

ARTICLE

“The Child’s Education to Violence”: Mrs. Eleanor Gray and the Canadian Crusade to Ban Crime Comics

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Abstract

Contemporary concerns over the prevalence of violence on the internet and in films and the impact on young people are not without precedent. In the 1940s and 1950s there was a campaign to eliminate the so-called crime comics, led in Canada by Mrs. Eleanor Gray of Victoria, British Columbia. Based primarily on her own correspondence and documents which she donated to the Provincial Archives of British Columbia in 1978, this paper traces her part in the campaign, which eventually succeeded in persuading parliament to change the Criminal Code of Canada. It also compares the campaign with other social reform movements of the period, and notes the change in public attitude, which now views the same comics not as a menace to society but as innovative and important art forms.

Eleanor Elizabeth Hislop was born in Stratford, Ontario in 1900. After graduating from high school, she continued her education at the University of Toronto, where she received her degree in Home Economics.¹ At the age of 25, she married Dr. Thomas Gray, and they had five children. They moved to Victoria, British Columbia, in 1936, and bought a house on exclusive Rockland Avenue, just a few hundred yards from Government House. Mrs. Gray was an intelligent and well-educated woman accustomed to moving in the influential circles of society. She was a member of that invaluable company of women who became deeply involved in committees and organizations, who dedicated their talents and energy to promote ideas and causes intended to improve society as a whole, especially the welfare and education of the less fortunate.

By the late 1930s, concerns were being raised over the proliferation of what were known as crime comics and their unhealthy influence on young people. The term 'comics' is a misnomer. The name had its origin in the Sunday papers' popular comic strips, which evolved into magazine format with stories told in pictures. Mickey Mouse and Raggedy Anne had however been overtaken by Superman, Tarzan, and Wonderwoman; they, in turn, had been upstaged by *True Crime*, *Tales from the Crypt*, and *Web of Evil*. Sterling North, later best known for his children's book *Rascal*, described the content of such comics as "sadistic drivel" and "graphic insanity."² His 1941 article, and others like it, were circulated and quoted over the next fifteen years by Mrs. Gray as part of a series of organized campaigns to ban crime comics.

Mrs. Gray preserved no relevant documents during the war years, but clearly her concerns had not gone away; she and her colleagues had not been idle. In January 1945, she released the results of a *Survey of Undesirable News Stand Literature in Victoria British Columbia*. The list is extensive; objectionable magazines were subdivided into six categories: Crime, Detective and Mystery, Confessions, White Slavery, Love Leaflets, and Health (because of depictions of nudism). In addition to these magazines, there are also at least 125 different comics which were considered undesirable by the researchers.³

By 1948, there was growing pressure for some form of action to be taken to control or prevent the growth and circulation of crime comics, which Mrs. Gray documented. An editorial in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* observed that "freedom of the press is a fine principle, but it was never intended to mean license for obscenity."⁴ The *Vancouver News Herald* claimed that in crime comics "tactics adopted by Nazism and Communism are extolled . . . they seek to incite lustfulness in boys and girls during the dangerous age of puberty and adolescence, thereby encouraging perversion."⁵ Conspiracy theories also abounded: the Detroit Police Department was reported to be "thumbing through piles of comic books, searching for what it officially terms evidence of Communist propaganda."⁶ The Department subsequently published a list of 20 "Totally Objectionable" comic books which Mrs. Gray retyped with the added comment: "Note: The majority of these comics are for sale in British Columbia, Canada."⁷

In a letter to Provincial Home and School Federations, the National President urged them to organise petitions for the establishment of a "Comics Code" – one of her chief concerns was that "policemen, judges, government officials and respectable institutions should not be . . . represented in such a way as to weaken respect for established authority."⁸

The hitherto uncoordinated, but widespread, campaign needed a standard-bearer, and it found one in Dr. Fredric Wertham, a German-born psychiatrist who had directed a clinic in New York to encourage the psychiatric examination of criminals. *The Show of Violence*, his largely anecdotal account of the various murder cases he had been involved in, was published in 1948.⁹ A student of Freud, he believed that comic books that featured violence, crime, and horror had a damaging influence on juveniles, and his views were widely circulated.¹⁰ Not everyone agreed with him, of course, and modern critics have been very

harsh on him, but for a decade he was the main spokesman for the cause, and his 1954 book *Seduction of the Innocent* became the handbook for the anti-crime comics movement.¹¹ Mrs. Gray retained all his later articles and publications, and they are heavily underlined and annotated. She quoted them in her reports, in her speeches, and in her presentations, and she wrote directly to him for information and support.

Dr. Wertham published his articles, not just in academic journals, but also where his supporters would be most likely to see them. Publication venues included the *Saturday Review of Literature*, the *Ladies Home Journal*, and the *Readers Digest*, and copies of his presentations and speeches were made available for distribution. His definition was generally accepted: "Crime comic books are comic books that depict crime, whether the setting is urban, Western, science-fiction, jungle, adventure, or the realm of supermen, 'horror' or supernatural beings."¹²

The call for a petition to establish a comics code in Canada led to an even more ambitious project: a movement to have the Federal Government pass legislation to ban the sale and distribution of crime comics. The records show that 1948 and 1949 were very busy years for Mrs. Gray, as she not only spearheaded the movement from Victoria, but kept in touch with like-minded groups in other parts of Canada and the United States. Her speaking notes show that she relied heavily on Dr. Wertham's views as she carried her message to school and home groups, parent associations, and service clubs.¹³ She claimed that a survey had revealed that 75 percent of some children's leisure time was spent on comics which "have no culture and no value [and] may thrill but do not educate."¹⁴ Comics, she feared, were here to stay, but "we must supplement their reading with good books . . . every child should have his own library card."¹⁵ In June 1948, the City of Victoria submitted a resolution to the National Convention of Mayors and Municipalities proposing that Ottawa should do something "respecting publications dealing with crime, sex, and any form of law-breaking."¹⁶

As the campaign developed at the local level, it became necessary to have a national spokesman, and Mrs. Gray found one in a young Conservative Member of Parliament, E. Davie Fulton. A lawyer and a Rhodes Scholar with a distinguished war record, Mr. Fulton was also an ambitious politician – he later ran twice for the leadership of the Conservative Party – and he would have moved in the same social circles as Mrs. Gray.¹⁷ While it would be cynical to suggest that Mr. Fulton joined the anti-crime comics campaign merely for political gain, it would be equally naïve to suppose that he did not recognize a popular cause when he saw one. And indeed he gained much publicity and prestige from what became known as the Fulton Bill,¹⁸ which also enjoyed the backing of Prime Minister Mackenzie King.¹⁹

Support was coming from other places as well. The National Organization of Decent Literature, an American Roman Catholic group, sent Mrs. Gray a list of published material they considered unsuitable.²⁰ The Mayor of Bellingham, Washington, sent the following statement to the B.C. Parent Teacher Federation: "The frequent crimes, such as murder, torture, burglary, arson, the stealing of automobiles and even aeroplanes by juveniles and

young folk, which have been clearly attributed to the reading of sensational comic books, makes the necessity of regulation and control obvious."²¹

Later that year, Dr. Wertham circulated an article in which he refuted his critics: "The increase of violence in juvenile delinquency has gone hand in hand with the increase in the distribution of comic books . . . they stimulate unhealthy sexual attitudes, sadism, masochism, frigidity."²² His response to his opponents, again heavily underlined by Mrs. Gray, was that they functioned "under the auspices of the comic book business (although the public is not let in on the secret)" and that they "misunderstood Freud."²³ The 1941, article by Sterling North appeared again in reprint form suggesting crime comics were "badly drawn, badly written and badly printed – a strain on young eyes and young nervous systems" and there were "superhuman heroics, voluptuous females in scanty attire, blaring machine guns and cheap political propaganda on almost every page."²⁴

In November 1948, two young boys, aged 13 and 11, stole a rifle and, while playing at highwaymen, fired two shots at a passing car, fatally wounding a passenger in the back seat.²⁵ This shooting took place not in some urban ghetto, but in the little British Columbia town of Dawson Creek. The Crown Prosecutor, while never suggesting that the boys actually intended to kill anybody, claimed that they had been "strongly influenced by what they have been reading."²⁶ Dr. Wertham himself went further: "These boys had not only been influenced, but actually motivated to the point of detailed imitation, by crime comic books."²⁷

A few months later, Mr. Fulton introduced a private member's bill to revise Section 207 of the Criminal Code of Canada to make it an offence to print, publish, distribute, sell, or own material "which exclusively or substantially comprises matter depicting pictorially the commission of crimes, real or fictitious."²⁸ In its final form, the bill received unprecedented support: it was passed unanimously by the House of Commons and by a majority of 92 to four by the Senate, and it became law in December 1949.²⁹

Mrs. Gray's part in all this was not overlooked.³⁰ A few months previously she had received a letter from the Canada Federation of Home and School thanking her for her "splendid service" as a member of the Committee on Undesirable Literature. In December, Arthur Freund, Chairman of the American Bar Association, wrote to congratulate her personally on the passage of the Fulton Bill.³¹ In January 1950, a report from the Victoria and District Parent Teacher Council's Committee on Crime Comics outlined the successful strategies they had followed in publicizing their cause. These included displays at conventions, meetings with interested groups such as Parent Teacher Associations, radio broadcasts, magazine articles, and summer reading clubs. It is noteworthy, if understandable, that a large number of their contacts were with women's groups, including the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire and the University Women's Club.³²

Not everyone was convinced, however, that there was a direct causal relationship between reading crime comics, however objectionable they might be, and juvenile crime. Mrs. Gray was well aware of this. She preserved a pamphlet published by the American Public Affairs

Committee, entitled *Comics, Radio, Movies and Children*.³³ The author, Josette Frank, denied that there was "any basis in fact for the current headlines which blame comics for children's delinquent acts."³⁴ She pointed out that violence in literature was nothing new, citing Shakespeare, Homer, and the classic fairy tales.

There is a gap of several years in Mrs. Gray's records at this point, but she had by no means been idle. Presumably, Parliament considered it had done its duty by revising the Criminal Code, and it was now up to others to see that the provisions were enforced. While Justice Minister Garson claimed that the offending publications could be swept off display shelves by "vigorous and effective enforcement of the law," Mrs. Gray noted that each comic book must be judged individually, and it was her committees and similar groups elsewhere that undertook this monumental task³⁵ to "collect and summarize offensive comics and seek legal action."³⁶

The process was complicated by two main factors: first, the sheer volume of comics sold; it was estimated that 250,000 a month were sold in Vancouver alone.³⁷ Second, apart from the most gratuitously violent and lewd examples, there was considerable disagreement not only about which comics were really undesirable, but also the grounds on which such a judgment should be made. Different organizations drew up their own criteria and rated the comics accordingly. One such list, probably used in British Columbia, employed these vague and subjective categories as a basis for rating: Cultural Area, Moral Area, and Morbid Emotionality.³⁸

There were also differences of opinion about what was the most disturbing feature of the comics. The primary concern for most people, as Mr. Fulton said, was with "scenes illustrating the commission of crimes of violence."³⁹ Other critics focussed on the sexual aspect, not simply the drawings of "voluptuous females in scanty attire," but the "subtle atmosphere of homoeroticism" between Batman and Robin, with Wonderwoman as their "Lesbian counterpart."⁴⁰ The appearance of the Classic Comics, retelling in gory pictorial form stories like *Treasure Island* and *The Tale of Two Cities* brought more criticism, presumably also on artistic and literary grounds, and Christian organizations took offence at the re-telling of the Scriptures in comic strip format: "The Bible in balloons is sheer blasphemy!"⁴¹ Underlying all these was the fear that traditional societal values were being eroded, a theme that Mrs. Gray herself emphasized in her speeches: "Beside the profit motive, there may be a carefully conceived plan to undermine the moral fabric of our nation."⁴²

Just when it must have seemed that in spite of the changes to the Criminal Code little had really been achieved - there had been only two convictions since 1949, with fines of \$5 and \$25 - the campaign regained momentum.⁴³ In 1954, Dr. Wertham published his book *Seduction of the Innocent*. In it, he repeated and enlarged upon his familiar themes, and included a glowing personal tribute to Mrs. Gray:

To her [the Dawson Creek shooting] was another of many instances of the detrimental influence of comic books on children. She had collected cases,

studied the literature, communicated with other parent-teacher organizations . . . looked into the industry and its experts, and last but not least she had studied the books that children read. . . . She unflinchingly isolated one evil and pursued it.⁴⁴

As the debate over crime comics gathered momentum again, it also began to run into more opposition. The Comics Magazine Association had mustered its forces and was prepared to fight back. In a press kit sent personally to Mrs. Gray, Administrator Charles Murphy spoke of the dangers of censorship, noting that in 21 states laws controlling comics had been found unconstitutional as they violated the right to freedom of speech.⁴⁵ The Association had adopted a special Seal of Approval to show that comics complied with the new Comics Code, which banned “details of crime methods, suggestive illustrations, nudity, excessive bloodshed, ‘walking dead’, vampires, obscenity [and] vulgarity.”⁴⁶ The Code Administrator pointed out that 38 titles had already been discontinued, and acknowledged that “there have been a small percentage of books published which have offended the public taste and I think it our job . . . to make sure that there will be no such books published at all.”⁴⁷

By 1955, the campaign seemed to be slowing down again. It had, after all, been running for well over a decade, and the public’s priorities had altered, especially as television grew in popularity and accessibility. Mrs. Gray continued to be involved, however, and in a report quoted Dr. Wertham’s latest article: “All comic books are a plague to young children and lead directly to reading disorders and indirectly to all kinds of emotional maladjustment and even delinquency.”⁴⁸ Perhaps made wary by the legal arsenal of the Comics Magazine Association, the champion of the cause had retreated a little.

In March 1955, Mrs. Gray wrote a highly critical response to a Children’s Reading Kit circulated by the Chairman of Children’s Reading of the Home and School and Parent Teacher Federation. She disagreed entirely with the opinions of some of the “experts” (her emphasis), especially a Dr. Griffin who refuted “the alarmist point of view of Dr. Wertham” and a Dr. Gibson who referred to “the dangers of self-appointed censorship.”⁴⁹ Mrs. Gray must have recognized the writing on the wall. Her influential connections no longer appeared so interested – Dr. Wertham himself sent only a brief note of thanks for another letter, and Mr. Fulton sent a rather terse and formal acknowledgement of her suggestions for amending the Criminal Code once again.⁵⁰

In June, she resigned as chairman of the Crime Comics Committee, and her tremendous contribution was recognized by the B.C. Parent-Teacher Federation.⁵¹ Ironically, perhaps, the last document in this part of her collection is merely a form letter from Mr. Fulton thanking her for her congratulations on his appointment as Minister of Justice and Attorney-General of Canada.⁵²

Public perceptions have changed in the years since Mrs. Gray’s resignation, and contemporary writers see the comics not as a menace to society but as “graphic narrative [which] deserves to be examined as a powerful art form in its own right.”⁵³ Rightly or wrongly, Mrs. Gray would surely have been quite bewildered by this type of apology. To

her crime comics were not merely crude, vulgar, and nasty, their very existence, let alone their popularity, posed a threat to the fundamental fabric of her world. Perhaps this type of thinking can help explain why her campaign, however well-intentioned, must ultimately be judged a failure. Hajdu provides a clue to this by suggesting that the line dividing the comics' advocates and opponents was generational, although the whole-hearted support of Mr. Fulton, who was only 33 at the time, tends to discount this somewhat.⁵⁴ If, however, 'generational' is taken to refer not just to chronological age but to the values of different generations, then this is a more helpful concept, although it leads to the potential pitfalls of class distinction.

Mrs. Gray was well-read and well-educated, as were her friends and supporters in the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, the University Women's Clubs, and indeed the majority of committee members of the various parent-teacher organizations, local, provincial, and national. "Every child should have his own library card" she stressed in her addresses; "good books bring habits of good behaviour into a child's thinking and stimulate good character habits."⁵⁵ Her recommendations that parents should encourage "renewed interest in leisure time reading at home," and that teachers should have to take a Library Appreciation Course to help them set vacation reading tasks for children might have had some practical application in the circles in which she moved, but were somewhat unrealistic for frontier communities like Dawson Creek.⁵⁶

There is a marked similarity here with the attitude and opinions of the leaders of two other organizations 30 years earlier. The United Farm Women of Alberta were anxious among other things for 'farm women' to "develop local taste for literature, music and the finer things of life," and their leader, Mrs. Irene Parlby, observed of the more practically oriented local Women's Institutes that "their line of work does not interest me very much – there is too much of the housekeeping business about it."⁵⁷ The goals of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) were not dissimilar to those of the anti-comics crusaders: "To rescue not only the children but the whole society."⁵⁸ Deliberately or not, in many cases, they too assumed a rather superior position, and social clubs like the Little White Ribboners and the Young WCTU were targeted, however altruistically, at the lower classes of society

These three organizations, two of them specifically for women, and the other dominated by women, all met with a certain amount of success, and members of one might well have been members of the others in different circumstances. All of them, from the best of motives, sought to impose their values on society at a time when the world was changing irrevocably and the old order was passing away. The refusal or inability to recognize this is perhaps one reason why they did not make a more lasting impression, and why they appear so out of date to modern critics.

Organizations with a mission tend to attract followers who have very different priorities, even if they share similar goals. Different organizations focussed on different aspects of crime comics: while Christian groups and anti-violence advocates might agree that a comic strip account of a martyrdom should be banned, they had different reasons for this, which

would certainly cause them to disagree on other important issues. It has been suggested that one of the reasons that the Women's Christian Temperance Union did not have a larger impact was that the very name of the organization implied different priorities: its official goal was the promotion of temperance, but it was also closely associated with the Christian church, and attracted many advocates for women's rights. Clearly some of the members' principles would be incompatible or divisive at least.

There is also the tendency of crusaders to take their campaign so seriously that they begin to lose their sense of proportion. Any criticism, however constructive or well-meant, tends to be taken as a slight, or dismissed out of hand. To adapt Hodgkinson's hierarchical value paradigm to the crime comics campaign, what for most supporters probably began just as a feeling of distaste soon evolved into a rational objection: everyone agreed that there were proven dire consequences of the dissemination of these comics, therefore they should be banned. The next step, for some at least, was to start condemning the comics and their publishers as a matter of principle: they were bad, they were evil, and they must be eliminated.⁵⁹ At the height of such zealotry, some groups even organized book burnings to encourage young people to collect and destroy the comics.⁶⁰

Concerns about the effect of crime comics on young people may now seem rather petty and dated, but of course the same problem has been magnified a thousand times with the advent of the internet and the proliferation of graphic scenes of violence on television and in the movie theatres. Research suggests that by age 18 a child may have seen 16,000 simulated murders and 200,000 acts of violence.⁶¹ If the task facing Mrs. Gray was daunting, it was nothing compared with the challenges facing those who are attempting to control the content of the Internet or access to it by young people.

Mrs. Gray preserved a few other documents which show that she remained active in her campaign, and also turned her attention to television, as did Dr. Wertham. In 1960 he wrote an article titled "How movie and TV violence affects children" that Mrs. Gray circulated,⁶² and in the same year she sent a list of articles about television violence to the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation.⁶³ The last letter in her collection is, fittingly, from Mr. Fulton in 1964. She had presumably again asked his advice about "cleaning up the news-stands" and he replied "I am as you know uneasy about censorship myself [but] 100 percent behind the voluntary supervisory effort under adequate legislation."⁶⁴ His own enthusiasm for the cause may have waned somewhat after 20 years, but his long-time correspondent was not about to abandon her crusade or her principles.

The current Criminal Code of Canada, under the section dealing with "Offences Tending to Corrupt Morals," stands as a memorial to her efforts: "Everyone commits an offence who . . . makes, prints, publishes, distributes, sells or has in his possession for the purpose of publication, distribution or circulation a crime comic."⁶⁵

Mrs. Gray died in 2001, shortly after her one hundredth birthday. Her family recently established a music scholarship in her memory at the University of Victoria.

Notes

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- ¹ "Eleanor Gray Memorial Scholarship in Music". University of Victoria.
http://web.uvic.ca/givingtovic/Donor_Bio/G/Gray_Eleanor.php (accessed 2 October 2013).
- ² British Columbia Archives, MS-0962: Gray, Eleanor E. Reprint of "A National Disgrace", by Sterling North, *Chicago Daily News*, 1941. There are seven file folders in the collection, sorted by type of document rather than by date. For the purpose of this paper these folders have been numbered 1-7, and the documents contained in them have been assigned a number based on the order in which they are filed. The article by North thus can be referred to as 'Gray 6/1'. This format will be used for all documents in the collection.
- ³ "Survey of Undesirable News Stand Literature in Victoria B.C." January 1945. Carbon copy. Gray 2/4.
- ⁴ Editorial, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 18 April 1948. Gray 6/3.
- ⁵ *Vancouver News Herald*, 1 May 1948 (Typewritten copy). Gray 6/4
- ⁶ Associated Press, Detroit, 14 April 1948. Gray 6/2
- ⁷ Detroit Police Department. List of "Totally Objectionable Comic Books" 11 May 1948. Gray 3/17, Gray 3/18
- ⁸ Letter from Mrs. C. W. Mellish, November 1941. Gray 3/3
- ⁹ Frederick Wertham, *The Show of Violence* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1948).
- ¹⁰Obituary. *New York Times*, 1 December 1981. <http://nytimes.com/1981/12/01/obituaries> (accessed 3 March 2014).
- ¹¹ Fredric Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1954).
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 20.
- ¹³ Speaking notes. No date, but probably 1948 from the context and remarks. Gray 2/2
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ Resolution submitted to the National Convention of Mayors and Municipalities, 1948. Gray 2/1
- ¹⁷ "E. Davie Fulton 'a true-blue Tory'". *Toronto Star*, 24 May 2000.
<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.loibrary.uvic.ca/docuview/438134643> (accessed 9 March 2014).
- ¹⁸ "Archived – Crackdown on comics 1947-1966". Library and Archives Canada.
<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/comics/027002-8400-e.html> (accessed 17 September 2013).
- ¹⁹ John Bell, *Invaders from the North: How Canada conquered the comic book curse* (Toronto: Dundurn Group, 2006), 94.
- ²⁰ National Organization of Decent Literature. List of suggested titles. September 1948. Gray 3/6
- ²¹ Letter from Don G. Satterlee, Mayor of Bellingham, to Mrs. C. W. Mellish, B.C. Parent Teacher Federation, Vancouver, 8 October 1948. Gray 1/1

²² Frederick Wertham, "The Comics – Very funny". Reprinted from *The Saturday Review of Literature*, November 1948. Gray 4/4

²³ Ibid., 6.

²⁴ Reprint of Sterling North, "A National Disgrace", *Chicago Daily News*, 1941. Gray 3/2 and 6/1

²⁵ "Archived – Crackdown on comics 1947-1966", Library and Archives Canada.
<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/comics/027002-8400-e.html> (accessed 17 September 2013).

²⁶ Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent*, 276.

²⁷ Ibid., 275

²⁸ "Archived – Crackdown on comics 1947-1966".

²⁹ Ibid. The Senate had some reservations about censorship.

³⁰ *Alberta Home and School News*, March 1949. Gray 6/6; Newspaper cutting and photograph, Burnaby (?), No Date. Gray 6/5

³¹ Letter to Mrs. Gray from Mr. W. P. Percival, Director of Protestant Education, Quebec, President of the Canada Federation of Home and School, 2 July 1949. Gray 1/2; and letter to Mrs. Gray from Arthur J. Freund, Chairman of the American Bar Association, 8 December 1949. Gray 1/3

³² Report of Victoria and District Parent Teacher Council's Committee on Crime Comics, January 1950. Gray 2/6

³³ Josette Frank, *Comics, Radio, Movies and Children*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 148, 1949. Gray 4/2

³⁴ Ibid., 6,7

³⁵ Eric Lindsay, "P-TA told method of attacking comics", Vancouver (?) *Sun*. No date, but probably 1954. Gray 6/5.

³⁶ Report of Special P.T. Federation Committee on Crime Comics. "June report" handwritten on back. Gray 2/11

³⁷ Citizen Meeting on Crime, Horror and Obscene Comics. Vancouver. No Date, but after 1953. Gray 2/8

³⁸ Evaluation of Comic Books, April 1954. Gray 3/9

³⁹ Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent*, 20

⁴⁰ Ibid., 190,192; Sterling North, Gray 6/1

⁴¹ "The value patterns and defects of comic books", *Religious Education*. 49, 6. November-December 1954. 397. Gray 2/15

⁴² *Convention Report May 1955*, corrected to 1954. Typewritten speaking notes. Gray 2/9.

⁴³ Ibid.

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- ⁴⁴ Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent*, 277.
- ⁴⁵ Press Kit from the Comics Magazine Association enclosed with a personal letter from Charles Murphy, Administrator, 1 November 1954. Gray 5/1, 5/2
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Fact sheet on Comic Magazines. Gray 5/4
- ⁴⁸ Condensation of Reports on Crime Comics – Typewritten. 1 January 1955. Gray 2/13
- ⁴⁹ Response to a Children's Reading Kit circulated by the Chairman of Children's Reading of the Home and School and Parent Teacher Federation. March 1955. Typewritten. 4 pages. Gray 3/14
- ⁵⁰ Letter from Frederic Wertham, 10 June 1955. Gray 1/7, and letter from E. D. Fulton, 20 June 1955. Gray 1/8
- ⁵¹ Letter from Mrs. D. Ryckma, Executive Secretary, B.C. Parent-Teacher Federation, 21 June 1955. Gray 1/9
- ⁵² Letter from E. D. Fulton, 1 July 1955. Gray 1/10
- ⁵³ John Bell, *Invaders from the North: How Canada conquered the comic book universe*, (Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2006), 18. See also David Hajdu, *The ten-cent plague: The great comic book scare and how it changed America*, (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2008) and Greg Beato, "Corpses, crime, and comic books," *Reason*. 42, 6. November 2010. 76-77. <http://web.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca> (accessed 29 September 2013)
- ⁵⁴ Hajdu, 112.
- ⁵⁵ Speaking notes, 1948. Gray 2/2
- ⁵⁶ Report of Committee on Crime Comics. Gray 2/11; Notes on article by Wertham, Gray 4/8
- ⁵⁷ Lionel J. Wilson, "Educational role of the United Farm Women of Alberta", in David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan & Robert Stamp (Eds.), *Shaping the schools of the Canadian West*, (Calgary: Detselig, 1979), 124, 126.
- ⁵⁸ Nancy M. Sheehan, "The WCTU and Educational Strategies on the Canadian Prairies", in Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson & David C. Jones, (Eds), (Calgary: Detselig, 1986), 194.
- ⁵⁹ Christopher Hodgkinson, *Towards a philosophy of administration*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).
- ⁶⁰ Freedom to Read Week. <http://brianbusby.blogspot.ca/2013/02/freedom-to-read-week-on-burning-comic.html> (accessed 8 May 2015)
- ⁶¹ Geoff Johnson, "Large-scale violence brought into our homes", *Victoria Times Colonist*, 23 October 2013, A10.
- ⁶² Frederic Wertham, "How movie and TV violence affects children", Reprint from *Ladies Home Journal*, 1960. Gray 4/11
- ⁶³ Letter from Clifford Edwards, Chairman, Audio-Visual Committee, 2 March 1960. Gray 1/12
- ⁶⁴ Letter from E. D. Fulton, 25 February 1964. Gray 1/13
- ⁶⁵ Criminal Code (R.S.C 1985, c. C-46) § 163 (1)