

'Remember Now Thy Creator in the Days of Thy Youth': The Quiet Religious Revolution on a Canadian Campus in the 1960s

J. Paul Grayson

York University

ABSTRACT

While increasing information is becoming available on Canadian student activists of the 1960s, little is known of the religious beliefs and practices of average university students. Relying in part on never before analyzed information on students attending Glendon College (the original campus of York University) from 1963 to 1967, it is shown that religion was not an important component of public or private discourse. Moreover, while a majority adhered to the religions of their parents, over the course of their studies, a considerable number of students rejected religion or became atheists or agnostics, particularly if they were enrolled in the humanities. Such students were more likely than others to identify with the political left. Overall, students experienced more change in religion than in politics. The impetus to religious change included formal courses, a general increase in knowledge, and interactions with other students and faculty. Despite this change, few students reported religious problems.

RESUMÉ:

Alors que l'état des connaissances sur les étudiants militants des années 1960 prend de l'ampleur, nous ne savons que peu de choses des croyances et pratiques religieuses des étudiants universitaires en général. Cet article s'appuie, en partie, sur des documents inédits sur les étudiants de Glendon College (le campus fondateur de l'Université York) entre 1963 et 1967. On y démontre que la religion n'était pas un élément important des discours publics ou institutionnels. En outre, malgré le fait que la majorité d'entre eux adhéraient à la religion de leurs parents, un nombre important d'étudiants ont rejeté toute forme de religion ou sont devenus athées ou agnostiques, particulièrement ceux qui étaient inscrits en sciences humaines. Ces étudiants, plus que les autres, s'identifiaient à la gauche politique. Dans l'ensemble, les étudiants ont connu plus de changements en matière de religion qu'envers leurs allégeances politiques. Les incitations à cette tendance sont attribuables à l'enseignement reçu, à une augmentation générale du savoir et aux interactions avec d'autres étudiants et le corps professoral. Malgré ces changements, peu d'étudiants ont témoigné avoir éprouvé des problèmes religieux.

Introduction

The 1960s was a decade of profound social, political, and cultural change in Western societies. In Canada, for example, voters were told by their Prime Minister that the state had no business in the bedrooms of the nation; women increasingly questioned assumptions about their 'proper place' in society; and a 'youth culture' took firm hold of many young adults.¹ In universities in Canada and the rest of the world, student activists rallied for civil rights in the American South and for an end to the war in Vietnam; for access to university decision making bodies; for curricular reform; and, in some countries, for democratic government.²

While an increasing number of Canadian historians are turning their attention to the political behaviour of student activists on and off campuses,³ relatively little is known of other aspects of students' lives in the sixties. For example, we are well aware of the noisy political role played by student activists in the occupation of Simon Fraser;⁴ in pushing the boundaries of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec;⁵ and in democratizing administrative structures at the University of Toronto⁶ and on the Regina Campus.⁷ By contrast, we know relatively little about average students' religious beliefs and practices and the effect of university on either.⁸ Part of the reason for this lacuna is that students were far quieter about religious than political issues even though the 1960s was an era of profound religious change.⁹

In view of the dearth of research in Canada on average university students in the 1960s, this article will focus on the religious beliefs and practices of students who entered Glendon College (the original campus of York University in Toronto) in 1963, and who graduated by 1967. On the basis of previously unanalyzed surveys and relevant archival documents, readings of the student newspaper, interviews with former students, and my own recollections as a student at Glendon from 1964 to 1967, it will be shown that while all students were required to take courses with a religious component, on campus, religion was not prominent in public discourse. In private discourses religion played a slightly greater role.

It will also be shown that although religion was not an important part of public and private discourse, and a small majority of students professed a commitment to established churches, while in university, many students rejected the faiths of their parents, and had become supporters of no religion, atheist, or agnostic, particularly if they were enrolled in the humanities. A disproportionate number of such students located themselves on the political left. Overall, there was more religious than political change among students at Glendon. Even students who continued in their religious commitments expressed dissatisfaction with the irrelevance of established religions.

University experiences played a significant role in these developments. Contributing to changes in students' religious beliefs and practices were the content of particular courses, a general increase in knowledge, and interactions with other students and faculty. Only a minority of students reported religious problems that might have been associated with such changes.

Although the focus of this study is on religion, it is also important to note that while the most dramatic manifestations of political change on Canadian campuses

occurred just after the cohort under study graduated, between 1963 and 1967, considerable political change was afoot in the city of Toronto. As noted by Churchill:

By the end of 1965, the political landscape in Toronto had been significantly transformed, particularly in terms of activism and radical politics. Over the next few years, a range of organizational initiatives, countercultural venues, underground newspapers, and activist causes would open politically and symbolically alternative spaces within the city's public culture. New methods of protest and dissent, such as direct action and community-based involvement, had become the models for political activism and organizing.¹⁰

In short, between 1963 and 1967, students at Glendon lived in a city rich in emergent forms of political expression; however, as explained elsewhere, few of these students were involved in these developments.¹¹ In this respect students at Glendon were comparable to average American students, the vast majority of whom continued to have faith in American institutions, and to share the political preferences of their parents.¹²

The Historical Context

According to church historian, Hugh McLeod, "in the religious history of the West these years [the sixties] may come to be seen as marking a rupture as profound as that brought about by the Reformation."¹³ Developments contributing to McLeod's assessment include a drop in church attendance in most Western countries; a decrease in church marriages and baptisms; a decline in the number of clergy; an increase in other religions such as Islam; a growth in the numbers of those professing no religion; and the emergence of critical theologies. In few places in the West were these religious changes as profound as they were in the formerly clergy-dominated Quebec.¹⁴ While it had roots going back to the 1930s,¹⁵ the 'Quiet Revolution' in Quebec resulted in the social, political, and economic modernization of the province¹⁶ with a concomitant steep decline in religious engagement. For example, in 1965, 88% of Roman Catholics in Quebec reported attending mass twice a month or more. The figure dropped to 46% in 1975.¹⁷

At a national level, the vast majority of Canadians professed a Christian religion. According to the 1961 census, 46.7% of Canadians stated that they were Roman Catholic. By 1971 the number had increased slightly to 47.3%. At the same time, the number of Protestants declined somewhat from 45.3% to 40.7% (a change of 10%).¹⁸

These figures suggested relative stability in the numbers of Canadians professing commitment to the two major religious denominations; however, stability was less evident in other indicators. For example, the numbers professing no religion increased from .5% in 1961 to 4.3% in 1971 (an increase of 760%). The number of Canadians attending a place of worship on a weekly basis dropped from 56% in 1960 to 44% in 1970 (a 21% decline).¹⁹ While it is beyond the scope of the current inquiry, it is important to note that such trends continued in the following decades.

In a number of different countries, several explanations have been advanced for developments such as these. Some sociologists, like Bruce,²⁰ and historians, such as Gilbert,²¹ viewed the religious developments of the sixties in terms of a centuries old secularization process beginning in the Renaissance and Reformation. Other researchers placed emphasis for change on more recent developments. For example, Brown,²² a cultural historian, analyzed the impact on religion of a decline in the 'feminization of piety.' In contrast to the past, in which women were the religious censors in families, throughout the twentieth century, growing numbers of women rejected religion. As a result, children were denied religious socialization. According to Brown, religious decline must be viewed in terms of this dynamic. Others, such as church historian McLeod,²³ and sociologist Laeyendecker,²⁴ included in their analyses long, medium, and short term developments in explanations of change in the sixties. Centralization of power in the Catholic Church and a decline in the feminization of piety can be viewed as examples of long and medium term developments respectively. The hope, and then disappointment, associated with Vatican II is an example of a short-term development specific to the sixties.

In Canada, religious changes in the era have been attributed to a number of factors including an unresponsiveness of churches and intellectualism in the universities. For example, in his book, *The Comfortable Pew*, journalist and popular historian, Pierre Berton, placed the blame for a decline in religion squarely on the shoulders of the established churches. "In the great issues of our time," he wrote, "the voice of the Church, when it has been heard at all, has been weak, tardy, equivocal, and irrelevant." There's more. "In those basic conflicts, which ought to be tormenting every Christian conscience—questions of war and peace, of racial brotherhood, of justice versus revenge, to name three," Berton wrote that, "the Church has trailed far behind the atheists, the agnostics, the free thinkers, the journalists, the scientists, the social workers, and even, on occasion, the politicians." The Church, he concludes his indictment, "virtually ignored the whole contemporary question of business morals, the tensions within industry and labour, the sexual revolution that has changed the attitudes of the Western world."²⁵ In order to be relevant, Canadian churches would have to become engaged in important social issues and germane to individuals' daily lives.

To what extent did Canadians take Berton's message seriously? Part of the answer can be found in the fact that his book rapidly sold over 200,000 copies. With sales like these, the book was an all time Canadian best seller.²⁶ In, *The Restless Church: A Response to the Comfortable Pew*, William Kilbourn gave other examples of the impact of Berton's message:

It was the subject of hundreds of newspaper editorials, articles, and cartoons, and several dozen radio and television programs. One city newspaper published no less than eight different reviews of it. There can scarcely be a Protestant church or parish hall in the country in which the name of the book or its author was not at least mentioned in 1965, and in some, at times, it almost seemed as if people were talking of nothing else. One parish put on twenty-one

noon hour talks during weekdays in Lent...Several thousand church groups appear to have discussed it at meetings.²⁷

Among readers of Berton's book were many university students. For example, in 1965, at Bishop's University, "almost the whole class of two hundred students in the required religion course chose to write about *The Comfortable Pew* on their final exam."²⁸ I certainly remember it being discussed by students at my alma mater, Glendon College (the original campus of York University).

The sentiment that religion was decreasingly important was shared by Berton's campus colleagues. In a summary of ways in which Canadian historians had dealt with religion, Canadian historian, Catherine Gidney, wrote, "religion ha[d] been either ignored or portrayed as disappearing from the academy and broader society after World War 1." To Canadian historians, the two developments leading to twentieth-century secularization included, "the development of a vitiated liberal faith, which emphasized social action at the expense of doctrine, and the growth of the university as a research institution, embodying objective, scientific ideals."²⁹

Despite an assumed disappearance of religion from the campus, by the 1960s, at the University of Toronto (U of T), Gidney found that 75% of students identified with Protestantism.³⁰ In addition, the Student Christian Movement (SCM), at the U of T, "with its combination of liberal theology and left-wing politics...became an influential religious force on the university campus well into the twentieth century."³¹ Until 1965, as many as eight percent (8%) of University of Toronto students were involved in SCM events.³² While precise comparisons are not possible, this degree of participation likely is comparable to the number of students involved in emerging movements of political protest on the U of T campus. Indeed, there was often considerable overlap between students active in the SCM and political protesters.³³

While it is clear that in Toronto the emerging counter culture of the sixties included elements of spirituality (not necessarily Christian),³⁴ apart from Gidney's work, little is known of the religious affiliation of university students, the role of religion in their lives, and the impact of a university education on their beliefs. By contrast, in the United States, considerable research was conducted in the 1960s on issues relevant to these concerns. This research shows that: in the mid-1960s only 7% of students entering colleges and universities professed no religion;³⁵ those entering post-secondary education were more devout than those about to graduate;³⁶ the overall religiosity of American students declined over the decade;³⁷ despite, or perhaps because of, this decline, religion was relatively unproblematic for students;³⁸ of those reporting problems of a religious nature, a disproportionate number were female;³⁹ religiosity did not vary by academic major;⁴⁰ of those who defined themselves as political radicals, a disproportionate number were either Jews, members of 'other' religions, or professed no religion.⁴¹

Unfortunately, in comparison to information available on American students in the 1960s, very little exists on Canadian students. As a result, this article will focus on the religious beliefs and practices of students who entered Glendon College (the original campus of York University) in 1963 and who graduated by 1967. I chose to

analyze this university for two reasons. First, as will be elaborated later, there is important information available on students' religious beliefs and behaviors during this period. Second, I was a student at Glendon from 1964 to 1967.

Before beginning this analysis it is necessary to examine the intellectual environment into which students entered and the environment from which they came. To a large degree, the net outcome of the university experience is a result of the interaction of these two factors.

The University Context

York University was founded in 1959 in Toronto. The original campus, Glendon College, was located in what is now mid-town Toronto on a beautiful large treed estate originally owned by Edward Wood, a leading Canadian financier of the early twentieth century. Although it opened its doors in 1959, degrees were originally granted through the University of Toronto. The first students eligible for a York degree enrolled in 1963.⁴²

Originally, York was to have been a small liberal arts institution with an emphasis on the development of the 'whole man.'⁴³ Rather than rigidly focusing on specific disciplines, students were required to take at least one course in English and inter-disciplinary courses in the humanities, social sciences, languages, sciences, and mathematics or 'modes of reasoning.' Discipline specialization would only become possible in the final years of study. An appreciation for this type of curriculum in a new small university was frequently expressed in the comments of students in a 1967 graduate survey. For example, one student wrote:

I stress strongly the general education courses at York. This type of education has always predominated and will continue to predominate [sic] my thoughts and views on education. I enjoyed them and benefited from them greatly. The smallness of York is beneficial for intellectual endeavour and improvement and has helped me considerably. The optimism of a new university and the fact we were the first York class stimulated interest both among students and staff hired.

In addition to being academically well rounded, adherence to the idea of the whole man also required attention to the body. In particular, George Tatham, the Dean of Students, encouraged involvement in sports and in other extra-curricular activities.

It is important to note for the current argument that for students entering the university in 1963, aspects of religion (mainly, but not exclusively, Christianity) were mandatory parts of the curriculum, largely, but not exclusively, through courses in the humanities. All student entering in 1963 were required to take, Humanities I: The Roots of Western Civilization (other, substitute humanities, courses were unavailable in that year). The description of the course in the York University Calendar for 1963–64 included the following:

Materials to be studied include documentary sources (e.g. the Rule of St. Benedict), works of history and criticism, works of art and architecture in reproduction, and great works of literature, philosophy, and religion in translation (including selection from the Bible, Homer, Sophocles, Plato, St. Augustine, and Dante).

The following year students also had available Humanities II: Modern European Civilization, in which similar themes from more recent times were investigated. As well as mandatory exposure to religion in humanities courses, students explored examples of religious reasoning in the mandatory Modes of Reasoning.

Despite original intentions of York being a small liberal arts school, by the early sixties it was decided that it would become a large university with its main campus located on the outskirts of the city. In 1963, in part as a result of this announcement, and in part because they objected to the management style of Murray Ross, York's President, a number of professors resigned their positions.⁴⁴

In 1963, Dr. Dee Appley, a faculty member in the Department of Psychology at Glendon, was appointed Director of Psychological Services. In this capacity she initiated a series of studies of the 1963 cohort. Included were a survey of entering students, administrations of the Nelson-Denny Reading Test and the Mooney Problem Check List, and a 1967 survey of graduates. Although she collected a great deal of qualitative and quantitative information on students, she did not analyze the data. Fortunately, when I was its director in 1997, she donated to the Institute for Social Research at York information she had collected on the 1963 cohort as well as other important data on Glendon students dating from 1959. The following analysis will be based on these documents, particularly the entry and graduate surveys of the 1963 cohort; on a reading of Pro-Tem, the student newspaper from 1963 to 1967; on interviews with former students; and on my recollections as a student at Glendon from 1964 to 1967.

Sources of Information

The entry survey of 1963 was completed on campus in orientation week by virtually all first year students. It included questions on family background, health, leadership activities, extra-curricular activities in high school, and reasons for attending university. While some summaries of the information were available in the files, data were not available in machine readable format. As a result, I was limited in what I could do with the results of this survey.

The graduate survey of 1967 was mailed in the summer of that year to 194 students of the 1963 cohort who were eligible to graduate. Respondents were asked to answer questions dealing with issues such as background characteristics, vocational choices and earning expectations, university experiences, finances, life goals, political and religious affiliation, and views of women. As 135 completed the graduate survey, the response rate was a very acceptable 70%. Given the size of the graduating class (194), and the number of respondents (135), the survey results were accurate within

4.7 percentage points nineteen times out of twenty.⁴⁵

The results of the graduate survey had been entered onto Fortran sheets; however, the logic of entry was not originally clear. After I finally figured out the relationship between the recorded data and questions asked in the survey, I had the data entered into an SPSS file for analysis. The responses to open ended questions in the survey had already been coded by Dr. Appley and were recorded on the Fortran sheets. Fortunately, the original uncoded responses were available in separate archival files.

In addition to utilizing the information collected in the surveys, I read all of the issues of the student paper, *Pro-Tem*, from 1963 to 1967. I initially conducted some counts of the numbers of times specific words, such as 'religion,' 'Christianity' and so on were mentioned in articles. I also classified the themes of articles in terms of explicit and implicit views of religion. In the end, however, I found this approach sterile and settled on a careful reading and textual analysis of the content of articles relevant to the goals of the research.

Recruits for the oral histories were selected as follows. York's alumni office would not release information on the current whereabouts of former Glendon students. As a result, starting with people I knew, I used a "snowball" technique to recruit additional respondents. In total I collected oral histories on six males and six females. In the interviews, among other issues, I asked former students to talk about their recollections of: the curriculum, general experiences, career expectations, the treatment of female students by students and faculty, political activities, the availability of mentors, and religion. Interviews lasted between one and two hours and were recorded.

In view of the recruitment technique, I cannot argue that interviewees were representative of Glendon students: unfortunately, the problem of representativeness and recall is usual in oral histories.⁴⁶ In consequence, in the best of possible research worlds, the results of oral histories are triangulated with data collected in other ways. In the main, this is how the histories were treated in the current research.

Despite the limitations of oral histories, as those interviewed included four current university professors and one judge, I will argue that nearly half were very well aware of the goals of oral histories and of the necessity for clarity and qualification in recall. The remaining five interviewees included teachers and researchers. What amazed me was the degree of consensus on many issues among those interviewed, and the fact that their recollections were very similar to my own. While there are other interpretations (e.g., homogeneity of respondents resulting from the recruitment technique), I attribute this consensus to the type of shared experience that was possible on a small campus.

As I enrolled in Glendon in 1964, I was not part of the 1963 cohort; however, I knew many students in this year and shared many of their experiences. Such involvement facilitated an understanding of the issues raised in the current research. At the same time, I was aware of my potential bias as a staunch anti-religionist who, despite being forced to attend primary separate schools by a Catholic father, questioned religious teachings even as the priest was placing the host in my mouth for the first time. As a result, where appropriate, I checked my recollections and assessments against other sources of information.

Students' Careers and Aspirations

The survey conducted in 1963 of the 154 male and 142 female students entering Glendon that year (virtually all who enrolled) indicated that in many ways Glendon students were comparable to other Canadian youth of the era. For example, 83% of males and 89% of females reported that their parents lived together, and most students had at least one brother or sister. Similar to other young people in the period, 68% of males and 69% of females mentioned that their mothers were housewives. Where they differed from other young Canadians was in the number of their fathers with good jobs. For example, while 43% of males and 40% of females said that their fathers were professors, teachers, or managers, only 11% of male Canadians held such jobs. At the other end of the scale, only 1% of males and 4% of females had fathers who were labourers, janitors, or waiters/waitresses; however, 21% of male Canadians worked in jobs like these.⁴⁷

While these figures indicated that Glendon students were relatively privileged, their fathers' occupations were similar to those of students in other Canadian universities during the sixties.⁴⁸ Given the period, it was not surprising that the student body was over-whelmingly white; however, females were a high (for the period) 47% of the entering class.

Although seventy five percent (75%) of males and 90% of females entered university directly from high school, most already had career plans. Not surprisingly, these plans were solidly middle class. The greatest single number of males (26%) hoped to be teachers. The second greatest number aspired to law (20%). Similar to males, the greatest number of females (37%) expressed desires to be teachers; however, the second greatest number chose not law, but social work (12%).⁴⁹ Overall, the occupational background of students' fathers and their aspirations for certain types of jobs, suggest that the majority of Glendon students likely brought with them to university many dispositions typical of the Canadian middle class of the mid 1960s.⁵⁰

Public Discourse

While at the global level important religious debates, like Vatican II, were taking place, and religion was a mandatory component of certain courses, between 1963 and 1967, at Glendon, as revealed in the student newspaper, *Pro-Tem*, religion was not an important component of public discourse.⁵¹ In 1963, for example, there was only one exchange between students in the newspaper involving religion. In this instance a student wrote of hypocrisy, including religious hypocrisy, pervading contemporary life, and the fact that religion was divorced from reality. "Surely," the writer reasoned, "If the church is to bear any relevance to life it must be applicable in real situations."⁵² The following week a student submitted a reply in which he tacitly challenged the cynicism of the earlier article. Instead, he called for a reinvigoration of the Judeo-Christian ethic among students. This writer blamed professors for the moral void in which many students found themselves. "Having kicked the value props out from under their students," he wrote that professors "leave them

disoriented and confused.”⁵³ Apart from this exchange the only other references to religion were included in reports of a series of lectures given at the university by prominent theologians, and an announcement from the philosophy club of a seminar to be held on ‘Creativity in Art and Religion.’⁵⁴

In the academic year 1964–65, no articles in the newspaper focused on religion. In the following year, 1965–66, as little time was spent on religious themes as in 1963–64. In one article a student with a weekly column wrote that, “God has no place in the 20th century.”⁵⁵ In an outraged response the following week, a student wrote a brief letter of criticism to the editor in which he took issue with the idea that God was irrelevant. Instead, he wrote that, “The God who has revealed himself through the Bible demands our commitment to Jesus Christ and leads us to face reality, not to escape from it.”⁵⁶ There was no continuation of this debate.

A little later in the year, demonstrating far more religious radicalism than the students to whom he was talking, the Reverend Gene Young, ‘padre of the pubs,’ advocated “a revolution to break down the authoritarian moral sanctions and bring honesty and integrity to one’s studies and actions.”⁵⁷ While students enjoyed the talk, and many were surprised that a man of the cloth could be so down to earth, I recall that the Reverend’s words appeared to have had no lasting effect on the student body. Another relatively radical theologian, identified only as Mr. Sutherland, was invited to the campus to address students in the D House Common Room. One of his points was that, “Christianity has fallen into the trap of dominance and intolerance.”⁵⁸ As with Reverend Young, the visit of this theologian appears to have had little impact on students.

In the following year, 1966–67, religious comment was once again limited. One exception involved an ongoing debate on the ‘new morality.’ In one letter to the editor a student opposed to the new morality wrote that, “religious toleration of promiscuity and ‘unnatural contaminations of the flesh’ is a violation of the very essence of religion.”⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, the stance of this student was soundly trounced in articles and letters to the editor, not because of his views on religion, but for his views on sex.

Overall, a reading of the student newspaper at Glendon revealed that religion was not an important component of public discourse between 1963 and 1967.⁶⁰ Even when provocative claims were made, few readers rose to the bait in subsequent issues. Consistent with its infrequent discussion in the student newspaper, interviews with former students suggest that religion played a minor role in many students’ lives and was not an important component of private discourse. For others, however, religion was more important and sometimes a topic of conversation.

Private Discourse

Consistent with the proposition that religion was not an important component of private discourse, one male student remarked, “Religion was almost unmentioned. I don’t remember anybody talking much about religion except when we would talk about, let’s say, Nietzsche.” This student “did not feel that it was a subject for an

academic environment. There was a prevailing sense that we had risen above the religions into which we were born." This observation is consistent with my own recollections of how we talked about religion at Glendon. Another male student commented that, "I don't think we would have dreamed about asking someone about their religious beliefs. In those days we considered it to be a private matter." "Religion was not an intended practiced part of peoples' lives," another male student commented. This student said he "had repudiated a lot of my religious background."

By contrast, some students remembered religion as being somewhat important in students' lives and sometimes the subject of conversation. "I suppose it was fairly important," remembered a female student. "There'd be kids in residence who'd go across the street to the community church on Sundays." Another female student recalled that, "there were people there who were very religious." She particularly remembered discussions about Buddhism. Although there may have been some very religious people at Glendon, she qualified that, "I don't think people made day to day distinctions in terms of peoples' religions." Another female student confirmed that, "there were people who were definitely interested in different forms of Buddhism from a philosophical standpoint." Consistent with this observation, the same student mentioned that, "we would talk about religious themes in a very general type of way. I think it was more oriented toward an intellectual approach rather than a passionate involvement with a particular religion."

One former male student, who had "never met an atheist before coming to York," recalled that religion was far more important than indicated by other former students. As far as he was concerned, "Religion was a hot topic for people. A lot of people," he explained, "were actually wrestling with whether they had any faith." He attributed much of this religious turmoil to the ideas raised in required courses in the humanities.

From the above comments it is possible to identify a number of possibilities at Glendon. For some, religion was not an important component of private discourse. This does not mean that for these students religious issues did not exist. It might simply be that, as one of the above students said, religion was 'a private matter.' Other students were more involved with religion, to the point that they sometimes attended services. Another group may have discussed religion, but mainly as an intellectual activity. Finally, there may have been some at Glendon who experienced religious crises. Some of these possibilities will be re-visited later. At this point it is important to examine students' religious preferences.

Religious Preferences

The religious preferences of students entering Glendon in 1963 who graduated by 1967, and those of their parents, are available from the formerly mentioned graduate survey of 1967. On the basis of information in Table 1, comparisons can be made between the religious preferences of male and female students (A and B in the table) and between mothers and fathers (D and E). Additional comparisons are possible between female students and their mothers (B and E), and male students and their

fathers (A and D). Finally, using parents' religion as a referent (F) it is possible to calculate the difference, for each religion, between parents' and students' religious preferences (F minus C in column G).

If comparisons are made between male and female students (A and B), conditions for statistical testing are not met. As a result, we should focus on the religious preferences of males and females combined, or the total (C). When we do this we see that students' religions do not reflect those of the Canadian population as identified in the Introduction.

Table 1
Religion of Students and Parents by Sex

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	Male	Female	Total	Father	Mother	Total	Difference (C - F)
None	16%	23%	19%	21%	9%	16%	+3
Atheist/Agnostic	20%	18%	19%	1%	4%	2%	+17
Protestant	57%	48%	53%	64%	76%	70%	-17
Jewish	4%	5%	5%	4%	5%	5%	0
RC	4%	5%	5%	9%	5%	8%	-3
Total	101%	99%	101%	101%	99%	101%	
N	76	56	132	76	56	132	

Conditions for chi-square not met for comparisons of: male female, female mother, mother father
Chi-square for comparison: male father $p < .01$; total student total parent $p < .001$

Whereas the greatest number of Canadians were Catholic, at Glendon, the greatest number of students were Protestant (53%). Only 5% of students were Catholic. (There also were very few Catholics in the Canadian elites of the period).⁶¹ In addition, although only .5% of Canadians professed no religion, the number at Glendon was 19%. An equal number of students were atheist or agnostic (19%), and 5% were Jewish.

It reasonable to assume that at one point, either voluntarily or involuntarily, students shared the religious preferences of their parents. As a result, differences between the religious preferences of students and parents likely reflected change on the part of the former. If we compare the religious preferences of students (C) with the total preferences of mothers and fathers (F), we see that the greatest differences can be found in the numbers of atheists and agnostics, and Protestants. While 19% of students were atheists or agnostics, only 2% of mothers and fathers had a similar preference. Conversely, while 70% of parents were Protestant, only 53% of students identified with this religion. As differences between students and parents for other religions differ slightly, it is safe to argue that many erstwhile Protestant students likely became atheists or agnostics. It is important to note that these comparisons between students and parents were statistically significant.

Also statistically significant were comparison between male students and their fathers (A and D). Comparison between these two groups likely reflect a conversion of students from conventional religions to atheism and agnosticism. For example, while only 1% of fathers were atheist or agnostic, 20% of male students stated this preference. Comparisons between female students and their mothers (B and E) also show that more female students (18%) than their mothers (4%) were atheist or agnostic. In addition, far more female students (23%) than their mothers (9%) claimed no religion. Unfortunately, conditions for testing statistical significance between female students and their mothers were not met.

As seen from column G, the greatest change between students and their parents (+17%) was an increase in atheism and agnosticism. Students were also slightly more likely than their parents to express no religion (+3). The greatest loss (-17) was for Protestantism. Additional losses were evident for Roman Catholicism (-3). There were no differences in the numbers of parents and students who were Jewish. If we ignore the sign and add the above figures we see that 40% of students identified with a religion different from that of their parents.

It was possible to use the same survey and exactly the same methodology in calculating the amount of political change among students. More specifically, the political preference expressed by students ('radical left',⁶² Liberal, Conservative) was compared to the political preferences of fathers and mothers as identified by students. Once carried out, this procedure revealed that 34% of students reported political preferences different from those of their mothers and fathers. In other words, the degree of religious change among students at the end of their studies was greater than political change.

Overall, the figures in Table 1 indicate a statistically significant break between the religious preferences of students and their parents. (The magnitude of this break is far greater than the differences noted in the survey sponsored by the American Council on Education cited in the introduction; however, it was of students entering university while the current study is of those graduating). The greatest differences were increases in atheists and agnostics, likely at the expense of Protestants. Absolute differences between the numbers of Catholic students and Catholic parents were slight.⁶³

Assuming that at one point students likely, either voluntarily or involuntarily, shared the religious preferences of their parents, the figures in Table 1 provide insight into the likely net changes in the religious preferences of students; however, they do not present a clear indication of change in religious commitment. Fortunately, in the survey, students were asked a question that facilitates an examination of the general nature of the students' relation to religion over the course of their university studies.⁶⁴ Some of the information derived from this question is summarized in Table 2.

In Table 2 the religious preference of students is presented across the top of the table. Along the left side of the table are categories of, for want of a better term, commitment to religion: no change, change away, change toward, and other. Starting with the total column, we see that, overall, a plurality of students (37%) reported a change away from religion over the course of their studies. Thirty four percent (34%) stated no change. Only 10% indicated that over the course of their studies they had

Table 2
Change in Religious Commitment by Religion of Respondent

	None	Atheist/ agnostic	Protestant	Jewish	RC	Total
No change	44%	36%	29%	67%	17%	34%
Change away	32%	28%	43%	0%	67%	37%
Change toward	8%	16%	7%	17%	17%	10%
Other	16%	20%	21%	17%	0%	19%
Total	100%	100%	100%	101%	101%	100%
N	25	25	70	6	6	132

Conditions for Chi-square not met

Paired comparisons yielded no statistically significant relationships

changed toward religion. A further 19% of responses fell into the 'other' category. Overall, during their studies, 47% of students either changed toward, or away from, religion.⁶⁵ While I have no comparator, these figures suggest considerable religious change over the course of a university career.

Unfortunately, conditions for statistical testing were not met for the data in the table. As a result, in order to gain perspective, I created a series of tables in which it was possible to meet the conditions for statistical testing. More specifically, I created a series of 2×2 tables in which, for example, religion was coded into 'Protestant' and 'other.' Commitment was coded into, for example, 'change away' and 'other.' Using this type of procedure I was able to determine if Protestants were more likely to report changing away from religion than students with all other religious preferences combined. Similar analyses were carried out for all other possible combinations of responses. By structuring the data in this way I was able to use Fisher's exact test. When I did this, I found that no comparisons were statistically significant. As a result, while information is presented for students stating various religious preferences, differences should be treated with caution. By contrast, figures in the total column present reasonable estimates of overall changes in commitment.

From the question identified above it was also possible to obtain information on the reasons for students' maintenance of, or changes in, religious commitment. Possible reasons for either maintenance or change are listed across the top of Table 3. The code of 'courses' was applied to the data if students indicated that what they learned in their courses was responsible for religious maintenance (i.e., no change) or change. The code 'knowledge' was applied to responses not identifying courses as a reason for maintenance or change, but an increase in knowledge, that may or may not have come from taking specific courses. Responses indicating that their interactions with other people (students, faculty, etc.) led to either maintenance or change in religious commitment were coded 'other people.' All other responses were coded 'other.'

Note that the conditions for statistical testing were not met for Table 3. As a result, as for Table 2, I once again created a series of 2×2 tables for all logical combinations

Table 3
Change in Religious Commitment by Cause

	Courses	Knowledge	Other people	Other	Total
None	20%	6%	7%	46%	34%
Change away	30%	77%	67%	25%	37%
Change toward	40%	6%	20%	5%	10%
Other	10%	12%	7%	24%	19%
Total	100%	101%	101%	100%	100%
N	10	17	15	93	135

Conditions for Chi-square not met

of variables. In so doing I was able to detect a number of statistically significant relationships in the data.

More specifically, when those who said courses were a cause of change *toward* religion were compared to all others, and when students who said that that knowledge and other people were causes of change *away* from religion were compared to all others, the appropriate test (Fisher's exact) was statistically significant. When examined this way, it was appropriate to say that a plurality, 40%, of those who cited courses as a cause of change turned toward religion. By contrast, of those students who identified knowledge and other people as a cause of change, majorities, 77% and 67% respectively, turned away from religion. The extent to which these changes varied by students' programs of study is examined in Table 4.

Table 4
Change in Religious Commitment by General Field of Study

	Humanities	Social Science	Math and Science	Total
None	25%	43%	38%	35%
Change away	47%	26%	38%	36%
Change toward	13%	7%	8%	10%
Other	15%	24%	17%	19%
Total	100%	100%	101%	100%
N	53	58	24	135

Chi-square $p > .05$

As noted in the Introduction, in the United States, little systematic research during the sixties was conducted on the relationship between academic major and various aspects of religiosity among students. A study that did examine this possible link found that the rate of religious decline did not vary by academic major.⁶⁶

In contrast to the American study, Table 4 suggests that among students in the humanities, a plurality, 47%, moved away from religion during the course of their studies. By contrast, a plurality in the social sciences, 43%, reported no change in their religious commitment. Among students in math and science, equal numbers, 38%, reported no change and change away from religion. Unfortunately, differences recorded in the table were not statistically significant.

As a result, once again I created a series of 2×2 tables. More specifically, I created a series of tables in which, for example, academic major was coded into 'humanities' and 'other.' Religious commitment was coded into, for example, 'change away' and 'other.' Using this type of procedure I was able to determine if students in the humanities were more likely to report changing away from religion than students reporting other types of commitment. Similar analyses were carried out for all other possible combinations of responses. By structuring the data in this way I was able to use Fisher's exact test. This process resulted in three statistically significant findings.

First, while only 25% of students in the humanities reported no change in religion, the figure for all others combined (social science + math and science), was 42%. In other words, humanities students were less likely than others to report no change in religious commitment. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that humanities students (47%) were more likely than all others (29%) to say that they had moved away from religion. By contrast, fewer social science (26%) than other students (44%) stated that they had moved away from religion. Among these findings, the most important is that a disproportionate number of students in the humanities reported moving away from religion. This finding is different from those the American study referenced above, in which academic major had no impact on religion.

It is not surprising that humanities students more than others turned away from religion. As noted earlier, all students were required to take mandatory humanities courses that included in the curriculum discussions of religion. Students pursuing subsequent courses in philosophy, history, and so on, would have been more likely than others to continue such discussions. Indeed, a number of professors in the humanities were involved in public discussions of religion. Historian, William Kilbourn,⁶⁷ for example, wrote the book that was a response to Pierre Berton's, *The Comfortable Pew*. A popular philosophy professor, Diogenes Allen, who in 1974 (he was then at Princeton) won an Outstanding American Educator Award, was very enthusiastic in his lectures and tutorials on religion. Indeed, he was fondly remembered by more than one student in the interviews that I conducted.

In summary, at Glendon, some students turned toward religion because of the courses they took. Others turned away from religion as a result of the knowledge they had acquired, not necessarily directly through courses. Yet a third group turned away from religion because of interactions with other students and/or faculty. Overall, far more students turned away from, than toward, religion. In addition, more students in the humanities turned away from religion than students in other disciplines. As seen previously, when they turned away from religion, many students accepted atheism or agnosticism. Most, but not all, of these findings are consistent

with the results of American research of the 1960s reported in the Introduction.

Personal Histories

So far we have seen that the graduate survey of 1967 provides information on students' religious preferences and strength of commitment, and how both may have changed during the undergraduate years at Glendon. Through students' written comments on the questionnaire we can also gain insight into the experiences underlying information summarized in the previous tables. Unfortunately, space constraints prevent a detailed examination of this material. In consequence, attention will focus on an elaboration of the statistically significant relationships identified from Table 3: how courses led some students to turn toward religion, and how knowledge and contacts with other people led some away from religion.

Courses and Change

The way in which particular courses led to a change in religious beliefs is found in the comments of a male Protestant student. "My family," he wrote, "has never been very religious, or engaged in church activities." Not surprisingly, when this student entered university, he "thought religion should be completely discarded." During his undergraduate years, however, things changed. He wrote that, "through courses I took while at York, particularly the humanities and social sciences, I realized that some kind of social order, ethics and beliefs are necessary if society is to survive." This student concluded his comments by saying, "I now believe the church and religion are necessary institutions. But," he qualifies. "I am not sure that belief in God and the churches of today are the right ones."

Another male Protestant student who entered university with weak religious beliefs also changed as a result of the courses to which he was exposed. "My beliefs," he wrote, "although never firm, became much broader, but at the same time have become much more firm." He notes that, "it has been a gradual thing that began mid-way through second year. Modes of Reasoning and Humanities II (Philosophy Section) were the first stimulants."

A third male student came from a family in which both parents were Jewish. Nonetheless, he wrote that, "religiously my father is an atheist and my mother indifferent." Not surprisingly, given his background, when he entered Glendon, he was an atheist; however, he "began to do a lot of thinking, helped along by the courses I was taking. At present," he wrote, "I am unsure of the existence of God but I do not totally reject the possibility of his existence as I did formerly."

What these three students had in common was that they all entered university with weak religious beliefs. In addition, all attributed change to courses, including the required ones in the humanities, social sciences, and modes of reasoning. There was no indication in their words, however, that an increased sympathy toward religion made them more accepting of particular churches. As will be seen, a rejection of established churches was expressed by other students as well.

Knowledge and Change

In some ways, attributing change in religious commitment to knowledge is similar to, but not the same as, crediting courses with change. Obviously, courses are one source of knowledge acquisition during university. This said, students talked about knowledge in ways that went well beyond the formal curriculum.

As seen in the previous section, even students who moved toward religion during their undergraduate years had concerns about the nature of contemporary churches. This concern was also manifest in the comments of students attributing their movement away from religion to their increased knowledge. A female student who reported having no religion said that, "I used to attend Church regularly." By the end of her final year, however, she said that, "Now I may go twice a year to please my mother." The reason for her lack of attendance at services was, "Everything the minister says seems so meaningless when you are surrounded by people in minks who arrive in Cadillac's."

Another female Protestant student likely would have agreed. She wrote that she, "no longer attend[ed] church on Sunday...I find the service without meaning and usually argue silently although later verbally with the sermons." A male Protestant student commented that, "Much of the dogma is questionable, tradition-bound, ritualistic, and bordering on irrationalism."

For some students, the connection between an increase in knowledge and a move away from religion was linked to insights gained from major intellectuals. "I disassociated myself from church after 13 years constant attendance," wrote a male student professing no religion. "Although not a believer," he wrote, "thanks to Albert Camus and the twentieth century in general, I still maintain a vital interest in Christianity and follow its internal struggles closely." Like him, a female Protestant student indicated that at Glendon, "religion was one area that I really began to think about. Now I think, like Pascal, that believing in God is a good risk—I have nothing to lose." "Dabbling in the works of Herbert Marcuse," wrote a non-religious male student, "has made me critical of any and all restrictive ideologies, either Christian, capitalist, or Communist."

An increase in knowledge led some students to recognize that their former intolerance was related to previously held religious beliefs. Thus a female Protestant student remarked that, "I have developed a more tolerant and understanding attitude to people who are different from myself in religion, race, etc." A same sex co-religionist stated, "Gradually over 3 years at York, I began to see the reasons why people differ, and that this difference or diversity is one of the world's greatest blessings." In both cases increased tolerance was linked to increased knowledge.

In the comments of some students we can detect that the move away from religion was connected to a general maturing and identity formation molded by an increase in knowledge. "My feelings about the church and religion were always there," stated a female Protestant student. However, "with more education (being taught to question, increase in self-confidence, less afraid to express view[s]) I gave vent to these feelings and questions." A male Roman Catholic student commented that he no longer

accepted “whole-heartedly catholic doctrines.” “The change,” he wrote, “was caused by the emphasis on thinking and the need for a sensible tangible answer.” A male Protestant student stated that his change occurred in third year. It was then that, “I began to think of myself as a person with my own beliefs and not those of a society.” A female Protestant remarked that she, “no longer felt that church supplies meaning to life.” At the time of writing she indicated that, “my own experience and reason can reach at least some partial insights into the meaning of life.” The words of these students suggest that as they matured, or as their identities crystallized, they started to think for themselves.

It is clear from the foregoing that increases in knowledge affected not only students with no religion, but also those who continued to identify with a particular religion. The concomitants of this change were concerns with the nature of church beliefs and practices, the acceptance of the ideas of major intellectuals, an awakening to former intolerance, and maturity and identity formation.

Other People and Change

As in the previous comments, students attributing change to the influence of other people often mentioned dissatisfaction with existing church practices and beliefs. For example, a male Protestant wrote that, “The attitudes of fellow students led me to believe that the behavioural details of beliefs (religious) were usually emphasized to the detriment of the essence of the beliefs.” Because of this insight, the student wrote that, “Now I retain little other than the ‘spirit’ of Christianity, with little respect for circumnavigable [sic] ‘rules.’” A female Protestant who lived in residence stated that she “did acquire a few doubts through talking with others.” Likely as a result of these doubts, she “gave up church attendance almost totally because it seems hypocritical and a waste of time.” Another male Protestant reported, “a tendency toward agnosticism in 2nd and 3rd years precipitated by mainly by what I considered the underlying callosity of many persons I met.” Although he had previously attended the United Church, this student stated, “when I began university...the United Church’s frequently ossified and ritualized Sunday morning offerings discouraged me from regular attendance.”

Although they did not mention disenchantment with either church practices or beliefs, other students commented further on the influence of other people on their beliefs. As a female Protestant explained, “I believe as a result of contact with other individuals and the availability of information on other faiths, I have become less dogmatic about my own beliefs.” “I’ve become more liberal and lax in religious beliefs,” wrote a male Protestant, “probably due to contact with so many other kids and some deeper interior interrogation on my part.” Another male Protestant pointed to the influence of faculty as well as other students. He noted that, “while at York discussions with faculty and fellow students, and most significantly Philosophy 309... made me see the light.”

There are a number of conclusions that derive from the foregoing analyses of students’ comments on religion. First, having moved either toward, or away from,

religion, did not mean that students totally embraced or rejected religion respectively. For example, even those who moved toward religion in many instances remained skeptical. In other cases many students still considered themselves members of particular dominations even though they moved away from religion. Second, the irrelevance or hypocrisy of church practices and beliefs was noted both by students who moved toward, or away from, religion. Such students were similar to other Canadians who took seriously the criticisms of Canadian churches raised by Berton in the Introduction. Third, whether the influence came from formal courses, a general increase in knowledge, or from interactions with other people, it is clear that students' undergraduate experiences in many cases had profound effects on religious beliefs. This finding is consistent with the numerical information presented earlier.

It is important to note that although many students experienced considerable religious change, few identified religious issues as problematic. Students had more problems with issues such as getting enough sleep and with their personal relationships than with their relationships to God. When religious problems were identified, they were more likely to be articulated by female than male students.⁶⁸

Religion and Politics

In his analysis of student protests in American universities in the 1960s, Lipset referred to national surveys of undergraduates indicating that in 1968, 1969, and 1970 only 4 percent, 8 percent, and 11 percent respectively of students defined themselves as 'radical or far left.'⁶⁹ At this time, Jewish students, and those professing no faith, made up very small portions of the undergraduate population. Nonetheless, among those on the 'far left', in 1970, 23% were Jews, 29% reported no religion, and 18% belonged to 'other' religions.⁷⁰ Clearly, these two groups were over-represented among politically active students.

Unfortunately, comparable national figures do not exist for Canadian students; however, information is available for the same Glendon students under examination here. In the study, students described themselves as radical left, Liberal, or Conservative. Unfortunately, direct comparisons cannot be made with the American data because in Canada radical left would also have included supporters of the New Democratic Party (NDP), a well established social democratic party.

Overall, it was found that the political orientations of Glendon students were similar to those of their parents. Most were Liberal (59%) in the last year of study. Twenty four percent (24%) were radical left (likely NDP), and 17% Conservative. Moreover, there was little net political change in the political orientations of students over their undergraduate years. In fact, as noted earlier, there was more religious than political change among this group. In view of the political orientations of students, it was not surprising to find on campus very little evidence of emerging forms of political activity, such as demonstrations, strikes, and pickets.⁷¹

The extent to which there was a connection between Glendon's students' religious and political preferences is analyzed in Table 5. Unfortunately, because of small numbers, it was necessary to combine Jews and Roman Catholics in an 'other' category.

The information in Table 5 shows that a majority of all religious groups supported the Liberals. The greatest support for the so-called radical left was found among students who had no religion or who were agnostic or atheist (42%). Among Protestant and 'others,' only 16% and 0% were radical left. Conservatives were supported by a minority in each religious group.

Table 5
Political Orientation by Religion

	None/ Agnostic/ Atheist	Protestant	Other	Total
Radical Left	42%	16%	0%	24%
Liberal	51%	63%	67%	59%
Conservative	7%	21%	33%	17%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	45	68	12	125

Conditions for chi-square not met

Unfortunately, for this table, conditions for chi-square were not met. As a result, because my interest was in the extent to which students who had either no religion or were atheists or agnostic supported the radical left, I created a 2×2 table with the categories 'radical left' and 'other politics,' and 'no religion, atheist or agnostic' and 'other religion.' Proceeding in this fashion resulted in the creation of a table that met conditions for Fisher's Exact Test. The results of the procedure indicated that whereas 42% of students with no religion or who were atheist or agnostic were far left, only 14% of students with other religions were far left. These differences were statistically significant. In other words, the godless were more likely than others to be on the left. These findings are similar to those of American studies.

Conclusion

In the 1960s, important political changes were evident in Canada and elsewhere. Such changes were particularly obvious when they involved university students. On or off campus they demonstrated for civil rights in the American South and for an end to the war in Viet-Nam; for social justice; and for changes in university curricula and government. The activities of individuals involved in media worthy activities such as these have been increasingly well documented by Canadian scholars. Although the sixties were also a period of considerable religious change, the nature of students' religious beliefs and practices is less well known.

In this article, on the basis of previously unanalyzed information, attention focused on the religious beliefs and practices of students who entered Glendon College in 1963 and who graduated by 1967. While a small majority of students still adhered

to the major Christian faiths, there was considerable deviation from the religions of their parents. Importantly, as in the United States, there was a substantial increase in the number of students with no religion and atheists and agnostics, particularly among students enrolled in the humanities. The amount of religious change represented by such developments was greater than students' political change. Among students with no religion, atheists, and agnostics, also as in the United States, a disproportionate number said that they were on the political left.

In explaining reasons for religious change, students made reference to the influence of courses (particularly the required ones that included a focus on religion), a general increase in knowledge, and interactions with other students and faculty. Among the small number citing courses as a source of change, a disproportionate number turned toward religion. Of the larger number pointing to increased knowledge and interactions with other students and faculty as impetuses to change, a disproportionate number turned away from religion. In essence, the overall effect of the university for a considerable minority of students was one of secularization. To this extent students at Glendon were caught up in a global process.

Independent of whether students turned to, away from, or reported no change in, religion, large numbers often expressed dismay at the hypocrisy of established churches and reported decreased rates of church attendance. To this extent students shared the views of at least one prominent Canadian religious critic of the era.

Although many students underwent considerable change in their religious beliefs and practices while at Glendon, the subject was not prominent in either public or private discourse. It is also clear that religious concerns were not prominent among the problems reported by a majority of students. When problems were reported, female students often reported more than males. These findings are similar to those of American studies carried out in the 1960s.

Overall, in contrast to the brouhaha that often surrounded political change on campuses during the sixties, religious change at Glendon was a private affair. Nonetheless, the magnitude of religious change was greater than that of political change. This statement, however, must be interpreted in connection with the reality that during the sixties Glendon was hardly a hot bed of political radicalism.⁷²

It is important to recognize that we cannot generalize from the 1963 cohort of students entering Glendon to those enrolling in other Canadian universities in the same year. While the class background of students in other English Canadian universities of the period may have been comparable to that of Glendon students, because of the university's size, number of female students, and curriculum, Glendon may have been unique. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing if similar religious developments were occurring elsewhere in Canada. Nonetheless, the Glendon experience at least alerts us to their possibility.

Notes

- 1 Valerie J. Korinek, *Roughing it in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); B. D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
- 2 Cyril Levitt, *Children of Privilege: Student Revolt in the Sixties: A Study of Student Movements in Canada, The United States, and West Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); R. S. Lexier, "The Canadian Student Movement in the Sixties: Three Case Studies" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, 2009); J. M. Pitsula, *New World Dawning: The Sixties at Regina Campus* (Regina: University of Regina, Canadian Plains Research Center, 2008).
- 3 Relevant studies include: C. A. Dickenson and W. J. Campbell, "Strange Bedfellows: Youth Activists, Government Sponsorship, and the Company of Young Canadians (CYC)," in *European Journal of American Studies* (2008); K. Dubinsky, ed. *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009); P. Jasen, "In Pursuit of Human Values (or Laugh When You Say That): The student critique of the Arts curriculum in the 1960's," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, ed. P. Axelrod and J. G. Reid (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); C. Levi, "Sex, Drugs, Rock & Roll, and the University College Lit: The University of Toronto Festivals, 1965–69," *Historical Studies in Education* 18, no. 2 (2006); R. S. Lexier, "The Backdrop Against which Everything Happened: English-Canadian Student Movements On and Off-Campus Movements for Change," *History of Intellectual Culture* 7, no. 1-18 (2007); R.S. Lexier, "How Did the Women's Liberation Movement Emerge from the Sixties Student Movements: The Case of Simon Fraser University," *Women and Social Movements in America, 1600–2000* September (2009); Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-boom Generation*; Pitsula, *New World Dawning: The Sixties at Regina Campus*; Lexier, "The Canadian Student Movement in the Sixties: Three Case Studies.," Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*; Levitt, *Children of Privilege: Student Revolt in the Sixties: A Study of Student Movements in Canada, The United States, and West Germany*; F. Ricard, *The Lyric Generation: The Life and Times of the Baby Boomers* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Company Ltd., 1994).
- 4 H. J. M. Johnston, *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005); Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*.
- 5 Ricard, *The Lyric Generation: The Life and Times of the Baby Boomers*.
- 6 Lexier, "The Canadian Student Movement in the Sixties: Three Case Studies."
- 7 Pitsula, *New World Dawning: The Sixties at Regina Campus*.
- 8 Religion can be talked about in many different ways. For example, Glock and Stark distinguished among: 1, internalized beliefs; 2, knowledge of the tenets of one's religion; 3, religious practices; 4, religious experiences; and 5, the secular consequences of the foregoing. A more simple distinction was offered by D. Campbell and D. Magill, "Religious Involvement and Intellectuality Among University Students," *Sociological Analysis* 29(1968). They distinguished between a general 'religiosity' and religious activities. In this study I simply distinguish between religious beliefs and practices.
- 9 Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- 10 David S. Churchill, "SUPA, Selma, and Stevenson: The Politics of Solidarity in mid-1960s Toronto," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 44, no. 2 (2010): 61.
- 11 J. Paul Grayson, "'Talkin' 'Bout My Generation': Political Orientations and Activities of a Cohort of Canadian University Students in the Mid-Sixties" (paper presented at the

- Two Days of Canada conference on "The Sixties: Canadian-Style" Brock University, 2010).
- 12 S. M. Lipset, *Rebellion in the University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
- 13 McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*: 1.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 M. Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).
- 16 Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*.
- 17 Reginald W Bibby, *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin, 1987), 20.
- 18 Lance W. Roberts et al., *Recent Social Trends in Canada, 1960–2000* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 365.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 454, 366.
- 20 Steve Bruce, *Religion in the Modern World: From Cathedrals to Cults* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 21 Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change* (London: Longmans, 1980).
- 22 Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000* (London: Routledge, 2001).
- 23 McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*.
- 24 Leo Laeyendecker, "The Case of the Netherlands," in *Post-War Generation and the Establishment of Religion*, ed. W. C. Roof, W. Carroll Jackson, and David A. Roozen (Bolder: Westview Press, 1998).
- 25 Pierre Berton, *The Comfortable Pew* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 30.
- 26 Michael Creal, "The Comfortable Pew Revisited," *Catholic New Times*, January 16 2005.
- 27 William Kilbourn, ed. *The Restless Church: A Response to the Comfortable Pew* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), 2.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 Catherine Gidney, "Poisoning of the Student Mind?: The Student Christian Movement at the University of Toronto, 1920–1965," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 8, no. 1 (1997): 147-48.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 153.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 148.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 151.
- 33 Churchill, "SUPA, Selma, and Stevenson: The Politics of Solidarity in mid-1960s Toronto.," Lexier, "The Canadian Student Movement in the Sixties: Three Case Studies.," Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*.
- 34 Stuart Robert Henderson, "Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto, 1960–1970" (Ph.D., Queen's, 2007).
- 35 A. W. Astin, R. J. Panos, and J. A. Creager, "Supplementary National Norms for Freshmen Entering College in 1966," (Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1967).
- 36 H. Allen Dye and Stephen J. Akers, "An Analysis of Student Academic and Personal Concerns and Awareness of Counseling Services," (1969); Kenneth A. Feldman and Theodore M. Newcomb, *The Impact of College on Students* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1969).
- 37 D. R. Hodge, "Changes in College Students' Value Patterns in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s," *Sociology of Education* 49, no. 2 (1976).
- 38 Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, "Self-reported Religious Concerns of University Underclassmen," *Adolescence* 9, no. 35 (1974); Paul A. De Sena, "Problems of Consistent Over-, Under-, and Normal-Achieving College Students as Identified

- by the Mooney Problem Check List," *The Journal of Educational Research* 59, no. 8 (1966); Stephen D. Karr and Alvin R. Mahrer, "Transitional Problems Accompanying Vocational Development and College Graduation," *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 2, no. 3 (1972).
- 39 Beit-Hallahmi, "Self-reported religious concerns of university underclassmen.;" Dye and Akers, "An Analysis of Student Academic and Personal Concerns and Awareness of Counseling Services.;" Bernard J. Hartman, "Survey of College Students' Problems Identified by the Mooney Problem Check List," *Psychological Reports* 22, no. 3 (1968).
- 40 C. Huntley, "Changes in values during the four years of college," *College Student Survey* 1(1967). This said, later research found that social and hard science students were more likely than others to reject religion over the course of their studies: L. Solomon and N. Ochsner, "New Findings on the Effects of College," in *Current Issues in Higher Education: 1978 National Conference Series* (Washington D.C.: American Association of Higher Education, 1978); N. Ochner, "Attitude Changes of College Graduates," in *Increasing Student Development Options in College*, ed. D. Drew (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1978).
- 41 Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*; D.E. Sherkat and T. G. Blocker, "The Political Development of Sixties' Activists: Identifying the Influence of Class, Gender, and Socialization on Protest Participation," *Social Forces* 72, no. 3 (1994).
- 42 M. Horn, *York University: The Way Must be Tried* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).
- 43 M. G. Ross, *The New University* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961).
- 44 Horn, *York University: The Way Must be Tried*: 24.
- 45 Figures are derived from: York University, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, F0197, Dee G. Appley Files, Box 1, File 53, Class 1963–64, "Failures, 1962–1963, 1963–1964 (#77)."
- 46 V. R. Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (Walnut Creek CA: Alta Mira Press, 2005).
- 47 York University, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, F0197, Dee G. Appley Files, Box 2, File 5, Figure 2, "Miscellaneous correspondence, forms, 1963–1967."
- 48 For information on university students in most Canadian universities in this period see: R. Rabinovitch, "An Analysis of the Canadian Post Secondary Student Population Part 1: A Report on Canadian Undergraduate Students," (Canadian Union of Students, 1966); Anonymous, "Post Secondary Student Population Survey, 1968–69," (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970).
- 49 York University, Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, F0197, Dee G. Appley Files, Box 2, File 5, Table XII, "Miscellaneous correspondence, forms, 1963–1967." These occupational choices are similar to those of American students of the period. See Astin A. W. Astin, "The Changing American College Student: Implications for Educational Policy and Practice," *Higher Education* 22, no. 2 (1991).
- 50 Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-boom Generation*.
- 51 According to N. Fairclough, "The Dialectics of Discourse," *Textus* 14, no. 2 (2001): 232., "Discourses are diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned—differently positioned social actors 'see' and represent social life in different ways, different discourses."
- 52 David Bell, "Bell's Bullpen, Hypocrisy," *Pro-Tem* November 7, 1963, 5.
- 53 John Converse, "An Open Letter to Dave Bell," *Pro-Tem* November 14, 1963, 9.
- 54 Anonymous, "Philosophy Club Holds Seminars," *Pro-Tem* February 14, 1964, 4.
- 55 Garth Gowett, "Reflections," *Pro-Tem* November 5, 1965, np.
- 56 Steen Halling, "Letters to the Editor," *Pro-Tem* November 25, 1965, np.
- 57 E. Rovet, "Religion Bore Me," *Pro-Tem* December 3, 1965, 1.
- 58 Anonymous, "The Sword and the Bible," *Pro-Tem* December 10, 1965, 1.

- 59 Wayne Carson, "Letters to the Editor," *Pro-Tem* December 1, 1966, 2-3.
- 60 One reviewer of this article commented that, "The fact that religion is not discussed very much in the newspaper could mean religion is irrelevant in the lives of students or it could mean that it is not really being challenged at this point." These two possibilities are logical; however, I saw far more evidence of the former than of the latter.
- 61 John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).
- 62 The deficiencies of this categorization are explained later.
- 63 Looked at relatively, the situation is a little different. Whereas 8% of parents were Catholic, only 5% of students were Catholic. In other words, likely 38% of erstwhile Catholics left the faith.
- 64 The specific wording of the question was: "Have there been any significant changes in your beliefs since you were a freshman at York? Consider changes in degree of attachment, affiliation, emphasis, etc., and indicate, if possible, when these changes took place and what you think accounted for them." The responses to this question were coded by the original researcher(s) and were present on the fortran sheets for the 1967 graduate survey. Uncoded statements were also available.
- 65 These figures for religious commitment should not be confused with those for religious preference discussed above.
- 66 There were subsequent studies conducted in the United States that did establish a connection between academic discipline and various aspects of religion; however, they were conducted in a time period beyond the bounds of the current study.
- 67 Kilbourn, *The Restless Church: A Response to the Comfortable Pew*.
- 68 J. Paul Grayson, "Students' Problems and Gender Stereotyping in the 1960s," *Sociology* (Toronto: York University, 2010).
- 69 Lipset, *Rebellion in the University*. 49.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 71 Grayson, "'Talkin' 'Bout My Generation': Political Orientations and Activities of a Cohort of Canadian University Students in the Mid-Sixties."
- 72 *Ibid.*