. While the Wolf Cub section continued to grow at a modest pace, enrolment in Boy Scouts and Rovers decreased. The census indicates that from 1939 to the end of 1943, the number of registered leaders decreased steadily. As more Canadians enlisted into the armed services, fewer adults were available to undertake the leadership of a section. Although a substantial number of leaders did not go overseas, many became actively engaged in wartime production, which sharply decreased their ability to engage in spare time activities.
The slow but steady rise in the Wolf Cub section resulted in part from an increase in female leaders. Although women under extenuating circumstances could apply to become Scoutmasters, few availed themselves of this opportunity. The Wolf Cub section however, comprised of younger boys in a thematic setting, had a greater appeal to potential female leaders. An appeal made to former Scouts to take up active leadership in a section, netted a substantial number of temporary and permanent leaders.144

Aside from the tangible decrease in wartime membership, Scouting suffered in other ways. The loss of available adults meant fewer leaders, fewer badge instructors and examiners. Under the proficiency badge system of the 1940's, Scouts were inspected by volunteer examiners. The loss of these key people generally meant a narrowing of focus in the badge scheme. One interesting result of this was a marked increase in the attainment of war-related badges. Scouts studied and practiced such badges as; Ambulanceman, Airman, Engineer, Pathfinder, Rescuer and Public Health. The reason for the increase was twofold. First, Scouts who were far too young to be eligible for active service regarded these tests as an important contribution to the war effort. By attaining certain skills, Scouts could actively participate in "home front" service.145 Senior Scouts were encouraged to complete as many of these badges as possible in order to be better prepared, should they be called upon for active service.

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Badges such as Watchman took on a real significance. Scouts engaged in active surveillance and communication with the National forces, rather than simply reading the material and performing the tests. For a period, Scouting had the opportunity to demonstrate concretely to the boys the utility of the subjects contained within the badge work. Acknowledging the motivating force of badges, Scouting headquarters authorized the creation of a new emblem for war service hours. These insignia were awarded for one-hundred hour increments of service.

With the mass production of fighter aircraft, and the regular training of combat pilots, Canadian boys displayed an intense interest in aviation. Scouts were encouraged to acquire a practical knowledge of aircraft within the framework of the proficiency badge system. Consequently, Dominion Headquarters designed the "Flying Lions" scheme of training and issued special badges for its successful completion.

The death of Lord Baden-Powell in 1941 brought about the end of a Scouting era. Although he had failed to change the world, his movement had enriched the lives of millions. To even the youngest Scout, Baden-Powell possessed an irresistible appeal. To his last days, he maintained contact with the Scouts of the world, always working to bolster the movement. Scouts saw him as an unselfish, concerned and brilliant man who was genuinely attentive to the welfare of the world's youth. On his repeated world tours he always made
it a point to visit as many Cubs, Scouts and Rovers as he could.

Baden-Powell was a far-sighted man. He maintained constant contact with the Scout Associations of the world, attempting to insure their smooth operation. Nonetheless, he recognized the pitfalls of one individual attempting to run single-handedly a world movement. As Scouting spread he had continually stressed the need to avoid strict centralization. As a result, long before his death, Scouting had become self-sustaining. By 1941, he had separated himself from the Imperial headquarters, realizing that the job of administering Scouting should be left in the hands of younger and farther-seeing individuals. One of his last messages, published after his death, underscored his satisfaction with the Movement's progress:

On my eightieth birthday I performed my final ceremonial inspection of my old regiment. I was a hard-boiled Cavalry Officer of the old type, and I saw that it was no longer possible for me to deal with mechanised units and modernised tactics.

I therefore resigned my post into younger hands to a man more conversant with machines and modern ideas. It has been very much the same with the Scout movement. After being in it up to the neck for over thirty years, I went for three months' holiday to Kenya. There I developed a tired heart, and was told by my doctor to stay put. His orders were further enforced by Hitler and his war.

So here I lie idle, watching others doing my work, without lifting a finger to help them. The great consolation, however, is that they are young, keen and energetic, devoted to the welfare of the movement, far better able than I to steer it through present difficulties, and having a wide outlook which enables them to recognise and grasp the opportunities which will come, for making the movement of greater national and...
international value in the organisation of peace after the war.

With great content I leave it all in their hands; and to them I whisper "God bless you and prosper your efforts." 150

Nazism did not permit the continuation of Scouting in any of its occupied countries. As the nations of Europe collapsed, Scouting was disbanded. Canadian boys, assisting their distressed brother Scouts, initiated a "Chins-Up" fund. Troops across Canada took on extra tasks to earn revenues for this endowment. The money was spent in a variety of ways. As the war wound down, Canadian headquarters used the fund to publish thousands of copies of foreign Scouting manuals and ship them to freed nations, in order to assist them with the restoration of their Movement.151 Funds were also sent to aid families of British Scouts who had been bombed out of their homes. Further, vast quantities of seeds were sent to Britain, enabling Scouts to grow "Victory gardens."152 The substantial sums of money raised by Canadian Scouts demonstrated the effectiveness and cohesiveness of the movement.

Scouts participated in several direct government projects throughout the war years. With the introduction of war savings bonds and victory stamps Scouts besieged Canadians in a thoroughly successful campaign.153 As a tangible recognition of their services, the Federal Government substantially increased the amount of Scouting's grant.

The war was not Scouting's sole focus throughout the 1939-
1945 period. The steady increase in the number of Wolf Cubs pleased the Dominion Council, which noted the benefits of having such a large body of recruits for the Boy Scout section. By 1942 however, enrolment in Cubs outstripped that of Scouts. Despite the deterioration of the leadership corps throughout the war years, some executives began to question the salience of the Boy Scout section, where enrolment figures registered a steady decline up to the last year of the war. With fewer available leaders declining enrolment in all sections would have been understandable. The depreciation however, had not affected the younger boy section. As the Scout category registered slight gains toward the end of the war, the Wolf Cub section rocketed past them in enrolment.

In August of 1943 Dominion Headquarters held its first conference of Field and Executive Secretaries, of which the main topic was the Boy Scout program. Despite its shortcomings, suggested remedies reflected traditional approaches to the problem. At the centre of the debates was the programme, not the boy. As the Rover Scout branch had virtually disintegrated during the war, discussions regarding that section were deferred to a later date.154

In opening the conference, Frank Coombes, Editor of Publications, stated:

in training boys in Scouting principles, therefore, our first and most important object, is to create the standard British concept of honour in the boy's mind. Only with this concept can the boy be expected to keep the Scout promise and law.155

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In this approach to the boys, Scouting principles and a "British" concept of honour were at the basis of the Movement. The adherence to such policies and tactics placed program in a superior position to the interests and needs of the boys. Such an approach demonstrated a relative ignorance of the development of adolescent culture in Canada.

The emphasis upon honour was further underscored by Mr. Coombes; doubtless as a residual effect of the war.

Honour! The present terrible war, with all its unimaginable horrors, was brought about by men who had lost their honour. Had the French leaders, after the first defeat in the north, kept their promise to fight to the shores of the Mediterranean, and if beaten there, carry on from Africa; and if the French fleet had carried on alongside the British fleet, it is almost certain that the war should have been over today. All because individual men failed of honour.

Honour, essential to moral integrity, was not easily conveyed to young boys. Although these virtues were highlighted throughout the war years, Scouting could not have hoped to hold youth in programs based strictly upon these premises. Any assumption that Scouting could attract and retain boys within such an austere framework, in consequence to the changing social climate of wartime Canada, was inherently dangerous to post-war programming.

A major theme evolving out of the conference was the quality of adult leadership. Scouting recognized that it provided a "strangely effective outside-the-family voice that may possibly decide the basic principles of a boy's evolving character." The proposed criterion for current and
prospective leaders was stringent.

The Scouter should be of a good type. He should be a religious person, a good citizen, understanding the full meaning and significance of the Scout promise and law. The attitudes of the Scouter are important. Membership in the movement, both for men and boys, should be regarded as a privilege. High standards should be maintained in the tests and general Scout work. We should not be afraid to insist on good discipline and general smartness.158

The attempt to deal with the situation seemingly reflected progressive and efficient management. Nonetheless, by failing to recognize changing youth trends, their focus was directed at virtually every aspect except the one which needed examination. Near the conclusion of the conference, the executives' attention was directed to the boys themselves. They stated that Scouting should use the natural interests of the boy in laying out the programmes; and that these should be kept flexible and adaptable to changing conditions. Despite changes in methods, they felt the basics of the programme needed to remain constant. Scouters were warned to pay careful attention to the fundamentals of Scouting. Taken alone, the concept of introducing new and flexible programs in Scouting, reflected progressive and imaginative thinking. The restrictions put upon the proposed changes and "improvements" however, virtually negated the possibility of catching up to the changes in adolescent culture. Superficial structural alterations were not the answer to Scouting's developing problems. A thorough understanding of the nature of youth in the war-time and immediate post-war period was imperative to

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the creation of progressive and substantive programming.

In 1943, executive concern was directed more on the deficiencies of the Scout programme, than upon the growing reputation of Wolf Cubs. Scouting was conceptualized as a progression from Cubs through to Rovers. Even prior to the war it was obvious that very few Scouts remained in the programme long enough to enter Rovers. Concern over the dropout of senior Scouts escalated during the war years.

The proposals of both the Secretaries and members of the National Council, were for the creation of a senior Scouting "branch" - a sub-section of Boy Scouts with its own distinct programme. Fourteen and one-half years was the average dropout age from Scouts. The number of boys over this age being served by Scouting was marginal at best. There were a myriad of reasons for a Scout leaving the programme at this age; one of the most troublesome was the breadth of ages between the oldest and youngest Scouts. Fifteen year-old boys did not want to be part of a programme which also included boys as young as twelve years of age. Changes in the habits of the fifteen year-old, such as entry into the working world, often alienated him from the younger Scouts. Such perceived differences frequently prompted the senior boys to leave Scouting.

Scouting executives blamed much of this retention problem on the leadership. Leaders who retained substantial numbers of their senior Scouts were deemed "exceptional". Leaders
who, through the handicap of a "limited" programme were unable
to manage such retention were portrayed as sub-standard, if
not incompetent.

There is some merit in each of the arguments. However, if we analyze each one of them in a broad sense, I think we can honestly say that it is the failure of competent leadership in retaining boys in a Scout Troop to 17 years of age more than any other reason why Scouts drop out after one or two years in the Troop.

Such a "Senior Scout" concept had been proposed in 1931, but had not been acted upon. In 1942, a Commission headed by Lord Rowallan, then Chief Scout of the British Empire, began restructuring the British programme. British Scouting, facing similar difficulties in retaining its older boys, designed a "Senior Scout" section for Scouts aged fifteen to seventeen. Select Canadian Scout executives, participating in the Commission proposed a similar programme for Canada and in 1944 approved the use of such a syllabus on an experimental basis.

Proposed changes included a different uniform to delineate the older from the younger Scouts and it was suggested that the word "Boy" be dropped from the title of the senior section. These changes represented cosmetic alterations at best.

Scouts were to enter this proposed section at fifteen years of age. Scouting officials believed that most of these Scouts would have completed the requirements for the First Class Badge. By 1966 the British Scout Association, in eliminating its Senior Scout section would cite the failure of more that
94% of its Scouts to complete the First Class requirements. Even in 1944, such proposals were unrealistic and underscored the chasm between the realities of war-time adolescence and the perceptions of the National Council. The Senior Scout section, though accepted in Britain, remained an experimental project in Canada.

Pre-occupation with the war compelled the National Council to retain its existing system. Although uncommon, some Scoutmasters were successful in retaining the interest of both the youngest and oldest Scouts in their Troop. National Council, recognizing that some Scoutmasters were able to hold the interest of the senior boys, harnessed the techniques of these individuals. This approach, as underscored in the correspondence between the Provincial and Dominion Headquarters, reverted back to the hackneyed endorsement by which all that Scouting needed was good leadership. Recognizing the success of these few leaders it was suggested:

The time has now come for extending to all groups these successful methods in a scheme which will satisfy the needs of these older boys and so keep them under the influence of the Boy Scout movement and continue their training in citizenship up to the age of 18; after that the Rover Scouts section is available for further development.161

Throughout the conference there existed the potential for dramatic and substantial changes. The decisive endorsement of the supremacy of the programme negated any truly significant alterations in emphasis. Further, the sketchy commentary regarding the Rover Section, demonstrates potential
recognition of the serious deficiencies inherent in that programme as well.

The 1943 conference did not bring about significant changes in the Scout Movement. While attempting to comprehend the deficiencies in the Boy Scout section, the executive bureaucracy misunderstood their causative factors. Despite the emphasis on programming, there was developing in Scouting, a recognition that the primary issue needing to be dealt with was the boy himself.

August 6, 1945 brought to an end the wartime service of the Boy Scouts. Although numerically Scouting had barely held its own during the war, in other ways it had grown tremendously and by 1945 was a household word. The movement's record of service throughout the conflict was admirable and although the spectre of militarism in Scouting would linger with some people forever, by the end of the war it had largely disappeared.

Perhaps the best illustration of how great a thing Baden-Powell did is seen in its opposite to the Hitler youth movement of Germany. Baden-Powell originated Scouting to serve youth. Hitler's youth movement makes youth serve aggression. It is a contrast of Ideals. With gratitude to a man of great vision Canada celebrates Boy Scout Week. Because of it we will never have to celebrate any anniversary of Hitlerism.162

As the world's nations focused on normalizing relations, the Boy Scout Movement was hailed as a champion of world peace. A war-weary world, seeking signs of stability and harmony gave its praise to the Boy Scouts;
Theirs is an organization that has practised international friendship while others preached it. Within the ranks of a Boy Scout Troop you might find boys of half a dozen different nationalities. It has never mattered to them whether a Scout's face was white, black, yellow or copper-coloured. Under the wide-brimmed hats there were heads covered with blonde hair that point to Scandinavian or English parentage, wooly black heads, and straight dark hair of Indians. And this idea was not confined to Canada. 163

The flirtation with Senior Scouting underscored National Council's concern with accelerating drop-out at the senior end of its programme. In the 1940's the Movement was attempting to stem the leaks in the Boy Scout Programme despite their ignorance of the problem's origin.
SECTION FIVE

The initiation of Plan Opportunity, The Maple Leaf Plan and Plan Achievement; coming to grips with the developing problems of adolescence and Scouting.
The aim of Scouting is to produce the kind of citizens Canada needs - strong, decent men - the kind of men you'd like your sons to be. The kind of neighbours you would like to have - real Canadians in every sense of the term.164

The end of the war brought profound changes not only to Canada, but to the rest of the world as well. The return of tens of thousands of soldiers swelled the workforce and precipitated the baby boom. More adult males in Canada, combined with the end of war-time production quotas, meant a larger potential body of leadership for Scouting. This movement, which had served its nation adeptly throughout the crisis, was seen as a definite hope for a future world peace.

In a world ravaged by the horrors of invasion, bombardment, imprisonment and mass extermination, there was a proclivity to nurture any group which trained future generations in peaceful activities. Among the many youth organizations in Canada, Scouting was the most popular. In its programmes, youth learned the perspectives and values which were fundamental to international good will and mutual reliance. Scouting's record of service throughout the war stood it in good stead in the immediate post-war period. With its Jamboree plans underway, the opportunity was taken to lay the spectre of militarism to rest.

The debauchery of all human instincts achieved by NAZI leaders in the training of German youth terribly illustrated the possibilities of shaping a whole generation in medieval nationalistic viciousness, as demonstrated in the German slave-labour and mass-murder camps of the Second World War. In contrast, Scouting at four-year intervals from its
early days has held international, fraternizing gatherings of Boy Scouts for camping-together periods of a week or more. One of the deepest impressions brought away from the 1929 Jamboree by the adult leaders of the many contingents was the complete, natural, taken-for-granted friendliness of all these boys, many of whose fathers had fought on opposite sides of the First World War.165

This comparison to the Hitler-Jugend was an obvious attempt to achieve an extreme contrast, which, in immediate post-war Canada, represented the diametric opposite between good and evil. Such comparisons nonetheless, were unnecessary as Scouting’s reputation of fraternity and service spoke volumes.

During the war, Imperial Headquarters in London reviewed its Scouting programme.166 More than six hundred letters containing suggested revisions were received, and using that input, the Chief Scout, Lord Somers and after his death, Lord Rowallan, undertook a major revision of the programme (the Chief Scouts Commission).167 Their findings and proposals were equally relevant to Canadian Scouting as the two nations, and indeed the two Scouting organizations were so closely bound.

The Commission’s proposals, although vitally important, were overshadowed by other considerations: Scouting as a movement was being questioned, along with the relevance of the programme itself. A similar examination had not been undertaken since Baden-Powell’s survey in 1929. Despite the scope of the inquiries, delegates determined to remain loyal to the fundamentals of the movement.

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Throughout our discussions, the fundamental principles and methods of Scouting as laid down by our Founder were unquestioned and our inquiries strengthened our belief in their soundness. It is our hope that our suggestions will still further emphasise the need for remaining true to the traditions we have inherited. 168

The committee recognized the necessity of changing with the times. Nonetheless, their proposed modifications focused on adjustments in organisation, and in other practical applications of principles. The emphasis of the inquiry centred upon the programme rather than on the boy who was the essential basis of the movement.

Many conditions considered relevant at the time pertained solely to Great Britain, though some factors were not constrained by national borders. Such things included the compulsory education Act, which proposed maintaining youth in schools up to their fifteenth birthday. Other items included the potential for compulsory national service, or military training from the age of eighteen.

Adherence to Scouting's basic principles would not have hindered the future development of the movement. While retaining its fundamental integrity, delegates proposed that these methods should not be handicapped by outdated methodologies which had been designed for conditions which no longer existed. They recognized the shortcomings of outdated programming, but even before an examination had begun, they tied their hands by focusing on the physical structures of the programme. Doing so, without a corresponding examination of the current and evolving trends in youth culture, precipitated
archaic proposals and policies.

The key areas of examination included such items as the Scout Law and Promise, discipline, drill and the Patrol system. A recurrent theme throughout this analysis was that of Patrol leadership. In contrast to other youth movements of the day, Scouting's one unique feature was its Patrol system. The formation of a group, with one leader elected by his peers, had long been an attraction for the movement. By 1939 however, it had become apparent that the Patrol System, as originally designed, had broken down. Scout Troops had degenerated into bodies of boys which were directed by Scoutmasters. Patrol administration needed to be returned to the Patrol leader.

Discipline and smartness were aspects frequently emphasized by Scouting officials and this facet was deemed best exemplified by the leader himself. Scouting began demanding a higher quality of leadership and conduct from its adult administrators.169

A questionable aspect of the Commission was its retention of drill, a favorite target of Scouting's critics. Formal drill was deemed important for moving Scouts from place to place in an orderly manner. Baden-Powell had decried the use of military-style drill in Scouting, believing that it was too frequently used by unimaginative leaders to control boys in a Troop.170 According to B-P proper use of drill incorporated the rudiments of practiced motion, for the purpose of orderly
and efficient movement. By the 1940's use of drill was outdated. This practice remained as a substantive link between Scouting and the military. Instead of eliminating it from the programme, its practice was to be continued (albeit in a limited format), according to the dictates of Scouting for Boys.

In very brief passages, the report stresses the need for flexibility of programming and the recognition of Scouts' relationships with the opposite sex. The entire discussion of these two vital segments occupies less space than the section on drill. Scouting's bureaucracy seemingly recognized the significance of these two aspects, without actually giving them the acknowledgment that they so desperately needed.

In all our activities, particularly with older Scouts, the needs and natural desires of the boy should be taken into account.

All examination of the subject ends with this statement. In 1942, Scouting acknowledged the necessity of understanding what Scouts really wanted. The commission however, created a programme in which adults determined what was appropriate for the boys. Referring to the opposite sex, the committee recognized that Scouting should not: "attempt to suppress the natural wish of the older boy for the society of the girl, but should rather encourage reasonable social intercourse." Just what "reasonable social intercourse" comprised was not elucidated.

Shimmering faintly through this report is the inspiration...
for the restructuring of Scouting into a more meaningful institution. Nonetheless, in neglecting the actual needs and desires of the boy members, Scouting simply constructed another framework in which it attempted to retain its senior boys.

In 1945 Imperial Headquarters compiled the Commission's findings and recommendations in a pamphlet entitled, "The Road Ahead". This pamphlet reflected the concerns of the delegates, while concurrently demonstrating definite far-sightedness. An underlying theme focused on the potential for dramatic change in the post-war period. Despite this recognition, prescriptions of the committee reflected pre-war conservatism, as opposed to a progressive post-war mentality. In making their decisions the Commission heeded Baden-Powell's advice:

In formulating any rules and schemes, for goodness sake, let them be elastic. Look wide since if broadmindedly set out, they will apply not merely to London or Puddlington-In-The-Marsh, but to our far-reaching Dominions overseas and to foreign countries.175

In its analysis, the committee noted:

Opportunities for education have increased; new forms of amusement such as wireless and the cinema have developed; facilities for sports and recreation have been multiplied; at the same time there has been a decline in church membership and a loosening of the discipline of home life. Yet, taking all these changes into consideration, we are convinced that the fundamental ideas at the basis of Scouting as conceived by Baden-Powell remain sound.176

Their findings properly diagnosed the problem, while prescribing an unbefitting prognosis. They recognized the potential for change, but their proposed alterations focused
on the programme structures rather than on the boys themselves.

From the viewpoint of the 1960's, these proposals represented a virtual paradox. Following the guidance of Lord Baden-Powell, a decentralized and flexible chain of command was to be implemented. Although this factor was underscored in the final publication, no substantive format for implementation was proposed.

Leadership

In Scouting's earliest years, boys ganged together to form Patrols, and then sought out adults to represent them as their leaders. The issue of the adult leader formed an integral part of the Committee's proposals. As always, Scouting sought to attract the highest calibre of leadership.

one of the most important and immediate of post-war tasks was the recruitment of men of character to help in the game of Scouting.177

Reversing the "natural" trend in boy-leader relations, the Committee insisted that men of high calibre should be recruited, before there was any great influx of boys.178

Obtaining and training suitable adults has always been a high priority in Scouting. In the final analysis, an undue amount of emphasis seems to have been placed on this factor. They believed that there was "too much evidence of unsatisfactory and inefficient Scouters." 179 Such evidence of inefficiency

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was cited as a definite detriment to attracting skilled and efficient volunteers.

Many men of character who are in sympathy with our aims and methods are deterred from offering their services by such examples of inefficient and unsatisfactory leadership as they cannot but observe in our ranks. 180

The report further underscored the importance of training leaders properly. Despite the voluntary nature of the movement, no leader was exempt from the training necessary to prepare him for the responsibilities of his position. Leaders should

realise that it is their duty to resign as soon as they find that they are prevented for any reason from carrying out their Scout functions efficiently. 181

When the war ended, there was the potential for a greatly increased body of leadership. Nonetheless, Scouting's insistence on such stricktered criteria was potentially detrimental to attracting leaders.

**Older Scouts**

Aside from leadership, the Committee's major consideration was retaining the older Scout. A review of the Scouting census revealed that the average Scout dropped out at age fourteen. Delegates acknowledged that this was not a recent phenomenon; indeed it had confounded even the founder of the Movement. 182 Lord Somers, Chief Scout of the British Empire after Lord Baden-Powell (Baden-Powell was the only Chief Scout
of the World), wrote:

I had quite a few talks with the old Chief before he left on his last journey to Kenya, and he was puzzled a lot as to what we could do to retain the older boy. His experience, which I have had since, showed what a splendid type First Class and King's Scouts are, fine, manly fellows and reliable in every way, and we both agreed what a lamentable thing it was that every Scout did not stick to it until he reached that rung of the ladder....There is one thing I am certain about, and that is that we must definitely recognise that a boy becomes a senior at a certain age, and if he has to spend his Scout life almost entirely with the younger boys of the Troop he will in nearly every case lose interest, gradually adopt the pace of the younger boys, or leave the Troop.183

Even Baden-Powell did not have a concrete plan for dealing with older Scouts. Meeting for several months, the Commission finally adopted "cosmetic" alterations. In a final analysis, the Chief Scout's Commission with its corresponding Committee, while critiquing the methods of the movement, proposed only structural reforms to Scouting. Regardless of the motivation behind the alterations, recommended changes focused on the aspects of leadership, training and the creation of a new section structure. Seemingly, Scouting's bureaucracy failed to realize that solutions could not be effected by re-packaging the programme and its support structures. Until the issue of the boy and his place in society was confronted head-on, most changes would simply be cosmetic. Lord Rowallan concluded his review with the statement: "The Movement has certainly criticised itself without restraint!"184 Criticising the programme in ignorance of the needs of its beneficiaries' needs could produce only
ephemeral solutions. Throughout the war, Scouting earned a tremendous reputation as a service organization. In the post-war years, Scouting retained that image through participation in major events and daily acts of kindness. When, in 1946 a tornado ripped through the city of Windsor, Ontario, Scouts were mobilized within an hour; salvaging and guarding household goods, assisting in the distribution of clothing and bedding, helping with emergency repairs, directing traffic, working on canteen trucks and distributing hot food and drinks. Public recognition of their service was immediate. The Windsor Daily Star praised the boys for their courage and resourcefulness, acknowledging that in this and other disasters, Scouts demonstrated their potential as a major asset to public service.135 The Scout uniform had become a distinctive badge of service and honour.

Plan Opportunity

From 1939 - 1945, Scouting was involved in multiple, ongoing service projects to assist with the war effort. With the return of peace-time conditions, Dominion Headquarters was able to re-direct its focus on the programme itself. In the six years following the armistice, the Canadian General Council, under the leadership of the newly appointed Major-General D. C. Spry, launched three different "improvement" projects in quick succession. The first, introduced in 1947,
was "Plan Opportunity."

In the preamble, its stated purpose was:

to endeavour to suggest a co-ordinated policy of organization and development for the the Scouts of Canada - the men of tomorrow.186

Its object was to provide the opportunity for every Canadian boy who so desired, to join the Scout Movement.187 The Plan emanated from the undercurrents of the Second World War. No lasting world peace could be obtained without a suitable force amongst nations, and "a full realization of the responsibility of all individuals to their fellow men".188

The condition of Scouting's finances was a major area of concern.189 In order to develop the movement as a means of promoting world peace, it was necessary to have the support of all Canadians. In 1947 the Canadian General Council was financed by the Stores Department (the official outfitters of Scouting uniforms and equipment), a small government grant, and a few public-spirited individuals and organizations.190 Although no direct request for financial assistance was made, providing the "opportunity" for all Canadian boys to join Scouting, required a substantial increase in funding. Not only would the movement be providing the registration fees for "less chance" boys; an enlarged infrastructure would also be required to oversee a larger body of youth.

In a stance mirroring the "Road Ahead" document, Canadian Scouting recommended the removal of "unsuitable leaders." According to the plan,
The movement must be prepared to dispose of leaders and officials who are not able to make an adequate contribution of service to Scouting. In the past the association has in some instances accepted the principle that "willingness is enough". It is not.191

Further, there was a motion for the removal of "undesirable leaders", and for the prevention of any further contact by them.192 Canadian Scouting, much like its British model, attempted to increase in size and stature in the post-war years. Increasing the youth membership, while actively pursuing the removal of leaders, was a difficult feat. Although eliminating "undesirables" was in Scouting's best interests, a proposed campaign of attrition directed at the leadership, was at best a questionable method of increasing the body of adult leaders.

The plan recommended establishing a close working relationship with the juvenile courts and other social agencies.193 Dominion Headquarters recognized that much of juvenile crime resulted from a natural gang instinct; the very instinct upon which Scouting was built. Scouting was in a position to offer an alternative to crime, while concurrently utilizing the gang instinct for productive means. In addition, recommendations were made for a liaison with other organizations. By 1947 Scouting recognized the necessity of accepting advice and suggestions from other youth and public service organizations.194 In so doing, Scouting recognized that it was not an entity unto itself. The exchange of ideas and friendship with other groups striving for similar ends
could only help to improve its own position and image.

As a direct result of the war and the rise of Communism, a section pertinent to extremism was included in the report. Concern was expressed that extremist ideologies were generally directed at the young and that Scouting provided a substantial body of young Canadians for a practising extremist.

Through the cell system or other means used by these organizations, extremist leaders are specially trained to worm their way into positions of leadership in youth movements, and thus spread their ideologies through the facilities of recognized public movements. Therefore, the greatest care must be exercised in the selection of leaders and in the investigation of their connections before permitting them to serve as leaders in the Scout movement.195

Consequently, Scouting developed a policy on censorship. The movement recognized the "effect of motion pictures for good or evil on the thoughts and actions of boys"; and determined that there existed a need for close liaison with the Canadian film censors.196 Regarding magazines and comic books, Scouting stated that "many magazines on sale are unsuitable for juvenile consumption."197 Dominion Headquarters recognized the difficulty of removing these from the market and as an alternative, suggested that encouragement should be given toward the use of that which was considered "suitable reading material". Under the plan a policy of "guidance", was recommended.

The Association may adopt the attitude that the world situation is so beyond repair, the future welfare of mankind is already so jeopardized, that no organization, governmental or social, can redeem the situation. If this attitude is adopted the Canadian General Council
should forthwith ask the Dominion Government to revoke its Act of Incorporation.198

The plan demonstrated an interest in reforming the movement, but in such a manner as to change the packaging, not the approach. Notwithstanding, the Canadian General Council realized that it was not reaching as many boys as it should and recommended that in the very near future, a full study of the movement should be undertaken, as well as a "boy survey", to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the organization and programme.

Wolf Cubs

Since its start in 1916, enrolment in the Wolf Cub section had been gaining steadily on that of Boy Scouts, surpassing it in 1942. Although the existence of a large body of Wolf Cubs was initially seen as a positive factor, it had become a significant concern. Within a few years after the war, enrolment in Cubs rocketed beyond that of Scouts. The great increases in Cubs prompted Scouting officials to expect a similar increase in the older boy section. Although there had been steady growth in the Boy Scouts, it had in no way kept pace with that of Cubs. This substantial variation in growth patterns spurred Dominion Headquarters to direct District Commissioners where Cubs considerably outnumbered Scouts, to study their groups. In so doing, they hoped to ascertain why more Cubs were not moving up to the Scout section as they came
of age. Resulting from this growth surge in the younger section, Headquarters initiated a serious evaluation of its programme's shortcomings. Throughout the 1940's and into the 1950's the Boy Scout section continued to grow at a significant rate. Nonetheless, enrolment in Wolf Cubs continued to outstrip greatly that of Boy Scouts.

The government utilized the services of Scouting in 1948. With serious power shortages across the Province of Ontario, over twelve thousand Scouts were enlisted as junior power wardens. Their duties included active conservation of power by the individual and the use of personal influence in the home and elsewhere to make the general public conservation conscious.199

Other Scouting Groups

Aside from the separate-but-equal status of Quebec's Catholic Scouts, another comparable group existed in Canada. The Salvation Army Life Saving Scouts had been in existence for several decades when in 1948 their Headquarters changed the group title to "The Salvation Army Boy Scout Groups". These groups, affiliated with the parent Scouting Organization, faced certain difficulties in securing leadership as candidates were required to adhere to non-smoking and non-drinking habits. Further, they were required to be commissioned by the church itself, virtually limiting
Although Scouting's official date of foundation is 1907 (the year in which the Brownsea Island experimental camp was conducted), the year 1908 (when the programme was fully established) is generally observed as the date of the movement's inception. The numerous letters of praise received during Canadian Scouting's fortieth anniversary demonstrated clearly the Movement's stature.

I warmly commend the Boy Scout Movement for its admirable work in developing a high sense of honour and public spirit among the youth of Canada and in all countries where the Scout Movement is established. By training boys in habits of loyalty, obedience, helpfulness to others, courtesy, resourcefulness, and, above all, by developing in them the habit of working together for worthy ends, the Boy Scout Movement contributes greatly towards the making of good citizens. I extend hearty congratulations to the Boy Scouts Association on the occasion of the observance of its fortieth anniversary, together with my best wishes for continued success in the years ahead.

William Lyon Mackenzie King
Prime Minister 201

Following on the recommendations of "Plan Opportunity", National Council launched an extensive "Boy Survey", attempting to discern which parts of the programme appealed most to the youth participants. Such a survey could have paved the way for a significant re-structuring of the existing programme.

As this survey was undertaken, a new Sea Scout programme was instituted. Resulting from years of negligible, and indeed declining enrolment, the Canadian General Council re-
structured their programme:

...embodied in a new manual which tidied up the whole Sea Scout picture and represented, for the first time, a clear-cut, definite chart for Sea Scouts to follow. Introduction of the new programme meant considerable reorganization and revamping of Troop programmes, tests, ranks, badges, insignia, uniforms and terminology.

While Scouting was soliciting opinions of its Boy Scouts, it was concurrently presenting a highly-structured, sharply outlined package into which its Sea Scouts were to be placed.

A final major Scouting event of the 1940's was the first National Jamboree, held at Connaught ranges, near Ottawa. Applications to the event were restricted to those Scouts holding First-Class rank. The camp was a great success; attracting nearly three thousand Scouts from across the country, and providing a Jamboree experience for those Scouts not fortunate enough to attend a World Jamboree.

The Maple Leaf Plan

The Maple Leaf Plan, implemented in January of 1950, represented a continuation of the rationale demonstrated in the Plan Opportunity project of 1947. Its stated object was similar to the approach taken in previous projects.

The object of the Maple Leaf Plan is the further development of the Boy Scout Movement in Canada through the selection and training of more leaders in order that more boys may have the opportunity of benefiting from Scout training and experience.

The planners based their decisions largely on the findings of the 1948 boy survey and the sustained growth in membership.
A need existed for the improvement of training supervision and for the attraction of "more men and women who were anxious to serve their fellows." The plan called for the institution of a critical survey of the leadership, with a corresponding intensive training programme. Further gains made by the Wolf Cub section over that of Boy Scouts provided substantial impetus for the programme.

The project operated on three levels including service, leadership and supporters. The aim of each particular level was:

Service: Organized on an individual, group, District, Provincial and National basis will emphasize the value of Scout training in replacing self with service. Such emphasis will attract like-minded citizens to support the endeavours of the Boy Scouts Association.

Leadership: Carefully selected and properly trained Scouters will: "develop good citizenship among boys by forming their character; training them in habits of observation, obedience and self reliance; inculcating loyalty and thoughtfulness for others; teaching them services useful to the public and handicrafts useful to themselves; and promoting their physical, mental and spiritual development.

Supporters: Councils, Group Committees and Ladies Auxiliaries will provide the conditions suitable for successful action by Scouters.

This major project, designed to improve the quality of Scouting in Canada, was in essence a re-structuring of leadership recruitment and training policies. Even in 1950, Scouting was enacting changes from above.

Boy Survey

The boy survey, incorporated into the Maple Leaf Plan,
consisted of a questionnaire, distributed to several hundred boys; half of them active members of the Movement, with the balance consisting of former Scouts.206 The survey revealed concretely some of the factors which the movement had presumed for years. Boys were generally attracted to Scouting by its reputation and by friends who were members.207 Others joined out of a desire for the adventure and camping.208 By failing to recruit actively and aggressively prospective boys, Scouting was missing a vital opportunity.209 Things with which Scouts demonstrated dissatisfaction included the programme in general and structural aspects of meetings in particular. Common complaints included too oft repeated games and lectures and a general discontentment with the use of short pants as an official uniform item.210

Scouts voiced a dislike of drill, badly run Court of Honour meetings, inefficient Patrol Leaders, bad discipline, and interference from "outside" sources.211 A properly run Patrol system would have negated most of these factors. Most Scouts left the movement because other boys of their own age had left or because they had found other interests. The findings of this survey were of critical importance in understanding the shortcomings of "improvement" projects instituted by Scouting. Although the movement's intentions have always been honourable, a basic premise often seems to have been often overlooked. If a pattern develops where boys leave the programme at a certain age, (simply because other boys of
their age have left) the movement may have mistakenly presumed that said loss of boys resulted from a problem, which, if understood, could be solved. Drop-out from a youth programme at a certain age might well be a natural phenomenon to which there is no solution. Recognition of this problem was not apparent in any of the projects of the 1940's or 1950's. The survey represents a missed opportunity. With this information Scouting developed a new approach, but it was aimed at the leadership level. This survey opened communication with the active beneficiaries of Scouting, an extension of which could have allowed the membership to express their needs and desires.

Regarding other youth organizations, the survey indicated that Cadets, Y.M.C.A. and other groups did not draw large numbers of boys away from good Troops. Apparently these groups did draw youth from poor and mediocre Troops. Recommendations to combat this included better discipline and increased correct use of uniforms. Presentation of the Programme appeared to be riddled with deficiencies, including a lack of variety in Troop activities, insufficient camping, hiking, Patrol life, adventure and opportunities to learn. Methods of rectifying these difficulties included; more frequent District-run activities, proper use of the Patrol system and a closer cooperation between Packs and Troops to prevent "wastage".

Following directly on the findings of the Plan Opportunity
document, leadership was found to be seriously deficient. The segment pertinent to leadership underscored the crux of the problems as perceived by the Canadian General Council: "Many leaders incorrectly apply the Scout programme and are not corrected by the District staff." Along with recommendations for increased and improved training of leaders, the Council stated: "There is a need for the ruthless removal of inefficient and unsuitable Scouters." The problem faced by Scouting (according to the council) was leadership's failure to administer properly the programme. Scouting was not failing the boys; the leaders were failing Scouting.

Another administrative body to come under fire by Scouting was the Group Committee, which administered groups for their sponsors. Many of these committees were not functioning as required and increased training combined with the "removal of inefficient and disinterested members" was proposed.

Deserved or not, Scouting had earned a "sissy" reputation from its critics. Council agreed that in some cases this was warranted because of "unsuitable leaders who permitted poorly arranged programmes." Further, they felt the wearing of shorts under "wrong" conditions sometimes contributed to this problem. Just what comprised "wrong" conditions was not explained. Once again, distinct problems faced by the movement were blamed on "unsuitable" and "inefficient" leaders. In this document, the leadership had
become the "whipping post" for the Council. Seemingly, any shortcoming could be blamed on a failure of the leaders. Although the Council admitted that insufficient training was often the cause of poor programme administration, in their view, it was the administration of the programme that was at fault, not the programme itself.

The Maple Leaf Plan was a five-tiered project. The initial stage, completed in 1950 coordinated information and planned achievement targets. The next three stages, carried out under the banner of "Plan Achievement", incorporated the findings of the Maple Leaf Plan, setting definite improvement goals to be completed annually from 1951 through to 1953. The final stage was the National "Jamboree of Achievement" at which the progress of the movement was expected to be apparent.

The Maple Leaf Plan was distributed only to Executive and Provincial Secretaries and members of the Executive staff. Upon review of the recommendations, the Canadian General Council issued a pamphlet entitled "Plan Achievement" to the rank and file leaders. This document represented the revised proposals and plans of the original document. Its stated aim was:

  to provide leadership so that more boys may be led to become balanced citizens of the sort we all want as neighbours. Through public service we can attract more leaders. More leaders can train more boys. More leaders require supporters to help them in their duties.220

Major-General D. C. Spry, Chief Executive Commissioner for the Canadian General Council stated that the plan resulted from
careful study of the "factors bearing upon the attainment of the aims and intentions of the Boy Scouts Association."221

Starting in 1951, each year was considered a component in the plan. Scout Groups were encouraged to meet certain growth and improvement targets during each calendar year. Attainment of these targets netted groups improved efficiency, better programming and a handsome "Plan Achievement" standard to be sewn on their unit flag. Some suggested targets included: at least 25% of the Troop passing the First Class Tests; each Scout completing a minimum of fourteen days of camping and hiking per year; every Patrol leader to become a First Class Scout; at least one Scout in every Troop to have the bushman's thong; et cetera.222 Large wall charts and supporting publications were issued to the individual groups. Evidence suggests that the plan was not undertaken wholeheartedly. The 1952 annual report for the Provincial Council of Ontario complains that significant increases in the setting and obtaining of goals was not realized.223 Supporting the plan however, Council noted that those groups who participated did benefit from increased and more sustained interest by the boys.

"Plan Opportunity", "The Maple Leaf Plan" and "Plan Achievement" were all instituted with the best of intentions. Perceiving deficiencies in Scouting, the executive bureaucracy instituted these measures, attempting to improve the efficiency and popularity of its programmes. Proposed
improvements were designed and instituted from above. Rather than confront adolescent physical, sexual and psychological changes head on, Scouting attempted to redefine its management of existing programmes to meet these changes. In essence, Scouting was playing a shell-game for an audience which was drifting off into directions for which the movement was unprepared.

The end of the Second World War did not bring about a corresponding conclusion to the national services of the Boy Scouts. By 1947, the Canadian Government had instituted a Civil Defense programme. Scouts' training made them perfect candidates to assist with this project. Recognizing this, the Canadian General Council introduced new grade tests to the Scout programme, designed to prepare Scouts for their role in Civil Defense.224

"The public expected Scouting to be prepared." Scouting's Civil Defence services included such activities as messenger work, damage surveys, light rescue work, evacuation schemes, traffic control and participation in billetting surveys. With practical training received in the grade badges and proficiency tests, Scouts acted as instructors and demonstrators for knotting, lashing, elementary pioneering and first aid.225

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In May of 1952, Ontario Provincial Council's staff convened a conference at McMaster University in Hamilton. A key issue was Scouting's future. In examining the roots of the movement, the staff focused sharply upon its Christian background.

The end of the Victorian period was the highpoint of many Christian-centred organizations. At the turn of the century, groups such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Boys' Brigade, the Church Lads' Brigade and the Salvation Army were flourishing. It was in this environment that Baden-Powell designed the movement. Scouting's original intent only to be an addendum to Christian movements such as the Y.M.C.A. and the Boys' Brigade was a demonstrable proof linking Scouting to the Christian movements of the time.226 Most of Scouting's early clientele came from these Sunday-centred organizations.

Some have said that Baden-Powell merely wrote a midweek programme that would provide an activity and atmosphere in which the doctrines - the faith - and the fundamentals of a Christian Sunday would grow; and never intended to develop a hitherto new boys' programme.227 Scout executives finally recognized that the movement was in danger of completely losing touch with its clientele. Although significant programme-centred alterations had been undertaken throughout the past forty years, it was apparent that boys of the 1950's were significantly different from those of the Victorian and Edwardian periods.

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Now you and I will argue that Scouting is fundamentally the same today as it was in B.P.'s time. When we are confronted with a problem regarding older boys that we can't answer (let's be honest) we resort to that old hackneyed phrase that "if only leaders would run a proper Scout programme as Baden Powell intended, he would hold his older boys". When we run into a problem of relationship whether about the group - or about badges - or camping - or this or that - we say "if only they would do as B. P. did, everything would be all right".

In other words we have sought to maintain a program that is fundamentally the same as in 1907. We have been so conscious of program that we have failed to notice that the clientele has changed and that this is one of the points in which we run foul of our school of social work.228

Seemingly for the first time, Scouting officials recognized the latent difficulties facing the movement. Simply repackaging Scouting would not address its problems. No solution could be administered in short order. This conference demonstrated that Scouting needed to take a thorough look at the nature of its programming. Alterations could not continue to be cosmetic and structural if the movement intended to retain the 1950's era boy.

Executives readily admitted that not every boy wanted to become a Scout.229 Further, not every parent wanted their boy to join Scouting, nor did every church wish to sponsor a group.230 Rather than insist that Scouting attempt to penetrate Canadian society to the farthest extent possible, National Council determined to focus its efforts on improving the quality of the movement. Such refinements focused on the boys themselves rather than upon Scoutings' structures. In concluding the conference, delegates recommended that in the future, Canadian Headquarters should make use of the services
of competent persons outside of the movement, in the publication of Scouting books and pamphlets. This move was indicative of the course taken by Scouting in later restructuring efforts.

The year 1953 marked the Coronation of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II. Canadian Scouting, acknowledging its strong ties with its British counterpart, took part in numerous Coronation celebrations. One such event, held on the evening of the Coronation was the lighting of bonfires with special patriotic programmes. This event, staged on a national level, with Districts in each Province participating, demonstrated clearly, the special link between Canadian Scouting and the British Empire.

National Staff Training Conference, 1954

The recommendations of the 1952 Provincial Secretaries conference would not go discarded. Many of these ideas and commendations were incorporated and expanded upon at the National Staff training conference in 1954. This was the second such conference; the first having been held in 1943. In the intervening years, much had changed, but the most significant transformation was apparent in the deliberations of the National Council.

The issue of education was a major concern for convening the conference. Of primary concern were anticipated strains
on the education system resulting from the post-war baby boom. Dr. Trueman, addressing the conference feared that, "educators throughout the country will be faced with a tremendous problem in the next five or six years." He placed great faith in the Boy Scouts Association to alleviate this situation. Within the next decade, the number of school-age children was expected to double, creating a problem of sheer numbers. Clearly, such an increase in youth population was a concern for Canada's largest youth organization.

Much as we believe our founder was far-sighted and a man of great vision and wisdom, it is not enough to say: "read *Scouting for Boys* and *The Wolf Cub Handbook*, the answers are all there!" Guidance, inspiration, and ideas - certainly; but complete and only answers, - hardly.

Delegates quickly critiqued the existing programmes and methods. They realized that both the baby boom and the expanding post-war economy were accelerating changes in Canadian society. Scouting would not be unaffected by these changes. In its earliest days Scouting had been described as a revolution in education. Changing educational trends in post-war Canada led delegates to wonder if that claim could still be made; or if in fact, Scouting could even be seen as up-to-date with education.

Children engaged on an enterprise may not know what subject they are studying nor in what period according to timetable. It matters little to the learners whether an interesting item of knowledge or experience is properly called geography, history or literature -- the important thing to them as learners is that it is interesting, and is useful to them in the life they are living as boys and girls.
This quotation, while sounding very much like a verbatim verse from *Scouting for Boys*, was in fact cited directly from, "Introduction to Programme of Studies for Grades I to IV, Department of Education, Province of Ontario." By the 1950's, schools were practicing curricular and extracurricular methods of instruction strikingly similar to those of Scouting. Keeping pace with education was imperative. Scouting could not afford merely to mimic the schools, without offering a distinct program of its own.

I think you know, that we in Scouting are inclined to suffer a little bit from self-adulation. I am surprised that there are not more broken arms in Scouting, considering the amount of times that we pat ourselves on the back, and I think that it is something that we have to be very careful about; that a prolonged attitude of self-congratulation can create. In my mind, an attitude of mediocrity.

Religion

The 1952 conference re-evaluated Scouting's religious content. There was a need to clarify some parts of Scouting's religious policy in view of "present day" conditions. With declining church attendance, many Scouters felt that some requirements of the Religion and life award were too stiff and recommended that churches be encouraged to review and if possible, to re-write them.

The effects of increasing urbanization on Scouting's future was considered of major importance. "Depressed" areas of larger cities often produced a breed of "less chance" and "problem" boys. In the 1950's incidents of juvenile crime
were on the rise in the larger metropolitan areas. Further, there was a distinctively negative attitude directed at these boys by an increasing number of leaders. Many adults began to feel that these boys were beyond the help of Scouting; and in some cases, should not be helped by the Movement.240

Rather than chastise the leadership for their hesitation in working with these boys, delegates instead placed the blame on the programme itself. Dr. Stiles, leading the debate, inquired:

How attractive is Scouting to a boy, or a gang of boys, who because of a less protected and tougher life, are more mature in terms of experiences and who look on a Troop as a bunch of sissies? 241

Defending Scouting, Dr. Stiles commented: "surely a programme that boasts adventure is a natural for the tough guy."242

Under the Maple Leaf Plan, National Council would have quickly condemned the leadership for its inadequate handling of this type of boy. The recommendations of this Conference however, were to train a special leadership corps to deal with these boys, and to interpret more flexibly the programme.243

A further consideration, later becoming a major issue, was that of the official uniform. As the ordinary Scout expressed misgivings about the uniform (particularly the shorts and the stetson), the "tougher" boy might well be deterred from joining the movement on this basis alone.

At the time of the conference, Wolf Cubs comprised 60% of the registered youth membership while Boy Scouts made up 38% and Rovers 2%. A definite concern was the failure of large
numbers of Cubs to enter the Boy Scout programme. Reviewing both the boy programmes and the youth themselves, Dr. Stiles determined that there were two distinct problems plaguing the Movement in 1954: the Wolf Cub programme and the Patrol system in Scouting. 244

In a cursory examination of the Wolf Cub programme, some obvious deficiencies became apparent. Cubs making use of the local libraries procured books on subjects such as space, aircraft and sports. 245 Cubs were extremely realistic and imaginative, demonstrating definite interest in subjects of adventure and mechanics. This situation underscored the fact that the Cub programme was neither sufficiently broad in its content nor its outlook. Dr. Stiles believed that the single "jungle theme" of the Wolf Cub programme was insufficient for Canadian boys. 246

A more realistic approach would be to broaden the emphasis of Cubbing, using unlimited themes and harnessing the creative ability of the boys themselves. Dr. Stiles felt that by using Canada's heroes and rich history as inspiration, boys could be more thoroughly motivated.

Perhaps here, as in no where else in our programme, do we suffer from straight "importation". And we have failed to plan with Canada in mind. 247

He suggested that a more thorough use of Canadiana be incorporated into all of the programme sections. His examination of Wolf Cubs underscored that although the Cub programme needed some definite revisions, it was basically
sound. The numerical superiority of Wolf Cubs was based upon factors other than just programming.

Numerically Cubbing is a successful programme, our most successful. But is high membership the only criterion for measurement of achievement? We must remember that Cub age boys are not the critical, independent fellows that our Scouts and Rovers are, and therefore, it is reasonable to expect that a lively programme, uniform, and lots of fun and a certain amount of adventure, will appeal. There certainly isn't the competition for a boy's time in that age group and there is bound to be a degree of adult pressure as well. And how many boys of that age continue to keep going week after week, as much through routine as anything else? 248

Patrol System

In examining the existing Scout programme, one deficiency was immediately apparent. In its original form Scouting was designed around the Patrol system concept. Using this format, boys arranged themselves into groups of similar age and interests and elected one of their own number to lead them. The troop was in essence merely a local identity to which one or more of the Patrols belonged. Such a system offered each Patrol the opportunity for initiative, self-control, self-reliance and self-direction. By the 1950's this format had been subjugated in importance to the troop; the Scoutmaster had de facto ceased to be the Troop's administrator. Rather than offering guidance and support to the individual Patrols, the Scoutmaster had become an involved programme man. He now provided a standard programme for all of the Patrols in the Troop. 249

The Patrol system became the "ideal" rather than the
standard and accepted method of operation. At the centre of the stated aims of the Boy Scout section was the successful application of the Patrol system. Failure to operate along these lines was a major dilemma in the 1950's.

This is the big question facing our Scout program and one on which the growing success or failure of our teenage programme would seem to depend. We must recognize the loss of membership in the Scout age group; the greater opportunity being given to boys to think for themselves in schools and everywhere; and the growing number of youth programmes that are based on "boy-run activities".250

**Rovers**

There were few leaders or executives who would have denied the failure of Rovers. A standard misconception was the assumed continuity of any one particular Crew. Many leaders and prospective Rovers believed that Crews were established along similar lines as the Scout Troop.251

Rover Crews were originally intended to be homogeneous groups of young men with like interests. Many of these young men would come to a Crew together, having gone through Scouts as a group. The key difference between the ideal concept and the actual practice was a Crew's longevity. Most groups, once established, set out certain traditions and customs, often containing Rovers who had long since surpassed the maximum age requirements, but who were determined to remain on the rolls.252 In theory, Rover Crews were designed to have a fairly natural life cycle: boys would form a Crew
when the time was appropriate: select their own leader; progress through the various activities; and, as members found girl friends, got married or moved away, the Crew would die a natural death. In essence, it had served its purpose.253

In practice, few Rover Crews followed the proposed program structure. The presence of "old men" in crews proved a detriment to prospective Rovers. Dr. Stiles felt that the key to the problem might well have been that very few Scoutmasters believed there was much point to Rovers, in his own words asking, "are they too far wrong?"254

Although the causes of programming difficulties were not entirely clear, there was at least recognition of the need for change. Dr. Stiles clearly stated that alterations were necessary if the movement was to progress in Canada: and that no plan or idea should be rejected on the basis of its difficulty. In a prophetic conclusion he asserted: "We can learn from the past; but we must live in the present; and plan for the future."255

Our pattern of community living, education and employment and the emphasis upon children and their development, has all changed radically since Scouting’s inception, changes in our program however, have been negligible and about the only major change in our age groups has been a more flexible "Cub to Scout age", the lowering of the Rover age and a recognition of a vague "upper Rover age". It seems important therefore, to examine: first our age groups (is the lower age satisfactory?). What about dividing ages, and what about the upper age -- if Rovering is preparation for citizenship when does a boy become a "citizen", surely before 23? 256

The comments made by the executive underscore the shortcomings
of all three programme areas. The conference however, lasting only a few days, did not undertake an in-depth analysis of Canada's youth or their corresponding needs and desires.

The Canadian boy is becoming more and more "American" rather than "British". Our literature, schools, recreation, play and whole pattern of living is certainly along these lines. Our Wolf Cub programme has been imported without modification from Britain; can it be expected to fit the present Canadian scene? There is also the matter of the young boy from 8 to 12 being given much more responsibility and opportunity to think for himself, particularly in school -- yet the Cub programme allows practically no opportunity for him to do so.25

In closing the conference, Dr. Stiles commented that Canadian adolescents and pre-adolescents were struggling to conform to society's demands which were unclear and confused.25S Delegates determined that there was a definite need to re-define and re-structure the entire older boy programme in Canada. Further, a study of the uniform needed to be undertaken.

Scouting, an aged and proud organization, was portrayed by its own leaders as being visibly out of step with the progress of Canadian youth. Although concrete alterations and improvements were not determined during the conference, the seeds of change were sown. This conference had not been arranged to condemn the shortcomings of the movement, but rather to expose its weaknesses and subsequently, to repair them. In no sense were all of the pertinent factors relating to Canadian adolescence understood. In order to "be prepared" to serve these youth in the future, a permanent standing committee was established to undertake studies and recommend
In 1954 Ontario, and specifically Toronto, were struck by hurricane Hazel. Scouting immediately mobilized to aid the stricken areas, participating in the collection of bedding and food, cleaning and packaging of water damaged goods, searching for bodies, controlling traffic, providing night police patrol and removing dead animals. Their ability to mobilize instantly during such a disaster underscored the value of Scout training programmes. Further, the importance of the Scout uniform as a "passport to service", recognized by police, fire and other authorities, was apparent.

In 1955 Canadian Scouting hosted the eighth International Jamboree, at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario. Over eight thousand Scouts and Scouters from around the globe joined together for two weeks of activities and fellowship. This camp sharply focused the attention of Canadians on the Movement. There was no better publicity for the movement than the peaceful and friendly co-habitation of boys and leaders from all over the world.

As the 1950's drew to a close, Canadian Scouting was giving its programmes and methods a thorough review. By 1959, the movement was prepared to launch a full-scale examination of all aspects of the programme and their support structures. In so doing, it took into account the myriad of external factors affecting the course of the movement. As the decade closed Scouting finally began to examine the question of adolescence.
These examinations commenced in the nick of time. The social and cultural upheavals of the 1960's would test the movement to its absolute limits; and Scouting would be forced to produce changes that were more than superficial.
SECTION SIX

Use of outside professionals to examine the Movement and recommend changes; the institution of the Scouts '68 programme.
One suspects that, perhaps, when Scouting began these programs were well enough grounded in the realities of age interest, in the social system and in the historical conditions which generated them. They could even be transferred to Canada and administered without any urgent need to understand in any detail the often shifting social and psychological realities which underlie the progress through the life cycle and a youth programme intended to be integrated with it.\textsuperscript{260}

At the moment we are concerned not with minor adjustments to tests or with rewording rules, but with a complete evaluation of our entire programme concept as it applies to Canadian youth in today's and tomorrow's North American society.\textsuperscript{261}

By 1959, Canadian society began undergoing dramatic alterations. Scouting officials recognized the need to interpret these changes and to be prepared to deal effectively with them. Although Scouting membership continued to grow, officials realized that it was mostly demographic. Baby boom children had filtered into the Wolf Cub programme in the mid-1950s, precipitating great increases in enrolment, but the more important scale, that of eligible youth penetration, demonstrated that Scouting was not growing significantly. By 1960, the Boy Scout section should have expanded substantially, as boys reached the maximum age limitations for Cubs and filtered into the older division. Census and penetration statistics illustrated that this was not the case. Enrolment in Boy Scouts was levelling out and projections indicated the possibility of zero growth in the near future. These and other considerations fueled the research undertaken by the Programme and Uniform Sub-committees.
This is not a new disease which has struck suddenly, without warning. Some associations have been struggling for existence for many years, their survival assured by a handful of interested and dedicated persons, while other groups see their role either reduced or changed by present-day conditions.262

The 1960's was an era of new high technology, a higher standard of living, civil and racial unrest and the hydrogen bomb. In the short period since the end of the war, the world's horizons had broadened dramatically, as had challenges and pitfalls for youth. Scouting, though recognizing societal changes throughout its existence, had never adopted a definite course of action. By 1960 the Movement was clearly out of step with Canadian societal and educational developments. The turbulence of the decade prompted Scouting to accelerate its analysis of its failing programmes.

Of primary importance was whether or not Scouting still made a significant contribution to Canadian youth. The committee had to determine whether a pre-adolescent age organization served Scouting's aim and purpose: should the organization pursue a programme for adolescent boys?263 It was not simply a matter of whether Scouting wished to continue with Boy Scouts, or to phase out this section in favour of one with a more pre-adolescent focus. In examining the make-up of the movement, along with corresponding developments in youth culture, Scouting set its future course. Clearly, no piecemeal review would suffice.

Although lasting and flexible alterations to the programme could be made by members of the Movement, there was a need for
a detached and impartial analysis of Scouting's position. The Executive Directors hired Henry Seywerd, a social scientist and statistician, with no contacts to the Movement to head up the research. Utilizing an unbiased researcher underscored the determination of the movement's leaders to conduct a thorough and meaningful analysis of the Movement. Based on Seywerd's initial findings, the Programme and Uniform Sub-Committee, a branch of the National Programme Committee was created.

In investigating the shortcomings of Scouting in the 1960's, isolating the problem was only the first step. A review of the fundamental aim and principles concluded that they were as sound as they had been in 1901. Throughout the examination, several crucial elements contributing to Scouting's success were underscored, including: the badge system, the purely expressive recreational aspects of the program, and the ties of camaraderie and friendship established through membership in Packs, Troops and Crews. Having discovered the foundation sound but its structures in disrepair, Scouting proclaimed its aging organization worth repairing. The findings of the programme survey prepared the organization for a thorough and ongoing re-structuring.

PROGRAMME & UNIFORM SUB-COMMITTEE

Committee members were not the only ones concerned with the
An article in the March, 1960 issue of the *Scout Leader* underscored the need for programme modifications. An Ottawa Scouter, experimenting with a senior Patrol in his Troop, found that it created a physical separation between the oldest and youngest Scouts which was received enthusiastically by both groups. Older boys no longer had to work in close conjunction with the youngest and conversely, the youngest boys were not intimidated by the senior Scouts. Such innovative programming at the District level was not uncommon; in fact it was indicative of the approach taken by the committees.

In its preamble the Programme Committee states: "Our point of departure is the divergence of the actual performance of Scouting from major original aims and assumptions of Scouting." Getting the problem in perspective, committee members listed the major factors affecting youth and volunteer organizations. As the Movement faltered, its leaders recognized the need to re-establish contact with its clients.

Scouting launched a full-scale analysis of all of its programme aspects, confident that any worthwhile facet would stand up to the most searching scrutiny. Rather than re-word its rules, re-write its badges or chastise its leaders, the Movement questioned its entire approach to youth in the modern era of the 1960's. This compiled list was the blueprint for the Scouts '68 programme.

Fifty years after its introduction to this country,
Scouting still had not been properly adapted to the Canadian environment. The concept of the outdoors as developed in *Scouting for Boys* and *Rovering to Success* was not in sync with the realities of Canadian climactic conditions. Canada does not boast the temperate climate of the British Isles; eight months of cold weather was not compatible with the original programme scheme. The result was the displacement of programme emphasis from the outdoors to other programme areas, resulting in a divergence between the traditional assumptions of Scouting and what the movement actually did. Rather than seize the immense outdoor opportunities available in Canada, the Movement developed into a largely sedentary, building-centred programme, with incidental outdoor activities. Though there were frequent exceptions to this rule, it did develop as the general pattern in Canada.

A progressive adaptation of Scouting's programmes to Canada's social and physical environment could have alleviated many points of divergence. As Canadians became more American than British in their perspectives, Scouting could have gradually introduced a more "national" approach to its programmes. Scouting's failure to do so contributed to the difficulties experienced in the 1960s.

The committee recognized that children matured earlier than in the past. Although this became a major topic of analysis in the 1960's it was initially seen as just another symptom. Nonetheless, it illuminated the growing disparity between...
Wolf Cubs and Boy Scouts. As boys matured earlier, their interests in youth programmes peaked sooner, resulting in increased interest in the Wolf Cub Programme and declining enrollment in the Scout section. Aggravating this symptom, was the fact that the programme divisions were themselves too rigid, almost as though they had a reality of their own.  

SCOUTING AND EDUCATION  

By 1960, Scouting had lost much of its experimental character; what had been unique and revolutionary in 1907 had become virtually commonplace. Two major factors influencing this change were the economy and the education system. In the post-war economic boom, the Canadian standard of living had increased substantially and people found themselves with increased leisure time and spending capital. More families engaged in recreational camping and Scouting lost much of its outdoor allure. Further, the 1960s witnessed massive expansion in organized youth recreational activities. Virtually overnight Scouting was competing with little league, soccer, karate, football, swimming, hockey, and a host of other sport and hobby interests.

Changes in the education system created an even more serious competitor for the movement. Initially, Scouting was designed to supplement the institutions of Church, home and school. Schools recognized that children were maturing earlier and developed more challenging programmes which competed directly with Scouting's syllabus. School children
were exposed to the small group process and to the outdoors, two fundamentals of Scouting. The Movement's existing programmes made virtually no supplementary contribution to the education system; schools had taken over in fields once dominated by Scouting. By the 1960s, a boy's average stay in school lasted until age fifteen, resulting in a more highly literate, and more demanding clientele for organizations which served his interests.

Scouting noted that the Ministry of Education employed sociologists and child psychologists, when evaluating teaching methods and curriculum. Such specialists could prove an extremely important asset in the development of new Scouting programmes. Further, the movement recognized that it could no longer operate in a vacuum. Since its inception, Scouting had functioned as a highly independent youth movement. By the 1960s, most youth organizations were in a state of flux. Scouting officials recognized the potential benefits of pooling resources with other youth groups. This did not mean an open sharing of the programs, but rather, an exchange of ideas and information. In standing aloof, Scouting risked falling behind in the developments undertaken by other organizations. Corresponding with other youth movements was a substantial step forward in the restructuring process.

ROVERS

Despite numerous inquiries into the failings of the Rover Scout programme, little progress had been made and this
section came under particular scrutiny by the committees. Programme modifications were clearly needed to accommodate older adolescents. The existing Rover programme, even with its lowered entrance age, was not attracting boys in significant numbers. Despite its failings, there seemed a chronic need to construct and reconstruct a working Rover programme. In these exercises it became apparent just how far from reality the conception of the "ideal" Rover Scout was:

It is perhaps no accident that the picture drawn of the Rover is sometimes that of a bloodless individual, apparently unconcerned with sex, or a career, or marriage, satisfied with male society and who can still be spoken of as "a boy". If he actually exists we probably should have a person who is maladjusted not only to his own age group but to much of our society by current expectations. The point is that perhaps, this shows a certain inability of Scouting up to now and as an organization to deal with the adolescent at all.2"3

In recognizing the shortcomings of Rovers, Scouting discovered the key issue behind the failings of the Boy Scout section: it was using a concept of adolescence no longer in touch with the boys it served. By 1960, Scouting was a youth organization stuck in the Edwardian period. It was serving boys without understanding their current fundamental needs.

COMMITTEE ORGANIZATION

No significant restructuring could be done in a piecemeal fashion. Past reforms such as Plan Opportunity, the Maple Leaf Plan and Plan Achievement all sought to improve the
functional aspects of the Movement. Each plan proposed structural modifications without a corresponding understanding of societal trends of Canadian youth. This "paint the woodwork but don't examine the foundations in case something serious is wrong" approach was rejected by the Committee.

In order to make meaningful changes to the Movement, Scouting needed to understand the youth it served.

Charles Stafford, heading up the National Programme Committee, mapped out a course for the programme and Uniform Sub-committees.

Resolve that an extensive study of the Canadian Scout programme and uniform be undertaken in an endeavour to ascertain whether or not they are suitable for the average Canadian boy of this age, and if not, what changes in programme and uniform should be made to adapt them to the current needs.

The committee utilized the programme survey, categorizing specific weaknesses and issues. With the recognition of how far out of step Scouting had become, the necessity of speed was stressed.

As you will see for yourselves during this meeting all the indications are that, unless something is done and done soon, Scouting in Canada will cease to serve the purpose for which it was designed.

Change needed to be rapid and elastic if it were to be of any significance.

MEMBERSHIP TRENDS

A sense of urgency pervades the programme review literature. Even with steadily rising enrollment throughout the early years of the programme review, increasing drop-out
from the Scout section gave momentum to this sentiment. It took an increasing rate of recruitment at the younger levels to retain slightly more than the same proportion of older boys from the eligible population. Conversely, drop-out from Wolf Cubs was inconsequential; increased recruitment into Cubs was bolstering the numbers of the younger boys, while barely contributing to the maintenance of the Scout section.

Compounding the problem, the rate of growth was predicted to decline over the next few years. Tested methods of recruitment tended toward exhausting the available youth population within a short time span. Based upon leadership research, Scouting officials realized that there was an upper limit to the number of available volunteer leaders. As the population of Cubs, Scouts and Rovers increased dramatically, Scouting neared this upper limit. In some provinces the saturation point had already been reached. When this "saturation point" in Cubs had been reached and registration began to decline, enrollment in the Scout section would likely drop dramatically. A decision had to be made: either change the organization's focus to a pre-adolescent programme, or make significant and lasting changes to the Scout section. This was Scouting's key dilemma in the 1960's.

**LEADERSHIP**

Plan Achievement and the Maple Leaf Plan arose from the
precise that there was insufficient and inadequately trained leadership in Scouting. By 1960, the Movement realized that leaders could not be blamed for poor programming. Formerly, the popular cry had been: "Scouting would work fine if only we could find the right type of leader." By 1960 the query was: "why after fifty years are we still looking for the right type of leader." Not only were there more leaders in 1960, but a significantly higher proportion of them were trained in the proper operation of existing programmes. The existence of a large, highly-trained body of leadership nullified the argument that failings in programming were the fault of poor leadership.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Scouting was not alone in its problems. Its numerical success had prompted many leaders to feel that the Movement was absolutely secure in its position, prompting the growth of an insular attitude directed not only at Canadian society, but also to other youth organizations as well. Interviewing twenty-seven other youth organizations, the Programme sub-committee found that they were experiencing the same type of problems as Scouting, including the insular attitude towards other youth movements.

SOCIAL MATURITY

Three of Scouting's official historians identified accelerated sexual maturity as a causative factor in the declining interest in the Scout section.
The clue to this mystery may be that an adolescent boy starts to think of girls, and of what sort of world he's got to work in; and finding the movement vague in these key matters, he hangs up his lanyard and departs. Thus at its senior levels, Scouting attracts mostly the man-boy of Anglo-Saxon cultures - of which Baden-Powell was a notable example.283

Although examined in much more depth in the mid-1960s, these initial probes into the social and sexual awareness of the teenager illuminated what became the most important aspect of the entire programme evaluation.

CONFORMITY

Scouting as an institution represented conformity which, by the 1960s had become a dangerous concept. Scouts and leaders wore a standard uniform and participated in a programme where everyone was considered equal. Youth were reacting against any institution in which conformity was the acceptable norm. Further, adults in the movement tended to view any lack of conformity as dangerous to their existence.

In all eras of history where the adult population has been afraid, there has been a tremendous effort on their part that everyone in their society conform to clear cut and safe norms.284

One of Scouting's biggest difficulties was its stress on similarity of dress and action when such sentiments were increasingly attacked by the very youth whom the movement sought to serve. This situation was further exacerbated when, by age eleven, most youths began pulling away from adult-centred activities.285 Despite Scouting's theoretical structure, whereby the youths patrolled themselves, the very
presence of adults. combined with programme rigidity contributed to turning prospective Scouts away. By 1961 the Canadian General Council had analysed the committees' findings. In reports published that year, four basic premises came to the fore around which proposals for alterations were made.

PROPOSALS

(1) Clearly the most important proposition underscored by the committee was its determination that Scouting become boy-centred as opposed to programme-centred. The logistics of this proposal were complex, as Scouting had always been programme-centred. Alterations involved modifications to the administration of programme, or to the programme itself. Scouting had finally determined that placing the needs and wants of the boy in the forefront was the best way to operate a programme. Rather than fit the boys to the program, the programme was to be suited to the boys.286

(2) Scouting is not an institution basic to Canadian society, like churches or schools. It was not uncommon for veterans of the movement to see Scouting as something of an oracle, rather timeless and permanent.287 Recognizing Scouting's place in society allowed for a more objective examination of its problems.

(3) After studying many other youth organizations, it was determined that Scouting could not afford to be a completely building-centred movement, such as the YMCA or the Boys'
A major reason for declining enrollment was the utilization of permanent buildings for weekly meetings. Scouting was designed largely as an outdoor programme and when boys found that practically all of the meetings were spent indoors, (the majority of Troop meetings are conducted indoors) many became disillusioned and quit. Restructuring the programme to include more out-of-doors was a must.

(4) After years of relying on the progression of boys from one section to another, Scouting engaged in active recruitment for all sections. As fewer boys made the transition from Cubs to Scouts, the Movement needed to appeal directly to Scout age boys. Although the Wolf Cub section was in no immediate danger, recruitment was enacted there to bolster the number of available boys for the Scout section.

RECOGNITION

Scouting, recognizing its failure to keep in step with Canadian society, determined that no part of the programme could be permanent or unchangeable. Flexibility became the watchword of Scouting throughout the rest of the 1960's.

The programme and uniform sub-committees were created out of a groundswell of concern over the increasing drop-out rate in the older sections. In discussing retention, standard remedies such as "better leaders", "more camping", "a different uniform", "new age groupings" and "better programming" were recommended.

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problems were no longer sufficient.

One such "standardized" remedy was lowering the entrance age into Scouts, thus encouraging senior Cubs to enter the older programme. By 1961 such maneuverings begged the question: "has it been seriously considered that the major effect of such measures can only confirm the trend toward a younger membership?" Although census statistics supported this premise, Scouting officials had not yet developed a method of dealing with the issue. Accepting the assumption that boys of the 1960s were more mature socially than their 1907 counterparts, Scouting needed to accept that programmes, attractive to the fourteen-year-old then, were within the scope of interests of a 1960's twelve-year-old.

A simplistic argument states that the programme was not interesting enough to the 1960's era boy. It could be reasoned that this lack of interest caused an increasing number of boys to leave the programme. Interesting or not, the programme had nonetheless not declined in challenge. The Boy Scout advancement programme operated under a progressive system from Tenderfoot through to First Class Rank. Had this system degenerated, it stood to reason that more Scouts would achieve First Class Rank. The failure of 94% of the registered Scouts to achieve this status indicated that the programme had not been downgraded to accommodate the 1960's era boy. With other organizations and amusements competing for a boys' time, fewer exerted the effort, or
retained an interest in the programme long enough to pursue First Class status.

1961 census statistics demonstrated that increases in the eight to ten-year-old segment of the Canadian population had been declining over the past twenty years and had decreased substantially over the preceding three years. Recently it has taken an increasing number of Cubs to create very small increases in the Scout section.29 Clearly, if enrollment in Cubs decreased dramatically, a crisis situation would ensue shortly in the Scout section. The census of eligible youth in Canada indicated that there were more boys in the 11-17 year age bracket than in the 8-10 year bracket which naturally begged the question: "why were there not more boys in the Scout section?"29s Census statistics alone indicated that Scouting was in trouble in Canada.

Prior to his death, Baden-Powell's recommendations received virtually no opposition. In the two decades after 1941, Scouting was reluctant to make dramatic alterations to "his" programme. It was common for Scouting organizations to "deify" him. Searching for unemotional solutions to the problems plaguing the movement, the Programme and Uniform sub-committees sought to avoid this practice.

It has been said that we have always frozen our prophets, forgetting that in their times they were reformers, wanting to adapt the institutions of their society to the needs of their time. Has Scouting frozen the ideas of Baden-Powell? What would Baden-Powell have seen as the need, had he been asked to design a programme for boys today? How would he have made it appealing to them?299
Scouting officials finally recognized that jettisoning cherished concepts and methods did not necessarily endanger the movement's integrity. Although Baden-Powell had been a great reformer in his day, that time had passed and the committee had to face the realities of present-day conditions.

RELIGION

Scouting was sponsored by a variety of organizations, the largest of which were organized religious bodies. By 1960, the Church itself was experiencing many of the same difficulties as Scouting. Although churches devoted a great deal of their time to social activities for their congregations, their allure was diminishing. They were evolving into a place to go on Sunday. In designing Scouting, Baden-Powell intertwined religious aspects with the programme. Belief in a higher being was a chief requirement for membership: the Scout promise beginning with "Or my honour, I promise to do my duty to God". By 1960, the link between Scouting and religion was called into question. Although there was no groundswell of support for changes in the religious content, proposals were made for loosening the requirements. Dr. Nedee, prominent in the restructuring process, argued for such changes, based on the emergence of trends in society such as secular humanism.

Myth has always been one of the driving forces of history on which many forms of humanism have been based. There are, however, new factors that determine the
thinking of our age: the critical mind which is inherent in modern technology undermines myth inevitably. It is true new myths arise but they are deleted at the moment of their inception.

Whatever may change in this world, Scouting should never forsake or change one of the basic principles, for if we did, we would forsake Scouting. On the other hand it may happen that some boys would not express their innate knowledge of God. Boys who do not believe in God can impossibly feel themselves liable towards Him. It would be desirable that Scouting be more open to unbelievers and that the oath should be interpreted as an obligation towards an objective conscience.301

Religion, always at the centre of Scouting, was not a facet which was easily dissected. Any serious discussion of the subject indicated progressive thinking.

In concluding its initial analysis, the committee attempted to isolate what was and was not part of the Scouting programme, finding that virtually any activity could be considered. Essentially, it was practically impossible to offer a "unique" programme. Researchers recognized the conflict between generations: the eternal struggle of youth to assert itself and of adults to keep it down, as one of Scouting's greatest stumbling blocks. The Movement was designed and administered by committeemen, commissioners, councilmen, Scout executives and leaders, all of whom were adults. Change could not be significant if a final product was run the way adults wanted rather than what youth needed.

UNIFORM

I don't care a fig whether a Scout wears the uniform or not so long as his heart is in his work and he carries out the Scout Law.302

Robert Baden-Powell
Integrally linked to the programme controversy was a long-standing concern with the official dress uniform. In the structured society of the Edwardian period, shorts were unheard of, thus representing freedom from the strictured existence of home-life. Although unsuited for our climate, the uniform had a tremendous attraction in Canada. Canada's cold conditions were not conducive to wearing shorts for almost eight months of the year. Despite these physical shortcomings, virtually all Scouts wore complete uniform in the early years. The world wars did much to reinforce the maintenance of the uniform in Canada; though Scouts could not join the armed forces, they could be considered a uniformed service corps.

The uniform controversy was indicative of the problems facing the Scout programme. Inconsistent with streetwear of the day, Scouts were singled out because of their appearance. Scouting executives expressed concern that the garments made boys look like "freaks" in public.303

Exactly what the uniform represented was in question. Henry Seywerd concluded that Scouting retained the current design more out of respect for its symbolic value than for its practical uses.304 Retention of the original uniform design was perhaps the most visible symbol of Scouting's failure to adapt to the Canadian situation.

Approved in 1946, the National uniform consisted of shorts and a short sleeved shirt, a leather belt, knee socks, garters
and a stetson, with leaders given the option to wear breeches and a tunic. The southern coast of British Columbia and Southern Ontario could cope with this design for up to six months of the year. Few other areas of Canada boasted temperatures conducive to wearing shorts for more than a few months of the year. Since most Scouting activities (excluding summer camp) were suspended during the summer months, the uniform, was completely impractical for the realities of the Canadian climate.

As early as 1949 there was organized reaction against the uniform. At a Patrol Leaders' conference in Saskatoon, a bill recommending changes to the existing dress was proposed.

Whereas the shorts in the Scout uniform were originally intended as part of the uniform of the English Scouts as patterned after the clothing in South Africa; whereas the weather conditions in Canada are not suitable for this type of clothing except for a very short period of the year; whereas it is felt that shorts are unhealthy, impractical and Scouts wearing them are subject to ridicule; whereas a change in the winter uniform has already been authorized, be it therefore enacted that the wearing of shorts as part of the Scout uniform be abolished and a more suitable form of uniform be adopted in its stead.305

Although defeated, it received more than marginal support and was indicative of the discontent with uniform.

Although not intended as an international uniform, Baden-Powell was pleased that so many countries adopted his design virtually unchanged.306 The uniform itself, thus became a symbol of Scouting that no one dared alter. Changing the uniform bordered on sacrilegious. Seyward believed that dress regulations of the 1960's were designed mainly to protect the
"tradition-derived symbol", leaving its functional relevance in doubt.30

The committee focused on the uniform's negative influence both on "drop-out" and the recruitment of adult leaders. They felt that negative reaction to the uniform caused numerous Scouts to withdraw from the programme; many potential leaders were deterred for the same reason.30S Seywerd, however, asserted that there was little tangible correlation between the uniform and drop-out.

If we find that "drop-out", in the first place, describes a natural and normal progress toward termination of membership in a youth movement any cause and effect relationship between uniform and drop-out at once becomes meaningless. This may become even clearer when we consider that people attempt to establish similarly uncertain cause and effect relationships with regard to leadership and "drop-out", sponsorship and "drop-out", the school and "drop-out", T.V. and "drop-out", or even the weather and "drop-out".309

While not discounting its contributing role; uniform was placed in proper perspective and eliminated as a "simplistic" explanation for Scouting's failures.

A real concern of the boys however was social acceptance of Scout dress. As boys matured sooner, they engaged in cross-sexual relationships earlier. The Scout dress could be a definite source of embarrassment in any such relationship. Scouts were prone to wear long pants over their official shorts, and jackets over their shirts to conceal their membership; calling into question the validity of official dress uniform in the 1960's.
Scouting's essential asset has always been its boys. Leadership was necessary, but a high quality of guidance was not "essential" to the programme's administration. Poor leadership generally produced deficient programming, but an enthusiastic group of Scouts could direct much of their own agenda. Although not an ideal situation, Scouts could operate without trained or even competent leadership. Scouting could not operate without boys.

Changes to the movement were effected from above. Although youth input was occasionally solicited, final changes were made by committees empowered by the National Council. In the examination undertaken during the 1960's, Scouting utilized the services of sociologists, statisticians and child psychologists, to understand better the needs of the youth they served.

By 1963 the Programme and Uniform sub-committees had ended the Movement's long isolation by incorporating these specialists' findings. One of the first psychologists retained was Dr. Doris Plewes of the Department of National Health and Welfare. Her role was to provide "facts and factors" for the sub-committees by examining the programmes and youth of several organizations operating in Canada. Her first recommendation was to get these various groups
together and form a national co-ordinating body to discuss problems of interest to each of the organizations. Such groups could include the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, 4-H Clubs, Junior Farmers and Church Explorer Groups. In addition to an ignorance of youth culture, Dr. Plewes stated that virtually all youth movements suffered from mismanagement of their leaders. Scout leaders had lost much of their previous status in the community partly due to their wearing of what was now seen as a "small boy" uniform.

Scouting's leadership structure was at odds with its "ideal". While the senior, experienced leader was an asset, the "ideal" Scoutmaster was much closer in age to the Scouts. For Dr. Plewes, the ideal leadership structure would comprise counsellors of University student age, working under the administration of a senior leader, who would administer the logistics of the programme, while counsellors acted as intermediaries between the Scoutmaster and the Scouts. She believed that Scouts would respond better to leaders closer to their own age. Concurrently, the programme would be best administered by senior leaders with significant training and experience.

As to actual programming, Dr. Plewes singled out camping as a concern. Stated plainly, there was neither adventure in Scout camping, nor in Scouting's approach to camping. In the increasingly technological environment of urban Canada, an adventurous and active camping programme would have been
enough to attract boys to the programme. Scouting was faltering in an activity which was formerly its biggest draw.

Scouting more generally, she claimed, suffered from a lack of programme creativity. At the senior level (14 - 17 years of age) many boys left because the programme did not significantly challenge their abilities. Fundamental needs of youth had not changed, nor were they likely to change dramatically, but Scouting's approach to them should. She believed that the Movement's approach and presentation was too rigid and stereotyped, offering little challenge.

The gang-age was a fundamental aspect on which Scouting was developed. Plewes believed that the gang age of the 1960's had shifted downward to the 9 - 11 year old bracket as a result of greatly increased urbanization and structured education. These findings supported the argument that Scouting's programme focus had shifted back about three years in age.

Scouting commissioned an information booklet on adolescents and their culture. Its co-authors were Oswald Bell, Director of the Cambridge Institute of Education, and John Thurman, Director of Leaders' Training at Gilwell Park, the international training centre for Scouting. These educators attempted to understand the workings not only of adolescent culture, but also of the individual adolescent.

Adolescence is a time of physical and psychological upheaval. In a relatively brief period, boys undergo
significant physical changes. It is a second weaning: that of the young boy growing socially and emotionally away from his parents. Bell and Thurman recognized that these changes were occurring earlier in contemporary life. Improved diets, less physically demanding labour and longer periods of rest accelerated the onset of puberty. These physical and psychological changes greatly affected the boy's response to the existing program.

Adolescence, the period dominated by the onset of puberty, drastically alters the social and psychological stability of the individual boy. Frequently, he undergoes a period of rebellion directed at his parents and other adult-inspired organizations such as school and youth groups. At the same time, his needs for love, security and acceptance are great. Such desires however, are generally frustrated by the inherent ignorance and clumsiness of youth associated with this period.

Thurman and Bell noted that during puberty, change occurred rapidly and accelerated constantly. In this atmosphere, it was essential for Scouting to be keenly aware of its place in the adolescent's world. The organization needed to be wary of adopting a complacent stance, aggravated by clinging to outworn means. "It is the ends which are important; if we are clear about these, surely we can adjust our means to suit our clients".

Much like Dr. Plewes, they were concerned about gang
mentality. Throughout the pubescent period boys banded together naturally in gangs, whose make-up and leadership, determined their purpose and outcome. The Patrol system, that unique feature in Scouting, was a breeding ground for idealism, creativity and healthy physical activities. It was equally simple for boys to enter into unsupervised gangs of their contemporaries. Such groups, frequently composed of "embittered failures deriving their success from terrorism, hooliganism and hatred" were breeding grounds for misery and failure.323 Despite diametrically opposite purposes, there was a very fine line between acceptance into either of the gangs. Scouting's success was in its ability, through supervision and guidance, to direct the energies and ambitions of boys along healthy lines. Naturally, parents wanted their children to join associations which offered a positive outlet for creativity and health. Thurman and Bell recognized that the leader was the key element in producing a more meaningful programme. Intertwined in their examination of volunteer leaders was a recognition of the vestigial adolescence retained by most adults. Leaders could be as volatile and unpredictable as the boys themselves.324 They acknowledged that the task of a modern Scouter was becoming increasingly complex and demanding.

Focusing on certain physical and structural features of both Canadian Society and the Scout movement, Reverend S. A. Smith demonstrated how these factors affected modern
adolescent leadership. Reviewing the programmes he stated: "it is quite obvious that Scouting in Canada today has maximum appeal for the pre-adolescent rather than the adolescent."325

Smith believed the Patrol system was the unique feature accounting for much of Scouting's success. Although the Patrol system had not failed, it had been largely neglected and ignored. Patrol leaders administering the programme to Scouts was the exception rather than the rule. The existing age spread within a Patrol was not conducive to "peer leadership". Age fluctuations from eleven to seventeen years did not give the Patrol Leader (generally the older boy) an opportunity to work in conjunction with others of his age. usually resulting in a senior boy either "teaching" the programme to younger Scouts or ignoring them completely.326

Smith questioned whether 1960's era Scouts really wanted the self-determination and self-government offered in the Patrol System, noting that proper Patrol operation made serious demands on a boy's time. With the technological and social recreational advances of the past decade, there was a host of other activities making demands on their time. Further, with existing "rigid" and "authoritarian" Troop structures, it would be very difficult to institute a properly functioning Patrol System. He recommended experimenting with modifications dealing realistically with the problem of high school age time limitations.327 Smith, questioning the Law
and Promise, accepted them as the cornerstone of Scouting, but recognized them as adult-imposed and adult-created. He questioned what a "natural" group, composed completely of self-determined adolescents would do with such principles.

W. Cleon Skousen, in his article Freewheeling at Fifteen, (utilized by the P & U Committees) underscored the challenges and pitfalls of 1960's adolescent youth, though not with direct relation to Scouting. Throughout the paper he emphasized adolescent rebellion and stubbornness: the disposition to resist all forms of authority. An attitude accentuated where the parents had not established respect for authority in the boy's earlier years. The average adolescent male demonstrated the character traits of moodiness, dreamyness, apathy, irritability, preoccupation and introversion. Skousen warned that the adolescent was ego-hungry and tended to play whatever role his parents, teachers or society pinned on him. Adolescent boys wore the badge of delinquency with as much pride as the boy who made the honour roll.

Skousen's article, disconnected from Scouting, offers a blunt and dispassionate view of the 1960s adolescent male in Canada. In certain respects, his is the most important of the series of articles, as it does not attempt to link adolescent behaviour to the Scouting programme; rather, it underscores the trials and pitfalls of adolescence and recommends methods of dealing with, if not circumventing them.
By 1964, programme age requirements came under intense scrutiny. If Scouting was to serve the boys' needs, programmes needed to be tailored more to their requirements.

An eight-year age span in Boy Scouts left a chasm between the oldest and youngest boys, thwarting attempts at peer leadership. Scouting adopted a modal age range where boys entered Scouting based on their age and school grade. Factors such as physical, emotional and mental development were considered when a boy entered a section, or moved to a higher level. Such considerations were indicative of increasingly flexible approaches to Scouting.

Dr. Kurt Hanh, writing for The Scout Leader in 1962, examined the sexual drives of the adolescent, referring to puberty as a "deformity", characterized by loutish, dim and irritable behaviour compounded with sluggish and awkward movements. This period could be combatted successfully by kindling the zest for building, craving for adventure, joy of exploration and the love of music. Such fields would counteract the "primate longing for mastery" and thereby "forestall the sexual impulses from monopolizing an adult's emotional life and from seeking insidious satisfaction." The provision for creative outlets was a central focus for the Programme Committee.

Hanh questioned the existing programme's ability to fulfil many necessary needs and longings of the adolescent male. He believed that Scouting had always skirted the fine edge of
disaster by appealing to a pre-adolescent play spirit. As boys entered the successive stages beyond this plateau, Scouting fell short of their expectations.

But if we are to conform in any way with the generally accepted three-year advance, should not we "scrub" the present Cub programme, transfer the Scout programme to the Cubs, give the present Senior Programme to the Scouts, and for Seniors and Rovers concentrate more on those outdoor sporting and exploring activities, which are becoming so much in demand and so readily available even outside the Scout movement? My tongue in cheek? Not entirely!

Though straightforward, his overview is representative of the "simplistic" methods of retaining Scouts: downshifting existing age requirements and programme outlines. Such direct responses however, were unpopular for practical and nostalgic reasons. The Boy Scout section was the fundamental building block of the Movement and the Committee's purpose was to save that section if at all practical.

Oswald Bell, discussing motivations inherent in post-war adolescent Canadian males, claimed that Scouting should have been an ideal means of assisting adolescents, but by and large it failed to do so. To be appreciated and accepted by his peers is a fundamental adolescent drive. Broken homes and deteriorating faith in Canadian society created a breeding ground for insecurity, generating a vicious circle of anxiety, aggression and guilt. Bell asked:

If an adolescent can join a gang of hooligans where there is comradeship and adventure, where the girls look up to him and he can have his way with them, no wonder that he finds life exciting and pleasurable as it has
never been before. No wonder then, that he finds razors and rape more exciting than Second-Class Scouting.334

Existing programmes were not adequately combatting this trend. Alterations not only to the programme, but to the underlying philosophy of the movement were needed.

As drop-out increased, leaders focused sharply on recruitment and retention. To entice boys into Scouting, suitable and meaningful challenges were needed. Bell believed the structure of the youth training programme was beyond the grasp of most boys entering the Movement.

It's no good talking about Latin verse to those who cannot read, and so many of the challenges we present to adolescents are almost as irrelevant as this.335

Bell found four basic reasons why Scouting failed to attract boys. First, Scouting's mythology was out of step with current Canadian societal trends. The very things which had contributed to the popularity of Scouting in its earliest years had become liabilities in the 1960s.

The very nature of Scouting's leadership was a potential problem. Leaders were part-time and voluntary, running their meetings at the end of a work day. Frequently, they were physically and emotionally exhausted during a meeting. Under such circumstances adults could not always provide constructive leadership.

Volunteer leadership in general did not have the necessary training to deal with "problem" boys. Although Scouting could not hope to recruit several thousand child psychologists, a
better effort was needed to prepare their leaders. Bell believed that a completely revised and restructured training programme was needed if Scouting expected to deal effectively with its adolescent members.

Finally, Bell felt that regarding the topic of sex, Scouting faltered completely. Its failure even to deal with the topic, helped precipitate increased drop-out rates.

How we run away from sex in the movement, although it is all-important to the adolescent. In the world of education sex has been accepted. Mixed schools, mixed colleges, mixed camping – all are now the rule rather than the exception. Only in Scouting do we remain satisfied with an embarrassed mumbling about the 10th Scout Law (A Scout is clean in thought, word and deed): our lead is negative, not positive. The time has really come when we – and the Guides – should give a positive lead in healthy happy friendship between the sexes in adolescence. In mixed activities, in co-operative service, even in mixed camping. Otherwise we hand over what is almost the most important field of life to those who may be much less scrupulous and much less competent than we: this is failure through cowardice. It is co-operation, not combination, that I am suggesting: and co-operation with all necessary safeguards.

Throughout the entire programme review the issue of sex is scarcely broached. In the direct structuring of programme features, perhaps it has little place. To garner even a superficial understanding of adolescence, however, it is absolutely necessary to discuss sexual relations and their corresponding anxieties to adolescent youth. Bell is one of the few researchers who openly discusses this singularly essential topic. Reluctance to discuss sexual awareness demonstrates a relatively unsophisticated understanding of what is truly important to adolescent boys.

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The Gesell Institute of Child Development outlined children's social characteristics in reference to group activities and organized clubs. At age twelve (generally the first year for Scouts), boys' interest in organized groups peaks. The need for the strong inclusiveness and exclusiveness presented by many of these groups begins to decrease.337

By age thirteen, there are few boys still strongly enthusiastic about Scouting. Most others are non-committal or unenthusiastic as they break away from adult-oriented institutions.338 Age fourteen is the break-away year from the movement. Leaders who treat the boys in a less than adult fashion help precipitate this exodus. At age fifteen, boys are far more interested in the opposite sex than with Scouting.

WOLF CUBS

With the publication of the Programme and Uniform subcommittees findings in 1962, a special committee was established to review the Wolf Cub section. Many issues and concerns affecting Cubs were similar to those afflicting the Scout section. Nonetheless its focus was different as the structure of the Cub and Scout programmes is dissimilar. In Wolf Cubs, boys are not responsible for administering their own programme.

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In comparing Cub enrolment statistics with the census of available Cub-age Canadian boys, Scouting recognized that a plateau had been reached. The statistics forecasted serious losses at the ten-year-old level of Cubs, unless it were possible to strengthen and update programme elements. Senior Cubs were still not joining Scouts in substantial numbers and if those Cubs available for Scouts decreased dramatically, Scouting's population could plummet overnight.

The committee faced a two-fold problem. First it needed to re-design existing programmes to adequately challenge older boys. Concurrently, they needed to retain enough of the programme basics which had initially attracted the younger boys. Child psychologists and sociologists were retained to explain the needs, groupings and developmental abilities of Cub-age boys.

The Wolf Cub badge system was overdue for a major restructuring. The relevance of such badges as "homecraft" were questionable in the 1960s. Badge content however, was only one problem. The Cub advancement schedule, designed with artificial age, grade and service requirements, prevented the earning of badges outside of the prescribed order. Placing pre-conditions on earning proficiency badges emphasized programme over the boy's needs. These restrictions, which inhibited self-development and prevented boys from progressing at their own rate, were removed in 1964.

Professional advice was sought in preparing new badge
requirements. The St. John Ambulance Association and Canadian Red Cross gave advice and approval to the new first aid tests. Three badges: personal fitness, first aid and swimmer, became multiple-stage with progressive tests, allowing Cubs to participate in the programme at their own level.

The concepts of flexibility introduced in the Scout section were extended to the proposed Cub revisions. New guidelines allowed some seven-year-old boys to join Cubs, while concurrently allowing some ten-year-old boys to become Scouts. In establishing "natural" life spans for programmes, artificial age barriers had to be removed. Of greatest significance was the introduction of cycling two-year programme reviews, allowing for "immediate" institution of necessary changes.

**VENTURERS**

By 1965, based on the findings of the Program and Uniform sub-committees, a new Scout programme format was developed by National Council. This modified programme was implemented along with a new section for older boys, called "Venturers". The Venturer section was to be comprised of boys aged fourteen to seventeen years, its programme being entirely boy-centred, with substantial areas for youth leadership. By combining a broader spectrum of achievement areas with
opportunities for increased leadership, the Committee believed that more boys could be retained beyond the fourteen year age level. The Venturer section was officially implemented in 1966.

Prior to introducing the new Scout programme, National Council conducted two series of tests in the Peterborough and Kawartha Lakes Districts between October of 1965 and May of 1967. Peterborough provided an urban test area, while Kawartha Lakes presented a rural setting which also facilitated the use of Sea Scout Troops in the testing. In addition, forty-one Troops from across Canada were selected to integrate a regional variation in the testing procedure. Questionnaires and consultation with boy and adult members were conducted throughout the test period.

While testing was underway, the British Scout Association published a study entitled *Advance Party Report, 1966*, outlining changes implemented in British Scouting. The full document, a 522 page report outlining some 256 recommendations, was released in 1967. Many proposals and concerns demonstrated that British Scouting was undergoing the same strains evident in Canada.

Proposals streamlining British Scouting affected everything from the Association title to programme sections. The word "Boy" was removed from the title "Boy Scouts Association" to rid the movement of certain juvenile connotations. The maximum youth age limit was reduced to twenty and the Rover

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Scout section was eliminated. 3-4  The new Scout section was geared for boys of eleven to sixteen years of age, differing from the Canadian situation where the "problem" drop-out age was fourteen.345 British Scouting eliminated the extreme senior end of their programme and replaced it with a section comprised of the two oldest Scout years and the two youngest Rover years. This new section was called "Venture Scouts".

Certain problems discussed in the Advance Party Report are virtually identical to Canada's situation. The failure of more than fifty percent of Scouts to progress beyond the Tenderfoot stage underscored the deterioration of the training scheme and of the Patrol system, both of major concern in Canada. Suggested remedies included improved training for the adult leaders.

Canadian Scouting compared many of its revisions with those found in the Advance Party Report. Surprise was expressed at the use of similar "Venture(r)" titles for the new section.346 From the duplication evident in the two reports, most fundamental issues were reviewed, including the concepts of flexibility and increased boy-centredness. By the commencement of the testing period, Scouting had gone to great lengths to understand better its clients.

TESTING PERIOD

National Council concluded its testing period in May of 140.
The proposed programme had been received enthusiastically by both boys and leaders. The creation of Venturers separated the older from the younger boys in the Troop allowing for true peer leadership. The youngest boys were no longer intimidated by the presence of older and experienced boys.

Articles published during the test period were not all enthusiastic. Many experienced leaders resented their position as Scoutmaster being reduced to that of counsellor. Further, many Troops disliked the new format. Generations of Scouts had progressed through the "Tenderfoot to King/Queen's Scout" programme and many Troops determined to reject this new and "alien" system. Nonetheless a groundswell to reject the new programme did not materialize.

This new Scouting system, dubbed Scouts '68, was implemented on a National basis on September 1, 1968. A grandfather clause allowed Scouts already engaged in the old system to continue under that programme until December 31, 1969. The new system embraced aspects of the Programme and Uniform sub-committees, along with the results of the testing period.

The Scouts '68 programme, comprised of a series of basic assumptions, stated clearly that the movement's future in
Canada depended largely on their acceptance. These assumptions had been brought together as submission number one by the Programme and Uniform sub-committees and were approved by the National Executive Committee in October of 1962.

**BASIC ASSUMPTIONS**

The basic assumption, upon which the future of the movement was based, stated:

> That Scouting has made, and continues to make a worthwhile contribution to male youth by providing experiences in group settings related to their spiritual, mental, social and physical needs.

National Council recognized older boys' needs for more extensive co-educational activities. Nonetheless, it did not see the necessity of extending membership to females.

The second assumption, reiterated the need for a stated promise, law, and aim. The basic principles of the movement, as defined in 1968 were: a belief in God, respect for one's fellow man and responsibility to develop one's self to the best of one's ability. Each programme section had stated objectives suited to the contemporary needs of the age group served. This signalled the end of the progression from Cubs through to Rovers. Under the new system, each section in the movement was a programme unto itself.

The third assumption recognized that Scouting was not a basic institution in Canadian society. Rather, it was supplementary to such bodies as the home, school and church. Were the movement based merely on recreational entertainment, this assumption would have been unnecessary.
Scouts '68 underscored the necessity of developing programmes truly supplementary to these basic institutions.354

The fourth and fifth basic assumptions dealt with the sponsorship of the movement. Recognizing the Church's declining influence in Canada, Scouting authorized sponsorship by more diverse bodies. Such a measure called for a more flexible approach to organization. A more diverse sponsoring body, combined with the delineation of individual programme sections, allowed for isolated areas to sponsor single programmes.355 The emphasis on implementing the full spectrum of Scouting programmes was eliminated in favour of effecting a limited range of programme options.

The sixth assumption recognized that Scouting would be available to all eligible youth, recognizing that there would be those who would not wish to belong.356 Obviously, many boys would not wish to be part of the movement. This assumption however, spelled out virtually for the first time, Scouting's acceptance of this fact. The Movement's leaders finally realized that Scouting could not be everything to everybody; the needs and interests of some boys could be adequately met by other youth organizations.

Assumptions seven and eight recognized that Scouting was only one of several building-centred organizations. Although the programme still required the use of physical meeting structures, these buildings should not limit the development of the programme. Programmes were not building-dependent.357
Notwithstanding this outdoor orientation, many program aspects of necessity would be carried out indoors. Such assumptions reflected cognizance of the increasingly urban nature of Canadian society.

The eighth assumption of the *Scouts '68* syllabus represents the most advanced thinking of the entire programme. Under the new system, Scouting was boy-centred rather than programme centred. This move separated *Scouts '68* from virtually all of the other programme improvements previously instituted. The boy is the single most important aspect of the movement, and his needs supercede any structural alterations. This was not conducive to the current programme practices. Under the new system, an approach putting the programme first was interpreted as inappropriate and detrimental to the overall purposes of Scouting. The shift to a boy-centred approach involved comprehensive changes to virtually every aspect of Scouting; including programme, organization and leadership.

Leadership in the movement would continue to be voluntary. There was however, no alternative to understanding youth and if Scouting's aim was to be carried out, leaders needed more than a cursory knowledge of the adolescent mind and the physical changes involved in puberty. Adults needed to adopt a style of leadership which encouraged acceptance of responsibility and provided for growth and the utilization of independent action.

With the aid of child psychologists, National Council 144

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prepared a list of the basic male adolescent needs:

- to develop a self-image which he can respect
- to develop a pattern of affection
- to achieve independence and self-management
- to relate himself to his social group
- to learn his sex role
- to accept his body
- to accept society's demand for competence
- to find his place in work
- to find adventure and joy in living
- to develop a value system

Scouting could not be all things to all people, but it recognized the need to modify its programmes in such a way as to empathise with, and embrace the boys for which it was designed. The Movement recognized boys' ability to communicate effectively with others of their own age level. Peer leadership would thus play an increased role in Scouting.

Scouts '68 was a revolution in the Canadian Scout movement. In one programme, the suppositions and practices of a half century of Scouting were swept aside. With one new programme, Scouting turned one hundred and eighty degrees from its previous position on adolescent programming. The teen-age boy now had a definite say in the Movement's future. It remained to be seen what these newly-inherited powers would bring.

In order to implement and maintain the new programme, Scouting required trained and competent leadership. Along with Scouts '68 National Headquarters instituted a new training syllabus for the leadership. Training was to be done in small "units", where volunteers received concise instruction on specific topics. After 1968 the emphasis was
on human relations and understanding boys rather than structural concepts. By the end of the decade, Scouting had tuned in to the secular humanism prevalent in North American society. After more than sixty years, the Movement had officially become "person-centred". With great effort and re-shuffling, Scouting fell back in step with Canadian society.
SECTION SEVEN

EPILOGUE:

The effects of the *Scouts '68* programme and the implementation of new Scouting programmes.
The worth of stability is the good it preserves; the worth of change will be the good it achieves. On this basis we in the Scout movement seek to help Canadian youth to achieve a maturity relevant to the time in which they live and to the future that stretches out so temptingly before them.361

In January of 1969, just five months after the implementation of the new programme, the National Programme Subcommittee chairmen met to discuss the effects of Scouts '68.362 Of great concern was the suggestion, coming from a variety of sources that

the major concepts underlying the changes in section programmes, uniforms and adult training have made a relatively insignificant impact upon the organization.363

Although this conference was convened only five months after the inception of Scouts '68, conclusions about this new programme could already be drawn. Scouts '68 was supposed to be a "revolutionary" programme in the Movement and its initial shortcomings heralded the programme's eventual failure. In a "revolutionary" programme, anything short of a major initial impact was to be considered a failure.

In its 1967 & 1968 reports, the Programme Committee claimed that a very real enthusiasm for the new programme existed amongst the leaders. By 1969, enthusiasm was evident only amongst a small percentage of Scouters who accepted and understood the new concepts.364 Concern was expressed over the failure of adult leaders to allow boys increased decision-making powers, combined with a resistance to the new age groupings.365 Leaders with many years of service in Scouting
formed the core of resistance to Scouts '68. The old system was a progression from Tenderfoot through to Queen's Scout, where the Scoutmaster was responsible for the program's administration. In one short year, these experienced leaders were expected to become Troop Scouter or Scout Counsellors with limited powers and responsibilities and to accept a new programme in which the boys had greatly increased authority. These seasoned leaders were immediately expected to pass the mantle of authority down to the boys.

National Headquarters, recognizing this dilemma, acknowledged that the movement, must be realistic in facing up to the fact that some adults in Scouting will fall by the wayside because of an inability or unwillingness to cope with change.366 The hierarchy believed that the implemented changes were in tune with the younger generation. In presenting such a programme, the Movement risked losing its longest-standing leaders. In its surge forward, Scouting willingly sacrificed anything obstructing the new program's implementation, including its most dedicated and experienced servants. Scouting had implemented a programme which altered most of the basic precepts of the Scout section. In its place was an open, progressive and forward-thinking syllabus. The committees were afraid that: "any uncertainty by National about the new programme could create real problems in the field."367 National council was determined to stick by the programme, without major modifications, despite potential
backlash.

The "two to three year" time lag for research to reach a productive stage and be implemented was cited as a major problem for the movement in the 1960's. Such time lags were responsible for incalculable damage to Scouting between the years of 1959 and 1968. The initial findings of the Programme and Uniform sub-committees in 1959 were virtually duplicated in the Scouts '68 program. Nine years were lost while the movement evaluated and re-evaluated programme concepts. Further, it was noted with regret that, despite Scouting's attempt to re-build the movement as a whole, it seemed that research had become associated with "program" only, rather than the whole operation. Scouting in 1969 was still trapped by the organizational and structural framework which ensnared previous reformers.

In attempting to comprehend the new program's shortcomings, National Council investigated perceived barriers to successful implementation. Shortage of literature on the new programme and structural barriers preventing its implementation headed up the list of difficulties. National Council needed to improve communication with its field leaders if the new programme was to succeed.

In 1970, Scouting published a series of booklets entitled "Design for Action", attempting to forecast the course of Canadian society for the following two decades. With this information and a knowledge of previous trends, Scouting hoped
to predict accurately the proper course of action for the movement.

A recurrent theme is the concept of cybernation, a condition where machines and computers take over most of man's functions. Automation in the 1960s and early 1970s was a distinct shock to the system. Man had built a social value system based on 2,000 years of physical labour. In the past fifty years, mechanization had eliminated much of that condition, resulting in the creation of enormous amounts of leisure time. A great fear was that the next generation of youth would not be able to utilize profitably this excess leisure time.

Unless society summons the will and imagination to alter itself to the rhythms of a new kind of technology, the next generation may grow up with nothing much to do but loaf.

Cybernation's effects on society's leisure time has become a recurrent theme in the institution of changes to the Scout programme.

By 1970, the effects of cybernation and a substantially higher standard of living were already being felt. The combination of increased leisure time, more fluid capital, a higher standard of education and more travel had produced a generation of young people who were accustomed to better things. Youths of the 1970s demanded higher quality and more choice in their products. They were more affluent, knowledgable and worldly than any previous generation, which greatly increased their demands on youth-serving movements.
If Scouting could not satisfy their needs, there were many other outlets which could.

Society evolved rapidly during Scouting's decade-long rebuilding process. In the era in which Scouting was born, the home and church were the centres of family socialization. Six decades later that function was dominated by the schools. In attempting to find their place in Canada's evolving culture, youth were rejecting many "old world" values. Throughout the period there was a steady decline in church attendance, causing Scouting, which utilized churches as sponsoring institutions, great concern. It was uncertain as to whether the movement would accept a change to a secular society. If so, would such a move re-orient its relationship with the churches?

There is an air of uncertainty in this material as major concepts, seemingly secure only a few years ago were questioned. In studying 1970's era youth, the underlying question seems to be: "how much and how soon?" In addition, the need for constant re-evaluation and flexibility became mandatory. Scouting instituted a series of cycling reviews for all of its programme sections attempting to keep them current with the needs of Canadian youth.

The cycling reviews were both a benefit and a potential danger for Scouting. By keeping the Movement flexible and open to the concerns of its clients, it was possible to produce a dynamic programme. By being flexible to every
rising fad, the Movement risked losing sight of its basic aim and principles. Scouting had always stood for something; abandoning its fundamental beliefs to remain current would produce merely another youth club.

Television was responsible for many of the dramatic changes in the movement in the 1970's. With the advent of "instant" communication, youths were more exposed to world events than at any time in history. Such insight tempered their expectations and demands.375

CORPORATE LONG-RANGE PLAN

In 1971, the National Council designed a corporate long-range plan for the movement. In this document the author's expressed concern for the scattershot methods of development used to implement Scouts '68.

While the organization made a genuine attempt to facilitate the introduction of changes, it fell lamentably short of what was needed. A key factor was the concurrent changes in the adult training programme and a lack of lead time in which to prepare trainers.376

The report is divided into two general sections: the first dealing with issues arising from the implementation process and the second projecting major societal trends into the 1980s.

Scouts '68 came into being amidst much fanfare and confidence. This confidence seems to have all but disappeared by 1971. Although prospects seemed favourable, the new programme had neither proved its value nor its stability. From 1968 to 1971 the Wolf Cub and Boy Scout sections

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decreased in membership by more than 25,000 boys, while the new Venturer section only managed to secure approximately 11,000 members. Boys were not joining the new programme in any great numbers.

There appears to be little doubt that what happens in the next few years will be critical to the continued growth of the Scout section. With all the competing organizations in existence, Scouting could no longer rely on natural increases in membership. It also recognized that membership growth during the 1950s and 1960s had created serious problems for the Movement. The massive influx of baby-boom children had motivated a management system far more oriented to administration than to boy recruitment.

Rapid change to the existing social psyche was resulting in role confusion, identity problems and a noted lack of norms. Predicted consequences included increased mental illness, dependence on drugs and alcohol, suicide and the potential for unrest. The report projected that the major social, ethnic and regional divisions in Canadian society were likely to broaden over the next twenty years, inciting drastic changes in the personal value system of Canadian youth. Scouting needed to be flexible and alert to societal trends if it were to perform even a peripheral role.

One of the new program's goals was to keep the cost of registration within the boy's grasp. Throughout the 1960's, membership fees rose continuously and by 1971 it was noted

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that "membership fees have increased substantially and have resulted in growing resistance to payment of same." 381 Although Scouting wanted to keep the programme available to all eligible boys, increases in funding were necessary to meet rising expenses. Despite attempts to keep costs down, the average 1971 enrollment fee of five dollars, had escalated two hundred and fifty percent by 1991.

ROVERS

In the 1970's National Council was concerned with the Rover Scout section, cognizant that the British Scouts Association had discontinued its Rover programme in 1966 because of very low enrollment figures. 382 Rover membership, never a significant figure, had dropped twenty-five percent since the inception of Scouts '68. In trying to save the section, Rovers was made co-ed in 1978 and a new programme outline was introduced. 383 Although Scouting hoped that these alterations would create more interest in the section, they recognized that a failure to do so might well result in the disbanding of Rovers.

VENTURERS

Problems with the new Venturer section were evident almost immediately. The Venturer programme's broad scope included
activities such as spelunking, scuba diving, glider flying and other exciting endeavours. Difficulties in obtaining permits and instructors were immediately evident, resulting in the modification or removal of certain programme aspects.384

Further, concern was expressed over the new training material for the Venturer section as it was found to be incomprehensible even to "well educated" people.385 Failure to make the material comprehensible to all Venturer advisors hindered proper implementation of the programme. The steps involved in revising the material were cumbersome. Scouting in 1969 was still burdened by the very organizational structures which the Movement had sought to place in a secondary position.

**BEAVERS**

In 1971 the Executive Director of the Winnipeg District Council developed a new age section for Scouting, as more underage boys requested registration into the Cub programme. With the help of other volunteer and professional Scouters, he devised the concept of "Beavers", a programme for five to seven-and-a-half year old boys.386 A formal presentation was made to National Council, which sanctioned Beavers as an experimental project.

There are interesting differences between the Beaver and Venturer sections. Venturers, begun in 1966, attempted to provide an outlet for older adolescent boys. Beavers,
initiated in 1972, emerged from a groundswell of support for a younger age section. In the first five years of its existence, Venturers succeeded in attracting only 11,361 boys. Beavers attracted 65,140 boys in the same period. In 1991 there are 6,597 Beavers and only 1,123 Venturers. Such statistics only serve to accentuate the trend toward a pre-adolescent enrolment in the movement.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s enrolment figures in Scouting declined steadily. If one ignores enrolment figures for Beavers the other youth sections declined 44.8% from 1968 to 1991 (this despite the introduction of the Venturer section). Even counting the contribution of Beavers (39.3% of total youth enrolment), the movement has still declined in membership by 26.1%.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Scouting instituted a variety of programme changes attempting to remain current. Such things as Co-ed Venturers and the Computer badge were developed to appeal to the modern Canadian youth. The year 1991 saw the implementation of sweeping changes to the Cub programme and a new standard uniform for all sections. In March of 1992, National Council announced further changes to the Cub programme including more badges and a more direct focus on environmental issues.

1968 was a time of dramatic change for Scouting. It was then that the acceleration of social change caught up with the movement. Scouting, still relevant, sought new methods of
appealing to the 1960s adolescent. Ensnared in its own bureaucracy the Movement spent nine years deliberating, finally accepting its initially proposed alterations virtually intact. The year 1968 was a milestone in the development of Scouting. It saw the end of a programme which had served for sixty-one years. It witnessed the end of a uniform which had come to symbolize the movement. Most importantly, it witnessed the initiation of a strain of thinking which put the youth at the centre.

Venturers never developed into a dynamic programme because the focus of Canadian youth had shifted away from older adolescent programmes. Beavers succeeded where Venturers failed because they appealed to a segment of society which was enamoured with the concept of learning by playing.

Scouting came to a relatively unsophisticated Canadian society in 1905. With few available organizations for youth, Scouting naturally drew substantial numbers of young boys. Further, Scoutmasters needed little training to administer a program which had such dramatic appeal. As the century progressed and youth became more worldly, the movement needed to adapt itself to changing conditions. Its sluggish attempts at reform throughout the 1960's held the movement virtually in place while Canadian society moved on.

With the new program Scout leaders needed to be highly trained and flexible. Such changes were easily accomplished on paper, but the practices of sixty years could not be swept...
aside overnight. As leaders became "advisors" and the old programme format was swept aside, Scouting lost much of its nostalgic appeal. No reform is ever accomplished without a cost. In 1968 Scouting swept aside the traditions of a lifetime to appeal to the modern youth. The program itself was not a complete failure however.

Scouts '68 did not revolutionize the movement in 1968. Where it succeeded was opening the door to progressive thinking.

The situation today appears to be one of coming to grips with the changes; of adaptation and compromise which permit sections to function in ways that make sense to them at this time.387

Although the movement has shrunk considerably since its inception, Scouts '68 re-directed the energies of the National Council where they should have been in the first place - on the youth of Canada.
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**VIDEOTAPE**

## APPENDIX 1

### MEMBERSHIP TRENDS 1914 - 1991

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* In 1983 Scouts Canada added "Others" to the census; including committeemen, Group Committees, service Scouters, etc.
APPENDIX 2

Honours and Awards Earned by Robert, Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell

1901 Companion of the Order of the Bath
1909 Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath
1910 Order of Merit of Chile
1912 Knight of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem
1919 Knight of the Grand Cross of Alfonso XII (Spain)
1920 Grand Commander of the Order of Christ (Portugal)
1921 Baronet
1922 Commander of the Legion of Honour (France)
1923 Grand Cross of the Victorian Order
1927 Order of Polonia Restituta (Poland)
1928 Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George
1929 First Class of the Order of Merit (Hungary)
1931 The Grand Cross of the Order of Merit (Austria)
1932 The Grand Cross (Lithuania)
1933 Commander of the Order of the Oak of Luxembourg
1936 Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour (France)
1937 Order of Merit
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VITA AUCTORIS

Jeffrey Bonhomme was born in 1966 in Windsor, Ontario. He graduated with honours from the Hon. W. C. Kennedy Collegiate Institute in 1985. From there he attended the University of Windsor, where he earned an Honours Bachelor of Arts degree in History in 1990. He is currently completing his requirements for the M.A. in History at the University of Windsor and hopes to graduate in the fall of 1992.

Mr. Bonhomme has been deeply involved as a field Scouter, Service Team member and Trainer with the Windsor District Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada since 1983.