THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores the early twentieth century beginnings of the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia, when that university first accepted responsibility for the education of secondary teachers. The university's participation came in successive stages, beginning with summer school sessions, moving to a shared training responsibility for high school teachers with the Normal School, and eventually to total responsibility for the training of high school teachers. In addition to documenting the steps by which high school teacher training became established as a program of university studies, this study analyzes the academic, social and political forces that combined to create a perceived need for, and then to legitimize, the creation of a new university department.

The University of British Columbia's acceptance of responsibility for this training was a culmination of a complex social interaction of three groups (including the state, the teachers, and university administrators and faculty) all of whose values were shaped by the newly dominant ideology of professionalism. Accordingly, fundamental assumptions about "appropriate" training for teachers were embedded in a social milieu where professionalization, bureaucratization, and gender issues were compelling forces. The perceived centrality of professionals in a increasingly technocratic society led to pressure being exerted from a number of quarters in British Columbia for the institutionalization of high school teacher
training in an appropriately scientific arena – the university.

This study focuses on the theoretical principles underlying the dialectic of ideological determinism and human agency, as well as the historical evidence of the way that one such ideology (professionalism) shaped the transition of social policy (high school teacher training).

The study concludes by utilizing contemporary theoretical perspectives to discuss the premises which inform not only the ideology of professionalism but also any metanarrative which purports to identify the true way for training teachers and by expressing hope that, as the type of knowledge associated with social power shifts, those who establish any new framework for teacher education will not repeat the mistakes of the past.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

More than one hundred years ago, Egerton Ryerson, Ontario's chief Superintendent of Education, argued that one of the reasons for making the training of teachers mandatory was to ensure that "school-teachers would respect themselves, and be respected as other professional men" (as cited in Curtis, 1988, p. 219). However, attaining the same level of respect that was granted to "other professional men" was to prove an elusive goal for teachers. Although public rhetoric frequently acknowledged children as "a country's most valuable resource," those entrusted with the development of this critical "resource" have not been similarly prized.

Why is it that, at the end of the twentieth century, after one hundred years of trying to endow teachers and teaching with greater public esteem, the state still needs to raise the status of teaching in order to ensure that sufficient numbers of students will be attracted to teacher education programs to meet the forecasted "drastic shortage of teachers" for the twenty-first century (Royal Commission of Education in British Columbia, 1988, p. 38)? Why did affiliation with higher education not bring the higher status teachers had so hopefully anticipated? Why do teacher education programs continue to suffer from "chronic prestige deprivation" (Goodlad, 1990)?
A useful way of answering these questions is to consider the example of the early twentieth century beginnings of the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia, when that university first accepted responsibility for the education of secondary teachers. The procedural difficulties and the competing interests which complicated this institutionalization may help explain the persistence of the esteem problem. The participation by the University of British Columbia came in successive stages, beginning with involvement in summer school sessions, moving to a shared training responsibility for high school teachers with the Normal School, and eventually to total responsibility for the training of high school teachers. Some thirty years after the period of this study, the university's role in teacher training culminated in full responsibility for training both secondary and elementary teachers in a new Faculty of Education.

In addition to documenting the steps by which high school teacher training became established as a program of university studies, this study analyzes the academic, social and political forces that combined to legitimize the creation of a new university department. That these forces were driven by different values and directed toward different goals perhaps typifies the diverse interests which then (as now) characterized the education system. Like many systems, this one is a complex organization whose parts stand in diverse relationships to each other, and between and among those parts are boundaries (another abstraction) of varying strength and
permeability. Between system and surround are also boundaries, and trying to change any part of the system requires knowledge and understanding of how parts are inter-related. (Sarason, 1990, p. 15)

Accordingly, one purpose of this thesis is to explore how the views and values of three overlapping groups of participants – the state (including policy makers and officials in the government and the Provincial Department of Education); the teachers; and university administrators and faculty – led to a restructuring of the teacher-training system in British Columbia in the early 1920s. The "permeable" boundaries which separated the component parts of the educational system enabled the creation of a new University Department which, while not satisfying everyone's interests, was acceptable to all the major stakeholders.

The history of this tripartite involvement will reveal that the interactions of these groups, acting in a social milieu where professionalization, bureaucratization, and gender issues were compelling forces, resulted in the University of British Columbia accepting responsibility for the training of high school teachers. The University of British Columbia is the focus of attention in this case study. However, by means of this particular example of the institutionalization of a field of study (education), I show how both the state and a group of socially and economically under-valued white-collar workers (teachers), although acting on different motivations, worked to increase social esteem and legitimacy for the teaching occupation through professionalization.
Significantly, as social preferences and practices were responded to and capitalized on during this struggle for legitimation, a dichotomized training for (mainly female) elementary teachers and (mainly male) secondary teachers was preserved and continued for more than thirty years after the University of British Columbia first accepted responsibility for the pedagogical training of secondary teachers. This tension between professional "education" and mere "training" contributed to the perpetuation of a gendered duality in this profession.

In the analysis which constitutes the framework of this study of the professionalization of teaching, several bodies of literature are of particular and recurring significance. A definitive catalogue of all the theoretical analyses of professionalization is nearly impossible, given the magnitude of the literature on the question. Despite the many scholarly attempts to categorize or identify the hallmarks of a profession, to explain how professionalization takes place, and to show what reaching the end goal of professionalism entails, there is little consensus either on a concise definition of a profession or on how professionalization is attained. The customary definition of profession is an occupation or calling requiring specialized knowledge and often long and intensive academic preparation, whose practitioners are deemed trustworthy and committed to service. The *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* states that professionalism refers to "the conduct, aims, or qualities that characterize or
mark a profession or a professional person" (1981, p. 911). By extrapolation, professionalization is the dynamic process of acquiring "a professional character." However, these rather circular definitions (a professional is one who works in a profession, and so on) do not show how and by what criteria an occupation becomes a "profession." A more explicit study of the diverse theoretical approaches to the concept of professionalism will be undertaken in Chapter 3.

Of course in examining the history of the institutionalization of high school teacher training at the University of British Columbia, it is important to do more than merely link up historical occurrences with theoretical paradigms. In addition one must look at this institutionalization in terms of how it was "embodied in concrete human beings who in turn [were] sustained by organized institutions" (Freidson, 1986, p. xi).

Participants in the institutionalization of high school teacher education in the 1920s certainly had the freedom to make choices, but (as for everyone) these choices were made within (and through conscious recognition of) existing realities and barriers. Borrowing Novick's (1988) terminology, no individual or group is like "Teflon" and therefore immune to the system that surrounds them. The dominant ideology at a particular time is part of this surround, and a lack of awareness of the ideological blinders and constraints necessarily leaves a person manipulated and disadvantaged. As Gramsci stressed, "[consent] is not imposed
[by the hegemony of the bourgeoisie]; rather, it is 'negotiated' by unequal forces in a complex process ..." (as cited in Simon, 1982, p. 64).

General studies of professionalization have been useful in building the framework for this study despite the paucity of studies on Canadian society. Although Canadian society is certainly unique and the Canadian university system developed in a different way to that of England or the United States, much of this material can be generalized and applied to a Canadian setting, if an awareness of differences is kept in mind. These structural differences between national education systems are significant and include such factors as: the constitutional provisions for the control of education; the dissimilar timing and impact of industrialization and urbanization; the sharp distinctions between class structures and values; and the varying extent to which the state intervenes in social issues. Studies of specific occupations and their attempts to attain professional status have also been helpful, always remembering that the history of any occupation is "individual, empirical and above all [an] historical case" rather than "a specimen of a more general, fixed concept" (Witz, 1992, p. 64). In short, a melding of theoretical approaches is needed in order to deal with the unique social and historical conditions in which British Columbia teachers found themselves in the early twentieth century.

Studies of the university system in Canada are not as numerous as are studies of professionalization. Research material for this study was drawn from
both primary and secondary sources. Not only was it necessary to specifically investigate the history of the University of British Columbia and the beginnings of its Department of Education, but because the university is so central to any study involving professionalization, a general overview of Canadian universities was also required.

The institutional histories of various Canadian universities were useful in obtaining details of events (Morton, 1957; Hayden, 1983; Reid, 1984) but, in general, they did not provide a cogent theoretical framework. Earlier studies portrayed universities (like the schools Kas Mazurek (1987) refers to here) as "invariably desirable, indeed noble, institutions unselfishly serving a grateful public and clearly advancing the cause of individual and social civilization" (p. 24; see also discussion in Wilson, 1987). Clearly, such studies do not provide a critical analysis of the values and objectives underlying university cultures.

It is not only institutions that are important to this study. As one philosopher of education stressed, "institutions are not entities like toads or trees; they are constituted largely by the conceptions of men [sic]" (Peters, 1977, p. 182). Hence the particular values and even idiosyncrasies of influential university administrators and faculty members, teachers and their leaders, personnel in the provincial Ministry of Education, and politicians during the time period under discussion were significant factors in the eventual willingness of the University of British Columbia to undertake responsibility for the
professional training of high school teachers. Much of this type of information is necessarily drawn from primary documents, although some secondary sources were also helpful (Rogers, 1972; Angus, 1966; Calam, 1994).

Just as early university histories tended to be laudatory catalogues of the institution's growth and achievements, so too, early biographies of their leaders described benevolent men in decidedly positive terms and viewed their incumbencies in "heroic" terms (For example, Corbett, [1954] 1992; Morton, 1933). Recent work has a more critical tone. As Eric Hobsbawn noted, perhaps "the most widely recognized achievement of radical history 'has been to win a place for the history of ordinary people, common men and women'" (as cited in Hughes, 1992, p. 48). Not only does the non-famous citizen have an important story to tell, but no longer do great leaders have to be infallible heroes. Great men – and even great women – can now be human. Egerton Ryerson, the renowned Ontario educator, can still make significant contributions to education but his "huffing and puffing" can be acknowledged and his "pedagogical prescriptions" can be challenged (Gidney and Millar, 1990).

Those post-revisionist studies of the history of universities tend to give credence to the power of human agency – something which had been lacking in past theoretical approaches. This acknowledgement of an individual's power of choice even when operating in a restrictive environment lends support to this study of the institutionalization of teacher training. As R. D. Gidney and
W. P. J. Millar (1990) illustrated in their study of education in nineteenth century Ontario, systems "are not arbitrarily or unnecessarily imposed by the centre upon a hapless or unwilling populace" (1990, p. 104; see also Berger, 1986; Wilson, 1990).

Research on other aspects of Canadian education was also applicable to this study. General aspects of the history and features of the educational system in the province provided a great deal of background information (Barman, Sutherland & Wilson, 1995; Black, 1936; Sheehan, Wilson, & Jones, 1986; Wilson & Jones, 1980; Gross, 1939; Hindle, 1918; Johnson, 1964; Macdougall, 1953; MacLaurin, 1936; Putman & Weir, 1925). Also of value was the work of neo-Marxist historians who emphasized the social implications of the emergence of the profession of teaching. For these theorists, the American and Canadian educational systems were deliberately created by the dominant classes in order to control the poor and emerging working class. They claimed that in order to establish this hegemony, reformers (school promoters) not only created a state-controlled bureaucracy which made education compulsory, but also were instrumental in developing an ideology that promoted education as a means for attaining economic success and upward social mobility (Prentice, 1977; Curtis, 1988; Katz, 1963).

Later works downplayed the blanket effect of ideological influence, and instead credited participants with more agency and autonomy. Curtis (1992)
framed much of his analysis on the work of Philip Abrams (1982) and his concept of "structuring," "a dialectic whose terms are human agency and social structure" (p. 9). This process takes into account both "people's conscious activity in pursuit of social interests and ... the unintended consequences of this activity for themselves and others" (p. 9), and thus parallels the dialectic focused on in this study, a dialectic between ideological determinism and human agency such that ideologies shape human action which in turn shapes the changes to the ideology.

The values and attitudes of British Columbia educators, including those with powerful positions in the educational hierarchy of the 1920s, were influenced by educational developments in the United States (Tomkins, 1986; Barman, 1991; Calam, 1994). American studies of teacher education have provided a great deal of useful contextual material in spite of important differences between the development of higher education in Canada and the United States. Some of these differences include: the mix of institutional types; sources of funding; historic role of the church and separation of church and state; comprehensiveness of program offerings (versus special purpose institutions); competition between institutions; the offering of non-traditional programming; and public accountability. So too, the development of American normal schools from single purpose institutions into diversified colleges or universities followed a very different pattern from the normal schools in Canada (Urban, 1990; Herbst, 1989; Cremin, 1988; Clifford & Guthrie, 1988; Goodlad, 1990 a&b).
Such dissimilarities in the training of teachers underscore the importance of examining the social structure of British Columbia in the early twentieth century as a unique context for the action which took place.

The material specific to the University of British Columbia and the provincial Department of Education that was most useful was located in University of British Columbia Special Collections, the Provincial Archives and the records of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation. Minutes and correspondence, diaries, letters, and general files have all been examined. Articles in the *B.C. Teacher* provided important records of events and were illustrative of teachers' viewpoints. There are some studies of the establishment of the University of British Columbia (Gibson, 1973; Harris, 1977) and other more expanded histories (Logan, 1958; Horn, 1989), but none on an analysis of this period.

As this brief look at some of the relevant literature shows, it is evident that although the past itself does not change, the record of what happened is always subject to re-interpretation. The ultimate truth does not exist. New evidence is discovered, new consequences of an event come to light, new juxtapositions of "facts" create new insights. As Keith Jenkins (1991) stated, in history there is no centre – the continuum is infinite. "The irony of the historian's craft is that its practitioners always know that their efforts are but contributions to an unending process" (Crowley, 1988, p. 5).
Purpose of Study

What will this study contribute to the unending process? First, it will demonstrate how a specific historical occurrence (the institutionalization of teacher training at the University of British Columbia) is an instructive exemplar of the correspondence between ideological forces and human volition. That is, this study will, in part, show how the basic human need of social esteem impelled the members of an occupation (teaching) to seek such esteem within the parameters laid out by ideology (however arbitrary and even unfair these parameters were). Secondly, it will document how a major social change (the credentialling of secondary teachers) can be produced by the dialectic of ideological forces and political realities. Thirdly, this study will contribute to the growing body of scholarship which questions the sacrosanctity of professionalism, perhaps one of the most abiding metanarratives of twentieth century social history.

My fourth goal is straightforward. Although the context in which high school teacher education was instituted in the University of British Columbia and the professionalization issues faced by British Columbia teachers were in some ways unique to British Columbia, many of the dilemmas faced and the decisions made by the University of British Columbia were similar to those encountered by other institutions across Canada and the United States. This
study may therefore provide some insight to those who detail the history of other Faculties of Education and to those who continue to explore issues of professionalization.

Fifth, this study will provide a basis for examining the current putative crisis in education. Schools, the critics say, are not "working properly" and must be "fixed" as soon as possible. One proposed solution – improve the quality of teacher education – cannot fail but leave the impression in the public mind that there must have been something wrong with training in the past. In their examination of "places where teachers are taught," Americans John Goodlad, Roger Soder and Ken Sirotnik have suggested that "efforts to describe and understand present conditions and circumstances would be enormously enhanced by an understanding of the evolution up to the present" (1990, p. xii). My aim, therefore, is that this study of the institutionalization of high school teacher training in the University of British Columbia will contribute to an explanation for the poor credibility of the teaching profession and thus provide some understanding for those who are trying to implement change.

Finally, this study will address the ideology of the "true teacher," one of the impediments to the professionalization of teachers which has continued to play an important role in contemporary education. The 1988 Report of the Royal Commission on Education: A Legacy for Learners (the Sullivan Report), speaking of the need for teachers to deliver a variety of health and other social
services, assumes this will not be a problem. After all, teachers "are those who are motivated by the idea of such social service" (emphasis added, p. 24). Another example, taken from an American teacher education textbook, shows the pervasiveness of this ideal:

Teachers individually, and as a group, are usually viewed as good, caring people who devote their time and energies to helping others. They are usually thought to be more honest, more "proper," more sensitive, and more "well-meaning" than people in other professions. They are not usually thought to be the most intelligent professional group, but they are considered to be among the most dedicated. (Myers & Myers, 1990, p. 15)

As a member of this "less intelligent" professional group, I hope to contribute to the existing literature on professionalization and supplement the material that attempts to explain the rationale inherent in the long-term acceptance of this tenet.

Summary

I see the University of British Columbia's acceptance of responsibility for the training of secondary teachers as neither "a kind of melodrama in which a unified and 'wicked' ruling class imposes its will on the complacent masses" (Giroux, 1981, p. 145) nor as the result of an inevitable and inexorable process which operated for the good of all involved. Rather, I argue it was the culmination of a complex social construction created by individuals and groups of individuals, living in a time when the ideology of professionalism was dominant,
who although operating with different motives, chose the same means to reach their goal. This construction cannot be neatly accounted for by either of the two principal theories of profession-formation, but rather its creation manifests a unique hybrid of professionalization principles. How members of the teaching occupation sought out and embraced the importance of university training suggests that this symbiotic relationship is more than "a marriage of convenience after a perfunctory and passionless courtship" (Bissell, 1968, p. 80).

This thesis is organized in eight chapters. This, the first, has laid a framework for discussion. Chapter II shows how the early twentieth century university evolved from its beginnings in the nineteenth century. The third chapter examines professionalization in more depth and applies it specifically to teacher education. In the next chapter the state of high school teacher training prior to its institutionalization in the University of British Columbia is explored. In Chapters V, VI and VII the period from 1920 - 1926 is the focus of study, documenting the institutionalization of high school teacher education at the University of British Columbia. Chapter VIII concludes this thesis.

NOTES

1. Goodlad was trained in a normal school and began his career as a teacher in a one-room school in British Columbia.
Chapter 2

Canadian Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

Before looking specifically at British Columbia high school teachers and their search for professional status through the creation of the Department of Education at the University of British Columbia, it is important to understand the social roles and purposes served by the university in Canada in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Since its creation in the nineteenth century the structure and curricular design of the Canadian university has served not only as a barometer of social change but also as a catalyst for such change. The primary goal of universities in the 1800s was to cultivate the minds of a somewhat exclusive segment of society. By the 1900s the mandate had widened considerably. Accordingly, this chapter will briefly outline the academic culture in place by the early twentieth century, thus setting the stage for the more in-depth discussion of professionalization in Chapter III.

The University in the Nineteenth Century: The Education of Gentlemen

In the early nineteenth century, an important impetus in the founding of the first Canadian universities (the focus here is on English-speaking institutions) was the demand for a trained ministry to meet the ecclesiastical
needs of a growing population. In order to be ordained, an Anglican or Presbyterian minister was required to complete a classical education in a university before he could take his formal training in theology (the only occupations requiring a B.A. at that time). Although not all other denominations demanded a university-level education of their clergy, they too wanted to provide appropriate educational opportunities for members of their congregations. This desire to provide Christian learning, along with its inherent moral principles, motivated churches to support higher education.

The first universities established in the Maritimes and in Ontario were closely affiliated with, and for the most part funded by, a particular denomination. Some examples of church affiliated universities include: the Presbyterian Queen's University in Kingston; the Baptist McMaster University in Hamilton; and Acadia University in Wolfville; the Church of England's Western University in London, King's College in Halifax and University of Trinity College in Toronto; the Methodist Victoria College University in Toronto and Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick. Since "the majority of people still believed that learning and religion were natural and inseparable allies" (Morton, 1956, p. 20), this liaison of church and education served to reinforce existing social values and practices.

The establishment of curricula in these universities necessarily was grounded in assumptions about valued knowledge, and for the first half of the
nineteenth century, "knowledge" was characteristically equated with the study of the classics. As George Brown, editor of the Globe in 1850, wrote:

> it is now generally acknowledged that the study of the ancient classics of Greece and Rome is essential to the full development of the mind – to the formation of correct taste, and to the attainment of right views of the connexion [sic] that exists between language and thought. (as cited in Gidney & Millar, 1990, p. 14)

Classics not only produced the mental discipline which was so prized a commodity but it also provided entry to the high status professions of that time – medicine, law and the clergy (Tomkins, 1981; Morton, 1956; Gidney & Millar, 1990, 1994).

A typical early nineteenth-century university therefore was generally organized around a narrowly defined classical curriculum. Subjects of study were specified for every term and few choices were allowed. Most courses were defined solely by the classical work which was to be studied. For example, a typical freshman year program, divided into three terms, included:

First Term: Horace; Homer's Iliad; Chemistry  
Second Term: Horace and Livy; Herodotus; Chemistry  
Third Term: Livy; Plato's Gorgias; Physiology  
(Reid, 1984, p. 92)

In this period, "[the curriculum consisted of] broad often interrelated courses that constituted an academic bill of fare at once coherent and comprehensive" (Tomkins, 1981, p. 151). This emphasis on the unity of all knowledge and the universities' commitment to classics led W. L. Morton (1957) to note "how little the fundamental curriculum in the liberal arts had become
differentiated since the Renaissance" (p. 34; see also Reid, 1984). A baccalaureate degree in science in this period did not have the same prestige or general utility as did the Bachelor of Arts. The Mount Allison calendar from 1869 onwards made this status clear. "... [The BS] was designed for those 'of our British American youth [who] either do not appreciate the importance of classical learning, or lack the time necessary for its acquisition'" (Reid, 1984, p. 93). Although the vocational needs of a developing country were changing and in addition to liberal arts and theological training, larger urban universities sometimes included one or two other professional schools such as law and medicine, the clear causal force at work still had to do with the external demand of organized religion.

The universities, however, did have to contend with fiscal realities, and some curricular decisions were based on the need to ensure the steady full enrolment that would generate ongoing tuition fees. Until the high school system became fully organized a significant blurring of the boundaries existed between secondary schools and universities. In their search for students, the universities did not always demand completion of prerequisite high school level courses and taught the junior level matriculation subjects themselves in order to bring their students up to the standard needed for entry to university. Prior to the 1860s, the number of non-matriculated students often exceeded the matriculated: "for example, from 1854 to 1859, non-matriculated students
comprised, on average, 70 percent of the annual enrolment at University College (Keane, as cited in Gidney & Millar, 1990, p. 261). The Dominion Educational Association (founded in 1892) passed several resolutions attempting to clarify the responsibilities of universities and high schools (Tomkins, 1986). In spite of such attempts to clearly differentiate the educational boundaries of these institutions this pattern continued into the twentieth century and even in 1920-21 Canadian degree-granting institutions enrolled an additional 10,000 students in "courses leading to matriculation and other preparatory courses" (Harris, 1976, p. 234).⁵

Financial exigencies also affected the universities in other important ways. Monetary concerns contributed to the decision by most Canadian universities to become co-educational institutions. "... The costs of separate or segregated education were prohibitive" (Axelrod, 1995, p. 166). Mount Allison was a pioneer in 1875 when it became the first university in the British Empire to grant a bachelor's degree to a female (Grace Lockhart).⁶ In 1878 Queen's University became the first Ontario university to admit women. John Reid (1984) makes reference to the American historian who remarked that "coeducation helped to save many one-time men's colleges of the small denominational type from being put out of business" (p. 119). So too financial difficulties eventually resulted in many universities giving up their affiliation with a particular church in order to gain access to public funding. For example,
the non-denominational University of Toronto was created in 1849 and the University of New Brunswick, replacing King's College was formed in 1859. Such conversions were not without criticism. When King's College became incorporated into the secularized University of Toronto, the new creation was seen by many as "an absolutely godless institution" (Langton letter of 1856, 1926, p. 278).

With increasing secularization, a growing population with its accompanying economic diversification and new career possibilities, public faith in the efficacy of the classical curriculum began to waiver. After the mid-century, increasing public pressure against the "pretentious obscurantism" (Gidney & Millar, 1990, p. 237) of the classics, growing demands for useful studies, and the discovery of new knowledge (particularly in the natural science field) led to some modification of the liberal arts curriculum.

Although in his inaugural address in 1860, Reverend William Leitch, Principal of Queen's University, still stressed that "in a course of liberal education, the great object to be aimed at is the cultivation of the mental powers" (as cited in Gidney & Millar, 1990, p. 236), the means to develop these mental powers were no longer limited to the study of classics. The public increasingly accepted the general economic value of science, as well as its specific application to manufacturing and industry (Berger, 1983; Wright & Alexander, 1906). Mechanics Institutes, founded in Britain in the early nineteenth century,
were established throughout Canada. As these institutes increased their audience, their focus changed. Originally intended to provide scientific education for mechanics, they became general educational and cultural organizations which sponsored activities such as libraries, lectures and classes (Selman, 1988; Lawr, 1972). Scientific tracts, produced by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, a British organization founded by Lord Brougham, (Garrett, 1935, pp. 182-184) were often distributed at meetings. The formation of societies specifically devoted to science also helped to increase the popularity of scientific concepts and ideals.\(^8\) As this "culture of science" spread throughout society (Berger, 1983), it served as another source of external pressure on the universities to revamp their curricula and general mission in order to reflect the increasing social concern for a pragmatic training of young minds.

The ideas contained in Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871) were particularly influential in providing the impetus for change. Because Canada had such "a strong tradition of church-associated higher education, the evolution debates posed a direct challenge to the comfortable assumption that knowledge and religious truth could not conflict" (Axelrod & Reid, 1989, p. xiv).\(^9\) As public faith in clerical leadership declined, people increasingly turned "for authority and practical power to the impersonal explanations of natural science" (Haskell, as cited in Ross, 1991, p. 54).
This increasing faith in the efficacy of science was an important factor in the move away from integrated studies to more discrete areas of study. The University of Toronto was one of the first to "modernize" its curriculum (in 1854) by introducing options and non-classical subjects. This reform met a mixed reaction. Supporters of the change suggested that modernization "brought the University into closer touch with the spirit and needs of the Province" (Wright & Alexander, 1906, p. 80). Others adamantly opposed this innovation, believing it could not only lead to a general decline in standards, but also that a graduate with the new degree would be vastly inferior to one who graduated with the old requirements. In any case, "what the university reformers ... accomplished, ... was to integrate modern subjects within the traditional rhetoric of a liberal education, and to reconcile, however precariously, the goal of mental culture with the rising pressures of vocationalism" (Gidney & Millar, 1990, p. 240).

This integration of new material was to have a profound impact on the future organization of universities. As the new subjects became more firmly embedded in basic curriculum, a complex causal relationship was created. "The growth of knowledge and the higher level of education necessary to understand the new sciences, to teach them, and to perform research, fostered specialization. Specialization in turn encouraged the creation of distinct academic disciplines and professions" (D. Wilson, 1990, p. 4).

These new specializations resulted in a gap between theoretical scientific
knowledge and the professional or industrial application of scientific principles.

The future structure of universities would reflect this separation between "pure" and "applied" science. In the middle 1870s, for example, James Loudon, a University of Toronto scientist (and its future President) fought vigorously to maintain science 'as part of a general system of liberal studies' within the arts program, and at the same time worked to create a separate university school of applied science that would take responsibility for practical education in engineering, mining, industrial chemistry and the like. (Gidney & Millar, 1990, p. 288)

Yet, despite this change in emphasis resulting from the secularizing of the universities and the proliferation of curricular disciplines, the abiding values and goals of the universities remained largely unchanged. One of their primary functions continued to be the grooming of the minds which would establish, both socially and morally, the future values of Canadian culture. That is, the inculcation of "mental and moral discipline" and "right views" (as espoused by George Brown) continued to be important. Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, made this very evident. A major role of universities was to mould the character of its students "not for [their] sake alone, but also to endow society with versatile, far-sighted leaders" (as cited in Greenlee, 1988, p. 152). University graduates would relocate throughout the nation and have a great impact on its social, economic and political life.

Less benign interpretations have been attached to the increasingly important role of the university in social structure. The university education
which was designed to help produce these future leaders entailed an awareness and acceptance of a social stratification that led to a legitimizing and perpetuating of a clearly delineated social hierarchy. According to Bruce Curtis (1988), this formation of "manly characters" only taught "social subordination" which then served to entrench the existing bourgeois hegemony (p. 102). From this neo-Marxist perspective, the growth and expansion of the university system was

less a response to the needs of polity and economy than as a means whereby a 'dominant' or capitalist class created the illusion of an increasingly open society for all social strata without actually seriously disturbing prevailing social inequalities in access to higher learning. (Pike, 1981, p. 4)

Although the transformation of the university's role in society was obviously not simply an "inevitable or a natural evolution towards a predestined form," neither was it solely, as such analysts have suggested, "an institutional form aggressively promoted by the old elite and new wealth to serve their purposes" (Light, 1983, p. 355).

However deliberate the motivation, a definite move occurred from a classical (and ecclesiastical) to a more pragmatic focus in the university. By the end of the century, science was continuing to gain in importance, and secularization was widespread. In spite of this, the Arts Faculty still managed to hold on to a pre-eminent position. "Around this centre of general education and culture [were] gathered the professional faculties and schools" (Burwash,
1906, p. 66). The basis of a significant change in orientation, however, had been established, both within university curricula and in broad cultural mores.

The University in the Early Twentieth Century: The Education of “Efficient” Men

The last decade of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century saw not only an expansion in the number of universities (mostly state-funded) as the population of the West increased, but also a general increase in the numbers of students choosing to attend. In 1871, just over 1,500 students were enrolled in Canadian universities (0.044 per cent of the total population); by 1931, there were 6,540 students (0.130 per cent of the total population (Axelrod, 1995, p. 149). This growth accompanied major curricular innovations and changes in program organization.

So too, during this time period the ideology of utilitarianism was becoming increasingly influential. This ideology, with its doctrine that the merit of actions and social policies should be determined by the usefulness of the outcome, focussed attention on the necessity for modern industrial society to create “the greatest good for the greatest number” (a phrase open to a great variety of subjective interpretation). The way to attain this objective was through a high degree of social and economic efficiency, achieved through state intervention.
For Canadian universities in the early twentieth century, "the greatest good" meant "responding to the occupational requirements of an evolving capitalist economy" (Axelrod, 1990b, p. 160). Universities carefully stressed their usefulness to the "greatest number" (however narrowly defined). For example, the 1915-16 Calendar of the University of British Columbia emphasized that it would be "the policy of the University to place its resources for research at the service of the citizens, and to disseminate such information concerning the application of science to the industries of the Province as may prove helpful" (p. 22).

This diversification in the type of courses and programs offered in universities was also influenced by the increasingly common egalitarian beliefs, especially with regard to the rights of any citizen to pursue an education. Proponents of the professional programs stressed that the practical utility of their curriculum was more "democratic than the liberal arts, since it dealt directly with the career needs which inevitably preoccupied the impoverished majority of the population" (Jencks & Riesman, 1968, p. 92). In 1907 Sir Robert Falconer, in his inaugural address as President of the University of Toronto, reiterated that the University of Toronto "was not a rich man's preserve remote from the interests and concerns of ordinary men. ... Its task was to seek out and cultivate ability at all levels of society" (as cited in Greenlee, 1988, p. 123).

Although such rhetoric was in all likelihood intended to be sincere and
was widely espoused, the reality was somewhat different. Selective entry requirements were enforced but always with an explaining rationale. For example, the President of the University of Western Ontario stated:

The laudable desire of our New World democracies to give everybody an opportunity to become educated needs to be tempered by recognition of the fact that all types of humanity cannot be educated unless discrimination is exercised as to differences in native gifts, aims in life, background, outlook and numerous other circumstances. Of course discrimination itself is nothing else than selectiveness. (as cited in Axelrod, 1990, p. 44)

And, as Florence Howe (1984) pointed out in a discussion of the myths of coeducation, even when access is seemingly equal, the content and quality of the education offered may be quite different (Sheehan, 1995, p. 328; see also Stewart, 1990).

Just as the number and type of students attending university increased, so too were changes made in the professoriate. The expansion and subsequent creation of narrowly defined knowledge monopolies precluded the nineteenth century situation where it was possible for one professor to be responsible for two or three separate subjects. The situation at McMaster where one instructor taught all the scientific subjects had been particularly onerous. He "was the lone occupant not of a [chair], but of an incipient grandstand" (Johnston, 1976, p. 64). With increasing specialization, full-time professors were needed for each discrete subject (or at least this was the goal).

The reconceptualization and reorganization of academic disciplines resulted in the formation of new fields of study that continued to displace the
classical subjects. Social sciences, with their focus on scientific studies of human society and its institutions, began to acquire an identity of their own. In the nineteenth century, "social concern, not method or 'field,' differentiated these areas of inquiry" (Bender, 1984, p. 96). Prior to the specialization of the early twentieth century, the original five divisions in the American Social Science Association had been Education, Health, Jurisprudence, Finance and Social Economy. Proponents of these emerging specialities stressed both their reliance on natural science methodology to explain social phenomena and on the practical value of their subject. For example, in 1889 J. G. Bourinot suggested that Political Science "had particular and concrete value, offering as it did the possibility of an adequate training for the politicians, civil servants, lawyers and judges who were needed to cope with the economic and constitutional problems of an emerging nation" (as cited in Harris, 1976, p. 142). Work in another of the new areas of academic inquiry, psychology, contributed to this decline in the prestige of classical studies. Psychologist E. L. Thorndike stressed the scientific, objective approach to the study of learning and his studies revealed that although there might be some transfer of common skills from subject to subject, learning was specific to the subject itself. That is, one of his experiments "furnished primary evidence that Latin and mathematics, for instance, [did] not possess any special virtue over, say, French or physics in the improvement of intelligence" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 41). This "proof" challenged long-lasting
assumptions about the value of specific studies and accelerated existing utilitarian tendencies (Cremin, 1961).

With this decline in the popularity of classics, some underlying tenets of curricular choice continued to change. One of the "modern" subjects affected by this change was history. Although ecclesiastical history had often been taught, it had traditionally been assumed, as in the case of English literature, that a student sufficiently drilled in the classics and leisurely steeped in the richness of his heritage could quite easily master history on his own and would not think of subjecting it to the degradation of the classroom and the formal examination. (Johnston, 1976, p. 62)

As subject offerings continued to diversify it was not long before political, constitutional and ancient history were added to curricula at many universities. This formalizing and differentiation of areas of historical inquiry typified the changes in many other academic disciplines.

The "unitary view" of education gradually disintegrated as the natural and social sciences became established in the university. By 1920, economics, political science and psychology had attained recognition as disciplines distinct from philosophy, and geography and sociology were offered in several institutions (Harris, 1976, p. 248). Other newly developing specializations, such as the science of education, based on "pedagogical principles derived from new scientific research in psychology and the [other] social sciences" (Cremin, 1961, p. viii), began to be taught as discrete fields of study. The impact of this expansion on the university was so great that Edward Silva and Sheila
Slaughter (1984) referred to this institutionalization of social science as the university's industrialization (pp. 13-17 & 69-71). One result of this proliferation of new courses, was that as "all subjects became equally useful in obtaining credit for a degree ... the [Liberal Arts] lost its organic quality, and the last traces ... of order and hierarchy in knowledge vanished from the curriculum" (Morton, 1957, p. 129). What this overstatement failed to acknowledge was that as one hierarchy was attenuated, a new one was created.

In the twentieth century, science, with its strong emphasis on cognitive rationality, rather than classics became the curriculum of choice. World War I further enhanced the legitimacy of scientific research and led to the foundation of the Canadian Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in 1916 (to become the National Research Council in 1924). Genuinely scientific Bachelor of Science programs began to be offered. The first B.Sc. degree granted by Mount Allison University in 1918 was one of only ten given at English-language institutions in that year (Reid, 1984, p. 276). As science became more legitimate, it increased in vocational utility and acquired a more direct relevance to students' lives. By the 1920s, the number of science graduates had increased dramatically.

Not only the universities experienced a devaluing of classical knowledge and an entrenching of a more utilitarian outlook. Industrialization provided a firmer base for material values. The first forty years of this century were to
mark the beginning of an exponential increase in technological efficiency, which in turn fostered more widespread access to (and proliferation of) the amenities of life. Education took on a vital role in the supply of material comforts, at both a social and personal level. The university degree began to acquire "a significant exchange value in the labor market" (Labaree, in Brown, 1995, p. xii).

Distinctly professional programs became more numerous and more popular in terms of student choice. According to Harris (1976), by 1920 professional programs in engineering, agriculture, forestry, veterinary medicine and dentistry were as firmly established in the university as were law, medicine and theology. Newer applied science professions such as household science, pharmacy and nursing and those professions dependent on social sciences such as library science, social work and teacher training were also acquiring academic legitimacy as they increasingly relied on universities for their professional training. By 1920-21, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reported university enrolment as follows: just over 10,000 undergraduates were registered in professional courses and just under 10,000 in arts, pure science, letters and philosophy (Harris, 1976, p. 234 and p. 261).

The newly established courses and programs often faced criticism not only from outside the university community but also from within. What many believed was a fundamental and socially beneficial change was an anathema to many traditionalists. In 1918, Thorstein Veblen, author of *The Higher Learning*
in America, emphatically stated that "professionalism meant a betrayal of the university's purpose, the prostituting of scholarship" (as cited in Bissell, 1968, p. 89). When the University of Western Ontario introduced degree courses in business administration in the late 1920s, Principal Hamilton Fyfe of Queen's was appalled:

[Such] narrow vocational training ... may lead to serious mental and moral abnormalities. It may stunt [a student's] growth and the whole object of university is to permit his growth. ... The sham university that is out for immediate results and quick returns is like a glorified sausage machine which is going to chop and mould its product into various shapes. (as cited in Stamp, 1972, p. 257)

However, not all of those who acknowledged the university's involvement in the education of professionals accepted this claim that such a role entailed a moral or intellectual abrogation of the university's traditional mandate. For example, Dean William Pakenham of the University of Toronto, in his address to the 1922 Conference of Canadian Universities, stated unequivocally that the university was very valuable in the training of professionals: a "detached training school ... is a trade school and a trade school is expected to do little more than give skill to the apprentice. A university may hope to evolve the artist" (Pakenham, 1922, p. 37). This public faith in the ability of the university to produce the "artist" rather than a mere tradesman was a strong impetus in the universities' willingness to incorporate the training of professionals.

That there was tension between the proponents of the new vocational focus (specialized education for the professions) and those who favoured liberal
education was apparent. However, as Jencks and Riesman (1968) pointed out, just as those attending university in the early twentieth century were seeking a career, so too were those who attended university in the nineteenth century when classical education was in its halcyon days. Granted the early twentieth century was a period of important change, with many more career options requiring university education, but this did "not imply either a rise or a decline in vocationalism. ... How an institution mixed the academic with the vocational" was the question, "not whether it did so" (p. 199).

Unlike England, neither Canada nor the United States had a titled or landed class. Education, therefore, assumed a particular importance in the organization of their societies. Equally applicable to Canada are the comments of Burton Bledstein (1976) on the implications of this for higher education:

... the chief distinction which popular sentiment can lay hold of as raising one set of persons above another is the character of their occupation, the degree of culture it implies, the extent to which it gives them an honourable prominence. For the middle class in America, degree-granting education was an instrument of ambition and a vehicle to status in the occupational world. (p. 34)

The concept of "knowledge for knowledge's sake" never had been as esteemed in Canada as it had been in Europe, but even so, this vocational orientation was substantially reshaping the university. Because of the growing need for a specialized university education as a pre-requisite for entry into the high-status job market, students began to regard universities not so much as a source of intellectual refinement but as a "conduit" through which they must
pass on their way to a well-paying and well-respected job. Thus, an individual's sense of self-worth became increasingly tied to the level of his or her educational attainment (Curtis, 1988, pp. 373-374).

The charisma of professionalization and the resultant status accorded to those occupations whose practitioners were viewed as professionals were to become particularly important in the increasingly technocratic twentieth century. In 1908, Abraham Flexner, a classicist, (and former high school teacher) educated at Johns Hopkins University, was hired by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to survey medical schools in Canada and the United States. Beginning in January 1909, Flexner examined 155 medical schools. Operating on the assumption that "you don't need to eat the whole sheep to know it's tainted," his observations of many schools were perfunctory. For example, he spent less than twenty-four hours in Halifax (Waite, 1994, pp. 202-203). However, his final report, published in 1910, was an extremely influential document which resulted in rapid and major changes for medical training.

Sub-standard training programs were eliminated. The way to improve standards in medical education for those remaining programs, recommended Flexner, was to ensure that training schools for medicine were both affiliated with a university and staffed by university professors. This would not only ensure a quality education and a commitment to "scientific medicine" but would
also limit the number of medical schools and the number of doctors graduating. The curriculum design he suggested (coincidentally the pattern followed by Johns Hopkins) led to the creation of what is now a familiar pattern. An in-depth study of science (the theoretical knowledge acquired through academic study) was to constitute the preclinical phase of medical education. Practical skills, the clinical component, were to be learned only after this solid theoretical base of knowledge had been acquired. This "scientific" medical education meant that medical practice "increasingly relied on the results of experimental research" (Fisher, 1978, p. 21).

The impact of this report was considerable. Flexner's recommendations for the scientific study of medicine,

the quintessential profession of the society, had a ripple effect of lasting consequence across schools of professional education as they were developing throughout the remainder of the century. The assumptions that learning precedes doing and that practice is the application of theory (Rice & Richlin, 1993, pp. 280-281)

became the norm for the design of other professional programs (including education). This structure meant that an effective compromise was created between the new vocationalism and the traditional liberal arts. "Professional education did not displace the liberal arts, but ... was added onto the undergraduate sequence" (Jarausch, 1983, pp. 34-35).

"This blending of the practical and the academic" (Morton, 1956, p. 119) and the reorganization which took place within a university to accommodate it
was to create the symbiotic relationship between professions and the university that set the pattern for years to come. Increasing industrialization was accompanied by an increase in both the sophistication and specialization of the knowledge needed by many of those in the workplace. University presidents, like Falconer of the University of Toronto, recognized that "the demand for professional education would grow rather than abate" and that therefore, the university should be responsive to this need (Greenlee, 1988, p. 154).

These new programs – what Claude Bissell (1968), President of the University of Toronto, referred to as the "fruits of the demand for specialization" – consisted not only of various applied sciences, but also those occupations "that sought to interpret and provide direction to the reforms of government, schools, social welfare, family and childhood rearing, and health" (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 204; see also Axelrod, 1990). These latter occupations, closely associated with the social sciences, were careful to ally themselves with the mystique of science. They stressed that social science could be every bit as "scientific" as natural science and suggested that

> The field of science is unlimited ... every group of natural phenomena, every phase of social life, every stage of past or present development is material for science. ... The unity of all science consists alone in its method, not in its material. (Ross, 1991, p. 157)

The universities thus became "the breeding grounds of the expert, the places in which specialists gain[ed] that rarefied knowledge that set them apart from the common layperson" (Welker, 1992, p. 7). In order to help incorporate
these specialists, graduate schools were built to accommodate the growing need for the creation of academicians to transmit the new knowledge monopolies.

"...University teaching became the key profession which educated for, controlled access to, and did much of the research for the other professions" (Perkin, 1989, p. 395). These graduate schools, a type of professional school themselves, placed a 'fourth faculty' – liberal studies – alongside the older learned professions of theology, medicine and law. Graduate school faculties would do for the newer knowledge specialists what divinity, medical and law schools did for ministers, doctors and lawyers. It would certify its graduates as credible experts to the community-at-large. (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 71)

The influence of these experts, that is university-educated professionals, was pervasive by the 1920s. As businesses expanded and governmental responsibilities became more diverse, their organizational structures became more complex and "led to a demand for those with concrete and increasingly more extensive educational qualifications" (Gaffield et al., 1989, p. 18). Masters' programs were offered at most Canadian universities (Arts and Science degrees were common and some specialties existed: Applied Sciences at Toronto; Commerce at Queen's; Agriculture at Saskatchewan and a master's level degree, referred to as the Bachelor of Pedagogy at both Toronto and Queen's). Although doctoral programs (Ph.D. and D. Sc.) began in 1897 at the University of Toronto and in 1906 at McGill University, and D. Paed. degrees were offered at Toronto (after 1894) and at Queen's, the number of students graduating was small. By 1920, McGill had granted 15 doctorates, and Toronto, 47 (Harris, 1976, pp. 307-
Most of the Canadians pursuing graduate studies attended American universities. From 1875 to 1900, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Harvard and Chicago Universities had an enrolment of almost three hundred Canadians (Gingras, 1989, p. 303).

As increasing numbers of Ph.Ds graduated, the philosopher, William James (who believed the numbers should be greatly limited), denounced "the Ph.D. octopus's eight-armed grasp on knowledge" (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 151). Thus, concerns which had formerly been entrusted to people with generalized educations and/or "good breeding" now were being looked after by people whose specialized academic background made them appear to be certifiably proficient in a specific field. The public was encouraged to be distrustful of people who worked within a certain field but who lacked such university-granted credentials.

In 1922, Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, stressed that "the university stood as a stabilizing force in any society. [Although its] forms and emphases varied with the exigencies of the moment, [its] ageless spirit of impartial inquiry remained, informed by the past and responsive to the present" (as cited in Greenlee, 1988, p. 245). As a changing institution, the university has both mirrored and shaped a constantly evolving Canadian society. Like the American higher education referred to here, the Canadian university had been
influenced by three models: the Oxbridge idea of mental discipline and liberal arts for the gentile class; the Scottish model of useful knowledge imparted to anyone who wants to learn; and the German model of pure research in order to seek the deepest truth. (Light, 1983, p. 355)

Summary

While the initial impetus for many Canadian universities was rooted in the need for theological training, this soon changed to encompass a wider array of vocational needs. Universities which had their beginnings as church-sponsored institutions offering a classical, unified curriculum became increasingly secularized as private funding became more difficult to acquire. Provincial financial support was needed to ensure survival of the institution. This movement to state-run institutions was accompanied by curricular changes influenced not only by this secularization, but also by the societal impact of the culture of science, economic growth and industrialization. By the end of the nineteenth century there was a clearly identifiable "public feeling that the natural sciences were 'practical,' while the old classical curriculum was not" (Morton, 1957, p. 43).

Just as science acquired an increasingly dominant presence and importance in the organization of universities, so too did the universities become a focal point in society. It was in the universities that the cognitive and technical bases for the newly important professions were created and controlled
(Larson, 1977, p. 180) and there that individuals attained the degrees that functioned as the symbols of scientific status that became accepted as a "justification for professional power and autonomy" (Engel, as cited in Axelrod, 1990, p. 11) in the new social order. Growing public acceptance of the "expert's" superior proficiency clearly served to legitimize the university's practical importance in an increasingly sophisticated, technological culture. As the next chapter will show in more detail, in order to claim professional status in the twentieth century, it was not simply enough to "do" good; one had to "do" science in the university as well (Labaree, 1992, p. 148).

NOTES

1. When McMaster University was founded in 1890 it was located in Toronto. It did not move to Hamilton until 1930.

2. Not until the 1880s was science even a required matriculation subject for entry into medicine at the University of Toronto (Gidney & Millar, 1994).

3. In 1937, Malcolm Wallace, Principal of University College, Toronto, suggested that "in order to secure income from student fees the university will establish schools of anything that is demanded by the passing whims of the public" (p. 13).

4. High school level courses had to be completed before a degree would be granted. Universities held matriculation exams on campus for the convenience of their students. Most of the incomplete work was in Mathematics and Latin (Waite, 1994).

5. Universities retained the power to set and mark Matriculation exams. In British Columbia, even after a four-year High School course was provided (1929) and high school diplomas were granted on the recommendation of
High School principals (1933), the university did not accept the credential for admission. It continued to require Matriculation exams for entry (also required for entrance to Normal Schools) (Willis, 1934). This ensured the continued influence of the university over the high school curriculum.

6. Women were not granted degrees at Canadian Roman Catholic institutions until 1897 when four students who were registered at Mt. St. Bernard College were awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree by the affiliated St. Francis Xavier University.

7. Other examples of this trend included: Trinity, which became part of the University of Toronto in 1904; Western University in London, which became independent of the Church of England in 1908; and Queen’s University which became independent of the Presbyterian Church in 1912.

8. Other examples include: the Canadian Institute in Toronto (1849), the Nova Scotia Institute of Natural Science (1862), the Natural History Society of Ottawa (1863), the Entomological Society of Canada (1863) and the Natural History Society of British Columbia (1890).

9. William Dawson, principal of McGill University in 1855, became known as “the most distinguished anti-Darwinian in the English-speaking world.” He believed that “the survival of the fittest as applied to man [was] ‘nothing less than carnal, but devilish’” (Berger, 1983, pp. 61-62).

10. In 1918 Andrew Carnegie made clear his opinion of the value of a classical education. He thought that no man should send his son to college "to waste energies upon obtaining a knowledge of such languages as Greek and Latin, which are of no more practical use to them than Choctaw" (as cited in Callahan, 1972, p. 9).

11. For example after 1902, the University of Manitoba offered – for equal credits to Greek – courses in Icelandic Language and Literature. This trend to making all subjects of equal credit value was influenced not only by the decline in prestige of the classics but also by changes in curricular delivery which included the newly offered extension courses, extra-mural studies, and summer school courses.

12. See Gidney & Millar (1990) for discussion re John Strachan and his rationale for the establishment of Ontario's first university (pp. 50-51).
13. In Canada all five existing medical schools followed Flexner's recommendations and became faculties in a university: Dalhousie in 1911; Queen's and Western in 1913; Laval in Montreal in 1919; and Manitoba in 1920 (Harris, 1976, p. 268).

14. Some examples of the trend to employ professionals include: "experts" were hired to overhaul the job classification systems for the federal civil service (Lowe, 1997); the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company supported research, scientific management and modern mining expertise (Seager, 1996); the management of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare established in 1920 "demonstrated the shift from amateur to professional control over policy" (Sutherland, 1976, p. 228); and the industrial establishment, working through the Canadian Manufacturer's Association, pushed for industrial research to be conducted (Gingras, 1989).

15. Until the end of World War II Toronto and McGill were the only institutions offering the doctoral degree in most disciplines (Gingras, 1989, p. 304). Mt. Allison had formalized requirements for a Ph.D. degree (with no thesis required) in 1882, but no one ever began study. It was advertised in the calendar until the 1894-85 year, after which it was omitted (Reid, 1984, p. 181).

16. Harris (1976) points out that by 1890 Canadian academics were "more likely to go to the United States for graduate study than to Europe" (p. 190).

17. Gingras (1989) stresses that the number of students studying in Canada (particularly in the sciences) increased after scholarships and fellowships became more readily available. For example, between 1900 and 1919 only one Ph.D. in Physics graduated every three years. From 1920 to 1930, the rate increased to 2.5 per year. The Master's level had similar increases over the same periods, from 2 per year to 9 (p. 315).
Chapter 3

Professionalization

Chapter 1 provided a broad overview of the features and social implications of professionalization, and the previous chapter described the changing role and social functions of the Canadian university system at the beginning of the twentieth century, including the university's role in the creating and legitimizing of new professions. This chapter will begin with an overview of the relevant literature. Theoretical approaches to the study of professionalization will be organized under the general paradigm divisions from Gary Sykes (1989, pp. 254-255): professionalization as progress and professionalization as pursuit of privilege. This will lead to a more concrete analysis of the process by which professionalization became such a dominant feature of Canadian society. Without appreciating the allure of professionalism in the 1920s (and the stigma attached to non-professional workers), it would be impossible to understand the choices which were made by the parties involved in the institutionalization of high school teacher education at the University of British Columbia.

Before the specific applicability to teacher training is explored, a broad framework will be built by examining some of the major constructs associated with professionalism. What follows is meant to provide an understanding of how
traits and processes and power and agency are linked together to create the identity of profession – the concept that will be used to explain the desire to institutionalize teacher training for high school teachers in the University of British Columbia.

**Professionalization as Progress: Functionalism**

One approach to the sociology of professions which was particularly influential prior to the 1970s entailed the application of functionalist principles. In this unidimensional view, professional status was reached when an occupation acquired a particular set of attributes or when it completed a specific sequence of events which were seen as socially significant and, therefore, somehow deemed to be transformative. These researchers sought a precise and comprehensive description of the "objective state" that would result in an occupation being clearly identified as a profession and correspondingly accorded legitimate authority in society.

Although the number and type of attributes that were used to define a profession differed (Flexner, 1915; Parsons, 1954), the essential premise of defining a profession by determining and assigning specific traits was constant. In the attempts to provide clear and precise explanations, new hybrid sub-categories such as the minor professions (Glazer, 1974), secondary professions
(Parsons & Platt, 1973), quasi-professions (Ben-David, 1971) and semi-professions (Etzioni, 1969) were created in order to account for those occupations which aspired to professional status, and possessed some, but not all, of the required attributes. Such hybrids were usually occupations located within a bureaucratic organization where the majority of practitioners were women. Throughout this century, teaching has consistently been placed in these categories.

Although this "quest for a watertight definition of a profession", said P. Elliott (1972), seemed to be "a quest for an empirical ideal which [could] only exist in a Platonic heaven" (p. 4), it is useful (and necessary) to be familiar with the principles and values which inform this approach. These hallmark characteristics, as defined in functionalist terms, directed the professional aspirations of British Columbia teachers in the early twentieth century.

Five of the central requirements most often included in these functional studies were: performance of a function essential to society; specialized knowledge and skill requiring extended training; a strong affiliation to the occupation; authority and autonomy over practice; and an orientation to public service (Murray, 1992, p. 496). An occupation would therefore acquire status as a "true profession" when it achieved these pre-determined characteristics. For many theorists (Leggatt, 1970; Larson, 1977), the "purest" professions, and therefore, those to emulate, were always law and medicine. A text, Sociology for
Canadians, by A. Himmelfarb and C. J. Richardson (1991), actually defines professionalization as "the tendency of various occupational groups to try to emulate medicine" (p. 355). Law and medicine also served as the ideal for those theorists who defined professions by comparing the traits associated with the type of educational preparation for an occupation. They distinguished between "vocational training versus professional education versus graduate study" (McGuire, 1993, p. 5).

These attempts to define professions by using a trait approach have been more widely accepted than was another functionalist structure: the process approach. Harold Wilensky (1964), while acknowledging that there might be a discrepancy between the older (architecture and dentistry) and newer (social work and librarianship) professions, suggested that the "natural history of professionalism" in the United States followed a six-stage sequence:

1) the occupation is followed full-time
2) formal training is established
3) this training is provided within universities
4) local and then national professional associations are formed as the core tasks are defined in competition with neighbouring occupations
5) political activity leads to legally controlled licensing and certification, and
6) a formal code of ethical practice is developed
(as cited in Leggatt, 1970, p. 156)

Such "process" theories (Abrahamson, 1981; Wendt & Peterson, 1993) were not easily applied to many occupations and were problematic from their inception. Even trait theorists were critical of these claims. For Goode (1969),
Wilensky's approach was "neither empirically correct nor theoretically convincing" and most importantly for him, it did not "separate the core, generating traits from the derivative ones" (as cited in Leggatt, 1970, pp. 156-157). Derivative traits included high prestige, power and economic remuneration.

Both the trait functionalist and the process functionalist approaches stressed consensus and stability and placed little emphasis on conflict (Giroux & Penna, 1988). The functionalists tended to view society "as consisting of a relatively stable and persistent structure of elements in which each element [had] functions, i.e. contribute[d] to the maintenance of the society as a whole" (Pike, 1981, p. 3). The professions, as one of these elements, were believed to bring not only cohesion to a society but also, as Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) so dramatically claimed, they stood "... like rocks against which the waves raised by [the crude forces which threaten a steady and peaceful evolution] beat in vain" (as cited in Johnson, 1972, p. 14). While all researchers of professions were not so lofty in their praise, the overall tone of their analysis of the features of professions was a positive one.

For the functionalist, the rise of technocracy was viewed as a positive occurrence. From this perspective, "the development of modern science, technology, and industry was part of the objective order of things: they arose as part of the predetermined path of human progress" (Torgerson, 1986, p. 36). It
was the professions which were instrumental in allowing this advancement to take place. Therefore, when the universities accepted responsibility for training the new professions, this was seen as an integral part of the inexorable development of society. Talcott Parsons, the leading structural-functionalist, believed the professions, by virtue of their "scientific" training in the university, would serve mankind and improve the quality of life for everyone. In short, the socially productive function of certain occupations led to their status as professions and, consequently, as estimable components of a society.

Although functionalist approaches to the study of professions became less common after the 1970s, their influence has been long-lasting, both on theoreticians and on occupations having or seeking professional status. "It is paradoxical that [this] paradigm of profession within which the semi-proessions' thesis is located has been largely displaced, but the semi-proessions' thesis lingers on" (Witz, 1992, p. 60). The identified traits still serve as guideposts (as they did for teachers in the 1920s) and still act as a checklist of the features of "true" professions. David Labaree (1992) suggested that the comparatively recent Holmes and Carnegie reports on education (1986 and 1990)\textsuperscript{1} were a clear illustration of a Parsons-type functionalist interpretation. In these reports both teachers and society were seen as the beneficiaries of the features that necessarily would result from the proposed attempt to achieve professionalization for teachers (p. 126).
In general, functionalist studies suggested professionalization was a logical and natural feature of social progress. The movement to specialization and the social reforms and improvements that were engendered were necessary evolutionary changes in response to a more complex society. "Professional" workers would use their acquired special expertise to deal with societal problems and thus benefit "the common good." In this approach the metanarrative of professionalism is the premise that legitimizes the positive attributes of expertise, scientific rationality, higher education, and efficiency and creates the professional ideology that had such an impact on society.

Professionalization as pursuit of privilege: Hegemonic competition

Proponents of a dynamic socio-historical approach to the study of professionalization strongly denied the static nature and the predictable developmental process implicit in the functionalist theories and went beyond to criticize these more ideologically constrained explanations. Here, professionalization was defined as "an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources — special knowledge and skills — into another — social and economic rewards" (Larson, 1977, p. xvii). These studies took into account both the individual and collective power of the professional and the wider societal context. Not only were boundary-defining techniques explored, but also the strategies
that were used to acquire monopolies – that is, how exclusion occurred and how social prestige was consolidated only in certain occupations. Jackson (1970) succinctly summarized the difference: the questions that were asked moved from "Is occupation x or y a profession or not?" to "what are the means by which an occupational status becomes reified and expanded into wider social significance?" (pp. 12-13).

Moving from the very positive functional conception of profession, to one which questioned the value and even the morality of the profession/job dichotomy, these theorists attempted to explain how the overwhelming social power imbued in the professions in the twentieth century not only managed to undermine the "entrepreneurial hegemony" of Victorian society but also created a new ideology in which a person became powerful and wealthy "by persuading the rest of society and ultimately the state that his service was vitally important and therefore worthy of continued reward" (Perkin, 1989, p. xiii). Emphasizing the concept of power, conflict theorists suggested change occurred as a result of struggles that were inevitable because of inequalities between those groups who sought to control the scarce resources. The theorists differ in how they interpret "exactly what is scarce, and what is unequally distributed" (Harper, 1989). How the state came to act as "the ultimate guarantor" of professional status was another focus of study (See discussion in Perkin, 1989, pp. xi - xiv). From this perspective, academic qualifications became endowed as a form of cultural
capital which symbolize this sought-after status. They provide a "certificate of cultural competence which confer[red] on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). The holders of these "certificates" played a major role in ensuring that they became synonymous with social esteem and thus with power and wealth.

Harold Perkin's (1989) discussion of professional society in England with its vertically organized competitive career hierarchies is useful in examining issues of status – or lack thereof – for occupations. In his interpretation, social conflict "takes the form of a competition for resources between rival interest groups" (p. 9), and those who succeed in this competition become most esteemed as professionals. Thus, there can be no fixed traits of a professional and no invariable process by which professionalization is attained.

In their study of the French university-hospital system, Jamous and Peloille (1970) suggested that the organization of professions led to self-perpetuating systems. They cautioned readers to be aware that the use of specific traits to delineate a profession was, in fact, an expression of a professional ideology imposed by dominant members of an occupation. Trait theorists, accordingly, were seen as perpetuators of (possibly unjust) ideologies. A profession, therefore, was the historic product of a struggle for legitimacy and control within an occupation and of occupational legitimation within a dominant ideology (pp. 138-146). Thus, professionalization was a hegemonic process which
led to the marginalization or disempowerment for those occupational groups who "lost" the ideological conflict.

In his early work, Freidson (1970) contended that a profession (such as medicine) achieved dominance and gained a monopoly over a "set of services and the accessories they require" (p. 127) by ensuring wide social acceptance of a practitioner's claim to "technical superiority" (p. 160). This dominance hinged not so much on the actual truth of these claims, as on the extent to which the public (especially the members of the dominant society) accepted the legitimacy of a particular occupation to be granted control over other individuals or groups (Doyle, 1990; Benoit, 1994). Relying on "the force and prerogatives of its official status" (Freidson, p. 235), a dominant profession built an "imperialistic ideology" through both training and practice that stressed the necessity for clients to accept expertise based on "imputed rather than demonstrated competence" (Freidson, p. 119). In cautioning people against the possibly unmerited superiority accorded to dominant professionals, Freidson stressed the need to temper "professional dominance and autonomy" with "administrative accountability" and accountability to the individual (p. 234).

Johnson (1972) elaborated a theoretical framework conceptualizing a profession as a means of organizing and controlling an occupation. For Johnson, control was a relationship between producer and consumer, consisting of three main types: collegiate, where the producer (a profession) defined the needs of
the consumer and the manner of catering for these needs; patronage, where the consumer defined his/her own needs and the manner for meeting them; and mediative, where a third party mediated in the relationship between producer and consumer, defining both the needs and the manner for meeting them (role of the state in capitalist society) (1972, pp. 45-47; see also Ozga and Lawn, 1981).

By examining the implications and features of this professional/consumer dichotomy, Johnson questioned the functionalists' assumptions that defining professionalism simply entailed identifying the features of socially empowered occupations and neglecting the disempowered ones. Knowledge alone does not explain, for example, why one health specialty, such as physiotherapy, "should be institutionally subordinated to medical diagnosis and referral, while another, dentistry, should escape such medical control" (pp. 21-22).

Another important theorist in this paradigm was Megali Larson, who, like Johnson, stressed both the context-specific and hegemonic outcomes of professionalization. For her, professionalization was a "process by which producers of special services [the professions] sought to constitute and control a market for their expertise" (Larson, 1977, p. xvi). Expanding on Johnson's mediative form of control, she framed her arguments in terms of the class struggles inherent in capitalism, and thus she argued that the concept of professionalism was one means by which capitalism perpetuates itself, along with the class structures and power imbalances which necessarily accompany
Although not stressing the strong neo-Marxist perspective of Larson, Burton Bledstein (1976) saw the creation of an ideology of professionalism as the key to gaining control. His explanation is worth noting at length. He believed that ideology:

required amateurs to "trust" in the integrity of trained persons, to respect the moral authority of those whose claim to power lay in the sphere of the sacred and the charismatic. Professionals controlled the magic circle of scientific knowledge which only the few, specialized by training and indoctrination, were privileged to enter, but which all in the name of nature's universality were obligated to appreciate. (p. 90)

The more elaborate the rituals of a profession, the more esoteric its theoretical knowledge, the more imposing its symbols of authority, the more respectable its demeanor, the more vivid its service to society – the more prestige and status the public was willing to bestow upon its representatives. (p. 94)

This construct of ideology is an important theme and will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.

A recent perspective on the hegemonic basis and outcomes of professionalization is that taken by those analysts who examine the concept of patriarchy as a means of control. Not satisfied with the mere attempts to add a women's perspective to the current dominant theories, – what Peter Novick (1988) called the "add women and stir" theory – feminist scholars examined professionalization in new ways. The work of Anne Witz (1992) was particularly useful. She stressed that previous studies of professionalization ignored the concept of gender. For Witz, functional attempts to define professions were
really "the successful professional project of class-privileged male actors at a particular point in history and in particular societies" (p. 39) which were then used to form a perspective whose generalized characteristics led necessarily to the empowering of males and the marginalizing of women. For example, Witz studied the medical professions to show "how class and gender have interacted in complex ways to produce hierarchies of power and prestige in professional work" (frontispiece). She used the term "professional project" to "establish the concrete and historically bounded character of profession" (p. 5), a fixity that only served to entrench male privilege in the profession. She thus criticized the work of functionalists who served (perhaps unwittingly) to solidify this professional male privilege; these theorists were themselves members of a male-dominated profession operating in an "institutional arena" which defended male power. From this perspective, the hierarchical male-privileging structure of medical and education systems is unfairly assumed to be the "natural" or "right" basis for the design of a profession: "the goal of normative control is to create feelings of solidarity that effectively mask prevailing power structures by making hierarchies seem either nonexistent or justifiable" (Brown, 1995, p. 68).

What is particularly important from this gendered relations perspective is the impact of institutionalization not only on horizontal divisions but also on the vertical divisions of labour – the bureaucratic educational hierarchy that was so powerfully patterned by gendered assumptions. Andrew Gitlin (1996) has
referred to this as the "hidden curriculum" of professionalization. For Kinnear (1995), "... the gendered nature of the professions was so completely taken for granted that there was no need even to justify the exclusion of women" (p. 9).

Adding a strong interactionist element to his concept of the relationship between power, knowledge and the role of the professions as actors, sociologist Eliot Freidson (1986) suggested that previous research looking at professions as "generic concepts" was deficient because of poorly defined terms of analysis. He argued it was far too limiting to assume "that knowledge [was] impressed like some ghostly rubber stamp on a passive humanity..." (p. x). Tiring of determinist notions of people as powerless, malleable, gullible individuals (perhaps the "professional" victim), he focused more on people's responses to power. He acknowledged the colourful rhetoric of the hegemonic or Marxist literature, but he saw "terms like hegemony, dominance, monopoly of discourse, and social control [being] invoked to sustain the assumption" (p. x). Freidson's analysis of specific work settings illustrated how formal knowledge (scientific or not) produced and taught in the universities by academics was "transformed and modified by the activities of those participating in its use" (p. xi). That is, the qualities of (and levels of power concomitant with) various professions varied depending on the actual uses to which the knowledge was put by practising professionals.
By the early twentieth century, social, political and economic changes had resulted in many occupations seeking to define or to redefine their specialized knowledge and skills. As the growing breadth of knowledge required an individual to select only one stream for academic study, this often gave rise to the creation of new professions or of sub-categories within existing professions. Members of these developing professions argued that this requirement of specialized knowledge necessitated a very specific theoretical training that was achievable only in a university setting. In their attempts to clearly demarcate these boundaries around a specific subject matter, workers in these emergent professions stressed that this formal knowledge had "clear and general applicability to situations of practice" (Harris, 1993, p. 28).

It was by acquiring this firm foundation in theory, that they would "build up the authority, autonomy and breadth of understanding which [were] so fundamental to the making of responsible professional judgments" (Renshaw, 1971, p. 57). They claimed that this partnership of theory and practical skills would ultimately increase their efficiency as competent practitioners. That is, the educational history that education students studied would make them better teachers; the social theories that social workers studied would make them better social workers, and so on. Thus, occupations sought to establish a "specialized
division of expert labor" by creating their "own knowledge boundaries ... and their practical application." By locating this "knowledge monopoly" in a university they could move toward attaining professional status (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 3; see also Tomkins, 1986).

To increase the likelihood of successful institutionalization and thus of broad social acceptance as a "true" profession, a new specialization was careful to ensure that its epistemological base was firmly grounded in science. Knowledge defined in this way "was ... restricted to the observation of facts, to logical inference, and to the determination of regular relationships among facts ... events could be explained in terms of antecedent conditions; and conversely, future events could be reliably predicted" (Torgerson, 1986, p. 36). This hope that the future could somehow be controlled and that valid generalizations were possible if pursued with due academic rigor seemed particularly important after the unpredictability of progress during World War I (Ross, 1991; Barber, 1970). The driving force for social progress was scientific or academic discovery and the natural "home" or training ground for such discovery was the university.

Practitioners of the new social science professions wanted to appear free from any selfish or arbitrary motivation both in what they had chosen to study or test and in the interpretation of the results. To ensure this, not only was a strong connection to scientifically-defined knowledge necessary, but also scientific methodology had to be employed. Only then could an occupation claim
the "professional authority [which] transcended the favoritism of politics, the corruption of personality, and the exclusiveness of partisanship" (Bledstein, 1976, p. 90). Because of this assumed ethic of scientific disinterestedness, the data generated by these seemingly objective means was widely accepted — after all, a scientific study produced "facts." If something could be proved scientifically, even a premise as audacious as that "proved" by the 1925 Province of British Columbia Survey of the School System (hereafter referred to as the Putman-Weir Report) that those children born in Continental Europe were of far lower intelligence than English, Scotch and Irish pupils (Wood, 1985, p. 163), it was accepted as the "truth."²

In accepting the epistemological authority of the expert who produced such "universally-applicable, empirically-proved truths," the public did not generally stop to consider the extent to which truth can be relative and sensitive to the values of the investigator. As Foucault suggests, "truth is linked ... with systems of power which produce and sustain it ..." (as cited in Jenkins, 1991, p. 32). Every profession interpreted problems

in terms of the solution it [was] qualified to offer and the service it believe[d] in. [For example], a health service defined and dominated by treatment specialists was bound to be a sickness-oriented system rather than a programme for positive health. (Perkin, 1989, p. 348)

Nevertheless, it was this capacity to produce "scientifically-proved data" which contributed to increasing legitimacy for the aspiring professions. After all, it was only when the public became convinced of the scientific or academic
sophistication of a particular occupation that it would then perceive the occupation as a profession.

One example of this was the heightened public recognition of the profession of psychology after it had organized the American Army's intelligence testing program during World War I. This widespread and successful exercise in data gathering showed itself to be an instance of a new social science fulfilling an important function for the good of the nation. The testing program, organized by Robert M. Yerkes (President of the American Psychological Association), was a major impetus in "raising the prestige and perceived utility of psychology, and by extension, the social sciences generally" (Fisher, 1993, p. 30). According to Roy Lubove (1965), social workers eagerly followed the testing movement of the early twentieth century and adapted it into their fund of "scientific knowledge" to help diagnose their clients' mental abilities.3 Major philanthropic organizations supported this trend by donating large sums of money to assess the social costs of industrialization. This enabled social workers to conduct comprehensive surveys of American cities (Alchon, 1985).

Educators also used survey research methods to legitimate their decisions. Scientific questionnaires were used to elicit data that could then be used to efficiently and effectively (and scientifically) manage school systems. In 1913, J. C. Miller had helped introduce such American scientific methodology into Canada with his survey of the inspection and supervision needs of Canadian

Surveys produced "facts" about the conditions created by industrialization and had an important impact on public opinion. As results were made known, public attitudes towards social problems altered. Whereas in the nineteenth century problems tended to be blamed on "individual inadequacy," by the twentieth, this attitude changed and they increasingly came to be seen as "the products of social organization" (Perkin, 1989, p. 356). No longer was it possible to ignore the political and economic consequences of industrialization (especially in urban centres), all of which "cried out for collective, professional solutions rather than moral discipline or exhortation" (Perkin, 1989, p. 357). As the resources of churches and volunteers no longer seemed sufficient to deal with the problem, the public looked to the state to create solutions. It became the state's responsibility to supply the expertise which would serve to ameliorate the situation (Morton, 1967).

The new social science professions continued to develop "economic and social surveys ... and other exercises in data production that were designed to meet [this] need for greater enlightenment and better social management" (Alchon, 1985, p. 9). Governments and businesses used results from these surveys to support new policies and/or to provide rationales for change. As statistics became the "visible mark of science" (Ross, 1991), occupations seeking
professional status were careful to ensure that the ability to produce scientific
data and statistics was included in their formal knowledge base. The often
obscure nature of this data generation, accompanied by the inability (and quite
possibly, lack of desire) of the general public to understand the complexities of
mathematical analysis and formation of hypotheses, contributed to an
acceptance based on faith alone that results were truths. In turn the data
legitimated the stated rationale for change.

In addition to the deliberate association with science and the use of
scientific measurement to demarcate a field of study, another strategy that
helped strengthen boundaries around the new professions was the creation of a
specialized disciplinary discourse. C. S. Pierce described such an academic
language as "a suitable technical nomenclature, whose every term [had] a single
definite meaning universally accepted among students of the subject, and whose
vocables [had] no such sweetness or charms as might tempt loose writers to
abuse them" (as cited in Wilson, 1984, pp. 127-128). Only those who created
such a language or those who had been taught it either by lecture or through
texts would find it helpful and understandable.

As a Foucauldian argument suggests, this language was useful as one
element of "a hegemonic discourse that place[d] ... others at the margins of the
institute and directly benefit[ed] those who create[d] and sustain[ed] the
discourse of scholarship and community" (Bloland, 1995, p. 532). The more
esoteric and scientific the vocabulary used to describe knowledge and explain procedures, the easier it was for members of an occupation to establish a distinct identity and to claim unique skills. Those unfamiliar with the technical language and without such skills were then expected to acquiesce to the opinion of those "objective" practitioners who did have the appropriate expertise – what Larson (1977) referred to as "epistemological superiority."

This growing societal reliance on scientific evidence increased the dependence on expertise. As Professor J. F. Macdonald of the University of Toronto stated: "... to-day whatever is not demonstrable by neat charts and elaborate tables of figures is usually suspect." He went on to add rather cynically, "And the more bewildering and more nearly unintelligible the charts and figures, the more convincing they seem to minds uninitiated into the mysteries of their making" (1930, p. 104). Little effort was made to rephrase the statistical and scientific data in terminology understandable to the general public. Experts (and those who hired them) generally could count on their decisions being accepted as legitimate in spite of the "bewildering" information presented as a rationale.

Although it cannot be assumed that the production of all such information was an intentional strategy deliberately used to delude an "unsuspecting public," the manipulation of scientifically-derived data to meet specific needs was (and is) certainly possible. Of course, not everyone supported
this blind acceptance of "facts." In 1930, Harold Laski warned readers of some of the dangers of giving the expert "a veneration not very different from that of the priest in primitive society" (p. 59). He cautioned that an expert may choose to "unduly discount experience which does not tally with his own" and that "glittering generalizations" may be made on the basis of a severely limited "special realm of facts" (pp. 52-55).

The creation of a unique terminology and the use of complex statistical data to support such discussions were useful. Not only did they help create "increased autonomy from outsiders," they also helped the new professions "maintain internal homogeneity" (Johnson, 1972, p. 56) by standardizing the knowledge that was taught to all members of a profession. Another way of strengthening this sense of identity, while building what Kuhn (1970) referred to as conceptual, theoretical, instrumental, and methodological commitments, was the formation of specialists' societies and/or professional associations.

In their pursuit of both individual and collective interests, academic groups and occupational organizations protected members, provided support to them in their relationship with general society and created social networks. For example, social scientists formed specialist associations from under the umbrella of the American Social Science Association (1865): first the historians (1884) and economists (1885), followed by the political scientists (1903), and the sociologists (1905). Conferences at regional, national and international levels helped build
these networks. Canadians became actively involved in the specialist organizations and conferences associated with such disciplines and "looked upon themselves ... as contributing members of a worldwide community devoted to improving conditions in their special fields" (Sutherland, 1976, p. 234). The formation of a professional group – even one very loosely defined – brought together "what hitherto existed only as a serial collection of juxtaposed individuals" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 14). The entire group then became identified with the spokespersons who represented it, those who were authorized to speak and act on behalf of its members. The individual power and charisma of these representatives was vital to the efforts of the profession to persuade the public of its merit. In particular, because they had to convince government to provide funds for the necessary services they provided (hospitals, schools, universities, etc.), the spokespersons for the public service professions had a particularly important "selling job" to complete (Perkin, 1989; Larson, 1977; Freidson, 1986).

To help clarify their relationships, not only with the public but also with their peers, professional groups often adopted written codes of conduct to guide the profession by clearly setting out expectations for professional practice. Such formalized norms also served to protect the public by defining the boundaries of behaviour and were useful in helping to justify "the privilege of self-regulation" (Larson, 1977, p. x) for some professions. Often included in these ethical standards was the procedure that would be followed if it was necessary to react
to the breaking of the code; that is, procedures were established for a disciplinary process for members should allegations of misconduct occur (Harries-Jenkins, 1970; Turner & Hodge, 1970). The two features then, inherent in a code of ethics, were a set of aspirational goals to guide members and a set of enforceable rules of conduct. Not only did a code of ethics serve to promote appropriate conduct by its members, but also the very existence of a formal code of professional ethics helped to convince the public that the occupation was indeed a profession.

**Professionalization: The Establishment of a Monopoly**

The ongoing attempts to clarify the boundaries of professional group identity through the mechanisms described above inevitably had an impact on a profession. Once the knowledge base was defined and successfully instituted in a university, the degree that marked an individual's mastery of this knowledge base acted, to use Pierre Bourdieu's analogy, "like aces in a game of cards"—in itself not sufficient to win a game, but definitely a major asset. The importance of the credential granted by a university can not be overstressed. This form of cultural capital came to act as a type of currency that had been legitimated by society (Bourdieu, 1986, 1987; Parsons, 1989; Brown, 1995) and led to the achievement of both economic and social rewards. As David Labaree (1995)
asked, "why would an employer, who presumably cares about the productivity of future employees, hire people based solely on a college's certification of competence in the absence of any evidence for that competence?" (as cited in Brown, p. xii; see also Gitlin, 1996). Society had to be convinced a university degree was both necessary for entry to the occupation, and sufficient as proof of skill.

Early functionalist approaches to the study of professions suggested that after a formal knowledge base was firmly established in universities and the boundaries around a profession were clear, acceptance by the public and accorded prestige would soon follow as a logical evolutionary step. However, more recent studies have indicated that the relationship between knowledge and power was much more complex. It was undeniably important for members of occupations seeking professional status to stake out a clear identity that differentiated them from those who inherited wealth, those who earned their wages through manual labour, or those who were "capitalist entrepreneurs."

Yet, the "legitimation of rationality" provided by access to an esoteric scientific body of knowledge, although necessary for, was not in itself enough to secure the "authority base" of a profession (Jackson, 1970, p. 9). Any examination of professionalization "must at the same time involve an account of the context of power relations within which such access and control is achieved and of how it is maintained" (Johnson, 1984, p. 21).
Just as power was once attached to land or capital, in a professional society the resource associated with power is expertise or human capital. Perkin (1989) stressed that although professional capital (expertise) was a form of property, significantly it was contingent upon the performance of a service.

It [was] this principle of justification by service that [lay] behind the professional right to property and the professional social ideal. It [was] also the foundation of the claim to moral superiority which, like other classes before them, the professional class [made] over their rivals. (Perkin, 1989, p. 379)

As with any property, the scarcity of the resource, or the putative scarcity, influenced its perceived worth. Therefore, to reap the greatest reward from society, every profession wanted to limit the availability of its training in order to ensure its scarcity. "Its value [had] to be protected and raised, first by persuading the public of the vital importance of the service and then by controlling the market for it" (Perkin, 1989, p. 378). Once successful in this endeavour, those engaged in the profession would therefore attain higher remuneration and greater social prestige.

In this task, the role of professional organizations was an important one. In their function as political representatives for their members, they worked to convince the public that they merited the granting of status and other benefits that the public accorded to professions (Freidson, 1986). To do this, it was vital that "the group's members, as individuals and by virtue of their shared training and experience [were] seen as the sole possessors of the rules of the game or of
some equivalent basis for unequivocal judgments" (Kuhn, 1970, p. 168). That is, they had to be able to exclude people from their ranks and to prevent these people from practicing the occupation. The various associations knew how important this function was to their widespread acceptance as a profession and often included public relations in the aims of their society. For example, Queen's University professor Adam Shortt, in his inaugural address in 1913 as first president of the Canadian Political Science Association, suggested that this particular professional association must act like an inoculating needle and infuse new ideas into the body politic and diffuse itself throughout the whole system (Owram, 1986, p. 66).

In establishing this monopoly and thus creating the scarce resource, some strategies were particularly effective. One of these strategies – what Freidson (1986) referred to as "the most visible method" – was occupational licensing, "a process by which a government agency grant[ed] exclusive official permission, sustained by law, to eligible individuals to work in a particular occupation" (p. 65). State decision-makers justified this requirement for formal consent to practice by claiming that the consumer of the service needed protection. The state was pragmatically taking "action to avoid whatever dangers may lie in permitting noninitiates to practice the trade" (Lortie as cited in Beyer et al., 1989, p. 41). This external verification, in the form of a licence to practice, not only specified that a professional had completed the education necessary to
become a teacher or a psychologist, but also implied that there had been some evaluation of their expert knowledge and ability that would ensure an acceptable level of service (Elliot, 1972).

While safeguards were necessary for the protection of the consumer, other rationales underlay this argument for state licensing of professionals. With the power to licence, came the power to control. Those who were privileged enough to be licensed still could not help but be aware that just as the state helped to establish the exclusivity of their profession, it also had the power to revoke it. Along with the right to licence came the obligation to monitor; that is, a profession would lose its right to exclusivity if it had no means – preferably very public ones – of expelling members who did not continue to display the capabilities that earned them their licenses. This monitoring process took on two basic forms, which served to distinguish the high status from the low status professions. Professions like medicine which policed themselves to ensure standards were met possessed a higher status than those professions like teaching whose members were inspected by the state and thus did not have “collective autonomy from external regulation” (Darling-Hammond & Wise, 1992, p. 1360). For public service professions, the state controlled their source of income, job opportunities and chances of promotion (Perkin, 1989, p. 400). This loss of control created a somewhat tenuous relationship between the externally monitored profession and the state. The power imbalance for those professions
dependent on both state licensing and monitoring was obvious.

Another important strategy for sustaining a monopoly of service was the use of credentialist tactics. Without a credential an individual was not a real social worker or a real engineer (Larson, 1977; Freidson, 1986; Witz, 1992). University training was indispensable for claims to professional expertise. The university acted as "the empirical arena" where knowledge was linked to the market of services (Larson, 1977, p. 51). That is, in universities individuals attained the academic qualification that gave them the cultural capital that could then be converted into economic capital on the labour market. Education and certification were thus "inextricably and deliberately intertwined" (Jencks & Riesman, 1968, p. 63). The university degree itself, as apart from any special personal characteristics of the possessor, guaranteed a certain value. Recognition was given through "the performative magic of the power of instituting" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248).

A strong link existed between the granting of a university degree and the subsequent (almost automatic) licensing of the person as legally entitled to engage in the profession. More than 70 years ago, Max Weber (1922) noted that this search for a specific credential was "not a suddenly awakened 'thirst for education,' but rather the desire to limit the supply of candidates for these positions and to monopolize them for the holders of educational patents" (as cited in Brown, 1995, p. xx). Even as early as 1900, Parsons was observing that the
length of time necessary to attain a needed professional credential (for example, medical, legal and dentistry degrees) was instituted "well in advance of demonstrable improvements in the technical sophistication or efficacy of each practice" (as cited in Brown, 1995, p. 27). Although a degree was not always made mandatory for employment until the latter half of the twentieth century, it provided the quickest and most direct route to advancement in many professions (Lubove, 1965).

Both formal licensing and the acquisition of the appropriate credential were successful strategies that resulted in restricting access to a profession. Yet while "the credentialling system depend[ed] on employers' voluntary cooperation, licensing [did] not. It back[ed] up professionals' knowledge claims with the force of the state by legally restricting who [could] practice" (Derber et al., 1990, p. 110). Defined requirements made a monopoly of service possible. In turn, this resulted in closure and the continued use of exclusionary strategies to restrict access to the "scarce resource" which was created. As public recognition of this special status was granted to an occupational group, the resultant market control (like supply and demand laws as applied to cultural capital) led to the accrual of the social benefits of professionalization (Freidson, 1986; Larson, 1977).

The relationship between the public and the professions was complex. Although the mystique of expertise tended to obviate any challenge to the
authority of the professional, "the vagaries of consumer choice always operate[d] as a counterbalance to occupational control in so far as they introduce[d] pressures towards diversity within the occupational community" (Johnson, 1972, p. 59). Awareness of the power of the consumer, however limited, reinforced professionals' recognition of the need to persuade clients that their services were invaluable. Lawyers, for example, "like primitive medicine-men who cultivated the occult knowledge of the supernatural, ... have always sedulously cultivated the myth of the majesty and the mystery of law" (Wilensky, 1964, p. 149).

For the public service professions where the client did not directly pay for the services provided, the state too had to be convinced. As Perkin (1989) stressed, such services were esoteric (beyond the layman's knowledge or judgment), evanescent (impossible to pin down or fault even when they failed), and fiduciary (and must therefore be taken on trust). Professionals therefore had the task of convincing "society to set aside a secure income, or a monopolistic level of fees, to enable [them] to perform the service rather than jeopardize it by subjecting it to the rigours of capitalist competition in the conventional free market" (Perkin, 1989, p. 117). That is, professionals had to create the public perception that "price-cutting" non-professionals would produce work that necessarily would be inferior and even dangerous.

Professions, in their attempts to establish a monopoly for themselves, worked to create a firm boundary between themselves and other occupational
groups by clearly demarcating their areas of expertise. What resulted was the creation of a "collection of parallel hierarchies of unequal height, each with its own ladder of many rungs" (Perkin, 1989, p. 9). Just as all individuals are not equally successful, so too, some professions earned greater status and more rewards than others. Similarly, many of the professions, especially those with a high female membership and clearly-defined task differentiation, contained internal occupational sub-groups that themselves were ranked in a hierarchy of power and prestige. Freidson (1986) assigned three main divisions to social science (helping) professions: the producers, or practitioners; the knowledge elite, or the academicians who acted as transmitters of the academic knowledge base for a particular profession; and the administrative elite, or managers. With the limited resources available in any society, the growth in the number and variety of professions led to a "persuasion competition." The professions who were best at convincing society of their merit won the prize – increased status, greater income, and more authority.

Perkin (1989) referred to two broad divisions, or as he called them, "warring factions," in this vertical structure: the public sector and the private sector professions. Both sectors wanted autonomous control of a particular service and the status and rewards which flow[ed] from it. The difference [lay] in their strategies for achieving them. While the public sector professional start[ed] from the belief that his service was so essential to society that it must be provided gratis (or nearly so) and society must pick up the bill, the private sector
professional start[ed] from the belief that his service [was] so attractive that the customer [would] willingly pay. (p. 402)

An important difference existed between the public and private sector professions' relationship with the state. Professions in the public sector tended to see the state as an ally, "as the origin of their incomes and resources and guarantor of their status and prestige," whereas professions in the private sector saw it "as a threat to their incomes and capital base and a constraint on their activities" (Perkin, 1989, p. 17). For some occupations, like teaching, the situation was confusing. The state, as ally, paid their salaries and limited their membership (at least to some degree); but the state also acted as antagonist, an entity which constrained their day-to-day lives and limited their professional autonomy.

Professionalization: The Creation of an Ideology

Although the users of professional services could not fail to be aware that individual professionals accrued economic and social benefits through the provision of their services, the public also believed professionals were motivated (at least in part) by a concern for the welfare of others.

If clients did not believe that the service ideal were operative, if he thought that the income of the professional were a commanding motive, he would be forced to approach the professional as he does a car dealer – demanding a specific result in a specific time and a guaranty of restitution should mistakes be made. (Wilensky, 1964, p. 140)
This ethic of service was of critical importance to the legitimation of the new "helping" professions. For most of the new professions, the clients, as consumers of a particular service, were "neither sophisticated nor powerful" and they readily accepted "the professional's position as gatekeeper of desired resources" (Freidson, 1986, p. 174). Still, despite this general compliance on the part of clients, this evident power disparity could easily result in "tension between values developed within the profession and the values of the wider society" (Elliott, 1972, p. 11), and thus it was particularly important that fundamental guarantees of competence and integrity were also present. Professional autonomy resulted in acceptance of "the proposition that while a client could engage the services of a professional, it was the professional, and not the client, who determined how the services were rendered..." (Novick, 1988, p. 511).

However, even this altruism was affected by the emphasis on science and utilitarian values. The new helping professions, which had previously focused upon the Christian ethic as their rationale for intervening in the lives of the poor and the socially disadvantaged, now justified their actions by the more scientific, more equitable, more democratic ethic of social usefulness.⁶ Professionals, although committed to providing service to individual clients, legitimated their actions by making sure that they were perceived as "using their academic speciality to serve the common good and the national interest" (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 31).
When professional expertise was based on claims of rational authority rather than on moral or religious principles, recipients of such service found it easier to accept assistance. For example, as social workers sought to redefine their function, their role changed from the provider of charity which "savored too much of paternalism, moral righteousness, and class distinction" to that of the "superior knowledge of the expert, which involved 'not a particle of sense of shame on the one side or of condescension on the other'" (Lubove, 1965, p. 35).

As training for the professions based on the social sciences became both more firmly grounded in the rational authority of science and anchored in the university, there had been an accompanying "cognitive and normative legitimation for ... the rise of the expert ..." (Larson, 1977, p. 142). Societal acceptance of technocracy (the management of society by technical experts) became so great that it was suggested that an ordinary citizen (actually, "the common man") should "refuse to think beyond his limited field and to learn to consult the expert" (Thorndike as cited in Welker, 1992, p. 17).  

In 1913, A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard and an executive member of the American Political Science Association was one of those leaders who worked hard to convince the public of the merit of employing experts. He "rationally" explained that "both industrial cities and American empire would be made safe through expertise." To support his argument, he suggested "that Rome fell not so much from lack of moral fiber as "the lack of experts in public
service" (as cited in Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 213). Canadian social scientists themselves "simply did not believe that the complexities of the modern state could be entrusted to the ill-informed and indifferent citizenry at large" (Owram, 1986, p. 121).

This faith in the use of expertise as a panacea for social problems was an important facet of professionalization. University-educated experts with their specialized knowledge were expected to answer "the full array of technical and social questions" (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 71) facing the country. The public had to believe that the services provided by professionals were irreplaceable, that is, the tasks performed by professionals were those that individuals could not do for themselves. It was imperative for those professions aspiring to gain control of a particular market to clearly "define the boundaries between the sacred company of those within the walled garden and those outside" (Jackson, 1970, p. 10). After all, as Larson (1977) stressed in her discussion of the creation of professional monopolies, "where everyone can claim to be an expert, there is no expertise" (p. 31).

"As the broad outline of exchange between experts and their constituency grew clearer, expertise became a routine part of the solution of social problems" (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 159). The public took it for granted that university-trained experts would follow the principles and techniques of scientific management for the betterment of society. With science for legitimation, they
(and only they) could be trusted to recommend appropriate actions which would lead to the desired state of social efficiency, with its accompanying promises of improved lifestyle for individuals and general social stability (Kliebard, 1986). If businesses, or governments, or schools, or homes, or even individuals were not efficient, it was assumed the opposite was true – they were wasteful (Perkin, 1989; Callahan, 1962). Even a social problem "was a situation which was intolerable not merely because it offended against humanitarian sentiment but because it created avoidable waste and militated against social efficiency" (Perkin, 1989, p. 356).

Just as World War I had made scientific methodology seem more desirable, so too it made efficiency appear more necessary. Efficiency came to function as "a code word for the concept of a society in which orderliness prevailed, with individuals dedicating themselves to personal moral and social improvement" (Owram, 1986, p. 86). Efficiency measures such as the application of scientific management principles or a bureaucratic re-organization in the business sphere produced visible and explainable results; for example, production would increase and/or time taken or the number of workers needed to complete a task would be reduced. Such changes could then be shown to produce financial gains.

The overwhelming success of this applied expertise in the business sector, with the resultant efficiency, suggested that similar success would be possible in
the public service sector. The hope that people's lives could be improved by application of the same principles was enticing both for those offering a service and for those receiving it. Larson (1977) suggested that expectations, and even demands, for efficiency from the social science professions showed how normalized this construct had become as an organizing principle of social action. Because efficiency in the social science professions could not be accurately measured as it was in factories, "its measurement [was] therefore necessarily reduced to cost-benefit evaluations" (Larson, 1977, pp. 142-143). These subjective assessments were difficult to substantiate and monetary analyses were subject to challenge. For the most part, those "vast populations" who used the services of these professionals (experts) were most likely to judge success or failure "by the result and [were] careless of, even uninterested in, the processes by which these results [were] attained" (Laski, as cited in Perkin, 1989, p. 393). Still, implicit in the public's faith in the validity of the results was an assumption that the process utilized was appropriately sophisticated and precise.

As the professional ideal became pervasive throughout society, members of professions and organizations worked to increase their own efficiency. Bruce Curtis (1992) has argued the adoption of the "ethical construct" of efficiency involved both a "moral and political choice." He believed that "its institutionalization should be taken as an instance of cultural power relations"
That is, professionals who, as part of their contract to provide services, implicitly undertook to increase efficiency, were making a choice to incorporate this organizational principle into their body of knowledge.

Efficiency was directly connected to the spread of bureaucracy. Frederick Winslow Taylor, often called the "father of scientific management" and the efficiency movement, supported the idea that a clearly defined hierarchical organization was the most efficient way to manage an organization. "In his system the judgment of the individual workman was replaced by the laws, rules, principles, etc., of the science of the job which was developed by management ... a management based on measurement" (Callahan, 1962, p. 28). Great prestige was attached to reaching the top levels of any bureaucracy. Thus, even those who were privileged enough to be members of a profession, and not in a mere job, were accorded varying levels of esteem and power depending on their specialized function within the profession's bureaucracy.

By the 1920s, bureaucratic organizations, with their characteristic specialization of functions, strict adherence to rules and regulations and hierarchy of authority, were becoming increasingly widespread. These structures had a major impact on social science professionals such as economists, political scientists, teachers, and social workers, particularly those employed in large publicly-funded organizations. In a hierarchically organized profession, it was often those at the top of the bureaucratic structure, the managers, who
defined efficiency for the group and they, who determined how successful implementation would be measured. As Larson (1977) so acerbically pointed out, "Obviously, they [did] not perform this task of definition to their own disadvantage" (p. 143).

In order for such hierarchies to function effectively, it was imperative that their operating principles were clearly understood (or, at least, unquestioningly adhered to) by their members. As Bruce Curtis (1992) stressed

no bureaucracy can function unless those subject to it adopt specific attitudes, habits, beliefs, and orientations; attitudes to authority, habits of punctuality, regularity, and consistency, beliefs about the abstract nature and legitimacy of authority and expertise: orientations to rules and procedures. (p. 174)

The widespread acceptance of such values and orientations (however bereft they may be of any "absolute" legitimacy) is highly comparable to the degree of acceptance given to the eminence of and need for professionals.

By early in the twentieth century, in the United States (and to a much lesser degree in Canada), powerful links had been formed between the university and the new social science professions. As Derber et al. (1990) suggested, the university had become "the true institutional church of the professions" (p. 33).

The concomitant values of rationality, expertise and efficiency had become associated in the public mind with progress and reform (Callahan, 1962). Acceptance of these principles was so pervasive\(^10\) and had such a dramatic impact on society that many have described this phenomenon as an ideology or
even a cult, with its implicit connotations of dogma and unthinking devotion.

Much of the research on professionalization has centred around the question whether "professional power [was] the special power of knowledge or merely the ordinary power of vested economic, political, and bureaucratic interest" (Freidson, 1986, p. 225). For some researchers, the entrenchment of professionals as the new social guardians was a deliberate ploy by the dominant members of society to surreptitiously maintain power and to impose their wants and demands on others who accepted such social authority without questioning its merits (Jackson, 1970; Larson, 1977; Bender, 1984; Torgerson, 1986). Yet the creation of the ideology of professionalization was more complex than a top-down imposition of power. Initially, it was not a belief system imposed from above, with willing, or even unwilling, consent from below. As an organizing principle for society it had the potential of becoming "as extensive as there were human beings capable of skilled and specialized service" (Perkin, 1989, p. xii). Public acceptance of professional monopolies of expert knowledge arose only when the public had been led to view such monopolies as if they were in fact the necessary outgrowth of meritocracy and the promise of egalitarianism. Entry to the professions was gained through the completion of an education seemingly accessible to anyone who, regardless of background, met academic prerequisites and could afford the cost. In theory, once specific educational and legal standards for entry to a profession were attained, individuals would then have
equal opportunities for success in their chosen occupations. Advancement would depend upon individual achievement based on the "objective" criteria of merit and ability. This semblance of increased and unlimited opportunities for social advancement contributed to the pervasiveness of the ideology throughout all levels of Canadian society, and thus accounted, at least in part, for its transformation of society "not from the top down but from within" (Perkin, 1989, p. xiii).

Change in the status quo did not occur quickly. The movement to a professional society "[was] not a clean break with a completely fresh start, but a gradual change in which the already advantaged [had] the best chance of getting a foot on the most attractive professional ladders and climbing them faster than others" (Perkin, 1989, p. 359; see also Bourdieu, 1986, 1987, 1989; Gidney & Miller, 1991). What remained hidden or unacknowledged was that, as Jacques Derrida has suggested, such assumptions of placement by merit inevitably led to the creation and consequent justification of exclusion. Merit or standards were deceptive in that they "instantly create[d] marginality" of some individual or group (Bloland, 1995, p. 529).

Nor was the market value of the label "professional" or the degree which symbolized this attainment as clear-cut as it first appeared. A member of an occupation which had successfully professionalized was a recipient of the power, recognition and income earned as part of the collective effort (Adler, 1985);
however, at the same time these advantages did not accrue equally to all members of a profession. Although the rhetoric of meritocracy suggested that individual success (or failure) was determined solely by ability, in reality "educational qualifications ... [were] never entirely separable from their holders: their value [rose] in proportion to the value of their bearer ..." (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 258). That those who were already socially advantaged prior to getting their degree ended up with a greater share of the "fruits of professionalization" than did those who started out comparatively disadvantaged was well-masked and effectively buried in the positive rhetoric of advancement by merit.

In spite of these inherent inequities, the ideology of professionalization did become a dominant organizing force in society. As Stuart Hall, referred to by Michael Apple as one of the most insightful analysts of cultural politics, noted:

the circle of dominant ideas does accumulate the symbolic power to map or classify the world for others; its classifications do acquire not only the constraining power of dominance over other modes of thought but also the initial authority of habit and instinct. It becomes the horizon of the taken-for-granted: what the world is and how it works, for all practical purposes. (as cited in Apple, 1993, p. 58)

The primary focus of this study is not on how the ideology of professionalism was created but rather on the magnitude of its influence. "Gramsci considers that an ideology is not to be judged by its truth or falsity but by its efficacy in binding together a bloc of diverse social elements, and in acting as cement or as an agent of social unification" (Simon, 1982, p. 60). Surely
professionalization would fit this criterion! As a "cementing ideology"
professionalism was not an ideology which served the interests of only one group,
or class, of individuals. It was derived from a synthesis of disparate needs that
resulted in a new power relationship being formed, or as Gramsci would suggest
a new "organization of consent." Significantly, the ideology of professionalism re-or­
organized the socio-cultural power dynamics in the twentieth century.

Professionalization: Indicators of Legitimation

One clearly visible indicator of the increased status of professions was the
willingness of society to support the expenditure of public funds on the expansion
of public services and on universities (the "arena" where professionals acquired
their expertise from a defined cognitive framework). This new (and substantial)
expenditure of money acted as a "concrete symbol" of the public approbation of
the professions that was also being shown through other less tangible types of
commitment such as moral and legal support and general good will (Parsons &
Platt, 1973, p. 357). Moreover, the social science professionals (both
practitioners and academicians) benefitted not only from public funds but also
from increased levels of private funding. Their leaders "realized that the
philanthropic foundations being invented by wealthy capitalists at the turn of
the twentieth century were treasure troves of enormous potential" (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 243).

Beardsley Ruml, often referred to as the founder of the social sciences in America, was instrumental in acquiring funding that helped ensure both the entrenchment of the social sciences in the university setting and their firm grounding in science. In 1922 he had proposed a ten-year plan for the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial fund. Ruml believed that "as the social sciences became more 'scientific' in the natural science mode, ... these disciplines would be more efficient in helping to solve the 'real,' 'practical' problems that society faced" (Fisher, 1993, p. 33). This focus reflected the increasing need for an academic field of study and its associated profession(s) to be connected with science in order for them to have access not only to the societal power structures but also for easier access to philanthropic funds.

Clearly this infusion of money from the Rockefeller Foundation proved to be not only "a major catalyst for the focus of social science on scientific method" (Ross, 1991, p. 401) but also an impetus for significant expansion of these disciplines in the universities. Consequently, universities were able to modernize their facilities and new positions were created in the academic community. Scientific respectability and enhanced status were gradually attached to professional fields like social work as a result of the increasing intellectual legitimacy of the social sciences. The growing credibility of the social
sciences spread across North America to influence the establishment of new programs and the expansion of existing specialties in Canadian universities. For example, four universities (Toronto, McGill, Manitoba and Queen's) offered instruction in social work by 1920. So too, "political economy, defined variously as economics, political science, sociology, or a combination of all three, had become a mature discipline and a standard offering in most Canadian universities" (Owram, 1986, p. 122). Another outward indicator of the value attached to professional training was the public demand for such training. Students eagerly enrolled in the new specialized programs of study, seeking the expertise that would potentially lead to economic and social rewards.

**Professionalization of Teachers**

To attain the social and economic success accrued through professionalization, it was important that, as in other social science professions, the teaching of pedagogy take place in a university setting where it could claim an association with scientific expertise. As John Dewey (1929) noted:

> science is of value because it puts a stamp of final approval upon this and that specific procedure. . . . It is prized for its prestige value rather than as an organ of personal illumination and liberation. It is prized because it is thought to give unquestionable authenticity and authority to a specific procedure to be carried out in the school room. (as cited in Hansgen, 1991, p. 690)
The Creation of Foundational Knowledge

No single marker or "seminal event," such as the Flexner Report (1910) for doctors or the Williamson Report (1923) for librarians, marked the beginning of teachers' efforts to professionalize. Rather, it was a gradual process. For teaching, as for any occupation, one of the requisites for achieving professional status was the need to establish a sound theoretical base firmly grounded in scientific theory to which practical and identifiable technical skills could be added. The way to achieve this recognition and respect for the possession of pedagogic expertise in the twentieth century was clearly tied to the teaching and the formulation of such skills and knowledge in a university setting.

The difficulties of defining a clear theoretical framework for education as a field of study (what Darling-Hammond & Wise (1992) refer to as a verifiable and predictive teaching knowledge) were readily apparent. The knowledge base of education was a compound drawn from other subjects which have some immediate bearing on questions of individual development and social progress – a mixture of selections from philosophy, psychology, biology, history, government, economics, and most recently sociology, social ethics, and statistics. [Education] came into the university circle ... as a sub-division of an already established subject – philosophy. (Spaulding, 1933, p. 130)\textsuperscript{15}

Because of its nature as an integrated field of study, the scientific foundation of its sub-disciplines was important in order to ensure that Education\textsuperscript{16} itself was seen as scientific and efficient. Psychology was particularly significant in the
development of Education as a science and was a key part of its knowledge base. It helped provide "what seemed to be a powerful intellectual foundation and a set of tools to insure efficacy" (Doyle, 1990, p. 10).

One important contributor to this growing body of theoretical knowledge was Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), a German philosopher and psychologist who focused on secondary education. He was the first writer on education to...exalt teaching and proper teaching-procedure instead of mere knowledge or intellectual discipline. He thus conceived of the educational process as a science in itself, having a definite content and method, and worthy of special study by those who desire to teach. (Cubberley, 1922, p. 421)

His "Herbartian steps"—preparation, presentation, association, generalization, and application—were illustrative of a method for linking theory to practice in the science of education. They served as a model for lesson design for teacher trainees until well into the twentieth century. For example, his lesson planning methods based on rational pedagogy were widely used in Ontario normal schools and influenced teacher training into the 1950s (Tomkins, 1986, p. 104).

Wilhelm Max Wundt (1832-1926), another German, inaugurated the scientific study of perception and influenced many American students who later became prominent educators in their own country.

Although European influences such as these were critical to the development of the new science of education, American scholars focussed their research on the particular needs of their own culture (Cremin, 1961, 1969;
Cubberley, 1922; Tomkins, 1986). The first chair of pedagogy in an American university was established in 1879 at the University of Michigan (Urban, 1990). When the influential Teachers College at Columbia University was founded in 1887, its goals identified the need to instill in teachers not only knowledge in specific subject matter, but also professional knowledge and technical skills. The intention was to provide professional training for teachers, parallel to schools of law and medicine (Altenbaugh & Underwood, 1990). For James Earl Russell, Dean of this College in the early 1900s, professional knowledge referred to the need to know more about the learner and learning (educational psychology and child study), about past achievement and present educational practice at home and abroad (history of education and comparative education), and about school administration and its relation to teacher, student, and society. ... students [would be] trained in the theories underlying educational practices themselves, and ... this meant applying in education the same union of systematic research and controlled observations that was coming to mark professional work in medicine and engineering. (Cremin, 1961, p. 174)

This knowledge base was to be further enriched by technical training in pedagogical skills.

Although the University of Toronto introduced a Bachelor (Masters’ level) of Pedagogy and a Doctorate of Pedagogy in 1894 and in 1907 McGill University set up a Chair of Education endowed by William Macdonald, the commitment to pursue the institutionalization of pedagogy as a subject worthy of study in the university was not so apparent in Canada as in the United States. Rather than develop its own sites for the rigorous study of education, Canadians preferred to
import professionals, "to commission American experts for advice, to draw on American research or to utilize opportunities for graduate study, south of the border" (Tomkins, 1981, p. 141; see also Tomkins, 1986).

By World War One most major American universities had schools of education, often of considerable size (Jencks & Riesman, 1968). With the development of such research facilities, scholars produced work in the history, psychology and philosophy of education as well as in pedagogical techniques. The leadership included followers of Wundt such as G. Stanley Hall (1846-1924), the first recipient of Harvard's doctorate in psychology in 1878, who studied both childhood and adolescence; James McKeen Cattell (1860-1944), "father of the American measurement movement in education" and Charles Judd (1873-1946), another educationalist (Beck, 1965, pp. 96-104; Cremin, 1961; Tomkins, 1986).

The philosopher, John Dewey (1859-1952), was instrumental in lessening the influence of Herbart's teacher-centred model and moving toward what became known as progressive education and child-centred learning (learning based on the scientific method). Dewey was a "major influence on social thought in the twentieth century" (Cleverley & Phillips, 1986, p. 97). A onetime follower of the functionalist William James, Dewey stressed the importance of "learning by doing" and his work gave the study of education "a practical content, along scientific and industrial lines" (Cubberley, 1922, p. 435). The increasing acceptance of educational progressivism highlighted the need for
teachers who were well-trained in the scientific principles of education. For Dewey, such teachers were integral to socially useful schooling in which "productive work is both in accord with the natural or psychological process of learning, and also provides the most direct road to connecting the school with social life" (Dewey, 1929, as cited in Cleverley & Phillips, 1986, p. 110).

Edward Thorndike (1874-1949), an educational psychologist who had studied with Cattell and James, taught at Teachers College, and was another important contributor to the development of the science of pedagogy. Cremin (1961) refers to Thorndike as "a seminal figure in the history of education" (p. 115) and claims that "no aspect of public-school teaching during the first quarter of the twentieth century remained unaffected by his influence" (p. 114). Thorndike firmly believed that "whatever exists at all exists in some amount. To know it thoroughly involves knowing its quantity as well as its quality" (as cited in Cremin, 1961, p. 185). Any behavior that could be observed could be measured. The results of Thorndike's psychological research and discussion of the implementation of quantified methods were incorporated into courses for teachers. For example, his three volume *Educational Psychology* (1913) which studied learning was used as a Reference text in the Educational Psychology course taught at the University of British Columbia in the 1920s. Thorndike's emphasis on scientific measurement was eagerly accepted by educators as a way to help define the epistemological boundaries of education as a scientific
endeavor and thus contribute to the legitimization of the profession. His view of education as a “scientific means of social improvement” exerted more influence over Canadian educators than the work of Dewey (Tomkins, 1986).

A visible indicator of the widespread acceptance of scientific measurement in education was the radical increase in the use of standardized tests as devices to measure students' intelligence and achievement. These tests were believed to be a viable means of "sort[ing] and classif[y]ing] children for purposes of efficient mass schooling" (Levin, 1990, p. 52). Intelligence tests were used to identify the gifted as well as the "feeble in mind." Teachers could then be taught (by the experts in the university) how to use this scientifically-derived data to best benefit the society. This identification was considered extremely important in the early twentieth century as

one child of superior intellectual capacity, educated so as to utilize his talents, may confer greater benefits upon mankind, and be educationally far more important, than a thousand of the feeble-minded children upon whom we have recently come to put so much educational effort and expense. (Cubberley, 1922, p. 451)

Decisions affecting the lives of young people were made on the basis of such results from these standardized tests. With the legitimacy of absolute truths, this meant that "educational measurement . . . became a mechanism for social control. It redefined a problem in technical and scientific terms, reflecting thereby the positivistic orientation of social sciences in the United States at that time" (Wood, 1985, p. 164). Many (of course, not all) parents accepted
recommendations based on these tests because of their faith in this educational expertise.

Educational managers hoped that scientific research in education would eventually yield valid measurement tools which would then provide superintendents and inspectors with methods which would ensure greater accuracy in their management tasks. Their faith in scientism encouraged the officers of the Dominion Educational Association in 1917 to discuss with the federal government what they believed was a "pressing need" for the collection of educational statistics (Stewart, 1957, pp. 30-31). They contended that this would be of great general benefit to society. As one nineteenth-century British Columbia inspector claimed

an accurate body of educational statistics is one of the greatest possible utility to the teacher, to the parents of the children at school, to the trustees or committees of management, to the nation at large, and still more to the children themselves. (as cited in Fleming, 1986, p. 289)

Not only would the development of this "educational science" presumably lead to an increase in efficiency but it would also change "school supervision from guesswork to scientific accuracy" (Cubberley, as cited in Doyle, 1990, p. 9; see also Warren, 1978; Gitlin, 1996). In addition, decisions could be based on "scientific" indicators. Thus, the "objective" supervisor would use an "objective" source of data to make an "objective" decision. Being able to clearly define and precisely evaluate teaching effectiveness was perceived to be of great utility as this type of supervision "would divorce schools from politics and improve
teachers' intellectual and professional competence" (Gitlin, 1996, p. 600). As Thorndike noted, if enough educational experts were trained "many of the gnawing controversies that had plagued educators since the beginning of time would disappear" (Cremin, 1961, p. 115).

In 1933, Harvard educator F. Spaulding stressed that in addition to teaching students to deal with educational problems through "scientific analysis," scientific training in education would have even further benefits of "focus[ing] attention on the development of the scientific attitude, on the arousal of scientific curiosity, [and] on the mastery of scientific ways of thinking" (p. 129). He believed that "the scattered results of academic groping with educational problems" (p. 131) were problematic and that educational researchers needed to carefully refine education as an integrated theoretical field of study. Only then could it establish its validity in the academic community.

Just as measurement was borrowed from psychology, so too was the language which helped to define the academic status of the field of education. For some, this adoption of a technical language was seen in a less than flattering light: "Not having a technical jargon of their own, educators inflate[d] their language with terms borrowed from other fields more heavily endowed" (Hansgen, 1991, p. 690). However, this association of education with psychology helped provide the authority of science and was important in that "teaching and teacher education achieved what seemed to be a powerful intellectual foundation
and a set of tools to ensure efficacy" (Doyle, 1990, p. 10).

However, in addition to acquiring one of the trappings of a "true"
profession, the effect of such moves resulted in arguably unforeseen
consequences. Tyack (1993) points out one long-term impact of this reliance on
psychology, where the study of the individual is the chief unit of analysis.

In this way of seeing, which boasted the label 'scientific,' educators have
portrayed differences between students – in 'intelligence,' interests,
temperament, or likely social destiny ... – as characteristics of individuals
rather than as products of class or culture. ... This apparent individuation
... has blurred the actual group impact of education. (p. 13)

Another critique of the emphasis on science and on what Rugg described
as the "orgy of tabulation" (Cremin, 1961, p. 187) which accompanied this focus
was that much of the data gathered and the studies and surveys conducted were
used for making and legitimizing policy decisions. Educational concerns focusing
on the classroom and teaching skills and tasks were neglected. Urban (1990)
suggests that "this divorce from the classroom served the purpose of the
university professors of education of maintaining the distance between
themselves and the world of the classroom teacher, particularly the increasingly
female world of the elementary teacher" (p. 64). It also reinforced the separation
between the university which focussed on scientific research and the normal
schools which, in the early twentieth century at least, chose to emphasize
classroom experience (Gitlin, 1996).

This separation in function and theoretical knowledge base was not to last
(although much of the differentiation in prestige did). Normal schools in the United States had first been established during the late 1830s as publicly-funded, two-year institutions which would “recruit women at the end of eight years of elementary school, give them semiprofessional training, and send them back to the elementary schools as teachers” (Jencks & Riesman, 1968, pp. 231-232). By the early twentieth century there were hundreds of these schools located throughout the country. In many locations these schools also functioned as high schools and young people enrolled only to take advantage of the “higher education” offered, not because they wanted to become teachers. The number of students enrolled in Normal Schools in the United States increased from 10,000 students in 1870 to 70,000 by 1900 (Altenbaugh & Underwood, 1990, p. 143).

However, as high schools became increasingly ubiquitous institutions in the twentieth century, normal schools had to modify their mandate and standards in order to ensure their survival. Although the increased enrollment in the high school did create a need for more secondary teachers, it also meant that many students (including prospective teachers) chose to attend the free local high schools for their education instead of normal schools. The need to compete for students, accompanied by a desire to resemble the universities more closely, were two important factors which led normal schools to raise their entry requirements by requiring high school graduation. The attainment of post-secondary status for normal schools began in 1890 in Albany, New York, when
the normal school there was granted permission to award four-year B.A. degrees. The expansion of this trend to conversion to degree-granting status, and the accompanying diminished priority for elementary education allowed these institutions to offer training for high school teachers and changed the focus of training from the technical needs of classroom teachers to the more scientific, managerial and professional focus that was beginning to be associated with the university. "Symbolic legitimacy" for the new institutions was achieved "by altering the institution's name from 'state normal school' to 'state teachers' college' (Jencks & Riesman, 1968, p. 232). By 1922, 146 teachers' colleges had been created and only 50 normal schools remained in the United States. These teachers' colleges continued to pattern themselves after universities and expanded into the education of high school teachers and the hiring of instructors who wanted to conduct scientific research. In this process of diversification, the de-emphasis (and even denigration) of teachers' classroom activities continued. Herbst (1989) views this changing emphasis in the mandate of the normal school and its move to more closely emulate the university as the normal schools' "treason," rather than a "natural" evolutionary response to better prepared students.

The normal schools in British Columbia followed this pattern in only a piecemeal fashion. Like the American schools, they increased their entry requirements. By 1923, students admitted to Normal Schools were required to
take "Canadian History, Canadian Civics, British History, Geography, Arithmetic and Drawing as well as the work prescribed for Junior Matriculation in Literature, Composition, Algebra, Geometry, one Science, and one foreign language" (MacLaurin, 1936, p. 233). Unlike their American counterparts, instructors in British Columbia normal schools were not expected to do research and the normal schools did not seek degree-granting status. They remained single-purpose institutions with a mandate for training elementary school teachers. Curriculum adaptations occurred at a slow pace. In 1925, after a review of the training methods being used, Putman and Weir criticized the instructors' failure to include the theories of scientific education (including the use of tests and measurements).

This divergence in development between the United States and British Columbia was influenced by several factors. Normal schools in British Columbia were not established until the twentieth century and the two which were created were near the larger centres of population (Victoria and Vancouver). They did not have to respond directly to local demands, nor did they have to compete for students. Attendance zones were determined by the state and no competing institutions (like the land-grant colleges in the United States) existed. Their focus continued to be the education of elementary teachers and, as this thesis will show, the pattern of segregated elementary and secondary education and the accompanying hierarchy of certification thus continued for a longer period in
It is important, however, to understand these curricular and governance changes in the United State because with the significant American cultural penetration (Tomkins, 1986; Barman, 1991) these trends and perhaps more importantly, these attitudes, were infused into the popular culture of British Columbia. Altenbaugh and Underwood (1990) suggest that a major impetus for changes to the American normal schools came from “pretentious normal school pedagogues [themselves trained in universities] who wanted the prestige of preparing educational professionals instead of training lowly elementary teachers” (pp. 152-153). Certainly the curricular focus moved from the art of teaching and the importance of practical experience to the science of education. The modification (what Herbst might refer to as metastasis) made to the teaching orientation of normal schools was not the only change that resulted from the expanding market for teachers. Significantly, new opportunities were created for occupational specialization. Particular sub-groups pressed for the development of a specialized curriculum in the science of education. For example,

School superintendents, after bureaucratization had clearly differentiated them from teachers, moved to create a distinctive program of training based on systematized experience and on methods borrowed from business and economics. It then became possible for them to prove and legitimize expertise by the typical means of university courses of study and degrees. (Larson, 1977, p. 182)

Even with an increasingly extended and diversified cognitive base to refer
to, the professional teaching associations (at both federal and provincial levels) faced a challenging role. It was difficult for the teaching spokespersons (no matter how charismatic) to acquire public recognition for the esoteric body of knowledge that was needed to help their profession build boundaries. Many educational theories were based on extrapolations from data generated in a psychologist's laboratory. “Efficacy [was] claimed on the grounds of the knowledge used to construct the model in the first place rather than being tested directly” (Doyle, 1990, p. 19).

Because most members of society had been taught in schools, there was not the same mystery attached to the occupational expertise of teachers as to that of doctors or engineers. This too detracted from the educators' claim to a specialized scientific body of knowledge. Whereas

...the anxiety and the mystery which are linked with illness aroused on the part of every potential sick person an emotional investment, an attitude of subordination and of dependence, which was translated in the attribution to the doctor of potentialities and almost charismatic power (Jamous & Peloille, 1970, p. 122)

the same certainly did not hold true for the teacher. Because adults knew "from personal experience" that it "wasn't hard to teach," they also assumed that not too much training was necessary.

G. Harries-Jenkins (1970) suggested that a similar phenomenon had occurred for the British Army. After citizen service in the army during the war, the "service," a once prestigious and honourable career, lost status when its
mystique faded as the procedures and patterns of army life became more familiar to large numbers of individuals. This lack of mystique for teachers was compounded by the fact that it was difficult to produce the "scientific proof" that would show the value of specific pedagogical training. "... The successes and the failures of the trained teacher as distinguished from the untrained teacher, were invisible and immeasurable" (Pakenham, 1922, p. 36). This then, was the challenge: to not only create the specialized knowledge that would help ensure successful professionalization, but also to convince members of society that such knowledge was essential to the provision of a quality education for young people.

The Establishment of a Monopoly

Although the ongoing attempts to clarify the content and boundaries of education as a field of study naturally affected the professionalization of teaching, it is important to remember that it was not just the existence of an arcane body of knowledge that delineates professional status. The creation of a monopoly (the building of a scarce resource based on this cognitive framework) was also important to a successful professionalization project.

Teachers had an inherently ambiguous position in the creation of such a monopoly. Social policy regulated school attendance and not only ensured a guaranteed "clientele" for teachers but also made it illegal for schools to refuse
students. By the twentieth century compulsory schooling had been accepted without major conflict. The legislation had been enacted at a provincial level over an extended period. For example, in British Columbia, legislation directed at making school attendance mandatory was first introduced in 1873. Responsibility for setting attendance guidelines gradually shifted from local bylaws to province-wide legislation. Any ideological struggles that may have existed in the previous century were now settled (Warren, 1978; Houston & Prentice, 1988). Thus, the direct clients, the young people being taught, had little choice but to attend school. "The requirement of compulsory attendance change[d] ordinary parental concern for their children into rights to know and therefore appraise what [was] going on in schools" (Leggatt, 1970, pp. 169-170). The indirect clients, the parents, taxpayers and governments were in charge of the educational system, and they had to be persuaded that the service provided by educators would be far more valuable and far more efficient if teaching was professionalized.

Unlike other professions, teachers' organizations initially had no control over the training and certification of their members. It was the government which retained this power and thus, the state maintained the right to decide who would be in charge of transmitting knowledge. Because "strategies of closure" including control of entry, training and qualification (Perkin, 1989, p. 378) were not set up by an organized professional body (for example, the British Columbia
Teachers' Federation) teachers' autonomy and their ability to establish a monopoly were severely restricted.

Earlier discussion has shown that in addition to licensing, credentialling was another effective strategy in creating a monopoly. Anne Witz (1992) has argued that "gendered exclusion [was] embedded in credentialism" (p. 65). This was certainly the case in education. Boundaries were drawn not only between teaching and other professions but also among the various levels within the education system. The credential required for elementary teachers (mainly female) was different from that required for high school teachers (to be discussed in ideology section to follow). In many cases, the government maintained direct control not only over the licensing of teachers, but also over their credentialling. Such closure mechanisms "turn[ed] not upon the exclusion, but upon the encirclement of women within a related but distinct sphere of competence in an occupational division of labour and, in addition, their possible (indeed probable) subordination to male-dominated occupations" (Witz, 1992, p. 47).

Attempts to persuade all facets of society that a monopoly of service was legitimate were severely hampered by this inability of the teachers' professional organizations to control their own training and define professional membership. The government, by its retention of licensing (and even credentialling) power, had the authority to arbitrarily discard or change entry and exit criteria to the profession. For example, governments could choose to allow non-credentialed
individuals to teach "temporarily" without a licence or even without training. The need to have a teacher for each classroom often took precedence over the teachers' desire to establish a clear monopoly over a specific competency. Thus, while state licensing would typically help create a monopoly for a profession, for teachers, the state "more or less surreptitiously ensured that no such monopoly was exercised" (Witz, 1992, p. 163).

Christopher Jencks and David Riesman (1968) drew attention to the monopolistic employment market for teachers. Just as temporary licences could be given out to minimally educated non-professionals, so too could requirements be arbitrarily increased. As they pointed out if "a small group of educationists" in a university decided they wanted to have teachers complete five years of education instead of four, "and if they persuade[d] a few key figures in the state's educational establishment and in the legislature that this [was] economically feasible and pedagogically desirable, the change [could] be brought about by changing state certification requirements" (p. 235). Although their description sounds almost "abracadabra-like," the principle sounds very similar to the situation in British Columbia in the 1920s, where a group of individuals were successful in persuading a society of the efficacy of an extended high school teacher training program.

In the twentieth century, it was generally apparent that "the more success a profession had in monopolizing control of the service it offered, the greater its
importance and prestige" (Axelrod, 1990, p. 8). Thus, the initial inability of teachers to acquire clear control over the definition and the lines of demarcation of their teaching "expertise" was to have long-term implications for the status of the profession.

The Creation of an Ideology

Growing public acceptance of the "expert's" superior proficiency clearly helped legitimize the vocational utility of university-training for teachers. Supporters of state-controlled teacher education found the allure of science useful to convince the general populace that training teachers in the science of education was a worthwhile expenditure of public funds. "If science promised nothing else, it promised efficiency; this ultimately was the plum the educational scientist dangled before the taxpaying public" (Cremin, 1961, p. 192). Efficiency meant that waste could be avoided, especially the valuable asset of human resources, including the minds of children (Perkin, 1989, pp. 354-355).

This concern with efficiency was an important argument not only for teachers hoping to acquire professional status, but also for the state. This argument justified governmental intervention in the training of both elementary and secondary teachers. After all, the state had accepted responsibility for educating youth by the end of the nineteenth century. This meant it was
incumbent on the state to ensure teachers were appropriately trained to operate efficiently. As "scientific management in the administration of schools, scientific curriculum-making, and the scientific discovery of the qualities of a good teacher" (Kliebard, 1973, p. 11) became accepted as necessary for the efficient operation of the school system, the state began to reconsider licensing requirements in the early twentieth century.

Efficiency meant that the techniques applied to industry ("scientific management") could be manipulated and made applicable to the business of schooling. For example, in 1911, the American National Education Association's Department of Superintendence appointed a Committee on the Economy of Time in Education. The responsibility of this committee was to remove waste from the curriculum used in schools. "Scientific findings" from this committee were to be used to guide the work of teachers. Such statistical evidence proved, for example, that in order to write effectively, "both forearms should rest on the desk for approximately three quarters of their length" (as cited in Cremin, 1961, p. 196). Scientifically-designed curriculum would not only eliminate waste but "could be made more directly functional to the adult life-roles that America's future citizens would occupy" (Kliebard, 1986, p. 28). However, this use of scientific pedagogy to design curriculum necessarily focused more on efficiency of means rather than quality of ends, so that the well-being of the students became
an almost peripheral concern when planning the course of study (Tomkins, 1986).

John Franklin Bobbitt (1918) stressed that schools were "agencies of social progress ... [and as such] should give efficient service" (as cited in Kliebard, 1986, p. 118). Teachers were taught that their role was vital to the productivity of the country. They were the ones who would ensure that "each man and woman should be educated for personal efficiency in some vocation or form of service" in order to "render the largest service" to society (Cubberley, 1922, p. 459). One stated purpose of a 1915 Ontario Department of Education manual for teachers was to show how the teacher was “a necessary ... factor in determining the direction and strength of social movements” (as cited in Sutherland, 1976, p. 237). This specific social purpose implied a much more direct use of schools as an instrument of social control and thus as sustainers of the status quo (Ross (1901) as cited in Kliebard, 1986, p. 92). Teachers, like the social workers described here, "embraced the new 'gospel of efficiency,' and absorbed ideas of personal and social efficiency as primary values and something for which [they] should strive as individuals, collectively, and for their [students]" (Wills, 1995, p. 24).

A corollary to this rhetoric was that the methods and procedures which teachers could learn in a scientific program of pedagogy would be a wise economic investment. After all, as Egerton Ryerson had contended, "a trained
teacher would impart at least twice as much" (as cited in Curtis, 1988, p. 220) as an untrained one. William Burns, first Principal of Vancouver Normal School, noted such schools would “shorten ... the time spent in apprenticeship, and thus prevent waste of time and mental energy by both teachers and pupils” (1926, p. 21). Implicit in such assertions was the premise that children would also learn twice as much and twice as quickly and thus at half the cost. Although the validity of these assumptions is certainly arguable, these claims were enticing and encouraged parents, who very naturally wanted the best possible teaching for their children, to support the principle of increased expertise for teachers.

As noted earlier in this chapter, efficient operation of an organization was often defined in terms of its bureaucratic structure. Bureaucratization in the educational system had already begun in the nineteenth century, but in the twentieth century, roles became more rigidly demarcated and resulted not only in a clear hierarchy but also in the formation of new specializations. Michael Katz (1971) suggested that

the process of bureaucratization within education was so thorough and so rapid because of the enthusiasm of the schoolmen themselves, who saw in the new organizational forms the opening up of careers and a partial solution to the problem of regulating behavior within the occupation. (as cited in Larson, 1977, p. 182)

The entrenchment of this bureaucratic structure "was aided immensely by the metaphors, procedures and standards of excellence that were drawn from the scientific management movement" (Kliebard, 1986, p. 94). It became widely
accepted that a bureaucratic management style (similar to that found in successful businesses) would lead to the efficient management of the school system and thus to better education for young people. As it also contributed to the professionalization of teaching, it appeared advantageous to all participants. The hierarchal arrangement of roles was directly linked to the level and type of education obtained. J. Jackson (1970) effectively described this ladder:

Prestige is distributed throughout the profession of learning according to the twin qualities of the esoteric value of what is taught and the consequent difficulties involved in attaining it and the audience to whom it is communicated. Lowest status is thus reserved for teachers in the primary schools to which everyone goes to learn what everyone knows. ... Those who teach in universities ... are high priests of the temple of learning. (p. 11)

What Linda Eisenmann (1991) referred to as the "tropism towards the male-dominated aspects of teaching" (p. 219), (high school teaching, administrative and policy-making positions, and university faculty) had a major impact on how teacher training was institutionalized in the university. The gendered intra-occupational divisions created by the acceptance of scientific management with its hierarchical career ladder and rule by expertise made it easier for universities to accept only the responsibility for educating high-school teachers and administrators. It seemed to be taken for granted that the elementary teachers, who acquired their knowledge in normal schools and were ensconced near the bottom of the hierarchy, could be safely ignored by the universities. Training was certainly necessary for them, but their academic
preparation did not have to take place in a university. Those university-trained experts at the top of the hierarchy would have the skills and knowledge to both establish and evaluate the policies which the elementary teachers would be responsible for implementing in the classroom. Elwood Cubberley (1916), an influential American educator in the early twentieth century, extolled the need for a stratified educational background for teachers; he recommended "a good college education" for the school superintendent, observing that

"at least a year of graduate work is practically a necessity now." In addition, those men [sic] "of large grasp and ability ... should go and obtain their Ph.D. degree" after a few years of experience. Teachers, on the other hand, did not need anything more than "a high school education and a two year normal school program for elementary teaching, and a college education for high school teaching." (as cited in Larson, 1977, p. 184)

Proof of the ability to operate "efficient schools" and to "effectively manage the teaching force" was a requisite for the ambitious educator (Wotherspoon, 1989), and increasingly this expertise was believed to be commensurate with educational attainments. This expectation for the completion of graduate-level work and the continued focus on the importance of scientific educational knowledge also served to "solidify the need for others (researchers) to guide or direct the action of practitioners" (Gitlin, 1996, p. 615) and helped entrench the position of university professors of education. After all, as Leggatt (1970) points out, "the schoolteacher's function is only to transmit knowledge and not to create it." It is only at the university level that specialized knowledge "is
prestigiously associated with the creative processes of research" (p. 172).

As occupations established boundaries and created monopolies, the vertical divisions and differential status of professions became part of the ideology that came to dominate society. Success for an individual was attained not only by movement in a single occupation, but by movement through professions of different status (Lanning, 1995). Teaching was a profession whose place in the "giant's causeway" was lower than others. Consequently, it was often used, particularly by men, as a stepping-stone to other careers\(^\text{31}\) (Perkin, 1989; Gidney & Millar, 1990; Barman, 1991; Corbett, 1992). John Rury has hypothesized that the feminization of teaching that took place was "less a matter of women moving into teaching than men moving out" (as cited in Eisenmann, 1991, p. 217).

As with any profession, teaching faced the same previously discussed hidden assumptions regarding access to training and promotion by merit. However, in the case of teaching, the professional ideology was complicated by a competing (and widely accepted) ideology: the true teacher, that is, "one who devoted herself to her craft, demonstrated loyalty, and gained personal reward through service" (Murray, 1992, p. 495).

This premise was applied particularly to elementary teachers with their generally lower educational qualifications who were not assumed to need the educational credential (the university degree) that quickly became associated
with power. Tied into the true teacher ideology was the acceptance that, as practitioners, teachers would willingly follow the rules and procedures established by the university-trained experts occupying higher rungs on the education career ladder. The support of this passive subordinate role for teachers contributed to a consensus which suggested "teachers were born, not made." This concept of the true teacher was problematic in that it "emphasized personal characteristics and pushed the element of service into prominence ... at a time when other professions, such as medicine, were gaining control over their domains of specialization through the claims of specialized knowledge and skill" (Starr, 1992 as cited in Murray, 1992, p. 501). In a society where professionalization was so eagerly pursued, being a "true teacher" was insufficient to lay claim to professional status. Somehow rather than being a complimentary term, being called a "true" teacher had implicit within it a lesser status, a non-professional role and therefore, one not as "important" as others. That the labels "true accountant" or "true doctor" did not exist perhaps signified the greater ease with which accounting and medicine were accorded professional status.

The true teacher ideology and the hegemonic educational organization worked in unison to give continued support both to differentiated training for elementary and high school teachers and to a general disempowerment of female teachers. Contemporary feminist scholars have decried the "ideological
assumption that values which appealed to sentiment, intuition, cooperation, and mutuality were inferior to values that celebrated the need for control, efficiency, dominance, and order" (Welker, 1992, p. 38). The latter "masculine" values were those associated with professionalism.

Summary

For an occupation to gain professional status in the twentieth century, what Kuhn (1970) referred to as the "paraphernalia of specialization" had to be acquired. An important component of these trappings was the establishment of a formal knowledge base taught to potential practitioners in a university setting. The clearer the connection to science, the more evident the incorporation of scientific methodology and the more esoteric the language, the greater the prestige accorded to a profession. Although occupations worked hard to create clear and concrete boundaries around their field of study and to restrict entry to their training in order to "segregate themselves from the laity and from one another" (Perkin, 1989, p. 395), the constructed boundaries were not irrevocably defined in absolute terms. Rather, they were, as Bourdieu (1987) suggested, like those "of a flame whose edges [were] in constant movement oscillating around a line or surface" (p. 13). However permeable the boundaries were, it was important to define and maintain them. Occupations persuaded society to grant
them the benefits accrued through the possession of acknowledged expertise.

This ideational culture of professionalism contributed to a profound societal change. The constructs which underlay this ideology (scientific knowledge, expertise, efficiency, service, and bureaucracy) were used to justify actions taken by both professions and governments. Research in the social sciences was applied to solving social problems and helped legitimate the direction of change. The economic benefits of education to both individual and society, the "human capital" concepts, were increasingly emphasized as part of the rhetoric of professional ideology (Tomkins, 1986; Harper, 1989; Perkin, 1989; Fisher, 1993). Utilitarian beliefs increasingly functioned as a "secular system of morality, with the state replacing the authority of the church" (Wills, 1995, p. 23). In this society the university became the "egg-candling device" that acted as the "port of entry" by which a profession gained its identity (Kerr, 1963, p. 111). The length of time entailed in gaining this "special knowledge" and the requisite degree for a chosen profession were used to help justify giving special status to professionals that resulted in their social and economic privileges (Tabakin & Densmore, 1986; Johnson, 1972; Larson, 1977). The resultant society was colourfully described by Perkin (1989) as

not so much a layered pyramid rising to a needle point, more a giant's causeway, its obsidian (sic) columns rising indeed to different heights but all vertical, parallel and discrete. Even in a giant's causeway some vertical planes are more gapingly obvious than others. (p. 399)

Indeed, not all of the columns in the professional causeway were of comparable
size; some occupations experienced great difficulty in their pursuit of professional status, and even then achieved a much lesser status than others. One such occupation was teaching. The rigors it faced as it pursued recognition as a profession shed much light on both the professionalization process and the social perception of teaching.

As society came to accept the need for expertise and scientific management in order to ensure security and efficiency in every-day life, the ideology of professionalism acquired legitimacy. Michael Apple (1993) has advised that "the first thing to ask about an ideology is not what is false about it, but what is true" (p. 20). What was true for an individual in the 1920s was that the way to attain prestige was through one's occupation and its association with the university. The university and the education it provided developed in such a way that higher education increasingly assumed the role of "the primary gatekeeper, the provider of training, the conveyer of prestige, and the certifier of eligibility for professional membership" (Fulton, 1984, p. 84). For teachers in British Columbia, with aspirations for social mobility, the solution seemed clear. No other alternative could compete with the "lure of professionalism" (Sykes, 1989, p. 254).
NOTES

1. A significant attribute of these two reports is that, as Jurgen Herbst (1989) was careful to point out, "there [was] not a single active classroom teacher among the signers of either the Holmes or the Carnegie report. ... It is as if teachers have no place in the discussion of American school and education. Once more they have been confirmed in their role as objects rather than subjects" (p. 9).

2. Gregory Cizek (1996), illustrated the pervasiveness of this ideal in his discussion of qualitative and quantitative research. He discussed the child-rearing strategy of a parent being careful to teach a child to distinguish between "telling the truth" and "telling a story." The former, grounded in science, was the right thing to do; the latter, a mere narrative, deserved punishment.

3. The rage for mental testing became extremely controversial after World War I. The scientific truth of such data was challenged when tests moved from being devices to help classification to support for sweeping generalizations such as the contention that the average mental age of Americans was fourteen, and that therefore, too many children were going to school (Cremin, 1961).

4. F. Inglis refers to producers of such statistics as "hunters and gatherers of social numbers" (as cited in Apple, 1992, p. 4).

5. One example of this might be Tabakin & Densmore's (1986) suggestion that feminist scholars addressed "the epistemological contradictions of using gender analysis as an appendage to an androcentric theoretical perspective" (p.264).

6. Entries in biographies of important Canadian women in the early twentieth century often began lists of accomplishments with the phrase "devoted herself to a life of usefulness" (Lanning, 1995, p. 56).

7. Such statements were supported by intelligence tests which supposedly proved that there was a high correlation between I.Q. scores and occupations. Implicit in this was an assumption that those individuals with a high I.Q. would want to acquire the rigorous education available in a university. This belief contributed to the creation of a new artificial barrier between the professionals and the working class (Welker, 1992,
8. To illustrate how much had been written on the subject since Taylor's book on the subject, Raymond Callahan (1962) cites the example of a book on scientific management written in 1917, which had more than 550 references to this subject in its bibliography (pp. 22-23). He also pointed out the wide acceptance of Taylor principles. Within two years of the original publication, the book had been translated into nine languages.

9. Harry Braverman noted that Taylor's interest in scientific management was long-standing and was a reflection of "his own obsessive-compulsive personality: from his youth he had counted his steps, measured the time for his various activities, and analyzed his motions in a search for 'efficiency'" (as cited in Derber et al., 1990, p. 99).

10. Eliot (1934) referred to this search for truth as "the new passion and religion of today" (p. 17).

11. Bertrand Russell (1952) compares this "behind-the-scenes power" to that of "Emperor's eunuchs and King's mistresses in former times" (p. 50).

12. It was Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, who gave this label to Ruml (Fisher, 1993, p. 32).

13. Between 1922 and 1929 about forty-one million dollars was spent. The University of Chicago received the largest grants and the rapid development and influence of "Chicago" sociology and political science in the 1920s clearly owed a good deal to these resources (Ross, 1991, p. 402).

14. Queen's University placed their program in the business administration program which led to a Bachelor of Commerce degree.

15. Psychology was itself derived from, and in many institutions closely affiliated with, philosophy. For example, when John Dewey was at the University of Chicago, he was chair of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Pedagogy (Urban, 1990, p. 63).

16. Cubberley (1920) notes that "in English-speaking lands," the study of Education is a term that "has replaced the earlier and more limited 'Pedagogy'" (p. 827).

17. This lesson design model was so strictly enforced that Tomkins (1986) notes: "students were expected to fit all lessons to a Procrustean bed of Herbartian methodology" (p. 243).
18. "One way to claim avant-garde social science expertise in the 1880s was via training at a German graduate school" (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 57). Cremin (1988) reports that some nine thousand Americans studied at German universities during the last half of the nineteenth century (p. 557).

19. Dewey wrote prodigiously: about forty books and eight hundred articles.

20. Thorndike credits the work of James as the reason he switched from his initial major in literature to that of psychology.

21. Cremin (1961) further noted that Thorndike was quoted on this point "ad nauseam."

22. Peter Sandiford (an important contributor to the British Columbia Putman-Weir Survey) moved from the University of Manchester to complete his doctorate under Thorndike (Tomkins, 1986, p. 107).

23. In the 1918 yearbook, The Measurement of Educational Products, over one hundred standardized tests for use in high school and elementary schools were listed (Cremin, 1961).

24. The quotes from Cubberley are from the text used in the compulsory history course in the teacher training program at the University of British Columbia in the 1920s.

25. Joseph Mayer Rice also stressed such concepts in his 1912 Scientific Management in Education (See Kliebard, 1986).

26. Existing liberal arts college and universities also responded to the need for more secondary teachers by establishing departments of education or chairs of pedagogy (Cremin, 1961).

27. By 1940, the term normal school had become obsolete in the United States (Altenbaugh & Underwood, 1990, p. 150).

28. The diversification of these institutions continued and graduate programs were added. By the 1960s, another symbolic name change occurred, away from teachers' colleges to state college or university.

29. H. Wilensky (1964) referred to this as the "pecking order of delegation" (p. 144).
30. Michael Katz (1971) stated that "the process of bureaucratization within education was so thorough and so rapid because of the enthusiasm of the schoolmen themselves, who saw in the new organizational forms the opening up of careers and a partial solution to the problem of regulating behavior within the occupation" (as cited in Larson, 1977, p. 182).

31. Of course, it was also true that sometimes what started out as a "stepping-stone" turned into a lifetime career. William Burns, Principal of the Vancouver Normal School from 1901 until 1920, had wanted to become a doctor. At the end of his memoirs, he summed up his career: "I was compelled by force of circumstances to 'teach'" (as cited in Barman, 1995, p. 202).

32. By way of contrast, a royal commission in Manitoba in 1901 affirmed that farmers are made, not born. Farming is now a profession, and farmers should have the advantage of professional instruction, quite as much as lawyers and doctors (as cited in Morton, 1957, p. 58).

33. Giroux (1981) defined hegemony as "an ideology that defines the limits of discourse in a society by positing specific ideas and social relationships as natural, permanent, rational, and universal. ... hegemony refers to more than dominant belief and value systems, it also refers to those routines and practices that saturate people's daily experiences" (p. 148).

34. John Calam draws attention to the fact that the Giant's Causeway on the northern coast of County Antrim, Northern Ireland and other such formations are made of basalt, not obsidian.
Chapter 4

The Training of the Secondary Teacher in British Columbia

When high schools first came into existence in British Columbia in the 1870s, secondary school teachers were generally well qualified academically, although very few of them had completed any formal pedagogical training. In the 1901-02 school year only two teachers, one in Rossland, and one in New Westminster, did not have a university degree. Other than one B.Sc. Degree, the others held B.A. or M.A. degrees (British Columbia, Department of Education, Annual Report, (AR) 1901-1902, pp. A xlv-A lvii). This pattern continued throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century. The process of establishing mandatory training for secondary teachers was gradual. Not until 1920 did the University of British Columbia's direct involvement in the training of teachers begin. At this time the first Summer School for Teachers was offered, and it was six more years until a University Department of Education was formed and the first full-year program in the regular term was offered.

Initially, proof of knowledge of the subject to be taught, in the form of a baccalaureate degree, was seen as a fully adequate preparation for the high school teacher. Eventually, however, this preparation was extended to include knowledge of the theory and practice of pedagogy. That is, the process by which a person with academic training was made adept in the principles and strategies
of teaching adolescents was formalized, and the university was charged with the responsibility of creating proficient teachers with a mastery of the pedagogic techniques and theories of education that, at the time, were seen as most efficacious.

Teachers for the High Schools in British Columbia 1874 - 1924

In the year 1874, John Jessop, British Columbia's first Superintendent of Schools, recommended the public school system in British Columbia be expanded to include high schools. Not only would such schools allow students who had completed the elementary levels to continue their education, but also "they would do good service as Training Institutes for teachers, till such time as the number of our school districts would warrant the establishment of a Provincial Normal School" (Johnson, 1964, p. 58). Two years later, the first high school in British Columbia was opened in Victoria (with forty-four students in attendance). This was followed by the New Westminster and Nanaimo high schools opening in 1884 and in 1886 respectively. The first Interior city to have a high school was Nelson (established in January 1901).

The first Vancouver high school was established in January, 1890 and opened with one instructor and 31 students. The opening of this school had far-reaching implications:
In this school [not only] began the first secondary school work of the city; in it was originated the Teacher-training work that led finally to the establishment of our first Provincial Normal School; and here, too, work beyond the regular High School curriculum was begun, and affiliation of the school with McGill University was a step in the gradual progress that led to the establishment of the University of British Columbia. (B.C. Teacher, 1926, p. 11)

Until British Columbia's first Normal School opened in 1901 the high schools were the sole training institution for elementary school teachers in the province. By providing academic preparation for teacher certification, the high schools, under state control, served as what Gidney and Millar (1990) called "giant teacher-training machines" (p. 224). After the turn of the century the number of high schools grew dramatically. In 1902 there were only seven high schools in the province. This number increased to 34 in 1912 and to 76 in 1922 (AR 1901-1902, 1911-1912 and 1921-1922). This expansion was the result of a number of factors.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, a combination of both immigration and higher birth rates led to dramatic growth in the population of British Columbia.² A proportionate increase occurred both in the number of school-aged children³ and the number of elementary and high schools and, accordingly, this was accompanied by a greater need for teachers. Because more people were directly affected by schools, community awareness of educational matters was heightened. But demographic factors alone were not the only reason for expansion.
The general increase in living standards and a more diverse economy meant that, in many families, youth no longer were compelled to work to supplement family incomes. "Patterns of school attendance obviously, but by no means exclusively, reflected the variable impact of economic change" (Houston & Prentice, 1988, p. 233). Most parents could now afford to encourage their children to stay in school for longer periods and even in rural locations, "fewer families followed the time-honored rural practice of sending their children to school only at those times when they were not needed at home" (Sutherland, 1995b, pp. 126-127; see also Dunn, 1980; Sutherland, 1976). In addition, residents of British Columbia were paying taxes to support the schools, and accompanying this "financial stake in schooling" was an increased interest in what was happening in the classrooms of the province.4

Government policy provided a further impetus for school expansion. Compulsory attendance laws made it necessary for children to stay in school for longer periods, thus reflecting the increasing importance placed on education. The government's public commitment to education carried with it an implicit contract to monetarily support the schools that were now required by law. So too, by "legally compelling school attendance, the democratic state not only coerce[d] behavior but also legitimize[d] majority values" (Katz as cited in Tyack, 1978, p. 64). By 1921 all children in British Columbia over the age of seven and under the age of fifteen were required by the Public School Act to attend school.
Although perfect compliance with this law was unlikely, the number of young people staying in school and attending more regularly became greater. This longer exposure to education increased the likelihood that young people would choose to continue into high school past the age of fifteen. For example, the proportion of all fifteen-year-old girls who were enrolled in school increased from 69.4 per cent in 1921 to 83.2 per cent in 1931 and the same aged boys from 64.1 per cent to 81.8 per cent (Strong-Boag, 1996, p. 295). Because some children also started school earlier than the mandated seven years of age, they would continue into Grade 10 before they turned the legal school-leaving age (Sutherland, 1976).

Other innovative education policies were also influential in increasing retention. Curriculum was adapted both to reflect and to help legitimate the values of the predominant culture in twentieth century British Columbia. Old standards no longer seemed to have any relevance to the changing economic and social conditions in the modern industrial society. Gone also was the old premise that the principal purpose of the secondary school should be that of "prepar[ing] a small select minority for teaching or for entrance to the university" (Johnson, 1964, p. 177). Rather, changing needs within both the workplace and the home led to calls from diverse groups to create a more practical curriculum. As a result, the larger high schools, usually in urban centres, began to offer not only academic courses but also "new" courses such as Manual Training, Domestic
Science, Commercial classes and Agriculture. In Vancouver, Manual training began in high schools in 1908; Home Economics, in 1909. In 1916 King Edward High School opened a class for those "whose abilities and inclinations lay in the direction of practical work." A similar course for girls opened in 1917. A High School of Commerce opened in 1918, and in 1925 a School of Decorative and Applied Art was opened (Gamey, 1934, p. 69). This deliberate linking of the curriculum to what American sociologist, Edward A. Ross referred to in his 1901 book, Social Control, as "the crisis represented by modern capitalism" (as cited in Kleibard, 1986, p. 92) can be viewed as a direct indication of the use of schools as an instrument of social control.

The "need" to make the curriculum more directly applicable to business and industry was increasingly accepted (and demanded) by diverse groups (Callahan, 1962). For example, by 1910, W. B. Argue, Superintendent of the Vancouver schools was contending that "the increasing demand for instruction leading to technical work ... seems to point to the advisability of widening the high school curriculum" (as cited in Johnson, 1964, p. 65). Trade unionists and working parents supported this move. They saw manual training as a way to compensate for the decline of apprenticeship programs in the west. Businessmen believed this education could prepare young men to cope with the new industrial technologies which were increasingly important in British Columbia's resource-based economy (Coulter, 1992; Harris, 1977). Such training was also
welcomed by many employers who believed vocational training would teach students "a higher appreciation of the necessity of hard and consistent work, steadiness, exactness, economy in materials, time and effort" (as cited in Coulter, 1992, p. 104; see also Sutherland, 1976). Students would not only acquire useful skills, but also those values and habits which would make them good employees. The popularity of this curricular innovation quickly became apparent. British Columbia manual training teachers increased from sixteen in 1909-10 to fifty-eight by 1918-19 (Sutherland, 1976, p. 184).

Schools also addressed "the utilitarian interests of female students" (Axelrod, 1997, p. 108). All females were encouraged (and sometimes required) to take Domestic Science, a course which had the potential to provide "a scientific basis to housework and [elevate] a career in the home to a profession requiring scientific knowledge and skill" (Sheehan, 1992, p. 117). The 1913 Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education Report had advocated domestic science as a necessary and important subject, for after all, "since the effect of the home was like the influence of the moon on the level of the sea, good homes kept the tide of life high for the whole community and the state" (as cited in Sutherland, 1976, p. 190). As household science developed as a speciality, and the need for teachers of this subject became apparent, practitioners sought to professionalize by forming boundaries around their specialized knowledge base and working to have it included as one of the new
professional programs in the university. Normal Schools in Ontario were the first to offer specialization opportunities but by the 1920s degree programs were offered at Acadia University, Mount Allison University, the University of Toronto, McGill University, and the Universities of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan (Harris, 1976, pp. 284-287). Many women's groups supported the introduction of this subject and sincerely believed that it would not only improve the ability of women to look after their future homes and children, but would also provide a training for those who wanted to enter domestic service (the largest single area of employment for women, although much of this work was part time or short term). Not all agreed with this viewpoint. On November 26, 1921, M. Pooley (MLA from Esquimalt) denounced the teaching of domestic science as "nonsensical rot" which wasted both time and money (as reported in the Victoria Daily Colonist).

This "modernization" of the curriculum made more specialization possible and for many the opportunity to attain practical vocational skills was seen as a strength of the developing system. For others, these changes were believed to be a method of helping to entrench social inequalities by obscuring the self-serving role of the economic elite who were in reality intent on ensuring their children's place of privilege, while at the same time directing working class children to an inferior position. Just as universal elementary education had been introduced in the nineteenth century to provide social control by ensuring that appropriate
behaviours were taught to the less privileged, so too the increased opportunities offered in the new secondary curriculum in the twentieth century were a ploy designed to educate unsuspecting young people to accept the status quo. Needless to say, the sharp gender division which underlay this move to utilitarian education is seen by many recent critics as a move which only bolstered a power imbalance and which thereby “ensured the continuation of conservative views about male and female roles in the family and the workplace” (Sheehan, 1992, p. 117).

With more choice and different vocational possibilities (although organized on gendered criteria), the schools increasingly assumed responsibility for preparing young people for the world of work. In this way the high school became more useful to a greater variety of young people. One variable that influenced public acceptance of this diversified curriculum was the belief that modern subjects could train the mind as thoroughly as could the study of Classics. Latin continued to be offered as an option but it was no longer regarded as the main route to achieving professional success. As the variety of subjects available in the high schools increased, humanistic subjects were not exactly delegitimized although

... their standing vis à vis (sic) the frankly occupationally oriented subjects in the curriculum waned significantly. Even subjects commonly associated with the academic curriculum, such as mathematics and science, became sanctioned not as important ways of knowing or as invaluable repositories of knowledge but as indispensable vehicles to achieving certain high-status occupations. (Kliebard, 1990, p. 25)
The ideology of professionalism encouraged more young people to complete an academic matriculation program. University entry now offered training for a growing variety of professions. These programs were defined by some as a way of obtaining better jobs in a society where "an emerging consensus" supported the idea "that longer periods of schooling were an important asset in life" (Strong-Boag, 1996, p. 295).

The matriculation route became so popular that by 1932, Dr. Putman in his Annual Report as Inspector of Schools for Ottawa was decrying the crowding of students into the matriculation course when they had no intention of continuing on to university. As he asked,

Is it reasonable to expect that a matriculation (sic) course designed primarily to test the fitness of candidates to enter upon university work is necessarily ... the most suitable course for young people whose school education is to end where that of the university student begins? (as cited in Macdonald, 1932, p. 79).

The "ordinary" certificate of High School Leaving which still certified four years of study was not as marketable. As J. F. Macdonald (1932) noted: "this is not the fault of the Department of Education which has tried to induce candidates to take the course by issuing an imposing certificate adorned with much gold lettering. Nobody seems to want it" (p. 79). This "curious social snobbery" (p. 79) was clearly linked with the significance of education in the professional ideology of the time.

In British Columbia, the number of students wanting to complete their
Matriculation examinations was sufficient to lead to a new type of competition between universities. William Burns, retired principal of the Vancouver Normal School, was sent cards in the fall of 1921 with the following information to pass on to his students:

McGill University has signified its intention of holding a Matriculation examination in Vancouver in June and September 1922. As the conditions under which the McGill examination is conducted are very much less strict than those governing the Matriculation examination held by the University of British Columbia, students and parents are urged to enquire from us about the McGill examination. ... Those who were unsuccessful in last year's U.B.C. Matric. are especially urged to enquire.... (UA, PR, Roll 1)

Because Burns saw this request as a blatant violation of "a gentleman's agreement" made by McGill University that it would in no way compete with the British Columbia University, he angrily refused to make any such announcement (UA, PR, Letter from Burns to President Klinck, Nov. 23, 1921, Roll 1).

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Industrial advances were another factor that influenced more students to stay in school. In their 1925 Report on the Survey of Schools of British Columbia, Putman and Weir stated that as a result of the "increasing complexities of modern social and industrial organization, a high school education [was] now commonly regarded as the minimum educational preparation necessary for success in life" (p. 69). Although this claim had some validity in that some jobs clearly required more education, it was probably an exaggeration (or an attempt to influence attitudes towards education). While the
number of students staying in school did increase in the early twentieth century, the majority of students who started school did not graduate. Even by 1951, according to John Porter (1967):

more than half of the men in the labour force (55 per cent) had no more than an elementary-school education. About one third had some high-school, and less than a tenth had some university or other tertiary-level training. Women in the labour force were better educated than men, and this is probably because there has been a much closer link between schooling and traditional female occupations. Even in the 20- to 24-year age groups of males in 1951 at least half had no more than elementary school. (p. 405)

Increasingly, the number of years of education were associated with greater social and occupational opportunities and, by the 1920s, rhetoric increasingly stressed that post-secondary (and certainly post-elementary) schooling was indispensable to the personal success of an individual and the social well-being of the country. Many parents, naturally wanting the best for their children, encouraged them to stay in school for longer periods. Recently arrived immigrants in particular believed that securing a good education for their children was one method of ensuring future success in their new country (Sutherland, 1976). This broadly held assumption that "success" was concomitant with protracted schooling was a strong indication of the pervasiveness of the ideology of professionalism.

Perhaps not as tangible a reason but certainly another influential factor in the increase in the numbers of students attending high schools was the growing importance placed on democratic ideals, particularly after World War I.
No longer was education regarded as the privilege of the few. In a March 13, 1911 speech to the local Federation of Labour in Victoria, Premier McBride had also announced that the new British Columbia university "shall be a People's University [where] technical as well as scientific and professional education will be provided" (as cited in Hopkins, 1912, p. 602). Frank Wesbrook, the first President of the University of British Columbia, reiterated this theme and stressed that "the people's university must meet the needs of all the people" (as cited in Stewart, 1990, p. 27). Education was to be for everyone (public funds from taxation paid for the schools) and courses to meet everyone's needs had to be taught. As early as 1909, the British Columbia School Trustees' Association Convention observed that "since a great majority of pupils leave the High School between the first and third years to enter business or the trades, a truly democratic high school would provide short practical business and trade courses for that majority" (as cited in London, 1985, p. 69). Equality of opportunity was available to all (or so the rhetoric stated). As Cubberley claimed, "with the widening of the suffrage and the spread of democratic ideas there has come a necessary widening of the educational ladder, so that more of the masses of the people may climb" (1922, p. 444).

With the expansion in numbers of schools, the state became concerned that its control over the quality of teaching (and the teachers) in the high school was diminishing. As Curtis (1992) pointed out, one of the ways that
governments maintained control over the schools was through the work of the inspectors who reported to the Department of Education. They were the ones who checked that schools were being run with appropriate efficiency and that teachers were performing adequately. In their function as educational "experts," they "provided the statistical data necessary for Victoria to maintain its administrative expertise, and, thereby, its hegemony over the development of the school system" (Fleming, 1986, p. 289).

In his report for the 1917-1918 school year, John B. DeLong, one of the two Inspectors of High Schools, noted that when a High School Inspector was first appointed in 1910 there were only eighty-three teachers doing high school work in the Province. Now, he was responsible for 218 teachers and he found it "out of the question to carry out [his] original plan of visiting all the smaller schools twice during the year" (AR 1917-1918, p. D18). By the next year, with an increase of eighteen teachers, he "found it impossible to pay even one visit to all districts, and consequently thirty-six classes received no inspection" (AR 1918-1919, p. A18).

This deficiency was potentially troublesome in that "inspection allowed the central authority to monitor the local operations of policy, to identify innovation and resistance, and to form defensible conceptions of 'what needed to be done'" (Curtis, 1992, p. 11). By way of preventing any loss of control over what was occurring in the high-school classroom, the provincial Department of
Education divided the province into two high-school inspectorates in the 1919-1920 school year – District Number 1 with headquarters at Victoria and District Number 2 with headquarters at Vancouver. This increased ability to inspect schools revealed the government's continued commitment to be the sole authority for regulating pedagogy and curriculum despite the difficulties created by the massive expansion of the system over the previous decade (Putman & Weir, 1925).

Another method of maintaining control over the operations of the schools was the state's control over the licensing of teachers. The provincial Legislature had always required that high school teachers meet specific criteria in order to receive governmental certification before being allowed to teach. Although these qualifications changed over the years, this basic requirement did not. In the nineteenth century high school teachers easily obtained certification. Until 1887, as William Burns (1921) pointed out, it was assumed that as long as an individual who wanted to teach high school had a university degree in a particular subject, that was sufficient. The degree itself was accepted as an indicator that the individual would be capable of imparting this knowledge to others. British Columbia policy makers, like their nineteenth century Ontario counterparts, seemed to at least tacitly accept the premise that it was not only an "indignity and a useless nuisance" but also an "insult to the universities that graduates should be asked to submit to further instruction" (Phillips, 1957, p.
It was taken for granted that high school teachers would learn to teach effectively by imitating the behaviours of those professors and teachers they had encountered in their academic preparation. "In virtue of the enlightenment there received they [were] entitled to hand on truth, understanding, and perennial values" (King, 1963, p. 35). The ease of succumbing to inertia led to a continuation of the status quo. After all, the system had "worked" for years.

Consequently, when it was first suggested that specific pedagogical training would be an asset for high school teachers, many did not see the need for change. Some in the academic community saw this as an aspersion on their own teaching skills. University professors, "untrained in pedagogy but themselves functioning as teachers," denied that there was "more to teaching than knowledge of one's subject, experience, and, perhaps, some inborn character traits as a liking for young persons and endless patience" (Clifford & Guthrie, 1988, p. 16). They suggested that anyone who dared argue for any change in the status quo was "a scarcely endurable heretic" (Stamp, 1982, p. 44).

After 1887, an additional step was required for those seeking teacher certification in British Columbia. All university graduates who applied for certification, which allowed the individual to teach in schools for life, were required to write examinations in pedagogy and in school law. The knowledge required to successfully complete these exams was self-taught and graduates
were still not required to take any formal training. The importance of training teachers, however, was not overlooked by everyone. For example, when the Legislative Assembly passed *An Act Respecting the University of British Columbia* (1890), the program of studies was designed to include not only Arts and Science courses, but also a teacher training course. As stated in the Act: "There shall also be in connection with the University a Normal School for the training of teachers for the Public Schools of the Province" (Johnson, 1964, p. 75). Soward (1930) suggested that this had probably been included "at the suggestion of the Superintendent of Education who favored such a plan" (p. 15).

This Act was amended in 1891 and, included in the thirty-one changes (of the original thirty-four sections), was the removal of the Normal School. Historians (Johnson, 1964) have suggested that this decision was influenced by the fact that the Department of Education did not want to "surrender departmental authority over the field of teacher training" (p. 75). In any case, as soon as the Act was passed bitter arguments surfaced over the location of the new university. Both Vancouver, the largest city in the Province, and Victoria, the capital, were adamant that the new university should be located within their boundaries. Harris (1977) suggests that because a university was an important indicator of a province's "coming of age," the location had "symbolic overtones that went beyond the development of a particular centre" (p. 107). This sectionalism led to a failure to assemble a required quorum for a meeting of elected Senators on
July 2, 1891 and consequently this attempt to establish a university failed.\(^9\)

Because the British Columbia government had been "extremely dilatory" in developing higher education (Woodcock, 1990), the Vancouver School Board, chaired by Mr. A. G. B. MacGowan, sought out affiliation with an Eastern University. McGill University expressed interest and, empowered by an 1894 Act that the British Columbia government passed allowing such affiliation with any Canadian University, Vancouver High School became Vancouver College in 1899 and began offering First Year Arts. In 1902 it added second year and in the same year, Victoria High School also affiliated with McGill and became Victoria College. In 1906, after a great deal of controversy about the merit of the proposal, the McGill University College of British Columbia was created, offering the first two years of the Bachelor of Arts and the Bachelor of Sciences degrees. Among the most telling arguments was that of Dr. A. Robinson, then Superintendent of Education, who told McGill's negotiating representative, Dr. H. Tory, that if McGill took over it would "give a most satisfactory solution to what promises to become a most difficult problem for the Province" (Corbett, 1992, pp. 51-80).

When The British Columbia University Act of 1908 was reintroduced and approved by the Legislature, "provision was again made for affiliation with the university of any provincial normal school" (Soward, 1930, p. 83). Once again this section was removed from the Act probably in response to the Department of
Education showing "considerable reluctance" to give up control of the training of teachers (Burns, 1986, p. 5). The next year, William Burns, Principal of the Vancouver Normal School, noted that

> no provision has as yet been made for the training of High School Teachers ... A Faculty of Education will probably be founded in the future Provincial University and will thus provide for training our teachers in all branches required in the High Schools. (Burns, 1909, p. 117)

Sheets of estimates in the President's Files in 1913 still showed $396,000 assigned for the pedagogy building (Gibson, 1973, p. 47). A November 10, 1913 consultants' report, entitled "The General Design of the University of British Columbia," was presented to the Board of Governors and stated that "there was to be a model school in the department of pedagogy to be attended by 'pupils from the town'" (Ibid., p. 72). In 1914 Wesbrook still was considering pedagogy. In one memo he noted that the "biological sciences ... were next door to agriculture, forestry, medicine and pedagogy." He also wrote of the "department of pedagogy's practice school" (Ibid., p. 86). Yet, Burns' prophecy proved inaccurate and when the new University of British Columbia opened its doors in 1915 (at which time McGill ceased its operations), no provision was made specifically for the training of teachers.

Although no pedagogical education for high school teachers had been implemented, the training of elementary teachers had definitely improved. In 1900, British Columbia had been the only Canadian province without a Normal School (and only five high schools existed). Public and departmental concerns
with the competence of teachers had been evident for over ten years. Dr. S. D. Pope, Superintendent of Education from 1884 until 1899, had urged the government to establish a normal school. Pope indicated that "in every professional pursuit, special training is a requirement, and particularly should this be the case with those who have to deal with the child mind" (Johnson, 1964, p. 77). But probably more important to the government, was his argument that "experience has proved that it is a wise economy for any country to give her teachers thorough instruction as to methods and general knowledge of school management" (Johnson, 1964, p. 77). So too, would these schools ensure that teachers were "appropriately" trained and effectively socialized to meet the state's needs. Formal training would not only improve teaching skills, but might also act "as the solution to problems of teacher attrition and educational instability" (Wotherspoon, 1989, p. 150).

When Pope resigned, Alexander Robinson took over as Superintendent in April 1899 and he maintained the pressure. Finally, in 1901 the Province's first Normal School was established in Vancouver with a school inspector from Nelson, William Burns, as the first principal. In 1893, as an inspector, Burns made his views on the primary functions of teachers clear. For him, the "chief advantage of schools was ... the habits of study and attention thereby formed; or cleanliness and order there learned; of obedience, punctuality and forethought there required; and of temperance and morality there implanted into their very
nature" (as cited in Wotherspoon, 1989, p. 133). Beginning with a class of forty-two students and two instructors other than Burns, the Normal School expanded and in 1909 moved into a new building. When this became insufficient to meet the needs of the Province another Normal School was opened in Victoria in 1915, with D. L. MacLaurin (another ex-inspector) as Principal (Burns, 1986; Calam, 1986; Johnson, 1964; MacLaurin, 1936).

These normal schools provided an opportunity for students wanting to become elementary school teachers (over 90 per cent of whom were female) to earn higher teacher certification than that granted by the high schools. Barman (1990) points out that in these "patriarchically ordered" schools which "truly feminized teaching in the province," the recruits were inculcated "with suitable assumptions as to their deferential place in the teaching hierarchy" (p. 24). Although students from anywhere in British Columbia were eligible to attend these single-purpose training institutions, it was far more difficult and much more expensive for rural residents to take advantage of such additional training opportunities.11 Many still used the high school route to becoming a teacher and the government continued to certify non-Normal School-trained teachers who passed the appropriate high school examinations.

By the end of the first two decades of the twentieth century, however, the importance of expertise was widely accepted among the middle classes. This contributed to the belief that training teachers in principles of pedagogy was a
worthwhile endeavor. This support, combined with the surplus of teachers after 1918 when men began returning to teaching after service in the war and training grants were made available for returning soldiers, made it feasible for the provincial education hierarchy to justify increasing certification requirements without having to worry about creating a shortage of teachers. The Public Schools Act of 1918 was amended to specify that high school teachers must have certificates from Normal School or, at least, pass an exam that demonstrated their mastery of "the art of teaching, school discipline and management, and the school law of the Province" (AR 1917-1918, p. D99) that presumably would be gained through a course of study at Normal School.

**Beginnings of the Institutionalization of High School Teacher Training**

The University of British Columbia came to accept responsibility for the training of secondary teachers between 1920 and 1926. This occurred in successive stages, beginning with involvement in summer school sessions, moving to a shared training responsibility with the Normal schools and then culminating in the assumption of total responsibility for the training of high school teachers. Although the provincial Department of Education had offered summer school for teachers since 1914, it was not until the summer of 1920 that the University offered courses in teacher education for secondary school
teachers. These courses were not accepted for university credit, but this was the beginning of the direct involvement of the university in the provision of specific professional training for teachers.

By 1919, the newly formed British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) began lobbying the University of British Columbia to accept some responsibility for the training of teachers. In the May 14, 1919 meeting of the Senate, a letter from the Federation was read requesting that the University of British Columbia offer Summer Courses for secondary teachers. The Senate denied the request at this time as it believed that the provincial government's Department of Education Summer School would fully meet the needs of teachers (Senate Minutes, p. 100).

The next year (1920) the BCTF again requested that a summer school be established. However, now, in addition to this request from teachers, the provincial Department of Education also asked for co-operation from the University. S. J. Willis, as Superintendent of Education, submitted to the Senate a proposed outline for this Summer Course for Teachers. This outline was reviewed by a Special Committee of Faculty who made several suggestions for change (see below). With these amendments in place, the proposal was then approved by Faculty and finally ratified by the Senate on April 20, 1920. The result was that the University did agree to institute a "Summer School for Teachers."
However, what the Special Faculty Committee recommended, and the Senate approved, was quite different from the original proposal submitted by Willis. One major modification was made to Willis' request that University instructors "conduct their own tests and examinations and furnish the Department, through the Registrar, with a report on the examination taken by each candidate" for those teachers with a Second-Class Certificate working towards a First-Class Certificate. Rather, the Faculty agreed to give instruction and to assist the teachers in improving their certification but "with the proviso that the University set no examinations and assign no University credit for the specific work performed in Summer School" (Minutes, Board of Governors, 1920). The Faculty did not yet believe that the academic nature of the courses to be offered was at a suitably high level to be worthy of full university endorsement.

As a result, in spite of Willis' request, the Faculty Committee did "not see its way to recommend that the University undertake ... to give University credits towards First-Year standing on the basis of Summer-School work as such" (Senate Minutes, 1920, pp. 147-151). The University acknowledged three major purposes for the program:

(1) to assist High School teachers who are giving instruction in Science and in French; (2) to assist teachers who wish to qualify themselves to hold a First Class Certificate, in covering part of the work prescribed for the Senior Grade; and (3) to provide courses in Education for all persons who may be qualified to take them. (Summer School Calendar, 1920, No page numbers)

The University, in spite of its refusal to offer academic credit, was for the first
time assuming some responsibility for the professional enrichment of British Columbia teachers. Although the courses offered were quite generalized because they were directed to both elementary and secondary teachers, this initial commitment is significant: the gate was finally opened to a more formal involvement by the University in the pedagogical training of teachers.

Under the funding arrangement, the Department of Education in Victoria paid the transportation expenses of teachers within the Province and also provided the University with a grant of $1500 which helped pay the salaries of the Special Lecturers who were hired for the summer. School Inspectors, Normal School Instructors and District Supervisors did not have to pay fees. This first Summer School was directed by Dr. G. G. Sedgwick, Department Head of English, and was attended by 128 students. Because the University of British Columbia did not have a resident Education Professor, a Special Lecturer was invited. The inaugural Education courses were taught by W. Pakenham, Dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of Toronto.

The Summer Session of 1921 was similar to the first Session, with the addition of courses in English Literature, Advanced Commercial Work, and extra courses in Education. Dr. H. T. J. Coleman, Professor of Philosophy and new Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, directed this Summer School for Teachers, the last one that was offered as a non-credit program. Dr. George M. Weir, Principal of the Provincial Normal School in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan,
was the Special Lecturer in Education.

Dr. Coleman continually pressed President Klinck to support the granting of university credit for summer school work. As he noted in a memo to Klinck,

I am sure that both the University and students themselves would be the gainers if the direction of the studies of these people could be undertaken by the University. This would not in any way impair the University prestige or lessen University standards. (UA, PR, September 21, 1921)

Others agreed and at a Faculty of Arts and Science Meeting on January 27, 1922, the Committee of Summer sessions recommended that credit be granted towards the first and second years of a degree for the university course work taken in the Summer Session. The Senate ratified this recommendation and in 1922 the University Summer School for Teachers broadened its focus and became the University Summer Session. The March 30, 1922 edition of The Ubyssey, noted that:

Since any university represents a large investment of public money, and since the demand for higher education has increased with remarkable rapidity during the last few years, the old practice of confining university work of a fall and winter session has been discontinued throughout practically the whole of the western world. [The University Summer Session] followed the trend of United States, Britain ("the Motherland") and other Canadian institutions. (p. 5)

Now, by means of these summer school options, teachers and others who had completed full Matriculation from High School could receive credit towards the First and Second Years of the B.A. degree. The University Summer Session in co-operation with the Provincial Department of Education, continued to provide special courses for teachers of High School subjects (including Commercial subjects), and also courses in Education Theory and Method
of a similar character to those which have been given during the past two years. (Summer School Calendar, 1922, no page numbers)

This granting of academic credit resulted in a highly pronounced distinction between Summer Session at the University of British Columbia and Summer School at the Normal School in Victoria.

The Provincial Government continued its monetary support for the Summer Session and, as could be expected, now that it was possible to take courses for academic credit, attendance increased at this session. Moreover, the more serious academic nature of the University of British Columbia's teacher training programs gave rise to a change in the composition of the student body. This now included mature students, already employed in teaching and in administrative positions in the schools, who wanted to upgrade their qualifications.

In April 1922, at the Third Annual Teachers' Convention, the Honourable J. D. MacLean, Provincial Minister of Education, strongly encouraged teachers to attend Summer School. He also made reference to a possibility that "at some not far distant date" a Summer course would be developed that could lead to the attainment of an extra-mural degree. At the end of the 1922 session a committee of summer school students, began to exert gentle pressure for an expansion of services into the regular term. In a letter to Dean Coleman, the Director of Summer Session, they "respectfully suggest[ed] that some classes be held in the evening and on Saturday [as this] would enable students engaged in
daily avocations to pursue their university studies" (B.C. Teacher, 1922, p. 13).²⁰

Dean Coleman skillfully argued the case in a December 13, 1922 memorandum to President Klinck, proposing that the Faculty of Arts and Science consider the question of adding at least a third term.²⁰ He began by noting how this would help garner public support as "the policy of keeping University buildings practically empty and the University equipment practically idle for five months of the year seems to the ordinary citizen, and particularly to the ordinary business man, an inexcusable waste of time and money." He went on to suggest that the summer climate would give the University of British Columbia an advantage (for example even with the "prostrating midsummer heat of Chicago, their summer session is the best attended quarter of the year").

His third argument was based on the broad appeal that the "large influx of students" that would attend would "bring visitors and probably, also, settlers to Vancouver." Its wider appeal "would tend to increase the demand for residential property in the neighborhood of the University and thus assist the Government in disposing of the University lands." He next appealed to the benefits for faculty — by adjusting work times "this would give opportunity for advanced study in Eastern or in European institutions." Because of the tendency to have two separate terms already with final exams at Christmas, as well as spring, there would not be a major change as it was "little more than a further extension of a tendency already well begun." He then moved to the case of students and
highlighted the flexibility it would give them to "best serve economic or domestic needs." His closing argument noted that as far as the Faculty of Arts and Science was concerned "there would be a diminution in the proportion of 'Overhead' cost to the total cost" (UA, PR, Roll 6).

Pressure continued to be exerted for increased university involvement in the professional upgrading of the Province's teachers. In response to a request of the Educational Committee of the BCTF, the Senate, at its December 20, 1922 meeting appointed a Committee of its members to inquire into:

(a) The feasibility of extra mural courses for teachers to be carried on either independently or in conjunction with the University Summer Session.
(b) The present need of a University Department of Education to assist in the professional training of High School Teachers, and in the work of the Summer Session.
(c) The feasibility of Evening and Saturday courses for teachers in professional subjects.
(d) The feasibility of Evening and Saturday courses in academic subjects.
(e) Any other policy which, in the Committee's judgment, will enable the University to contract more directly and efficiently than it does at present to the interests of elementary and secondary education in the Province.

When this committee on Extra-mural Courses reported back to the February 21, 1923 meeting, the Senate endorsed the establishment of extra-mural credit courses for the work of the first two years in Arts (Senate Minutes, p. 320).

The BCTF continued to push for recognition of education as a subject worthy of university study and for credit for extra-mural courses. At their Annual General Meeting in 1924, all Sections of the Convention and the
Executive unanimously voted:

    That this Convention recommend to the Department of Education that the University of British Columbia be requested to provide extra-mural courses in the Arts Department
    and
    That this Convention recommend to the Department of Education that education be made a major subject in the Arts Course. (Campbell, 1930, p. 40)

Not until 1927, and after much controversy within the University community, were extra-mural third and fourth year courses finally offered for credit and it became possible to obtain a B.A. degree without attending regular fall or winter classes.

Concurrent with these attempts to achieve baccalaureate accreditation for summer school work and part-time studies, were efforts to establish a full-time regular session program for the pedagogical training of university graduates. Education courses in the regular Winter session were first introduced in the second term of the 1921-22 session. One course in Educational Psychology was offered under the auspices of the Philosophy Department, and in 1922-23 one other course, an Introduction to Education, was implemented with the understanding that these two courses would be offered only in alternate years. Thus, pre-service training for high school teachers began.

This gradual inclusion of pedagogical training for teachers into the university was a complex process affected by the dominant professional ideology of the 1920s. After all, "any satisfactory explanation of human action must also
attend to the symbols that intervene between our world and our reactions to it" (Kliebard, 1990, p. 13). As will be seen, ideologies do not work on abstract collectives such as institutions or governments or society; rather they work to shape the values of individuals, and it is then the individuals who make decisions that accord with these values.

The next three chapters will analyze how two distinct groups, working from different motivations, acted to secure a place for the education of secondary teachers in the University of British Columbia. Both groups – the "clients," that is, the state and the voters who influenced its decisions; and the educators, those involved in the teaching of school pupils or of future teachers – were reacting to perceived needs in the province, needs which were justified (and some would say created) by the prevailing ideology of professionalism. For different reasons and with different purposes, both groups made purposeful decisions to keep British Columbia progressive by professionalizing teachers.

NOTES


2. In 1901 the population of British Columbia was 178,657; by 1921 it had risen to 524,582. The ethnic origin of British Columbians in 1901 was 60 percent British, 12.2 percent Continental European, 10.9 percent Asian,
and 16.2 percent Native Indian; in 1921, 73.9 percent British, 13.9 percent Continental European, 7.6 percent Asian and 4.3 percent Native Indian. (Barman, 1991, p. 367 & p. 363)

3. In the 1900-1901 school year total enrollment in British Columbia schools was 23,615. By the 1920-1921 year, this had risen to 85,950 students (as cited in Dunn, 1980, p. 26).

4. In 1886 a public school tax of three dollars for every adult male resident had been implemented (Wotherspoon, 1989).

5. The small rural high school would still offer a predominantly university-oriented curriculum.

6. By 1914, in addition to domestic work, office work, elementary school teaching and nursing had become "employment enclaves" for women (Johnston, 1996, p. 182).

7. With support from philanthropist, Sir William Macdonald, the popularity of manual training had increased over the first ten years of the twentieth century. In 1910, the first federal Royal Commission on Education was established with a mandate of investigating Industrial Training and Education. The 1913 report supported the need for increased vocational education and in 1919, the federal government announced support on a national scale with an appropriation of $10,000,000 to be expended over the following ten years.

8. Sheehan (1986) refers to a similar situation in Alberta. When a multi-diploma route was created in 1923 the idea was unsuccessful. One of the reasons for this was the prestige attached to academics (p. 48).

9. An Editorial in The Victoria Daily Colonist, July 10, 1891, suggested that this failure to establish a university was a positive outcome. The paper commented that British Columbia was too small at this time to support a university and that any university established would only be a "one horse college" (as cited in Soward, 1930, p. 9).

10. The original meaning of Normal School referred to "one that conforms not to the standard but that teaches the 'norms' or rules of teaching" (as cited in Burns, 1986, p. 8).

11. See discussion in Gidney & Millar, pp. 223-224.
12. The certificates which could be granted by the Board of Examiners were as follows:

(a) Academic, valid for life  
(b) First class, valid for life  
(c) Second class, valid for life; 
(d) Third class: If applicant holds a preliminary certificate from the Provincial Normal School, or from any other normal school approved by the Council of Public Instruction, valid for three years; or if applicant holds both the preliminary and advanced certificates from the Provincial Normal School, or from any other normal school approved by the Council of Public Instruction, valid for life. (Public Schools Act in Annual Report 1917-1918, p. D 99)

13. Prior to the establishment of this, many British Columbia teachers attended the University of Washington to take their program (Gross, 1939).

14. The Department would pay return railway and steamboat fares (not including berth and meals) for all teachers. (See Annual Report, 1922-23, p. F69-70; The B.C. Teacher, March and April issues, 1922-24 and UBC calendar Summer School for Teachers.

15. The first education courses offered were a course in School Administration and one in Modern Movements in Education.

16. Two courses in the Principles of Education were offered, as well as courses in Class-Room Methods and Mental Measurements.

17. Enrollment increased from 134 in 1921 to 208 in 1922. The total number who wrote final exams increased from 55 in 1921 to 127 in 1922.

18. This "extra-mural degree" referred to the ability to attain a degree without having to attend regular winter/spring sessions.

19. The British Columbia Teachers' Federation was aware of such a program being successfully operated in New Zealand at this time.

20. Dr. Wesbrook, first President of the university, had also asked his colleagues to investigate the possibility of a four term year (Twenty-First Anniversary, 1936, p. 19). He "felt guilty to think that our university is in operation only seven out of twelve months during the year when everything else in the world is speeded up" (as cited in Gibson, 1973, p. 181).
Chapter 5
The Role of the State

Politics and the Education Bureaucracy

As the number of teachers needed for British Columbia schools increased during the early twentieth century, so too did the perceived need to ensure that British Columbia's children were being taught by the most progressive, productive methods. The organization of the educational bureaucracy in British Columbia was similar to that established in Ontario in the nineteenth century. At the top of the educational hierarchy was an elected politician, the Minister of Education. The Honourable John Duncan MacLean, a Liberal M.L.A. from Greenwood, occupied this role from November 1916 until August 1928. MacLean, originally from Prince Edward Island, had taught in rural Prince Edward Island and Alberta, in the interior of British Columbia and had been Principal of the school at Rossland early in his career. Like many others he used teaching as a stepping-stone to another career. In 1905, at the age of thirty-two, he received his medical degree from McGill University. He believed that this varied education made his advice to the "untutored farmer-premier," John Oliver, worthy of extra respect. He had very "definite ideas on what education should be and should do" (Lord, 1991, p. 121) and took an active role in the
running of the Education Department. MacLean, nicknamed "Velvet Vest," was a very reliable and conscientious worker, although often described as "unimaginative and colourless" (Ormsby, 1958, p. 433). As Minister of Education, MacLean was accountable not only for the education policies and the administration of the schools of the province, but also he was responsible to the legislature for the execution of provincial laws and regulations as they applied to teacher-training institutions. More than any other person he appreciated that the institutions were potential tools which could assist him politically, or potential cudgels, available to political foes, which could be used to smite him down. (Rogers, 1972, p. 40)

This need to be aware of the political ramifications of any change to the educational system was ever-present and challenges to the status quo were always carefully assessed, especially those involving the expenditure of public funds. MacLean's power was, of course, shared with other members of the Cabinet and Legislature. The Public School Act of 1891 had created the Council of Public Instruction which was an executive body responsible for overall education policy consisting of members of cabinet, sitting under the chairpersonship of Minister of Education. However, it was MacLean who bore the main responsibility for approving policy, presenting information, answering questions, and dealing with public concerns. Although he was advised by his staff, he retained the power to "sacrifice sound educational advice on the altar of political expediency" (Katz, 1963, p. 226).

The MLAs of course had concerns and responsibilities other than the
management of the Province's school system. MacLean was not only responsible for education but also had the position of provincial secretary until 1924 when he switched to the new dual responsibility of Education and Finance. As a group, the Premier and MLAs were fighting for political survival. From a slight majority in the 1920 election, they went to holding only 23 seats of a possible 48 in 1924. Although the education system was certainly viewed as important, the reality was that for both the public and the government, issues other than the public school system and the training of its teachers often took precedence. Other contentious issues included the building of the Pacific Great Eastern railway, use of forests and other lands and resources, prohibition (until 1920), and patronage. Much controversy centred around the issue of expending funds to move the University of British Columbia into its chosen permanent site of Point Grey and out of its "temporary" headquarters in the shacks at Fairview.

In practice, much of the responsibility for the day-to-day running of the provincial Department of Education (formally created as part of the Civil Service in 1920) was delegated to the Superintendent of Education (secretary to the Council of Public Instruction) and his staff. When Alexander Robinson, who had held this office from 1899, was dismissed by MacLean in September 1919, he was replaced by S. J. Willis. Like MacLean, Willis had been born in Prince Edward Island, graduated from McGill and taught in British Columbia schools. Willis had been a teacher (in Victoria), a Principal (of two of the largest high
schools in the Province, Victoria High School and King Edward High School in Vancouver), and an Associate Professor (of Classics at the University of British Columbia).

Among Willis' staff were included an Assistant Superintendent (J. D. Gillis), two high school inspectors, sixteen elementary school inspectors, the Principals of the Normal Schools in Vancouver (D. M. Robinson) and Victoria (D. L. MacLaurin), directors of technical education and elementary agriculture (J. Kyle and J. W. Gibson), an officer in charge of the purchase and distribution of textbooks and a support staff for these positions. This structure reflected a steady growth in the bureaucratic framework of the Department of Education in response to the changing needs of the Province. Whereas in 1872 the department consisted of a single person, the Superintendent of Education, with a total expenditure of just over $20,000, by 1920, the Education Department comprised over 40 full-time employees and had a budget of approximately $2.2 million (Dunae, 1992, p. 6).

Willis informed the Legislature about educational matters in the Province by tabling Annual Reports. These reports contained information routinely gathered from each District by the inspectors in their role as educational experts. The "educational facts [included in these reports] were the opinions, guesses, judgments, and evaluations" (Curtis, 1992, p. 191) of these men. However biased, however one-sided, however hastily prepared, or however
accurate, the information in these reports was treated as "the truth" and, after being submitted to the Legislature, it acquired legitimacy as "official" information. In a sense these Reports indicated that education was being treated as a systematic, analyzable science.

The educational bureaucracy with its cadre of "experts" provided some continuity in a system where potentially the Minister — subject to election by the people and appointment by the Premier — could be changed every few years. Formal routines and procedures such as the requirements of the Annual Report "grew not only because of the practical necessity of conserving Ministers' obviously limited time and energy, but also because of the need for impartiality and efficiency" in the school system (Rogers, 1972, p. 45). And according to the professional ideology of the day, such scientific productivity could only be produced by the educational experts with their systematic methodologies and procedures. The statistics these experts produced gave a scientific rationale (and apparent legitimacy) to the decisions made by the Department of Education.

Although decisions could now, in theory, be made exclusively through the scientific analysis of facts, in practice they were at times influenced as much by politics as by rational deduction. Always remembering that they were dependent on the votes at home, politicians often asked members of the Department of Education for political favours. Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) or their constituents would ask for a special dispensation to be
made – for example, exemption from regulations concerning Normal School attendance. Many requests were submitted asking both for leniency in meeting admission standards and for permission to attend Vancouver Normal School (for students from the greater Vancouver area and the Lower Fraser Valley) instead of the one in Victoria (for students from all other parts of the province) or vice versa (Calam, 1986, pp. 80-81).

Inspectors, too, were subject to some political pressure. As J. D. Wilson and P. Stortz (1995) pointed out:

as part of the bureaucracy, they were tied intimately to the Department of Education and their views were valued highly in teaching circles. Thus, their negative comments were more likely to be damaging to colleagues with whom they were in constant contact. For example, normal school staffs often included ex-inspectors; as a result, any condemnation of the quality of the rural and assisted school teachers could be seen as an indirect criticism of members and friends of their own profession. ... They not only sensed where their loyalties lay; they also realized their own advance up the bureaucratic ladder from their current middle management status constituted a sort of *cursus honorum*. Loyalty to those around and above you plus a modicum of merit usually found its reward. (p. 215)

As a result, the "coldly analytical" reports on teachers were sometimes less than thorough or else euphemistically phrased.

Political Motivations for Changes to Teacher Training

Political representatives clearly were motivated by a desire to remain in power (to keep their jobs). To do this, it was essential to please their electorate.
The idea of initiating change for change's sake would have been anathema to such men.¹ In particular, tampering with the education system carried serious political risks. These politicians wanted to keep the schools of the Province running smoothly and efficiently in order to provide a quality education for the children of those adults who would vote in the next election. At a minimum, they had to ensure a sufficient supply of teachers for the schools of the province, a particularly challenging task during the war years. After the December 1920 election, the Liberals held only a slight majority in the Legislature. "If educational outcomes seemed inconclusive, or even favourable, and if political outcomes seemed dubious ... the tendency was to avoid unnecessary risk, shelve the venture involved, and hold fast to the status quo" (Rogers, 1972, p. 55).

In addition to the politicians' need to consider political consequences, economic factors had to be taken into account. Their inability to predict the financial stability of the Province contributed to the maintenance of the status quo. As Jean Barman (1991) points out, the resource-based economy of British Columbia led to bouts of prosperity, followed by economic downturns. Such an economic structure produced "little incentive for governments to initiate structural change." This inertia accounted in part for the lack of "a university or even a teachers' training college after virtually every comparable jurisdiction in North America had them" (p. 342).

The 1920s brought a climate that encouraged teachers and their
professional organization to intensify their demands for licensing and credentialling. The number of teachers available for the province's schools increased as men began returning to teaching after service in the war and training grants were made available for returning soldiers. Young people attended high schools and the provincial university in record numbers. The Department of Education had established a Teachers' Bureau in 1921 to help place unemployed teachers. A growing (though not fully adequate until the mid-1920s) supply of teachers, coupled with the pervasive ideological premise that only the credentialed expertise of professionals could be fully trusted, led to a widely held belief in the need for more stringent certification requirements.

Another political motivation for improved training of teachers was to ensure that the Province of British Columbia was (or at least appeared to be) as modern and progressive as any other province. For example, Alberta had lengthened its Normal School training to eight months in 1919.9 Ontario had also undertaken a major reform of its teacher training requirements. As the value society placed on education increased, the reputation of the province's school system became more important, for to appear "second-rate" could have politically damaging consequences. Indeed, if the province's school system was not perceived to be among "the best," it could affect the economic well-being of the province by for example, deterring new immigration. As Owram (1992) pointed out, "on the frontier, education was an extremely practical matter and
often viewed akin to roads, hospitals and prisons! An attractive educational system was yet another of those inducements that a region could offer incoming settlers” (p. xiii in Corbett, 1992). A great many immigrants came from Ontario and England and they expected – and demanded – a quality education for their children.

As a result, the rationale for legislated changes to teacher training became more easily defensible and was accompanied by the expectation that the public would accept and endorse such new criteria. This was important as any move to increase teachers' qualifications and thus increase the expenditure of public funds also had to be clearly justified to potential employers. After all, it was the various school districts and locally-elected trustees throughout the province who would hire (or not) the graduating teachers.

One influential argument cited by the politicians (as well as the many other interested parties) to support the changes to teacher-training was that such modifications would improve the efficiency of both schools and of teacher training institutions. Members of the dominant society, even those who chose to seek "the attributes of social exclusivity" (Barman, 1991, p. 141) by educating their children in private schools, supported such moves because they believed that increased effectiveness in the schools would lead to a well-educated populace who, in turn, would become productive workers contributing to the sustained economic growth of the province. If scientifically derived teaching
theories and administrative practices were employed by well-trained educators, waste and inefficiency would be avoided. The resultant "more businesslike atmosphere" would lead to the saving of tax dollars in the schools (Callahan, 1962, pp. 6-8). A better-trained and more efficient teacher would also help to encourage young people to stay in school for longer periods, thus creating a better, more highly socialized work force.

The pervasiveness of the ideology of professionalism and the acceptance of utilitarian values made it easier to convince British Columbian voters of this need for increased education. Politicians could safely argue that such expenditures of public funds were required for "the public good" (MacLean, PA, GR 448, Box I, File 10). In a chapter entitled "Education for Social Efficiency" in a 1915 Ontario Department of Education manual, the author went even farther and suggested that taxpayers cared "little for the advantage of individual pupils; they were preoccupied mainly with the welfare of society" (Sutherland, 1976, p. 237). Barman (1991) concurs. As she notes, "Middle-class British Columbians' concern over the quality of schooling extended beyond their own children to the well-being of working-class and immigrant families (p. 226).

Once the public was convinced that a change in teacher training would lead to increased efficiency and thus to better educated students, it was likely that any increase in expenditure would be accepted. As schools became increasingly ubiquitous throughout the province, and as they became "more
involved as agents of social policy" (Morton, 1967, p. 224), their role changed and expanded. So too did the public's expectations of teachers. As Willis noted in 1922, "the public now have come to look and to expect that a graduate of our Public Schools and of our High schools should be perfect in character, a paragon of virtue, and a skilled craftsman as well" (The B.C. Teacher, I(9), p. 10). If university training in pedagogy could ensure that potential high school teachers acquired the expertise necessary for "properly" instructing the young, then it was the duty of the government to legislate such a change. When the changes in teacher certification were implemented, protests and boycotts were not organized; taxes continued to be paid; children continued to attend school; and politicians (both local and provincial) who supported such policies were elected.

Implementation of Changes in High School Teacher Training

As pressure to change the existing certification requirements for high school teacher training and the inadequacies of the current system became more apparent, decisions about the future direction of teacher training had to be made. As Reverend H. J. Cody, Ontario Minister of Education in 1918, stated: "No matter what agency it may use for the training of teachers, the state is ultimately responsible and it cannot pass over its responsibility" (as cited in Rogers, 1972, p. 185). As a reflection of its politically cautious approach to
change, the government gradually introduced increased certification
requirements and changes to credentialling procedures.

After World War One, there had been a significant increase in public
interest in education, what Putman and Weir dramatically referred to as an
"educational renaissance." General interest was apparent in public attendance
at night classes, business colleges and trade schools and in the flourishing book
clubs, reading circles, and public libraries (Eliot, 1934). Short courses at
universities were also popular. For example, the University of British Columbia
set up special classes in Mining, Engineering, Forestry and Agriculture. The
importance of public schools and education for youth became a major concern.
As the Ontario Minister of Education commented in 1919, "the world today looks
to the schools more than any other agency to heal and guard the past and to
direct and stabilize progress in the future" (as cited in Stamp, 1982, p. 97).

Some people rather cynically suggested that this burgeoning interest
arose because as schools cost more and more to operate, the taxpayer's attention
was more sharply focused on what was becoming a major expenditure of tax
dollars (Willis, cited in The B.C. Teacher, May 1922, I(9), p. 10; Putman & Weir,
1925, p. 22; B.C. Monthly, et passim). Granted, this spending of public funds
(and the accompanying potential for increased taxes) would have been an
important concern. It is logical to want funds to be disbursed wisely and to see a
positive return for money spent. A frugal populace would naturally want to
increase productivity and avoid waste – and its corollary, inefficiency. One way to do this was through the use of scientific management principles, including, of course, the use of experts, appropriately organized in a hierarchical system.

However, the public was concerned not only with budgetary issues. They wanted the "world to be made over and the school was to be one of the chief agents in making it better" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 270). As Sutherland (1976) suggests, the school, which all youth had to attend by state directive, was "a ready-made engine of enormous power" (p. 173). One way to improve the world was to increase the proficiency with which the school could inculcate in its students the ideals of democracy. Accepting the belief that "the bolsheviks of today are mainly the neglected children of yesterday" (Barman, 1991, p. 226), most people were easily convinced that an efficient school system with well-trained teachers using a curriculum designed by experts was essential to help protect against the "evils" of bolshevism and anarchism (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 57). Tyack (1978) points out the school thus served as "an alternative institution of socialization" for children whose "parents [might be] considered incompetent to train their children" (p. 64). That is, the schools functioned as a political safeguard wherever parents failed to instil "proper" social values.

Parents of school-aged children were clearly motivated by the desire to have a well-organized, efficiently-run school system which would provide their children with the best education possible. Those in rural areas with one-room
isolated schools realized their children were at a disadvantage in comparison with the urban centres; but they too desired well-qualified teachers. Even many of those parents whose children left school on their fifteenth birthdays (or before), accepted the idea that access to a good education was their right. “As passing the high school entrance exams became the goal for city children, so it did for many of their rural counterparts” (Sutherland, 1995, p. 127). In order to ensure the best possible opportunity for their families, parents chose to believe, or allowed themselves to be convinced, or simply took it for granted that university training in pedagogy was needed for teachers of high school. It was not a matter of duress or intimidation, for "no amount of coercion could force a clientele to switch allegiances and seek professional services which it did not even know it needed" (Larson, 1977, p. 14). The general acceptance of the importance of education as the route to life success was reinforced by the professional ideology that mandated professional expertise as "the" means to achieve the efficient system that would ensure this.

Many different social and reform groups realized the significance of schools. As Vancouver teacher, Agnes Dean Cameron, sarcastically noted in 1904, “the large numbers of children gathered daily into schoolrooms form tempting fields of easy access to every hobby horse rider for the introduction of what each considers the sine qua non for reforming the world” (as cited in Tomkins, 1986, p. 101). To minimize the dangers posed by any such offbeat
"hobby-horse riders," many women's reform organizations set up education committees which lobbied vociferously for changes in the educational system. Although each organization had a particular focus, the various groups often worked together to institute change (Sheehan, 1992).11 Similarly concerned about the need for careful control over the education process, Rotary Clubs throughout Canada financed a National Conference on Education in 1918 (and left a $25,000 legacy for future conferences). The goals of this conference, which was attended by 1200 delegates from across Canada (and some from the United States and Great Britain), were:

1. to direct public attention to the fundamental problems in the education systems in Canada;
2. to consider education in its relation to Canadian citizenship;
3. to guide the establishment of a permanent Bureau to guide and assist the educational thought of the country. (Hopkins, 1920, pp. 526-527)

Those present at the conference, many of whom were extremely influential members of their communities (for example, Education Ministers, university personnel, service club leaders), passed a resolution “urging enlarged opportunity for the education and training of teachers and raising of the standard of education for admission to the profession” (as cited in Hopkins, 1920, p. 529).

The extent of the broad social interest in education was also revealed by the increasing amount of media attention. Editorials were directed towards both the positive and negative aspects of education. In-depth news coverage of major
educational events was provided at elementary, secondary and university levels and occasions such as the Teachers' and Trustees' Conventions. Newspapers and magazines ran regular features dealing with items of educational interest. Magazines such as the Farmer's Advocate and Home Journal (the oldest farm paper in Canada) ran columns such as "Men you often hear about." Well-known educators were included as examples of influential figures. For example, the Associate Editor wrote to President Klinck asking for a brief biographical sketch assuring him that "our readers desire to learn more of the men who are taking an active and leading part in Canadian affairs" (UA, PR, Roll 1, June 1921). Statistics “proving” the merit of education were also published. The 1919 Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs cited United States Bureau of Education 1919 statistics that showed at the ages of 21 to 25 the earnings per week of those with only a primary education ran from $9.50, at the former age, to $12.75 at the latter, while the returns for those having a High School training ran from $16.00 to $31.00 respectively. (p. 522)

This media attention was especially apparent in women's magazines which often contained articles on schools and also provided advice on parenting. The Canadian Mothers' Book, first published in 1921, provided advice on a scientific approach to “rearing the Canadian child ... in the Canadian home in the Canadian way” (Tomkins, 1986, p. 101). Such "how to" articles contributed to the growing conviction that expertise in teaching could only be learned by careful study. Reports of educational studies, descriptions of the "new"
progressive education and discussions of the advantages accruing from the use of scientific measurement showed teaching to be a sophisticated skill. Such articles in these magazines no doubt helped convince these readers that specialized training for high school teachers was a necessity.

Awareness of this public interest in education, accompanied by the desire to take advantage of this growing market, led newspapers to encourage universities across Canada to purchase advertising. As one letter from The Montreal Daily Star Advertising Manager to President Klinck noted:

More and more people are actively searching for special knowledge that will lead to higher advancement and accomplishment, either for themselves or for their children.

This impetus to education may be credited largely to the altered distribution of wealth and to the consequent arrival of many fresh, virile, competitors in the continuous race for high places.

... the thoughtful heads of educational institutions realize that in order to attract the pupils of tomorrow, as well as those of today, they must advertise in a medium that reaches not one or two but ALL CLASSES.

(UA, PR, June 1921, Roll 2)

With the expansion of knowledge, particularly in the sciences and the social sciences, education became more obviously useful in both social and economic terms. The public saw the value of completing more years in school and the popularity of secondary education continued to grow. In their 1925 Report, Putman and Weir suggested that social change was so great that an ordinary high school education in the 1920s gave a man or woman no better social equipment than an ordinary elementary education gave his grandfather
One obvious means of creating the expertise needed for the changing educational requirements of the province was through improvement in teachers' qualifications and mandatory professional training at a sophisticated level (Dunn, 1980). This growing faith in education as a social panacea is exemplified in the following statement on the anticipated outcome of the first summer session for teachers appearing in the magazine, *The British Columbia Monthly*:

> The first summer session of the university will give courses in educational subjects of the greatest value to our teachers directly, tending to a higher standard of efficiency, and therefore conferring distinct benefit on thousands of school children, future citizens of our province and our Dominion. (Brough, 1920, p. 18)

Changes to high school teacher qualifications began in 1918 when the *Public Schools Act* was amended to specify that high school teachers must have certificates from Normal School or, at least, pass an exam that demonstrated their mastery of "the art of teaching, school discipline and management, and the school law of the Province" (AR 1917-1918, p. D99). Although the two-hour written examination “betokened a perceptible improvement in standards” (Tomkins, 1986, p. 72), it was not a true test of any pedagogical skill; rather it contained questions referring to easily memorizable material. Typical questions were:

1. What are the requirements for compulsory attendance? Under what circumstances may pupils be excused from attendance?
2. What is the number of trustees and what are the qualifications required of trustees in each of the four classes of schools?
3. "The school is only one of the forces that form character." Discuss this statement. Show why the school is especially influential in this respect.

4. What would be your action in the following cases? How would you justify this action by the school law?
   (a) Trustees request your resignation at the end of April. (b) A parent will not send an excuse for his child's absence. (c) A pupil refuses to obey instructions. (Hindle, 1918, p. 63)

Calls for a specialized professional training program for high school teachers became increasingly specific. On April 2, 1918, Gibson wrote to MacLean concerning the University and Summer Schools and suggested major changes to high school teacher training.

At the present time the University is concerned only with the preparation of teachers from the academic side, but it is to be hoped that at no distant date the professional side of teacher-training will also be included. To this end one of two things might be done, either (1) Establish a separate faculty of education and affiliate with it the King Edward High School as a practice school, and also one or two of the more convenient public schools, or (2) Extend the present Arts Faculty, making it a Faculty of Arts and Education.

As a stopgap measure he suggested having graduates from the Provincial University take two summer sessions of two months each and carry on extra-murally a year's reading course under the supervision of the Arts Faculty. He also wrote of an "immediate and pressing problem" whose solution also rested with the University. "The majority of high-school teachers were not well enough prepared to teach" the new high-school curriculum in science (chiefly experimental). What was needed was a special course in natural and experimental science lasting at least six weeks. He noted that "these or any
other changes which would result in our provincial high schools and our
provincial University filling a larger place in the life of the people cannot be too
strongly urged at the present time" (PA, B.C. Department of Education, General
Correspondence, B-2033).

Slightly later, in his 1918 annual report, John B. DeLong, Inspector of
High Schools, continued the pressure on the government. He suggested that
the time has come when some professional training should be demanded
of our University graduates before they are granted academic certificates.
The establishment of a Faculty of Education at our Provincial University
would be the most satisfactory way of providing this training for our own
graduates. ... Failing the above, graduates should be asked to take a short
course at one of the Provincial Normal Schools. (AR 1917-1918, p. D21)

It was not only members of the provincial educational bureaucracy who
pressed for the establishment of a training program for high school teachers to
be located in the university. One of the groups providing impetus for educational
change was women. Toward the end of World War One the National Council of
Women\textsuperscript{13} presented a petition to the government asking that the university
include the training of teachers "to meet the needs of men and women students"
(Gibson, 1973, p. 78). Other women's groups suggested that the university was
the proper location for the training of high school teachers. In the larger urban
centres, particularly Vancouver and Victoria, middle-class women became
involved in various clubs such as the University Womens' Club, the Y.W.C.A.,
cultural groups, church groups, Local Councils of Women, and the Imperial
Order Daughters of the Empire. Rural women participated on a lesser scale but
were active in Farmers' and Womens' Institutes (over 60 branches were active in the province). In the 1920s, in addition to supporting university training for teachers, part of the political involvement of such groups was focused on having women elected to influential positions, for example, as members of School Boards.¹⁴

Requests for change to teacher education also came from various British Columbia communities and the members of the British Columbia School Trustees' Association (BCSTA). The BCSTA, founded in 1905,¹⁵ met yearly to discuss current issues and concerns. The Council of Public Instruction encouraged this organization from its inception "to provide the government with an ongoing 'public' perspective on educational matters" (London, 1985, p. 567).¹⁶ Members of School Boards throughout the province (both men and women) were influential and prominent members of their communities and their opinions were accepted as representative of many voters. Any resolutions which the BCSTA passed at its general meetings recommending changes in educational policies were forwarded to the provincial government. The BCSTA generally believed that pedagogical training for high school teachers was a legitimate and worthwhile endeavor. What they wanted was a more stable and more efficient (and cost-effective) teaching force for their schools. Their wishes were clear. In May 1921, they forwarded to the University of British Columbia Senate a resolution requesting the University to establish a School of Education.
Parent Teachers' Associations\(^\text{17}\) (including high school branches), were also influential. Although several local groups had begun during World War I, their popularity increased after the war with the growing realization that "children are just about the most important possession, not only of every home, but of our province, our Dominion, and our Empire" (Fuller, 1922, p. 3). In 1922, a provincial organization was established and this association affiliated itself with the Teachers' Conventions held each Spring. As a close ally of the BCTF, it openly supported the premise that high school teachers should be educated in a University setting. Representing many hundreds of parents, it too exerted an influence on governmental decisions and acted as "an enlightened fourth column' in the traditional three-sided structure of British Columbia education – provincial government, trustees and teachers" (London, 1985, p. 156).

Notwithstanding some reservations about the cost of university education, support for university involvement in teacher training grew, and hence the government responded to DeLong's appeal within a year. In 1920, pedagogical training became obligatory for university graduates who wished to teach in the high schools of British Columbia.\(^\text{18}\) At this time a candidate for the academic certificate was required to spend one term (four months) at a Normal School. Although mandatory training was accepted as a definite improvement, MacLaurin, Principal of the Victoria Normal School, was quick to point out its shortcomings:
The training they receive is entirely associated with elementary schoolwork. While it is true that in this training they should and do receive instruction in principles of teaching applicable to all grades, it is obvious that a better training would be given were that training associated directly with the grade and subject-matter of the schools they purpose [sic] entering. At the present time there is no school in this Province training teachers for high-school work. As an ever-increasing number are being graduated each year from our Provincial University who desire such training, it would seem expedient to establish a school for the training of high-school teachers at once. (AR, 1919-1920, p. C47)

This requirement for mandatory training was more like a political "testing of the waters," than a sincere desire to ensure pedagogical expertise for the high school teachers of the province. No serious attempts at accommodation were made when this very cautious first step was taken. Students with degrees who wanted high school teacher certification were told they had to attend the Vancouver Normal School in order to be certified; Normal School instructors were expected to teach these students; and the Normal School students were expected to accept the changes without complaint.

The consequences of this new policy, implemented without adequate preparation and support, created problems. The instructors at the Normal School were used to teaching a different type of student with different needs and a different academic preparation. The curriculum focussed on the skills and knowledge that would be most directly applicable for use in the classroom. Although "more meat" had been added to the offerings of Normal Schools in response to the "mature outlook and expectations" of those returning after the war (Katz, 1963, p. 215), for years the primary goal of the instructors at Normal
Schools had been
to ensure that its students knew what they were going to teach; that their
spelling, handwriting, grammar, arithmetic skills, and so on, were up to
the grade 8 level. Its next task was to initiate its students in practices
that would enable them to teach these subjects first in a multi-graded
rural classroom and then in a graded consolidated or urban school. Thus
training for much of the new as well as the traditional education was
limited and perfunctory. (Sutherland, 1995a, p. 119)

The instructors in the Normal School who were struggling with the new
influx of students had not been given a great deal of time to prepare or adapt
their curriculum. Even space to fit the extra bodies was at a premium. Simply
put, although the government mandated extra training for the high school
teachers, it did not furnish the required funding and support necessary to make
it a successful venture. The students simply arrived.

Because the Normal school had done little to adapt its instruction in
elementary-school pedagogy to the quite different demands of high-school
teachers, widespread discontent arose among many of those ex-university
students who saw little value in learning "juvenile" teaching techniques from
instructors who, in some cases, did not "even" hold a Bachelor's Degree. Some
university graduates considered "all elementary school methods and practice-
teaching procedures demeaning to [their] dignity and fit only for intellects of
inferior calibre." Such students exhibited attitudes of

subdued hostility or of amused and condescending tolerance, a martyred
air of resignation to an ordeal to be endured until the possession of the
coveted license to teach serves as a welcome release from a state of alleged
professional serfdom. (Weir, 1927, pp.36-37)
Typical normal school instructors at this time were men who had demonstrated superior ability in the public system, in British Columbia or elsewhere, often not only as teachers but as principals or inspectors (Calam, 1986, p. 77). No wonder they objected to these students' attitudes. Their classes were already overfull and extra problems were unwelcome. The antagonism was soon obvious to all. As early as January 1922, the University of British Columbia student newspaper, The Ubyssey noted that many were "well aware of the friction between Normal School staff and University graduates" (p. 4).

The causes of such attitudes must be questioned. The condescension referred to "had to be carefully taught." It was not accidental that prospective high school teachers felt they were superior to those learning to teach in the elementary schools. Reasons such as age or education or the perceived lack of academic rigour of normal school courses are insufficient. Although these are undeniably contributing factors, the underlying rationale is clearly more complex. This rationale derives from (and serves as a clear illustrator of) the more generalized societal role definition and occupational prestige hierarchy perpetuated by the academic community, the state, the public and even the high school teachers themselves.

This structure of hierarchal prestige, in turn, was strengthened by the new twentieth century ideology of professionalization which was grounded in the axiom that a scientific university training was the only route to true
professionalism. Accordingly, secondary teachers (who arguably were already professional by virtue of their baccalaureate degrees) should not then be instructed in their trade alongside the non-professional elementary teachers. This distinction between the academic or social eminence of the two types of Education students was reinforced even in informal social organizations. The completion of a degree accorded a great deal of status and the relative rarity of such an accomplishment was to be protected. For example, when the possibility of accepting incomplete degree holders or normal school graduates as members was brought up for discussion at the University Women's Club, the proposal was soundly defeated (Weiss, 1983, p. 59).

Influential members of the academic community openly contributed to such beliefs and criticized normal schools as unsuitable training institutions for secondary teachers. One of these was Dr. George Weir. Slightly later in his career, in an address he prepared for the 1927 Conference of Canadian Universities²¹, he rather condescendingly admitted (perhaps with an element of self-interest) that although normal schools were "probably" doing excellent work in the preparation of elementary school teachers, they were "in an inferior position, in comparison with modern University facilities or departments of education, for the effective professional preparation of secondary school teachers" (p. 36). He further noted that "there are too many instructors in our normal schools who appear to have lost their studious habits and sunk to the level of
intellectual mediocrity if not torpor" (p. 37). This, Weir thought, could not fail to result in the recent university graduate making unfavourable comparisons between this type of teacher and "his favourite university professors." Another well-known educator with biases against the normal school was J. H. Putman, Senior Inspector of Schools in Ottawa. He "recalled his term at the Toronto Normal School in 1887 as 'flat, uninteresting and a waste of time. There was no real challenge to test intellectual power'" (as cited in Stamp, 1982, p. 15).

This belief in the superiority of the university over the normal school was wholeheartedly accepted by university students. When four B.A. students were not given creditation in their teacher training program from the normal school because of "unsatisfactory attitudes towards [their] work," The Ubyssey, almost libelously attacked the professionalism of normal school instructors in an editorial entitled "Unfit to Teach?" (January 11, 1922). Here it was noted that Normal School staff granted teaching diplomas "at their discretion" and accused them "of a feudal high-handedness, which most certainly should not exist in any modern educational institute." The crux of the argument was based on "the competence of the Normal School staff to cast a reflection upon the University"; that is, how could mere normal school instructors have the overbearing audacity to perpetuate such a "grave injustice" on those that a preeminent institution had already judged as capable? The paper further suggested that if the situation was not "remedied and some provision made against the recurrence of such
incidents, the case seems clear for the establishment within the University of a Faculty of Education at as early a date as possible" (p. 4).

Most probably it was not only the instructors and the university students who were unhappy. The students in the Normal School must have suffered as well. It was "their" territory which was invaded by the supercilious university students; their classes were the ones which were overcrowded; it was their teachers whose tempers were on edge; and their practice teaching placements which were taken over. For the first time ever, a fee of forty dollars per year was brought into effect in 1923 for elementary education students. And the ultimate indignity, the arrogant "guests" were unappreciative and disparaging about their school, their courses and their instructors.

Hoping to alleviate some of these problems, the Council of Public Instruction approved generous support for those in the higher echelons of the educational hierarchy for their professional development during the summers. Not only were such men granted a month or six weeks' leave each year, but financial support was also provided:

Whereas it is desirable that our Inspectors, Normal School Instructors and Agricultural Supervisors have an opportunity to keep in touch with the most advanced and approved methods of instruction, as well as with modern tendencies in Education, grants of up to $400.00 enabled these men to travel to summer programs at Columbia University in New York, the University of Chicago and California. (PA, 1923, GR 448, Box I, File 12)

For example, in 1923, Inspectors J. B. DeLong and A. R. Lord attended
Columbia University; Normal School instructors H. G. MacLean and J. A. MacIntosh attended the University of Chicago; and District Supervisor of Agriculture J. E. Britton, attended the University of California. Such an expenditure of public funds was, however, contingent on support for this program. If educators or members of the public were to express opposition to such upgrading of administrative skills, it might well have been political suicide for the government to spend such amounts of money on professional development. Fortunately, this funding of pedagogic skills development was roundly acclaimed by educators as a progressive move and public criticism was not apparent.

Indeed, not only was this program spared any criticism, its clear success gave rise to even further professionalizing of teacher-training. Increased expertise for administrators was not merely accepted but encouraged by the Superintendent and Minister of Education. Extra education, it was assumed, would not only be a personal benefit for those who took the training, but also a benefit to the entire school system. The implicit faith that knowledge was transferrable was another factor contributing to the belief that better qualified teachers would benefit the young people in the schools throughout the province.

Meanwhile, the problems associated with the streaming of university graduates into Normal School so that they could receive certification as high school teachers were also acknowledged by the Department of Education. For
example, the Annual Report of 1922 admitted that "a minor crisis" had arisen at
the Vancouver Normal School when not enough placements were available for
the practicum students who were wanting to teach in the high schools. Both the
Model Schools and the Public Schools associated with the Normal School were
only for elementary student-teachers. In many eyes, the crisis was more than
"minor"; indeed, the inappropriate practice-teaching placements for university
graduates were seen as a formidable problem. Many complaints were lodged to
the Normal School administration and to the Department of Education. Parents,
students, university staff, and employing School Boards were critical of this
oversight by the Provincial Normal School (Uzelac, 1985, pp. 25-26).

In May 1922, Willis publicly acknowledged in an address to the Teachers'
Convention that the training of teachers for the High Schools of the province was
"a weak point" in the system. He hinted of change by stating that he was

  hopeful that perhaps in September next arrangements can be made either
by the Normal Schools themselves or in conjunction with the Provincial
University and perhaps too the affiliated College, at Victoria, whereby
better and more adequate training may be given to those teachers who are
looking forward to High School work in the schools of the Province. (p. 8)

The changes that had been introduced in the social structure of teacher
education necessitated "new patterns of socialization" for those involved in the
process. During any such period of upheaval while new patterns are being
learned it is natural to expect "strain and tension [as] the lot of all who are
involved" (Parsons & Platt, 1973, p. 163). Perhaps if more careful planning had
taken place, or if more time had been devoted to finding solutions to the problems that surfaced, this training of all teachers in the Normal School might have been successful. But the manner in which it took place almost guaranteed its failure and, as in a children's game when the existing rules don't work, the game plan for teacher education was again adapted.

In 1923, the first step to a formal, university-level training of high school teachers was established. After a series of discussions (to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7) between Willis, MacLean, President Klinck and Dean Coleman beginning in January, but not finalized until mid-August, a plan was accepted whereby university graduates were required to attend two fifteen-week sessions of professional study: the fall session in the Normal School and the spring session in the University. The arrival of the first class of students for their spring session of studies at the University of British Columbia in 1924 can be seen as the long-awaited beginning of what eventually became the University of British Columbia Faculty of Education. Fifty years after the creation of British Columbia's first high schools, their teachers were now being given training in the arts and sciences of pedagogy.

Both Willis and MacLean believed in the effectiveness of the university to train teachers and in making their choice to move high school teacher education to the university they were confident of public support. This choice also seemed feasible because at this time the state could safely assume (at least in the short-
term) that the university would be responsive to government influence on both program design and entry requirements. Although moving the responsibility for the education of secondary teachers to the university meant the government gave up direct control, there was by no means an absolute relinquishment of power and leverage.

For example, the Board of Governors of the university was not totally uninfluenced by the state, as Claude Bissell observed in reference to the University of Toronto:

It should be observed that the Board was not conceived of as primarily a buffer against political and external social power. In the findings of the commissions from which the Act resulted it is clear that the Board was looked upon as a means of ensuring orderly state control through the delegation of government power to a group of citizens who had a lively sense of government responsibilities and obligations. (1968, pp. 142-143)

The University of British Columbia's Board of Governors, consisting of eleven members, was surely subject to the same influences. The Chancellor (elected by Convocation) served as Chairman and both he and the President of the University were ex-officio members of the Board. Three members were from the Senate\textsuperscript{22} elected by their peers and six members were appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. It was highly unlikely that the six appointees (a majority) would be inimical to government interests.

This tacit control was apparent from its inception in the University Act.\textsuperscript{23} Board Members had to be British subjects and residents of British Columbia, but other than that no restrictions were imposed. It was the Board of Governors
which held the administrative power. They approved all appointments to the university (administrators, faculty, and all other staff) and conducted the business affairs. Generally, members were prominent figures in the community who supported the dominant political party. For example, one member, Evlyn Farris was appointed to the Board and served from 1918 until 1929. She coincidentally had helped establish the Women's Liberal Association of Vancouver and was the wife of John Farris, the attorney-general and minister of labour from 1917 until 1922 (Stewart, 1990, pp. 21-22). As G. Hindle (1918) accused:

This political junta [the Executive Council of the Provincial Government], through its Board of Governors, can absolutely control all appointments, so that the seat of higher education for which we had hoped, and prayed, and laboured so long and earnestly, becomes from a political angle, simply another addition to the patronage at the disposal of the dominant political party. (p. 124)

In his personal diary and notebook, Premier John Oliver reported on an Executive Meeting (MacLean being present) held on August 3, 1921. As Oliver noted, "After a very long discussion it was decided that the best way to secure additional accommodation [sic] for University students would be for the Governors and the Senate to increase Entrance fees and thus secure the necessary moneys" (p. 79). In his notes from an earlier Executive meeting on February 26 which President Klinck and Chancellor McKechnie attended, Oliver had noted with an extremely heavy underline, "Fees cannot be increased without irritating public" (p. 55). When unpleasant decisions had to be made, the advantages of having
the anonymous power of the Board take responsibility for such decisions must have been convenient.

A second secure means of control can be easily understood. Each year the budget for the University had to be approved by the Legislature. Although tradition maintained the importance of academic freedom, the establishment and continuance of any program depended upon adequate funding. Contingency requests such as those for running the summer programs for teachers also had to be approved. Budget approval was not automatic, and the new university had not yet achieved the secure, or even relatively secure, position that comes with a long tradition of support. Some MLAs still did not favour the existence of a provincial university. They believed that what the country needed, instead of "fodder" for the professions was men who would "go out and pioneer" the country. Concern was expressed throughout the 1920s about the financial commitment required "forever" to support the university. Among the criticisms brought up in Caucus were charges that the university was "breeding hosts of young social parasites (sic) who look for soft jobs paid out of public revenue" and that the "whole system [was] abortive and a great weakness to province" (UA, PR, January 1922, Roll 4).

Finally, the Provincial Department of Education set the standards for and granted teacher certification.²⁴ The state's power to limit access to teaching by imposing certification requirements was firmly entrenched in British Columbia
social policy. The population as a whole expected the government to "safeguard" the schools by making sure that teachers had appropriate qualifications. People took it for granted that teachers would be trained in state institutions (schools, normal schools, or universities) as such training had become accepted as a social norm (Curtis, 1988). However, fluctuations in student numbers and in the number of qualified teachers available at any time for the schools of British Columbia made this relationship problematic for the provincial Department of Education. In its setting of certification criteria, it had to deal with "the internal inconsistency involved in endeavoring to provide simultaneously some measure of quality assurance to the public and a body in every classroom" (Goodlad, 1990, p. 95). An added onus of responsibility was present because, with the ever-growing acceptance of the ideology of professionalism, the public became increasingly distrustful of those who worked within a certain field but who lacked an appropriate level of certification (Bledstein, 1976).

The Department of Education's relationship with the University of British Columbia was another factor that was central to its willingness to give up sole responsibility for the training of high school teachers. The power dynamics were such that the Department of Education could feel confident of preserving its authority. Future events suggest that this faith was well-founded. In an effort to reassure teachers the University would not have control over their members, Mr. Willis announced to the BCTF Executive that, although technically the
Department did not control the University, they had "such cordial co-operation with Dr. Weir as to be practically equal to control" (Minutes of BCTF Executive Meeting, March 13, 1926).

Confident of its continued power, the government also hoped that by moving high school teacher training to the university an increased number of students would select education as a career. This would then help ensure an adequate and consistent supply of teachers for the schools. By 1924, 236 high school teachers (and almost 2400 elementary) were registered in the province and further growth was expected. Not only was the population of high schools growing, but other factors augmented the need for teachers.

First, through the ordinary processes of wastage the number of recruits needed annually remained high. Any shift of policy that required a change in the size of the client population, for example, ... raising the secondary school leaving age, or in the ratio of practitioners to clients, for example through reductions in class size, immediately increased the necessary annual scale of recruitment. (Leggatt, 1970, p. 161)

Another factor affecting the number of teaching candidates was the broad range of occupations which the rise of "big business" had made available to university graduates (particularly males) in the 1920s (McDonald, 1996; Harris, 1977; Sutherland, 1976). Private sector companies (banks, insurance companies, and major corporations like the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company) and segments of the Federal and Provincial governments sought an increasing number of graduates. Many of these positions paid more than a teacher's salary. Other professions such as medicine, engineering and law also offered higher
wages (Macdonald, 1930).

But wages and alternative opportunities only partially accounted for many graduates (especially science majors and Honours students) choosing not to enter teaching. As J. F. Macdonald pointed out in 1930, this money argument had "been overworked as an explanation for the way able men shy off from the teaching profession" (p. 106). At that time, he stressed, although some university teaching positions offered salaries not much higher than teachers, there was an overabundance of candidates for such positions.

Another factor that might explain young adults' disinclination to become teachers would be working conditions in the schools. Large class sizes, lack of support and poor living conditions in rural areas, and recalcitrant students were common problems. However, similar detracting features also existed for other professions in the 1920s. For example, rural doctors were overworked and often had to function in primitive situations with little support and inadequate equipment. Yet, unlike teaching, medicine was still a sought-after occupation.

Most likely the major reason why top university students (particularly men) didn't choose teaching as a career was the unappealing status of the profession of teaching. Because the profession was starting to be regarded as a "women's occupation," the prestige and respectability of the high school teacher declined and many males avoided what was becoming known as "kind of a sissy job," Also, the lack of academic rigor involved in attaining the credentials to
teach made it appear to be the sort of occupation pursued only by those who did not really have the aptitude for more intellectually demanding work. The lack of public esteem for the profession of teaching was an effective deterrent, even for students who might otherwise like to teach. To decide to be a teacher would likely "incur something very like the contempt of their fellow-students, their professors, and the community at large" (Macdonald, 1930, p. 113).

By moving the professional education of secondary teachers to the university, not only was the Department of Education responding to an expressed need for change but also it was hoping that high school teachers would gain in prestige by the official association of their professional training with the university. The reason for the Department becoming involved in helping to raise the status of teaching was not for the altruistic aim of raising teachers' self-esteem, but rather for the more practical cause of attracting more (and "better") students to the teacher education programs. A more generalized public recognition of the importance of their professional expertise would help attract "more ambitious men and women" to the profession, which, in turn, would result in a more efficient teaching force of better quality (Pakenham, 1922; Burns, 1909).

This transfer of high school teacher training to the university, and its concomitant "extend[ed] educational requirements," was expected not only to increase the number of men who chose teaching as a profession but also to
dissuade already practising teachers (invariably men) from using teaching as a stepping-stone to some other, more estimable profession (Goodlad et al., 1990, p. 50). It was virtually axiomatic that men were better teachers or, at least, that a high proportion of male teachers was needed for a school to best fulfill its academic and social role. Concern over the paucity of male teachers, for example, led the Victoria School Board to decide in 1903 “that in the interests of tactful discipline and cultivation of strength and character in the boys there must be more male teachers in the schools” (Hopkins, 1904, p. 539). There is no evidence that female teachers were ever outrightly belittled, and no-one could fail to recognize that without women teachers the system would collapse. Still, like yeast in bread dough, men were seen as being the key leavening agent by which a school would rise to maximal efficiency and productivity.

From the very inception of the school system, men were paid significantly higher salaries than females as an inducement to enter (and stay in) the system (Dunn, 1980). This had not proved to be enough of an incentive. The number of male teachers in the British Columbia school system had declined from approximately 50 per cent in 1890 to approximately 20 per cent by 1920. In 1921, almost forty per cent of high school teachers were females (Sutherland, 1976; AR 1919-1920). Sadly, this rise to numerical prominence for female teachers carried with it no rise in esteem, and was in some quarters seen as disturbing. Clearly, a woman's role in the system was one of subservience, and
the dwindling proportion of male instructors was seen as a problem which needed rectifying.

In reaction to concerns such as these about the present and future state of education in British Columbia was the Putman-Weir Report, a document that helped legitimize the changes in teacher education. Early in 1922, at their annual convention the BCTF had asked the Department of Education to "consider the advisability of having a complete and impartial survey of the educational system, and facilities of the Province, such survey to be carried out by recognized authorities in the various fields to be covered" (B.C. Teacher, 1923, p. 3). Dr. N. F. Black, who acted as Chairman of the BCTF sub-Committee on Educational Administration, was a strong supporter of the Survey. He suggested that the survey was a method recognized "throughout the world ... as the most potent means of concentrating public attention on educational needs and conditions and of strengthening the hands of progressive leaders in general in their perennial battle for the increased efficiency of the people's schools" (1924, p. 106).

The Department (in its usual fashion) did not react immediately to this request. It had to evaluate the political wisdom and educational efficacy of such a move before making a commitment. A definite potential existed for negative feedback from such a survey and, whatever the outcome, it would have an impact on education throughout the province. Not only did the Department
have to assess the effect of such criticism on a system paid for by tax dollars and run by the Government, but also it had to decide if the public and its own bureaucracy would support the cost of running such a survey (the cost of other surveys ran up to $40,000). The Department had to determine the administrative and educational value of such an exercise and be sure it was making a sound decision. Presumably, if experts were hired to evaluate their system, any recommendations for change not only would influence future direction, but would quite probably involve even further expenditures. After all, not to act on any major recommendations would be politically foolhardy.

The BCTF continued to lobby for such a Survey after no immediate response was forthcoming from the provincial authorities. It met with local service clubs, labour organizations and PTAs trying to convince them of the merit of such an activity. To persuade all members of its importance, Black, who taught at the Duke of Connaught High School in New Westminster, wrote a series of articles (beginning in January 1924) in the B.C. Teacher about the benefits of such an action.28

Meanwhile, the Department of Education and the Cabinet were still considering the advisability of such a move. When MacLean addressed the 1923 Convention of the BCSTA he announced that

If it is going to be a stocktaking, so far as the Department is concerned, we have no fear of that; if it is a survey with the idea of grafting on our system a lot of new things that are mostly in the experimental stage, you may have a score of surveys, but as far as I am concerned I would hesitate
to put such recommendations into effect. (as cited in London, 1985, p. 99)

This rather ambiguous statement suggested that MacLean was unclear about the purpose of the survey – for, if such a survey were to be commissioned it would presumably be the Department who set its parameters. If MacLean's speech to trustees was a test of the possibility of ignoring requests for such a survey, the response of the BCSTA was unequivocable. In spite (or because) of MacLean's suggestion that he might ignore the recommendations of such a survey, trustees did pass a resolution supporting teachers' calls (presented by Harry Charlesworth, General Secretary of the BCTF) for the province-wide survey of the school system. As a representative of the Vancouver School Board announced, "The public at large, and all true educators would welcome the large body of objective fact, properly arranged and intelligently presented ... a human profit and loss account of our system" (as cited in London, 1985, p. 99). The implication was clear. In such a survey, information gathered, presumably by impartial experts, would provide the scientific data (the "objective facts") that could help evaluate the system.

In November 1923 further pressure was imposed on the government:

A delegation headed by F. J. Nicholson, chairman of the Vancouver School Board, and supported by such diverse groups as the Parent-Teachers' Federation of British Columbia, the Vancouver Board of Trade, the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council, the Property-Owners' Association of Vancouver, and numerous other service clubs had marched on the Victoria legislature ... again urging the government to hold a scientific inquiry. (Wood, 1985, p. 148)
After first speaking with MacLean, this delegation was referred to the Municipal Committee of the House. On December 11, 1923 this Committee submitted a report to the Legislature stating that it had "not been convinced there [was] anything radically wrong with the educational affairs of the province" and that therefore "in view of the necessity for economy and for good business reasons, [they] believe[ed] the Department of Education could gather a great deal of valuable and necessary data ... during the coming year, and [they] advise[d] this before embarking on any costly 'survey'" (The B.C. Teacher, January 1924, p. 104).

Nonetheless, despite this recommendation to procrastinate (perhaps indefinitely), the Government, after its examination of costs and political impact, and the Department of Education, after its experts' analysis of the educational merit was complete, decided not to wait for a full year. At the 1924 BCTF annual convention Willis announced that this survey would be initiated. The Commissioners were requested to look into "questions of school finance, school administration, training of teachers, courses of study, as well as all other phases of our educational system" (Willis, AR 1923-24, p. T 10). They also had the authority to look into "any other important matters that may be brought to the Commission's notice by public bodies" — basically a carte blanche to examine any aspect of the educational system.

The overt purpose of the study, to review the functioning of the public
school system, was easily justified by the goal of using the knowledge gained to improve the overall efficiency of the schools. By agreeing to conduct a survey, the government appeared willing to respond to the public concerns and discontent that were increasing. However, the timing of the announcement suggests that political expediency was a major incentive. In four months, the opinion of the Legislature had changed from "let's wait a year as nothing is really wrong" to "we need a survey and will commence immediately." Because no results of the survey, positive or negative, would be known until well after the provincial election, the most cynical observer could suggest that this inquiry served "merely a purpose of obfuscation and delay," allowing the government "to appease the discontents of those with the power to threaten the stability of the State" (Ashforth, 1990, pp. 2 &4). A contentious issue was thus put on hold pending analysis by experts at a later and more convenient time; that is, after the Liberals won the election and long before the following election. At that time, the results of the Survey could be used "to gauge support for and resistance to possible initiatives" (Ashforth, 1990, p. 15) aimed at improving the quality of both teachers and schools.

Experts from outside the provincial educational bureaucracy were hired, seemingly for their credibility and personal reputations and their ability to appear free from influence. As Wilson and Stortz (1995) summarized: "In brief, their comments placed neither their survey nor their jobs in jeopardy; their pens
were free to commend or condemn" (p. 215). The two leaders of the commission, well-known educators Dr. J. H. Putman and Dr. G. M. Weir, were officially appointed on June 5, 1924 (conveniently during the campaign leading to the June 24 election).

When he was selected to act as chairman of the commission Putman was a school inspector in Ottawa. He had taught previously at the Ottawa Normal School and was a well-known proponent of progressive education and the ideas of John Dewey. He "claimed that the philosopher's writings helped him acquire fresh insights into the educational value of so-called fads and frills, like physical culture, gardening, handwork, nature study and art" (Rogers, 1972, p. 75).

Putman was known for his outspokenness, or as The B.C. Teacher stated, his "independent judgement." In 1904, in an address at the annual convention of the Ontario Educational Association, he made his views on suitable teachers blatantly clear. Speaking of applicants for teacher training who should have been rejected, he noted: "The schoolroom is no place for consumptives, confirmed dyspeptics, dull ears, stammering tongues or unsightly deformities." He also acknowledged that "every graduating class ... contained a few who were utterly incompetent and doomed to certain failure" (as cited in Rogers, 1972, p. 111).

Dr. George Weir had just taken up his position as Professor of Education at the University of British Columbia. He too was a well-known supporter of progressive education. Because of his position in the university, the BCSTA
immediately, and unsuccessfully, challenged his appointment, suggesting that even though the university was not the focus of the study, it would at least come under scrutiny and Weir could not help but be influenced by his position.\textsuperscript{33}

Members of the public also questioned the impartiality of the commissioners. As the editor of the Victoria \textit{Colonist} noted on December 19, 1923, at the end of the hearings: "We are afraid from the tenor of the questions put to witnesses by the commissioners, and, indeed, from the attitude throughout the inquiry up to date, that they embarked on the task with preconceived notions and not with an open mind" (as cited in Wood, 1985, pp. 152-153). It is also illuminating that, although it took over two years before the Department of Education would commit to a survey, Putman and Weir noted "... no one is more keenly sensitive to the need for an adaptation of the system to meet modern conditions than are the educational officials entrusted with its administration" (Smith, 1952, p. 114).

Once the Department of Education and the Government had committed to the implementation of the Survey, funds were made readily available to ensure that appropriate expertise was used to legitimize the Survey. For example, when Putman and Weir wanted to consult with the Honourable H. A. L. Fisher, formerly Minister of Education in England, on several matters of school policy in "the Old Country," the expenditure of up to $500 was approved. These funds included a $300.00 honorarium and the expenses of a trip to
Victoria from Winnipeg (PA, Box I, File 13). And this was in addition to the six- 
person panel of "technical" experts who reported on specialized topics. Among 
the experts brought in to help with the Survey was Professor Peter Sandiford 
from the University of Toronto.\textsuperscript{34} He had been a student of Thorndike (the well-
known psychological expert and statistician) and his research which involved the 
testing of school students throughout the province helped provide scientific 
legitimacy for the survey.\textsuperscript{35}

When protests against this "phalanx of educational experts" were 
mounted, supporters argued that "because of the complexity of society ... experts 
were needed to interpret public opinion correctly and to strengthen the hand of 
the department in its endeavour to define and raise the standards of education" 
(Wood, 1985, p. 151). This argument and its corollary that State and Society 
were working together for "the Common Good" fit in well with the dominant 
ideology. The language of professionalism assured the public that experts (and 
only experts) could determine the solutions to existing problems, if any were 
objectively identified, and all would be well.

Although theoretically the experts operated independently from the State 
after they were formally appointed and received their general instructions, in 
practical terms this was not a clearly maintained distance. Not only did the 
nature of selection affect the outcomes (coincidentally both were Liberals) but 
also political intervention was apparent throughout the study (such as when
Sandiford had Willis intervene on his behalf – see Chapter 7).

In their search for the "truth about the school system," the two commissioners toured the Province, visiting over 150 schools and holding 215 hearings with various public groups. They also spent time inspecting the two normal schools and reading submissions prepared by numerous groups in the province. The magnitude of the investigation resulted in its original completion date of December 1924 being extended until the end of May 1925 when the report was formally submitted. The Putman-Weir Report, "the most thorough examination of a school system ever made in Canada" (Willis, in AR 1924-25, p. M 10) did more than raise public awareness of education, postpone political problems, and suggest methods of improving the school system. In several important ways it served to entrench more firmly certain ideological assumptions as it contributed to the perpetuation of societal norms and the status quo in the education hierarchy.

The Commission validated the two-tier teacher training system by adding "scientific proof" to the differential status of the students training to become elementary and high school teachers. Although this survey had no mandate to investigate the work of the university, Sandiford did test students both in the Teacher Training course and in the First Year Arts (in addition to those in the Normal Schools). His analysis concluded that, although "unfortunate," "the normal schools [did] not get as good material to work upon as the University
[did]" (cited in Wood, 1985, p. 165). With statistics backing up the test results, Sandiford's statement had scientific status.

Normal school instructors and the teachers they graduated were harshly criticized in the final report. "A few minimal reforms aside, said Putman and Weir, the normal schools' inexcusable aberration was their conception of teaching as a trade dependent on definite methods ... . But, [the commissioners declared], teaching wasn't a trade – it was a science" (Calam, 1986, p. 85). The organization and administration, curriculum, teaching methodology, length of program, and practice teaching provisions all came under censure. The criticisms were so scathing that MacLean, in the 25th Session of the Legislature, felt compelled to publicly note that the Commission's criticisms were too severe in reference to Normal Schools. He affirmed that they were staffed by teachers of the highest ideals, and anxious to do their best. When inspected by the Commissioners, ... the Normal Schools had not been working under ideal conditions. In the first place, the Commissioners had visited the schools at the beginning of the school year before their work was well underway ... and [they were also] understaffed. (as cited in Victoria Times, November 13, 1925)

Although teachers themselves had made suggestions for change in the Normal Schools the tone of their suggestions was radically different. The objective of their submission of comments was to make "still more efficient the service rendered by the teachers of the Province" and as such, they were phrased positively.

The Survey's emphasis on all the negative aspects of the Normal Schools
served to further differentiate not only the training of the secondary and elementary school teachers but the teachers themselves. If the training teachers received was poor, it followed that graduates from the normal schools were also less than competent. Because investigation of the University was not part of the Commission's mandate, and did not come under criticism at this time, the assumption could then be drawn that their graduates were well-trained. This aspect of the survey had a conflicting impact on the teachers' professional project: on the one hand, it definitely did not improve their status in the eyes of the public; yet at the same time, it highlighted the need for greater expertise.

The Commissioners concluded that requiring high school teachers to be university graduates with a full year of professional training was "commendable." Further, this requirement was "one fully justified by the importance of the high school as a means of general culture and as a preparatory school for the University" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 231). Knowing the philosophical bias of both Putman and Weir, this conclusion was predictable. After all, John Dewey was known for his "insistence that schools of education, devoted to discussion and experimentation, were 'obviously and without argument' the responsibility of universities" (as cited in Rogers, 1972, p. 75). It is also not possible to ignore Weir's position as Professor of Education at the University of British Columbia. His "scientific disinterestedness," in this matter at least, must be suspect.
Even though the authors were liberal progressives, they helped entrench the unequal status between male and female teachers. Putman and Weir admitted it was with "some hesitancy" they recommended that males in the school system should continue to be paid on a higher scale. Their rationale was that

the social demand ... is for more men in the teaching profession and they should receive at least a living wage while qualifying for a principalship – the legitimate goal of a young man who intends to make teaching his life work. (p. 416, as cited in Dunn, 1980, p. 42)

Presumably, while they assumed that men would automatically want to enter the administrative stream, they did not believe that women needed "a living wage" or had aspirations to "legitimate goals."39

The Survey, like all such policy documents, with its carefully chosen experts, "[did] not spring out of untilled soil, and [it arrived] at a specific time ..." (Apple, 1988, p. 131). It helped provide scientific legitimation for the direction the Department of Education had taken with teacher training. The choice of "credentialized middle-class reformers as opposed to, for instance, representatives of provincial pressure groups" (Barman & Sutherland, 1988, p. 7) showed the government's reliance on expertise to provide legitimacy for predictable outcomes. The relative importance MacLean placed on expert advice is unmistakable.

While a vocal public opinion is desirable, it must be realized that all opinions are not uniformly valuable. Certainly the professional expert must not be permitted to usurp the proper functions of teachers, parents,
trustees, and departmental officials in the conduct of our schools, but on the other hand it is becoming increasingly evident that our citizens require more information on educational problems, from sane, well-trained and experienced educational experts. (MacLean as cited in Black, 1926, pp. ix-x)

Because the information assembled was based on "objective" facts gathered from all parts of the province and from all types of people, the recommendations of Putman and Weir had credibility, as they were assumed to be "based on truths 'found' and not made" (Ashforth, 1990, p. 16). W. L. Richardson, author of a 1921 book, Administration of Schools in the Cities of the Dominion of Canada, saw such surveys as "analogous to business 'stock-taking' in which the 'shareholders' received a complete and impartial statement" (Wood, 1985, pp. 106-107).

In the seven years prior to the publication of the Survey, the level of accreditation required for individuals wanting to teach in the province had been raised a number of times for both elementary and secondary teachers. To even contemplate a return to less pedagogical expertise for teachers was not a viable option once the minimal credentialling standards had begun their upward movement. Although some of the changes seemed merely expedient at the time they were implemented, once the improvements were in place, what Perkin (1989) referred to as "a surprising paradox" became evident. "... Although the mass of the people were often indifferent if not opposed to the introduction of [change], they almost always vehemently resisted the withdrawal of such gains"
In British Columbia, decisions about teacher training were based upon two fundamental assumptions. First, different grades of school required teachers with different qualifications. Precedent established elsewhere in the country led British Columbians to take it for granted that those who taught high school grades would have more years of education than those who were teaching younger children. Certification (and pay) would therefore be based on different criteria. Historically, teachers in the high schools had been mainly men with a strong academic background – most often a university degree. The elementary teachers (by the end of the nineteenth century) were mainly women who generally were not well-trained.

Second, the teacher training required for certification would take place after knowledge of subject matter was acquired in either a high school (for elementary teachers) or a university (for high school teachers) (Rogers, 1972, pp. 56-61). This cycle followed that of other more well-established professions such as medicine and law. Because the achievement of the Bachelor's degree was used as a screening device for teachers of high school, their need for pedagogical training had been ignored or denied for many years. This led to the entrenchment of differentiated training that delayed the introduction of specific professional training for secondary school teaching for many years past that of elementary (Phillips, 1957).
The organization of much of the British Columbia education system was deliberately modelled on that of Ontario. As Alex Lord (1991) stated, "there was nothing accidental about the resemblance between the two systems" (p. 112). Many of British Columbia's teachers and administrators had trained in Ontario and many of the influential citizens in the province had acquired their education in Ontario, both at the public school and post-secondary levels. Yet in the domain of teacher training in the 1920s, the Department of Education and the government of the province deliberately chose not to follow Ontario's example.

In 1920, a massive reconfiguration of Ontario's teacher training system placed teacher training more directly under government control than it had been for the previous thirteen years. The system had been divided on one hand between two university departments of pedagogy (established at Queen's and at Toronto in 1907) where mainly high school teachers were trained and the academic knowledge base of education was stressed; and, on the other, several Normal Schools and Model Schools spread throughout the province where mainly elementary teachers were trained and the practical component of teaching was emphasized. After the reorganization, although seven normal schools and about a dozen model schools remained, the two University departments were abolished. Under the new agreement, an Ontario College of Education was established in Toronto. Like normal schools, this new teacher training institute was under the direct control of the government. Accordingly, it
was required to obtain:

government approval of all courses and regulations affecting the training, conduct and health of students; government approval of personnel appointed to the staff; university willingness to have the College visited and inspected by the Province's Director of Professional Training Schools; submission to the government annually, before 31st December, of estimates of College expenditures for approval by the Legislative Assembly as part of the departmental estimates; approval by the government of all fees; and the issuance of teaching certificates exclusively by the Department of Education upon the report of the Dean. (Rogers, 1972, p. 199)

Although the College of Education was associated with the University of Toronto and did achieve at least some "status" for the College students because of this, the change resulted in a definite decrease in the professional standing of secondary teacher training. This recentralizing of control in Ontario took place at approximately the same time as British Columbia embarked on the attempt to introduce a measure of decentralization of teacher training.

Several reasons could account for the choice made in British Columbia. Unlike Ontario, only one provincial university existed and for the reasons previously discussed, the Legislature and the Department of Education were more certain about the level of control they maintained over the training of secondary teachers. Ever wary of expense, the British Columbia Department of Education did not want to set up another independent teacher training institution. An economic recession in the early 1920s had resulted in John Oliver becoming very cautious about committing funds. He demanded that his Ministers justify each expense in their annual budgets and rather than initiating

A third factor could have been the influence of Dean Coleman who had been head of the faculty of pedagogy at Queen's (and a victim of its demise) and who, as will be seen, lobbied strongly for the incorporation of teacher training into the university. John Calam (1994) suggested that both President Klinck and Dean Coleman "reflected early American influence on teacher training at UBC" (p. 180), for their thinking paralleled that of many American universities which had already established departments of pedagogy in their universities (with a similar focus on the training of high school teachers and administrators). Coleman himself had studied at Columbia University with fellow student Ellwood Cubberley. Perhaps, too, it was an indication that British Columbia had "grown up" and was ready to set its own course – albeit at a leisurely pace. The relative "youth" of both normal schools, the university, and the bureaucratic system, combined with the needs of a radically changing school system and the increasing need for new schools and the teachers to fill them, left little time for serious and long-term planning.

A second solution that was not considered was the education of both elementary and secondary teachers in the university. Such a concept had been suggested by educators in Ontario. In the Queen's submission to the Ontario government in December 1919 providing reasons for the retention of its faculty
of education, one of the proposals was that "all grades of teachers be trained in
the same classrooms, thus demonstrating a oneness in the teaching profession
which in the past ... had been 'hindered by rigid separation between different
classes of teachers'" (Rogers, 1972, p. 187). Pakenham (1922), at the eighth
annual Conference of Canadian Universities, noting that "all doctors have a
common course of training in a common institutions," asked "Why not all
teachers?" He stated that "in the fundamentals of teacher-training all courses
are alike [and that] electives would take care of the necessary differentiations"
(p. 39). Pakenham (1922) predicted that "the need of experts in all grades of
education, even elementary education ... [combined with] the increase in the
prestige and pay of teaching and teachers" (p. 40) would eventually necessitate
this type of training program. However, he also forecast (accurately) this would
probably occur at some "remote time," because of the "many prejudices in the
way and real fears" (p. 39).

Many factors mitigated against such an integrated program. If
individuals in the provincial government and Department of Education firmly
and sincerely believed that the university was the institution that could provide
the best possible pedagogical training for the teachers of the province and thus
ensure a quality education for the youth of the province, the harsh criticism from
the educational experts in the Putman-Weir Report would have helped provide
an opportunity for the implementation of change. However, the State's need to
maintain control of its school system made this an unacceptable option at that
time. If you control the institute where teachers are taught, you control the
nature of the individuals who will be teachers and accordingly, influence what is
taught in the classrooms. To turn the education of less than sixty high school
teacher trainees over to the university was one thing, but to give up direct
control of the education of over five hundred students trained annually as
elementary teachers was another. The balance of power would certainly shift
with the sheer numbers involved. In the centralized British Columbia school
system, the two Normal Schools were directly responsible to the provincial
Department of Education and not distanced through a Board of Governors as
was the University. If all potential teachers were placed in the university, it
would be extremely difficult for the Department of Education to ensure "that
their teacher education programmes were so circumscribed that they had little
leeway to build a tradition of independence in programme direction and
organization" (Rogers, 1972, p. 156). The culture of the University with so many
students involved, would not condone such a policy.

The makeup of new instructional staff would also have to be taken into
account. Would the academic requirements of the university supersede those
used for selection to the Normal School teaching staff? Would all the Victoria
instructors move to Vancouver? Who would be in charge? How would the
students' experience in the schools be supervised? Could the schools of the
Lower Mainland even accommodate that many students?

In addition to the academic problems, the movement of this number of students required by a massive reorganization of the entire system would create numerous logistical difficulties as well. Foremost among the concerns would be the need to physically relocate the training site. The cost of a new facility would have been exorbitant. In addition, both the Vancouver and Victoria Normal Schools were housed in spacious, attractive new buildings. Both buildings were a source of civic pride and as Calam (1986) suggested, they not only "constituted impressive monuments to the West's ability to match the East when it came to constructing important public buildings," but also acted "as evidence of equal treatment at a time when so many Island-Mainland, Victoria-Vancouver... rivalries persisted" (p. 88). To mandate all teacher training to take place in one location, even allowing that the Vancouver Normal School could be used for some part of the training, would necessitate the closing of the Victoria School and potentially renew these "Vancouver-Victoria" controversies. The political furore would have guaranteed defeat for the already shaky Liberal government.

The large number of female students in education would also have had an impact on the choice. The initial outlay of funds to set up teacher training for all teachers in the university would have been high and would have been difficult to rationalize in the patriarchal society of the 1920s. Many members of the electorate believed that it was wasteful to spend a great deal of money for the
education of women.\textsuperscript{40} Like the bank clerks described by Graham Lowe (1997), male teachers were viewed as "an investment contributing more ... in the long run by working their way up to responsible positions" (p. 261). Rhetoric suggested most women would not continue working for very long and therefore probably were not really committed to their job.\textsuperscript{41} Even though males as well as females stayed in the profession for short periods (women being forced to resign upon marriage and men using teaching as a stepping-stone), this idea was still widely believed (Eisenmann, 1991; Barman, 1991). It is difficult for people to escape the grip of ideologically entrenched values and the adult population (the voters) had grown up in a system and in a time where differentiated training for teachers was the norm. Elementary teachers were "supposed" to be educated differently from administrators and high school teachers.

Summary

In the final analysis, once the Department of Education and the Legislature accepted that changes in teacher training were needed, the choices they made were affected by the magnitude of the change involved. Motivated by a desire both to keep the support of the electorate by ensuring a well-run system of schools and also to retain control over the schools and their teachers, the government increased certification requirements for high school teachers. The
introduction of mandatory pedagogical training was carried out in incremental steps, as dictated by political expediencies. First, a compulsory exam was instituted and Normal School training recommended. When this failed to meet the requirements of the educational bureaucracy, the teachers themselves and the general populace, certification requirements were again made more rigorous. Potential high school teachers were required to attend the normal school for a four-month period. Due to a lack of planning, this change created a great deal of consternation. The anxiety created by changes to an entire network of relationships seemed overwhelming and, instead of working towards the creation of a new equilibrium, once again a new direction was chosen (Curry & Wergin, 1993; Holmès, 1963; Kuhn, 1970). The university was "encouraged" to accept responsibility for the provision of pedagogical expertise for the high school teachers of the province.

Impetus for these changes came from several sources. The laymen of the province had played an important role in its educational development "from its earliest beginnings." Vancouver trustee, A. C. Stewart, President of the BCSTA in 1915, proudly believed that many of the educational reforms were initiated as a result of the recommendations coming from their annual conventions. As he noted, "the educational department and the governments concerned have had to be goaded from behind in order to move ahead..." (as cited in London, 1985, p. 78). The pattern remained unchanged.
The general populace supported the imposition of increased qualifications for teachers with the implied improvement in expertise, and, as will be seen, both the University of British Columbia and the teachers were active participants in convincing the government to pass such legislation. While some of the decisions regarding teacher training seem to have been made in an ad hoc fashion, it must be remembered that the most senior civil servants in the Education Department were overburdened with the day-to-day running of the Education Department. Their responsibilities were great.

For the BCTF, the merit of university training was not in doubt. The Federation's main hope for a route to the social and economic benefits that came with professionalization depended upon the institutionalization of high school teacher training in the university. The government was by no means placed in a situation where extended training in a university had to be imposed on an unwilling group of teachers. Rather, calls for such changes – or at the least, general tacit support for better qualified teachers – came from throughout the system.

The changes to teacher training that were introduced in the early twentieth century were not a result of an inexorable, or even an inevitable, move forward; there were many directions that could have been chosen. The government, through the Department of Education, did not impose a top-down, hated regulation when it increased mandatory professional training for high
school teachers. Although legally it was a top-down change, in the 1920s when professional ideology was a cultural norm, it appeared to be of benefit to all groups. What was achieved, like the curriculum Apple refers to here, was a workable "accord that act[ed] as an umbrella under which many groups [could] stand but which basically still [was] under the guiding principles of dominant groups" (1993, pp. 67-68). For teachers it was only later that the disadvantages appeared evident – the continuation of a gendered, hierarchical bureaucratic structure; the failure to be granted the desired prestige; the sustained dependency on government for certification; and the ongoing lack of autonomy.

NOTES

1. MacLean ran for the seat in Greenwood in the 1916 and 1920 elections. In 1924 he successfully ran in Yale. He was defeated in the election of 1928.

2. Russell Walker (1969), a well-known journalist in the 1920s, referred to MacLean as a "colorless" political figure who made "poor copy" (p. 62). S. W. Jackman (1969) noted that while everything MacLean said was "logical and reasonable ... it was very, very boring" (p. 201).

3. Supporting evidence for this was reported in the November 15, 1924 issue of the Victoria paper. Here it was noted that when the Putman-Weir Survey set up special sittings for the convenience of members of the Legislature, only two MLAs took advantage of the situation (Premier's Clipping Book).

4. Salary can be used as one method of elucidating the hierarchal bureaucratic structure and indicating status and position on the education
career ladder. The following are 1923 yearly salaries:

- S. J. Willis  Supt. of Education  $4500
- J. D. Gillis  Asst. Supt. of Education  $3600
- A. Sullivan  Inspector of High Schools  $3300
- J. B. DeLong  Inspector of High Schools  $3180
- The Highest Paid Inspector of Public Schools  $3000
- D. M. Robinson  Principal, Vancouver Normal School  $3540
- D. L. MacLaurin  Principal, Victoria Normal School  $3600

Average City High School Teacher  $2417
Average Rural Municipality High School Teacher  $2256
Average Rural High School Teacher  $1938
Average City Elementary Teacher  $1477
Average Rural Municipality Elementary Teacher  $1283
Average Rural Elementary Teacher  $1002

(PA, GR 448, Box I, File 12)

5. Only one woman served as inspector in the school system from the founding of the inspectorate in 1858 until its conversion to superintendents in 1958. There were 118 men and Margaret Strong, appointed by the New Westminster school board as a municipal inspector from 1913 to 1915 (Fleming, 1986, p. 287).

6. Bruce Curtis (1992) refers to this as "a corpus of hegemonic knowledge" (pp. 191-192).

7. Premier John Oliver had been a school trustee in Delta early in his career. Although he had left school at an early age, he valued education highly. His eldest son was a doctor; two others were lawyers; one, a chemical engineer; and one daughter was a school teacher. The second eldest son stayed on the family farm (Ormsby, 1958).

8. The first Female MLA was Mary Ellen Smith who represented Vancouver after her husband died. She was a Liberal and served from 1918 to 1928.

9. On a one-time basis an emergency short-course of twelve weeks was implemented shortly after this new regulation. However, only one class graduated and their certification was valid only until January 1, 1922. The Alberta Department of Education had also established a loan program for prospective teachers whereby students could borrow up to $400.00 (Chalmers, 1967, pp. 414-415).
10. Wilson (1995) notes that “the desire of settlements, even very small ones, to have their own schools led to a proliferation of schools” (p. 290). The 1921 Canada Year Book reports that while there were 318 schools in 1901, by 1921 there were 946 (p. 142).

11. Sheehan (1992) provides the examples of organizations such as the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, the United Farm Women, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, various Women’s Institutes and the Junior Red Cross having overlapping interests, with the National Council of Women providing coordination and support for many reforms.

12. The certificates which could be granted by the Board of Examiners were as follows:
   (a) Academic, valid for life
   (b) First class, valid for life
   (c) Second class, valid for life;
   (d) Third class: If applicant holds a preliminary certificate from the Provincial Normal School, or from any other normal school approved by the Council of Public Instruction, valid for three years; or if applicant holds both the preliminary and advanced certificates from the Provincial Normal School, or from any other normal school approved by the Council of Public Instruction, valid for life. (Public Schools Act in Annual Report 1917-1918, p. D 99)

13. The National Council of Women of Canada was founded in 1893 to represent all women in Canada who were interested in organized work in any field. By 1924 it had 400,000 members (Powell, 1967).

14. Women had been allowed to vote in School Board elections for a long time and were very actively involved. Citizens could vote for trustees if they were ratepayers (or the wife of a ratepayer) who were in good standing, that is not in arrears for previous taxes. (In the 1920s Chinese, Japanese, Indians and Hindus were not entitled to vote.) In 1920, Mrs. Irene Moody was the first woman to serve as President of the British Columbia School Trustees’ Association.

15. Membership in this organization was voluntary. There were nineteen males and one female at the first meeting which was held in Vancouver on February 16, 1905.

16. At various times, the press was critical of the expertise of the BCSTA. For example, after one meeting an editorial in The Province (Vancouver) questioned the merit of the association:
We doubt, however, whether on the whole anything of value has been accomplished by the meeting except to awaken the trustees themselves to the facts that the requirements of one locality are not those of another and to make it manifest that the interests of the province at large are safer in the hands of a central administration than when placed in those of the municipal boards. (as cited in London, 1985, p. 58)

17. The American title, Parent Teacher Association, was selected over the title, Home and School Association, which was common in other parts of Canada. This might have been influenced by the fact that "even in Victoria with its self-conscious British heritage, over two-thirds of the periodicals purchased and 80 per cent of the films shown originated in the United States" (Barman, 1991, p. 244).

18. Concurrent changes were taking place for elementary teachers. In May 1921, among other changes, the Council of Public Instruction approved Willis' request for the following:
   That all students holding British Columbia First Class, Second Class or Third Class Non-Professional Certificates, who enter our Normal Schools in September next or any subsequent September, be required to take a continuous course of nine months, and that University graduates, if deemed advisable by the principal and staff, be granted diplomas after four months' attendance. (PA, GR 448, Box I, File 10)

19. A survey of Quebec's Protestant education system (similar to the Putman-Weir Survey) had been conducted by Professor John Adams of the University of London in 1902. In this report he noted similar attitudes in the graduate students taking their training in the McGill Normal School. They "have little good to say about their training. ... Their attitude is rather that of tolerant contempt than anything else ..." (as cited in Calam, 1964, p. 24; see also Munroe, 1971).

20. Rodgers and Hammerstein use this term in their musical, South Pacific, when referring to the teaching of racial prejudice.

21. The President of the University of British Columbia, Dr. Klinck, actually presented the address as Dr. Weir was unable to attend the Conference.

22. Senate members included: (a) the Chancellor and the President of the University who was the Chairman; (b) the Deans and two professors of each of the Faculties elected by members of the Faculty; (c) three members to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council; (d) the principals of the normal schools; (e) one member elected by the high-school
principals and assistants who are actually engaged in teaching; (f) one member to be elected by the governing body of every affiliated college or school in this Province; (g) fifteen members to be elected by Convocation from the members thereof; and (h) one member elected by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation.

23. The University of British Columbia had adopted the bicameral governance model recommended by the 1906 Royal Commission headed by J. W. Flavelle. In theory, the use of a Board of Governors would ensure that the "process by which universities make decisions should be autonomous from the political whims of government." The Senate would be concerned with academic matters (Jones, 1994, p. 6).

24. By 1925 there were four recognized classes of teaching certificates:

ACADEMIC - a university degree plus teacher training

FIRST CLASS - Senior Matriculation plus teacher training

SECOND CLASS - Junior Matriculation plus teacher training


26. In supporting this differential salary scale to entice males into the system, an American Commission stated that it "believed that male teachers were more adequate authority figures than the female teachers, with greater stamina and influence over boys. Obedience, not merely sugar-coated wilfulness, is a needed part of every child's education for citizenship" (Gitlin, 1996, p. 605).

27. Surveys had been conducted in the United States, Great Britain, Switzerland, Sweden, Australia and New Zealand and other parts of Canada prior to this time – as N. Black stated, "scores" of them. In 1918, Saskatchewan was the first province to conduct a province-wide survey under public auspices (Black, 1924).

28. In his first article in the January 1924 The B.C. Teacher, Black discussed "the Origin and Meaning of School Surveys." His second article in
February, looked at "The Saskatchewan Survey," and his third article in April dealt with "Answers to Questions."

29. Dr. Putman's name was proposed by J. W. Gibson, Director of Agricultural Education. Gibson had worked with Putman in Ottawa prior to his move to British Columbia in 1914. B. Gibson reported that Putman's name was proposed to MacLean during "a late snack on the C.P.R. boat leaving Vancouver at midnight" (1961, p. 83).

30. The legislature had gone to outside experts before in an attempt to avert controversy. One example is the creation of an independent site committee for the selection of the location of the University of British Columbia.

31. John Dewey was never quoted directly in the Survey, although other American educators like E. L. Thorndike and Franklin Bobbitt were (Mann, 1980, p. 93).

32. Kliebard (1986) referred to progressive education as "a vague, essentially undefinable, entity ..., either an inchoate mixture of diverse and often contradictory reform or simply a historical fiction." He also believed that although John Dewey "gained worldwide recognition during his own lifetime and has unquestionably earned a place in the panoply of the world's great educators, his actual influence on the schools of the nation has been seriously overestimated or grossly distorted" (p. 31).

33. In response to a letter from the BCSTA, the BCTF carried the following motion:

   As regards the personnel of the Educational Commission, your committee does not feel that the Executive of the BCTF should in any way associate itself with the protest against the appointment of Dr. Weir. We feel that the occupancy of a chair in the University of B.C. should not preclude anyone from active participation in Provincial education problems but should rather be the guarantee of intellect and professional independence. (As reported in the minutes of BCTF Executive Meetings, June 14, 1924)

34. The other experts were: two professors from the University of British Columbia, H. Angus, and S. E. Beckett; J. L. Paton, retired headmaster of Manchester Grammar School; F. C. Ayer, an authority on educational administration from the University of Washington; and A. W. Cocks, another statistician.
35. F. H. Johnson (1964) refers to the Survey as "a commission of experts in education" (p. 102).

36. On December 29, 1924 Klinck requested (and was granted) a continuance of Weir's leave of absence pending completion of the report (Letter from Klinck to Board of Governors, UA, PR, Roll 7).

37. When Weir was first hired at the university, one of his referees, Deputy Minister of Education in Saskatchewan, Hedley Auld, noted that it was not clear whether Weir "wanted to increase the prestige of the Normal School at the expense of the University or ... to force the hand of the President to create a Faculty of Education and appoint him Dean" (as cited in Calam, 1994, p. 189). This vacillation was certainly not apparent in the Putman-Weir Report. It was very obvious that, in no way, did he want to augment the status of the normal school (at least the one in British Columbia).

38. One of their critiques was that the methodology of the normal school should not simply "dictate notes on tricks of the trade" (Calam, 1986, p. 85). The inspectors who examined Queen's Faculty of Education in 1918 had also criticized an "over emphasis on the lecture method and overwhelming reliance on students' notetaking" (Rogers, 1972, p. 179).

39. Putman's views on the inferior status of women were apparent early in his career. In 1913, he noted that it was preferable to have "a capable womanly woman" in every classroom if the only alternative were an "unmanly male weakling attracted by low pay" (as cited in Tomkins, 1986, p. 244). Implicit here is the assumption that a "real man" (who would expect decent pay) would be preferable.

40. Stewart (1990) highlighted one clear indication of this attitude. "During the war there was little motivation to build a university for a majority of women, or men declared unfit for military service" (p. 27).

41. Jean Barman (1990) pointed out that "teachers, be they male or female, were far more likely to remain longer in city than in non-city schools...". She also stated that by the end of the nineteenth century "those women who did remain a second year [in city schools] were as likely as their male counterparts to stay for a third, fourth, and fifth year within the same school" (p. 22).
The state's willingness to support the professional education of high school teachers in the provincial university coincided well with the growing interests of teachers in their own search for professional status. Prior to World War I several overlapping factors produced low morale in the teaching force and created an "image problem" for teachers in the public realm. "In many minds, teaching [was] scarcely ranked as a profession" (Charlesworth, 1921, p. 6).

One important factor affecting both the morale of teachers and the status of their profession was the lack of an independent provincial professional organization. In 1874, prior to the government's commitment to providing training for teachers in Normal Schools, the then Superintendent of Education, John Jessop, established Teachers' Institutes for British Columbia teachers. These "short conferences" had been popular in Ontario since 1850 and were one means of trying to secure "uniformity of method" in the schools (Johnson, 1964, p. 73), and as Warburton (1988) suggested, their purpose was to "draw teachers into the state formation" (p. 247). The institutes "served as loose, administrative, Department-dominated devices to expedite the business of education in the Province and to supplement the teachers' professional training or lack of it" (Skolrood, 1967, p. 48). They generally met once a year until 1914,
and with the exception of one year, the Superintendent of Education served as President. Guest speakers, "experts" in some facet of education, were often brought in and teachers were given opportunities to discuss situations relevant to their classes and general occupational concerns.

In practice, however, the social aspects of these meetings were far more significant for teachers than was the solution to any of their professional (or economic) problems. Perhaps because of the presence of Departmental officials, ...

t there was a very noticeable and definite tendency to avoid any criticism of the Department of Education, or of School Boards. If any such criticism was implied in any address, it was seldom the subject of a resolution, and even if any mild resolution were passed, it was not followed up by presentation to the Department, or by any delegation. (Charlesworth, as cited in Skolrood, 1967, p.41)

A less diplomatic description of such Institutes by a teacher who attended many of them throughout the years referred to them as the "Children's Hour",

which in well regulated homes the juveniles, subject to good behaviour, are allowed to spend with their parents who control and direct the conversation. ... Any member who grows critical is either ruled out of order or told to refer the matter to the resolution committee ... [which] ignores any unwise or too progressive resolutions. ... The report of this committee is disposed of at a time when the proceedings are drawing to a close and many of the teachers are seeking the railway depot. (Hindle, 1918, p. 81)

Some teachers' resentment of such treatment resulted in early attempts to establish a professional organization that would not only give them more say in their own affairs but would better meet their educational needs. For example, a resolution was proposed at the 1904 Teachers' Institute to create a teachers'
association similar to the National Teachers' Union of England. However, the resolution was defeated. The dominant presence of departmental officials would certainly have influenced the vote, as too would the teachers' poor training and the intention of many to stay in the occupation for only a few years. (The ten high schools in the province at that time employed only 29 teachers.) The possibility of achieving, and the desire for, a professional identity were not yet abiding concerns for the majority of the teachers in the province. Local Teachers' Associations had been formed throughout the Province (for example, Victoria, the earliest association which formed in 1885, Vancouver, the Kootenays, Okanagan Valley, etc.), but no driving force or motivating individual had yet pushed strongly for a cohesive provincial entity.

Just as the annual institutes were dominated by the central authority, so too were the teachers' day-to-day lives in the classroom. The strict rules and regulations set out in education policies resulted in schools where "the strong man's pace [was] regulated to a decorous jog-trot with the very length of the steps carefully prescribed; and the prescription enforced" (Macdonald, 1930, p. 108). Little recognition was given to teachers' expertise and initiative and creativity were deliberately discouraged (Campbell, 1930; Skolrood, 1967). Teachers were expected to rigidly adhere to the curriculum defined by the experts in Victoria – and were regularly inspected to ensure that no deviations occurred. To help guarantee this, a set amount of material was determined for
each grade, specific textbooks were prescribed, and departmental exams were administered to students.

The high school entrance exam was prepared and conducted by the Department of Education and was completed at the end of the eighth grade. Ten subjects were examined: literature, grammar and composition, spelling and dictation, Canadian history, British history, geography, arithmetic, drawing, nature study and hygiene, and oral reading. To receive a pass, students had to obtain at least 34 percent in each subject and have an overall total of 500 (out of the possible 1000). Departmentally organized exams were also conducted at the end of each year of high school (Lord, 1991, pp. 114-116).

School efficiency was defined in terms of examination results and the educational bureaucracy put a high value on the number of students who successfully passed Matriculation and high school entrance exams. As one critic suggested, "the dead examination paper command[ed] more attention than the living child" (Hindle, 1918, p. 96). The onus for this success was placed directly on the teachers and their own merit was determined by the test scores of their students (the exams were never assumed to be problematic as they had been designed by the "experts"). One inspector, in his Annual Report, noted that "a poor pass list does not indicate mental deficiency of the student, but marked inefficiency of the teacher" and then went on to warn the teachers in the high schools who fell below the average that "It behooves them to avoid a repetition of
this failure." He accepted no excuses for failure. In his view "The voluble explanations offered for these poor results [were] palpably invalid" (as cited in Hindle, 1918, p. 97; see also MacLaurin, 1936).

This lack of autonomy was also apparent in the Department's retention of the responsibility for "determining such factors as eligibility for a teaching certificate, the issuance of such a certificate, contractual status and tenure, statutory rights of teachers in case of dismissals" (and even eventually the legal status of the teachers' professional organization) (Skolrood, 1967, p. 89). Not even with a certificate did a teacher automatically have the right to engage in his profession. A valid contract or agreement must first be negotiated with a school board. School boards operate[d] under authority delegated to them by the Department of Education, their duties being delineated in the Public Schools Act. (Skolrood, 1967, p. 89)

This strong emphasis on external control of the teachers affected not only the lives of the teachers, but also those of the children they taught. E. Holmes (1911) writing about state intervention in the English schools noted:

The teacher who is the slave of another's will cannot carry out his instructions except by making his pupils the slaves of his own will. The teacher who has been deprived by his superiors of freedom, initiative, and responsibility, cannot carry out his instructions except by depriving his pupils of the same vital qualities. The teacher who, in response to the deadly pressure of a cast-iron system, has become a creature of habit and routine, cannot carry out his instructions except by making his pupils as helpless (sic) and as puppet-like as himself. (as cited in Goodson, 1995, p. xiv)

A third factor contributing to the low status of teachers in the early years of the twentieth century was the great disparity in their levels of educational
attainment. Despite the steady increase in the number of teachers with university degrees (accompanying the growth in the number of high schools and the growing importance placed on education), many teachers had minimal education or training. Although teachers were categorized according to the certificates (licences) granted by the provincial government, no single easily described standard existed, like the designation common for lawyers, doctors and engineers. The title "teacher" referred equally to those who had as little as eight or nine years of formal education with no pedagogical training and to those who had a doctorate and had been fully trained in educational techniques and theories.

To magnify the problem, whenever the need was apparent, that is, when there was no other teacher available or it was otherwise expedient, the government granted "letters of permission" to those without even the lowest legislated certification requirements. School Boards clearly relied on this governmental leniency to hire non-credentialled teachers for their schools. Even in 1920 British Columbia hired 139 teachers on temporary certificates and 129 in 1921 (Roald, 1970; The B.C. Teacher, 1922; Charlesworth, 1924). This dilemma was part of what Geraldine Clifford and James Guthrie referred to as a "public policy schizophrenia regarding education," which, in times of teacher shortages, resulted in a "two-tiered licensing system" allowing entry via both a "professional portal" (for those who met formal licensing requirements) and a
"peddler's entry" (1988, pp. 15-16). The low esteem which was accorded to teachers was easy to understand, according to Harry Charlesworth (1921), "when one considers the lack of scholarship demanded of entrants to the profession, the short period of training required, and the consequent immature age at which diplomas or licenses are given" (p. 6).

When minimal proof of skills was accepted, it was difficult for teachers to claim the specialized expertise so fundamental to the acquisition of professional status. Although many teachers in the system were those whose academic qualifications and length of university training exceeded the requirements for either law or medicine, there was an even greater number of teachers who fell far short in comparison. This dichotomy contributed to a "confusion about the social position and identity of the profession" (Prentice & Theobald, 1991, p. 13). The public view of the "teacher" tended to be based on the larger number, a problematic aspect of such diversity (Charlesworth, 1924, p. 50).

Many of the young, poorly-trained, arguably less-committed teachers were females. Women had taught in the British Columbia school system from its earliest days and their participation in the teaching force had quickly become the norm. Teaching was a popular career choice for women in that "the restricted social parameters for women in the early 1900s made teaching one of the few career choices available to them" (Murray, 1992, p. 499). Because of an insufficient number of applicants for the available positions, their presence had
not been greeted by the cries often heard in other occupations that they "were taking a job that should go to a man." Unlike the medical profession, where women had to fight to be able to attend the university classes necessary to become a physician, women in British Columbia were never deliberately excluded from teaching.

Where gender concerns were more apparent was with issues of segregation within the occupation. Although the creation and control of boundaries were never rigidly or formally defined, "gendered strategies of demarcation" tended to encircle women in the elementary school where they were subordinated to a male authority, the administrator (principal and/or inspector) (Witz, 1992). Nancy Sheehan (1995) referred to this as "a female ghetto run by male administrators" (p. 325). Even when policies were not directed specifically at females, those that did apply to elementary-levels were to all intents aimed at the female population. Males were never excluded from teaching at the elementary level, but except for those who were on the administrative track, few chose it as a lifetime career.

The tenet that caring skills (the mothering role) were more necessary in the teaching of elementary-age students was generally accepted, and because of this, women, with their "natural abilities" in this area, were believed to be particularly suited to working with this age group (Wotherspoon, 1989; Sheehan, 1992; Clifford, 1991; Alkin, 1992). Given the pervasiveness of this ideal, it is
probable that women teachers, like the social workers described here, "concorded with the belief that [they] possessed unique and inherent maternal attributes" (Wills, 1995, p. 25). They readily accepted the premise that such skills were an intrinsic part of the "true teacher" role and that men were not inherently well suited to teach young children. It is likely that this emphasis on elementary teaching being a natural extension of innate maternal attributes was deliberately encouraged by members of the power elite. For one thing, the widespread acceptance of this belief was convenient, particularly at this time when low-salaried teachers were desperately needed to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding school system (Clifford, 1991). In addition, because of these natural abilities, women would not require a long period of formalized training (like the high school teachers). Again this would save money. The "economic rationality" (Axelrod, 1997, p. 49) of hiring women at salaries below those of males was supported by the belief that because of its less scientific nature, the women's nurturing role was somehow less valuable and less professional than the "natural" leadership skills and "scientific prowess" of the males. The women elementary teachers thus functioned in a prefatory role by readying students for their entry into real (i.e. male-taught) education.

Still, the supply of male teachers for this more important post-elementary teaching did not always meet the demand. Hence, in an attempt to both retain and attract more males to the system a two-tier salary scale was put in place
where female teachers were paid less than their male counterparts. Again to use some examples from the 1921-22 statistics to show average yearly salaries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of Certificate</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school, academic</td>
<td>$2555</td>
<td>$2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Graded School, Academic</td>
<td>$2515</td>
<td>$1362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Graded School, First</td>
<td>$2,399</td>
<td>$1456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Graded School, Second</td>
<td>$1643</td>
<td>$1301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Graded School, Third</td>
<td>$1497</td>
<td>$1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Municipality School, Academic</td>
<td>$1536</td>
<td>$1192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Municipality School, First</td>
<td>$2029</td>
<td>$1274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Municipality School, Second</td>
<td>$1485</td>
<td>$1173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Canada Year Book, 1922-23, p. 887)

Recorded instances of formal complaints about this inequity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were not numerous. Many women, immersed in the dominant culture, seemed to accept this structure as the status quo and, lacking social, economic and political status felt powerless to instigate change (Wotherspoon, 1989, p. 125). Two early notable exceptions were:

In 1900 Agnes Dean Cameron, the first female high school teacher and the first female principal in British Columbia, made an impassioned plea for "wages awarded on the basis of merit irrespective of sex" at the founding conference of the National Standing Committee of Women Teachers. It would be many years, however, before her appeal would receive serious consideration from those who were in a position to make such a change. In 1905 a controversy arose in Vancouver, which made front page news. Mr. C. W. Murray, Secretary of the Board of School Trustees, had made a public statement that he would like to see male teachers get a salary increase, but implied that it was not possible because a number of lady
teachers were paid so much. This brought out an angry delegation of female teachers to a school board meeting, in what was probably the first organized feminist demonstration by female teachers in the province. (London, 1985, pp. 86-87)

The differential salary structure became well-entrenched in the various School Boards' hiring policies. Salaries in general were not high and were even lower in rural areas of the province. That teachers' contracts were renewed each year was yet another factor that contributed to a lack of economic security. (Not until 1938 did continuous appointment contracts come into force.) It is easy to understand why the professional status of teachers was questioned and why itinerancy of teachers was a problem: poor wages; no job security; females being forced to resign upon marriage; a regimented management structure (especially apparent to those in the cities); no formalized method of communicating with the highest levels of authority; low prestige; and challenging working conditions.

By the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, the attitude of teachers towards their occupation had begun to change. This change in self-perception was affected by the growing number of provincial teachers with university degrees and their desire to acquire the professional status they believed they richly deserved. Like the nineteenth century medical and legal professions which also had been "internally divided and stratified," it was the practitioners (the teachers, like the attorneys and solicitors) "who first showed interest in occupational organisation and professional education [as a means of improving] their authority and social position" (Elliott, 1972, p. 40).
Much of the impetus for creating a provincial organization designed to provide a clear collective identity for teachers came from the cities. Several reasons account for this: active teachers' associations which provided a sense of occupational solidarity already existed; city teachers were better paid and less itinerant than most rural teachers; and city teachers were more likely to be those committed to teaching as a lifelong career and therefore, those who most wanted a powerful voice in how the schools operated. Because these teachers generally had more experience and did not face the multi-graded classes of the rural areas, perhaps they had more time to spend on trying to improve their working conditions (Roald, 1970, pp. 33-34; Wotherspoon, 1989). Two of the prime instigators in British Columbia were J. G. Lister, Principal of the Vancouver Technical School and President of the Vancouver Local Teachers' Association, and Harry Charlesworth, principal of a large elementary school in Victoria. Both Charlesworth and Lister were from the British Isles and through their familiarity with the activities of the National Union of Teachers in England (founded in 1870) and the Educational Institute of Scotland (founded in 1847) "had sufficient insight to see a distinct advantage in some form of organized cooperation among the teachers of the province" (Skolrood, 1967, p. 61)."  

Beginning in 1916, the Vancouver Local Teachers' Association (under the direction of Lister) sent letters to other local associations to see if they too were interested in forming a provincial teachers' organization. The possibility of
achieving increased influence in the school system was appealing and the response to this suggestion was positive. A preliminary organizational meeting was held in Vancouver at the end of October 1916 where unanimous support was given to a motion stating "that the present time is opportune for the organization of a Federation of Associated Teachers in British Columbia" (as cited in Skolrood, 1967, p. 51).

Subsequent meetings were held, a preliminary constitution was designed and further correspondence was sent to local associations in the interior of the province inviting them to meet together to formally establish this organization. Accordingly, the first annual general meeting was held in Vancouver in January 1917 and the following executive was elected:

President.........................Mr. J. Lister, Vancouver
1st Vice-President...............Dr. R. Little, New Westminster
2nd Vice-President...............Mr. H. Charlesworth, Victoria
Recording Secretary.............Mr. C. Thornber, South Vancouver
Corresponding Secretary........Miss E. Munn, Vancouver
Treasurer..........................Mr. A. Bowles, Point Grey

The BCTF was incorporated under the Friendly Societies Act of British Columbia in July, 1919.

In the words of Harry Charlesworth, the first General Secretary of the BCTF, it was an organization:

... of teachers, by the teachers, and for the teachers, that was free from control of officials from the Department of Education and the School Board. Such an organization was a radical departure inasmuch as it was a type of teachers' organization entirely new in Canada. (as cited in Skolrood, 1967, p. 62)
This independence from the control of the State bureaucracy was vitally important. Although honorary and associate members could be designated by the association, they were to be non-voting members. Without autonomy, the BCTF believed, professional status could not be achieved. This principle was so central to the teachers' decision to create a clear identity for themselves that it was written into the constitution of the BCTF (and later into that of the Canadian Federation of Teachers). The Constitution's Exclusion Clause was unequivocal:

No Association which admits to membership any of the following shall be eligible for membership in this Federation:

1. Officials of the Education Department, except those who are actively engaged in teaching.
2. School Trustees, except those who are actively engaged in teaching.
3. Executive Officers of Boards of School Trustees (The B.C. Teacher, I(1/2), 1921, p. 21).

Blatant reminders of the Institutes' power structure were avoided (although the Institutes' leftover funds were eagerly accepted when offered in 1920). The preliminary attempts at exclusion and creation of a monopoly for teachers had begun.

Two important objectives of the BCTF were "to foster and promote the cause of education in British Columbia and to raise the status of the teaching profession." To achieve this, at this stage of their development, the teachers chose professionalization over unionization as their preferred mode of "collective mobility" (Larson, 1977). The public recognition of their professional "merit and
competence" that they so eagerly sought was not something that a unionized collective bargaining could have won for them (Adler, 1985, p. 16).

Well aware of the power of language, the teachers carefully selected the term, Federation, when naming their association. Although another of their aims, to raise salaries and increase job security and otherwise "promote the welfare of the teachers of B.C.," was similar to the goals of unions, they intentionally avoided the term "on the grounds that it was unprofessional and ungentlemanly and, certainly, unbecoming to a profession as they as teachers thought of themselves" (Skolrood, 1967, pp. 56-57). Even before World War I, "the growing size and assertiveness of the trade union movement [had] served to heighten class differences between wage earners on the one hand and salaried workers and small proprietors on the other" (McDonald, 1996, p. 185). The majority of the teachers did not want to be classified as "mere" wage earners. They believed that the distinction between "mental" and "manual labourers" was important (Prentice & Theobald, 1991, p. 13). To meet their professional aspirations, the organizers of the BCTF knew that political support from the dominant groups within the province was essential. They realized that the antipathy that influential members of the public, particularly those in the business and professional communities, had towards "unionist bolshevik principles" would be detrimental to their organization if they chose to openly affiliate with unions.
In spite of this desire to avoid union association and to form a professional association similar to that of doctors and lawyers, teachers were not yet members of "an occupation which so effectively control[led] its labour market that it never had to behave like a trade union" (Perkin, 1989, p. 23). In the early days of the organization, Victoria teachers, finding no other recourse, decided that extraordinary pressure had to be placed on their School Board. In 1919, when contract negotiations were unable to be settled amicably, the teachers withdrew their services for two days. A settlement was soon mediated (giving the teachers much of what they had asked for) after the School Board "referred the question to the Department of Education for advice" (School Board Minutes, as cited in Roald, 1962, p. 83). Only much later did Charlesworth dramatically describe this event as the "first teachers' strike in the British Empire, if not the whole Universe" (as cited in Johnson, 1964, p. 241). 8

The Federation Executive and General Secretary, Harry Charlesworth (appointed to this full-time position in 1920), understood that the old cliche, "Strength in Numbers" was certainly valid in their situation. They wanted to represent all teachers in the province, assuming that this unity would increase their political power and thus augment their influence with the Department of Education. Charlesworth believed that if membership radically increased, "there were urgent matters which should be automatically settled" (as cited in Skolrood, 1967, p. 99). Although specialist interest groups were formed, this
took place under the umbrella of the federation. This was a common pattern in the West, unlike Ontario and Quebec which had several independent associations. The organizers had already learned how readily a stereotypical identity could be fused to an occupation, no matter what the internal differentiations. They did not want to diminish their numbers by dividing their power base into an elementary teachers' organization and a high school teachers' organization or male and female associations.

Accordingly, regular membership drives were held. All "teachers-in-training" had the merits of the BCTF carefully explained to them and were advised that it was their "duty" to become members. Local associations were formed in the Normal Schools. Every active member was urged to persuade others in their districts to join. Teachers were told that they were

... only acting professionally in belonging to their own organization and [were] only following the lead of other professions. Membership in the Federation [was] a sign of real professional spirit, and show[ed] that the individual recognize[d] not only his individual responsibilities but also the opportunity of contributing his share to the general progress of his chosen profession. (as cited in Roald, 1970, p. 62)

Hoping to eliminate expense as a reason for teachers choosing not to join the Federation, membership fees were pro-rated according to salary earned. For example, in 1923, a teacher who made $1000.00 or less would pay $5.00 per year; whereas a teacher who made over $2001.00 would pay $12.00 a year. Student teachers were given reduced fees.

In spite of, in many cases, herculean efforts on the part of association
members, many practising teachers chose to remain outside the Federation.\textsuperscript{12} As all expected, membership was greater in those larger towns and cities where group association was convenient and relatively easy to organize (Skolrood, 1967, p. 95; Wotherspoon, 1989). Many teachers in the rural areas, especially those in one- or two-room schools\textsuperscript{13} were unable to attend meetings regularly, if at all, and in their overly-busy lives, membership was not a priority. Their isolation and self-sufficiency made it difficult for them to appreciate the value of paying fees (as minimal as they were) to a distant organization which had no immediate impact on their jobs or, in their eyes, on their futures.

Teachers faced major difficulties in establishing a professional identity. Membership in the BCTF was voluntary and just over one half of all the provincial teachers chose to join (refer to endnote 12). As sociologist Magali Larson (1977) pointed out, "... the upgrading of an occupation into a profession, or the upgrading of a profession in terms of respectability and social credit, implies the articulation of principles of inclusion and exclusion" (p. 74). It is understandable why the government chose not to legislate for teachers "the wherewithal to grow strong enough to improve not only their professional standards but also their remuneration and their control over other conditions of work" (Paton, 1962, p. 47). Not being able to require membership (it did not become a condition of employment until 1947\textsuperscript{14}) and create clear boundaries around the concept of "teacher" weakened the professional status of teachers and
was detrimental to the strength of the association. Although the BCTF viewpoint was in most cases taken as the official opinion of teachers, critics drew attention to the bare majority who was making decisions for others and questioned whether the organization had the right to speak for non-members.

Obviously, not all teachers throughout the province were "united in a single vision of the appropriate ideological or environmental framework for their profession" (Roald, 1970, p. 64). Differences of age, experience, education and occupational circumstance (rural/urban; large school/small school, etc.) made the teachers of British Columbia an eclectic mix. Like the social scientists referred to here, although they "worked collectively to develop their occupation along rational lines, there were all manner of cognitive, informational and behavioral imperfections at the individual level" (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 20).

This diversity was further complicated by an individual's motivation and aspiration in choosing teaching as a career. R. Habenstein and E. Christ (1955) delineated three reasons for individuals deciding to become nurses. Similar parallels could be drawn for teachers. The "traditionalizers" were those who saw teaching as "dedication to their craft" and devotion to students based on past generations of experience, rather than on complex knowledge and skills; the "professionalizers" were those concerned with advancing their professional status by means of the political process and dedicated to inquiry and scholarship; and the "utilizers" were those who were uninvolved in activities to improve the
status of their occupation and viewed teaching solely as a job (as described in Moloney, 1986, pp. 45-47).

Not every teacher wanted extended training in the University of British Columbia. Some looked at teaching simply as a source of income until they met the "men of their dreams" and could retire from teaching to become wives and mothers. Others saw it as a job they could take for several years before they moved on to their "real" vocation. For still others it was a "tempting security blanket" that acted as a "hedge against the possibility of spinsterhood or widowhood" (Gidney & Millar, 1994, p. 240). Of course all teachers would have appreciated increased economic and social rewards, but not if it meant the loss of a "quick return career." That is, they wanted to train for an occupation that did not require them to spend either a lot of time or money and one that preferably had lots of jobs available upon completion of the training (Witz, 1992, p. 177; see also Barman, 1995b). Neither were all high school teachers convinced of the merits of university pedagogical training (or of formal pedagogical training of any sort). But, like the medical practitioners Larson (1977) refers to, "they were even more concerned about what they perceived to be the depressed state of the profession" and therefore supported any reform which could "improve their condition" (p. 164).

Another barrier to their professional status that the teachers worked to overcome was their ongoing lack of autonomy. "Their main occupational norms
recruitment, training, remuneration, and status — were influenced by an organized bureaucratic structure. By and large, teaching was organized, influenced, and directed from the top down” (Roald, 1970, p. i). Combatting this perception that teachers need to be "looked after" by a wiser central authority was extremely difficult. Indeed, even after several years of the BCTF's concerted efforts to rid themselves of what they considered a juvenile status where, "like their students, they [were] to be seen in school, but they [were] not to raise their voices" (Herbst, 1989, p. 3), their Minister of Education still spoke of teachers as if they needed monitoring by their "superiors." For example, when commenting on the possibility of summer courses being acceptable for university credit, MacLean predicted that if this were to come into effect, teachers would "not be allowed to take so much work that it [would] interfere with the regular preparation of [their] schoolwork." "Because after all," he added, "the preparation for [their] schoolwork is something that [they] cannot afford to neglect, and cannot overlook" (p. 5).

Although the announcement about the future possibility for university credit for summer work was well-received, the disparaging endnote was not. Many teachers resented MacLean's paternalistic implication that they (like misbehaving children) would neglect their schoolwork, if some authority did not arbitrarily limit the number of courses they could take. This was seen as an affront to their professionalism, and even their status as adults, and was yet
another indication of the belief of those at the top of the hierarchy that those "lower" on the ladder needed someone to help them choose wisely. Such messages, especially if legitimated by being made into policies, "not only initiate[d] chains of complying behaviour but symbolize[d] societal values and beliefs." They carried the "implicit message" to both teachers and to the public that "We don't trust you; we have little confidence in your competence; we are going to scrutinize you carefully and, wherever possible, constrain your discretionary behaviour with rules, prescriptions, systems, ... and administration" (Sykes, 1983, p. 87).

As long as they allowed themselves to be treated as children needing the expert guidance of a paternalistic education authority, their profession would never "grow up." This lack of freedom was far more apparent in teaching than in other professions in Canada. In this era when expertise was so highly valued, teachers seemed to belong to the only profession whose members were not considered the greatest experts in their own calling. ... What teachers [thought] about educational matters, when they [got] a chance to express it, [was] summarized by a cub reporter and stuck in some inconspicuous corner of the city news section. (Macdonald, 1930, p. 107)

Although school "events" and teacher "events" (such as Conventions) received good coverage by the Press, teachers' opinions about needed changes were not as well-respected. Those who got the biggest headlines were the critics!

A further barrier to teachers' autonomy as pedagogic experts arose from changing public attitudes toward discipline of children. In the 1920s "current
literature [was] permeated with the idea that inhibitions [were] dangerous things and that it [was] very important to have the least possible restriction on the self-expression of youth development" (Macdonald, 1930, pp. 110-111).

Because the public viewed the opinion of other experts in the social sciences as more valuable than that of teachers, even discipline in the classroom was affected. In issues relating to classroom management, the attitude of parents was often that the teacher was in the wrong. The BCTF sought to improve this impression and increasingly focused efforts on creating positive public relationships. Realizing that public support of the teaching profession was partially determined by what it knew of teachers' work, the Executive formally established a press committee in 1928 charged with the responsibility of increasing newspaper publication of teachers' opinions and news of their activities (North, 1964, pp. 151-152 & 197).

These factors all contributed to the teachers' desire to have the benefits of professionalization accrue quickly in order to bring them in line with other professions. The BCTF determined that the most effective way to achieve this was to operate within the existing system. They needed the support of those in positions of power, for if any groups having economic or political influence were ardently opposed to change, their chances for securing change were minimal. Unfortunately, the "playing field" that the BCTF selected was one "already structured to serve the interests of men and administrators over those of women
and teachers" (Gitlin, 1996, p. 610). The choice, made by the BCTF before 1920, was to have long-lasting implications for the teachers in the province.

Few questioned that teachers were committed to service and to the education and well-being of their students. Their specialized expertise was less readily apparent. The attainment of a degree had not been enough in itself to bring the benefits of professional status. More was needed. Thus, the BCTF decided that a key strategy in their efforts to gain public recognition for teaching was to follow the route that had been successful for other professions – that is, to increase the credential and certification requirements needed to become a teacher. While the BCTF supported upgrading admission standards and generally improving the program of studies for elementary teachers to make both the curriculum and the teaching style more scientific (Jarausch, 1983, p. 31), no major attempts were made to relocate their training from the normal schools. Pressure was placed on the university and the Department of Education to support the offering of extra-mural enrichment opportunities on a credit basis. However, this proposal favoured teachers in Victoria and the Lower Mainland and was directed at only those teachers who chose to advance beyond minimal certification standards.

The second part of the BCTF strategy was directed at the pedagogical training of the high school teachers. An indicator of the acceptance of differential status between elementary and secondary teachers became apparent
when the normal school was assigned responsibility for the professional training of high school teachers in 1920. It was not only the students who believed that this was unsuitable. The BCTF Executive, supported by the general membership, pushed to have this training moved into the university in spite of the fact that "universities, as the recognized home of the lecture method, [were] sometimes assailed as hotbeds of pedagogical vice" (Weir, 1927, p. 40). Yet, the Executive did not lobby for the reform of the normal school curriculum to accommodate the needs of the prospective high school teachers, presumably because such a school was mainly for women. Teachers hoped that the institutionalization of their training in the university would bring them respectability and legitimate their claim to professional status. In the BCTF view, this was the solution that best met their members' needs (or perhaps the needs of the Executive) at that particular time.

Entry to the two very different training institutions was defined basically by the number of years of education potential teachers had successfully completed and the age of the students that they wanted to teach. Arguably, the professional skills of pedagogy (including the broad principles of lesson design and classroom management) were similar for both elementary and secondary teaching and they could conceivably have been acquired in the same institution.

Certainly, the division of labour between the elementary and the secondary teacher was not as clearly defined by task or skill level as in many
other professions. For example, in radiography an obvious distinction could be drawn between the production of X-Ray plates and the interpretation of the information contained therein. Although the method by which the latter activity came to be accorded higher status because of its association with scientific knowledge and university training was more complex, the separation of work roles was relatively easy (Witz, 1992, p. 171).

The argument that the high school teacher was a specialist, while the elementary teacher was a generalist, was perhaps true in larger city schools but throughout the rest of the province, high school teachers taught several grades and rarely had the luxury of teaching only the subject in which they majored at university. However, secondary teachers did have the very real advantage of having a subject specialization during their baccalaureate training, and, in a society which placed a high value on years of university education this difference was significant.

Why was the choice made to follow a dual-track route that kept elementary teachers out of what Gidney and Millar (1994) refer to as "the charmed circle" of the university? The simplest answer is that teachers chose to follow a pattern with which they were most familiar. Although they were aware that moving professional education into the university had helped other occupations acquire professional status, the training of elementary and secondary teachers had always taken place in different institutions. "Common-
sense knowledge" made it appear logical that those who already had a university education should continue there, and that those who "just" wanted to teach younger children could be trained elsewhere. Women, as well as men, must have accepted the tenet that "professionalization, as a movement for status advancement, must appeal to general values of the dominant ideology if it is to make its own values acceptable" (Larson, 1977, p. 157). Even those who ended up most disadvantaged by the choice acquiesced to this decision. The inertia of the status quo was certainly compelling, but other, more complex rationales underlay this choice to support the segregated training which mirrored the hierarchal arrangement of the school system itself.

The members of the BCTF were not immune to the irredeemably gender-bound rhetoric of professionalism by the presumptions of the cultural order (Gidney & Millar, 1994, pp. 245-246). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the majority of doctors, lawyers, engineers and dentists were males. Even allowing for the fact that teachers fit many of the criteria that seemingly contributed to professional identity, their sought-after equal professional status was difficult to achieve. Education and years of university training were not enough. Susan B. Anthony placed part of the responsibility on the behaviors of teachers:

... Listening to a group of male teachers debating why they lacked the kind of respect accorded to other professional men, [she] offered them her own answer: 'None of you quite comprehend the cause of which you complain. Do you not see that so long as society says a woman is
incompetent to be a lawyer, a minister or doctor, but has ample ability
to be a teacher, that every man of you who chooses that profession tacitly
acknowledges that he has no more brains than a woman ... Would you
exalt your profession, exalt those who labor with you'. (as cited in Gidney
& Millar, 1994, p. 239)

So too, in several important ways, the teachers in British Columbia were
also complicit in assigning a different status to female teachers, particularly
those in the elementary schools. Most of the BCTF Executive and many of the
Federation's most active members were males. Like the rest of society they
certainly believed that it was essential to attract more males to the profession.

As the foremost spokesman of the BCTF stated:

The brightest and best of our High School pupils — those with ambition,
individuality and personality — are not being attracted to the teaching
profession. Especially is this the case with the boys. ... and unless
something is done to remedy this deficiency, the teaching profession will
soon become a ladies' profession. While the ladies are not inferior in
teaching ability, or in scholarship, yet it will be readily admitted that our
schools will suffer an irreparable loss if the boys of to-day — the men of
to-morrow — are never to live a portion of their impressionable school life
in close touch with a man who will fill the role of guide, philosopher and
friend to them. (Charlesworth, 1921, p. 6)

Like their counterparts in the University of British Columbia Faculty
Association, the BCTF "recognized that equal pay was not given for equal work;"
and yet their "stand on gender equity" was certainly "unambitious" (Bruneau,
1990, p. 22). Indeed, unlike the university professors their position was
unequivocal: at the first BCTF convention in 1917 a proposed "equal pay for
equal work with equal privileges for women" resolution was not approved
(London, 1985). High school teachers also believed that it was quite acceptable
for them to be paid for their supervision of high school teacher trainees; even
though their colleagues who conducted similar supervision in the elementary
schools for Normal School students did not receive any compensation.

A non-monetary attitude was also evident. In their submission to the
Putman-Weir Survey, the teacher training committee, chaired by G. A.
Fergusson, recommended

that strict regulations be laid down and close supervision made regarding
the boarding houses which may be used and regarding the general
behaviour of those in training for the teaching profession. Such an official
as a dean of women is recommended. (The B.C. Teacher, December, 1924,
p. 89)

More than concern for the well-being of all students was implicit in this
recommendation. The solicitude was clearly directed at the moral standards of
female students in the Normal Schools (A Dean of Women, Mary Bollert, had
already been appointed in 1921 at the University of British Columbia. Her job
description did not include monitoring the "general behavior" of female
students.) Ironically the BCTF was taking on the parent role they so disliked
when it was assumed by the Department of Education.

Yet another signal that male and female teachers were treated differently
was apparent in the authority structure inherent in the education hierarchy.
The policy makers in the Department of Education were males; almost all
principals were males; the Executive of the BCTF was dominated by males; and
the influential General Secretary of the organization was a male. City high
school staffs were also predominantly male. Speaking at a Teachers' Education Club banquet in Vancouver in 1921, Professor Isabel MacInnes claimed that it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for brilliant and able women graduates of our provincial university to obtain positions on our city high school staffs, to which men graduates of inferior ability and scholarship were welcomed with open arms. (as cited in Stewart, 1990, p. 98)

Female teachers too were immersed in this patriarchal culture. Trapped in a "bureaucratic graded organization, and excluded from the decision-making process" (Sheehan, 1995, p. 324), they did not organize protests against the BCTF decision to support separate training facilities. Indeed, for the most part they eagerly joined in the "upgrading project" (Larson, 1977). As Gillian Weiss (1983) observed, after women were granted the right to vote both federally and provincially (and prohibition had ended), their efforts at challenging the male-dominated society became more quiescent. Some female teachers at both elementary and secondary levels would have supported placing the pedagogical training of high school teachers in the University because they saw this as a means of eventually improving their own status and as a method of providing increased impetus for the University of British Columbia to grant extra-mural degrees. Influenced by the pervasive cultural norms, others simply accepted the changes that were taking place with minor complaints or with little, if any, reaction.

Perhaps like a wise weight-watcher, the BCTF chose to reach their goal in
progressive stages. The Executive was politically astute and would have been aware that in their position, they stood no chance at convincing the Department of Education to support revolutionary or immediate dramatic changes. For the teachers, like the Rockefeller Foundation officers referred to here, "their concerns were tempered by their pragmatism" (Fisher, 1993, p. 240). They knew that their most likely route to success was to set goals which were both realistic and achievable – that is, to work towards their goal in small incremental steps that did not disrupt the status quo in a major way. They hoped that as the expertise of their profession became more evident, instead of the public seeing them in light of their youngest and least educated group, the perception would shift to include the university-educated teachers with pedagogical expertise.

The desire to increase the status of teachers by improving their training and certification requirements coincided well with the federation's more altruistic concern with the efficiency of the teacher in the classroom. The BCTF therefore focussed much of its energy on convincing the Department of Education, the University of British Columbia, and the public that, because the teaching of knowledge to young people was a sophisticated, complex process, specialized education was a requisite for the efficient operation of schools.

To this end, they continuously pushed the university to assume greater responsibility for the education of teachers. Strongly worded requests were
regularly forwarded to both the University of British Columbia and the Department of Education asking the university to provide not only the pedagogical training of high school teachers but also extra-mural courses during the summers and on evenings throughout the academic year that could be used towards the attainment of degrees for their non-baccalaureate members. Such requests from the BCTF Executive were given added strength by forwarding to the Department of Education a list of recommendations publicly endorsed by the membership at the Annual General Meeting.

The goal of improving the status of the teaching profession was not unique to British Columbia and other teachers' associations throughout Canada had the same stated purpose. Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto, was invited to speak at the Alberta Teachers' Alliance 1920 Conference in Calgary on the topic, "How to raise the status of the teacher." In this lecture, he stressed that "lowering the standard of training cannot solve the problem of the scarcity of teachers, but will simply aggravate the difficulty, since men of ability will in the long run be attracted to those professions which have higher standards and requirements" (Smith, 1920, p. 29).  

This once again highlights the importance placed on the recruitment of more men into the profession. The implicit assumption was clear: only when teaching lost its standing as a "ladies' profession" could there be any hope of achieving status as a "real" profession. By promoting "an ideal notion of the
teacher as a skilled, male professional engaged in the socially important task of moulding young lives” (Wotherspoon, 1989, p. 162), BCTF leaders could downplay the role of the lesser qualified, less experienced teachers (i.e. women). Creating a professional training component for high school teachers and locating this in the university was seen as an important step. The BCTF hoped this would be the start of a spiralling growth in both esteem and quality. University training would lead to a more generalized public recognition of the importance of teachers’ specialized expertise which would then help attract "more ambitious men and women" to the profession which would then lead to the desired end result: public granting of esteem and economic rewards and a more efficient teaching force of better quality (Pakenham, 1922; Burns, 1909).

The teachers' pressure for inclusion, operating alone, would probably not have been sufficient to encourage the university to accept this responsibility, but it did provide an important impetus. In a letter to President Klinck in April 1921, the Teachers' Federation submitted a copy of a resolution, carefully written in academic and legal language, which was passed at their Annual General Meeting:

Whereas this Federation feels that the Provincial University is an essential part of our Public School system, and that the efficiency of our elementary and secondary education depends to a very large extent upon the provision of facilities for their study by teachers in training and for the highest possible preliminary preparation for candidates for admission to the teaching profession,

BE IT RESOLVED that this Federation express its sincere desire that the
Provincial Government make speedy and generous provision for the support and the future development of the University of British Columbia. (Letter from Charlesworth, UA, PR, Roll 1)

In addition to their efforts to create formal academic ties with the university by having it accept responsibility for their training, a second strategy in the BCTF's search for professional status was to develop a close relationship with the university faculty. When the official magazine of the BCTF was first published in October of 1921, two prominent University of British Columbia professors were invited to sit on the Editorial Board — Dr. H. Coleman, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science, and Dr. G. G. Sedgewick, Head of the Department of Literature.  

In their enthusiasm for and excitement about their new organization, the BCTF believed that others would see it with the same reverence they did. They therefore invited the University Faculty Association to affiliate with them in April of 1921. Upon receipt of the letter the Faculty Association referred the question to a Committee whose final decision was not made until six months later in October, 1921. At that time the Faculty Association decided that although there should be close co-operation between the teaching staff of the University and the teachers in the Public and High Schools, the Faculty Association would not be well advised to enter into permanent organic union with the BCTF except with the unanimous approval of its members. (UA, Faculty Association Records, Box I, Folders 1-3 and 1-7) Without the required unanimous approval, the Association decided not to
affiliate with the Teachers' Federation. The professors, in spite of the fact that many of them had once been teachers in the schools – or perhaps because of that very reason – chose to preserve the boundaries between themselves and the public school teachers. Thus they could maintain their "distinct status." One reason for their choice might have been that they had worked their way "up the ladder" and did not want to negatively affect the privileges and status accorded to being a university professor by entering into a formal federation with the "less professional" (and much more numerous) teachers.

Before receiving the response from the Faculty Association, the BCTF Executive had unanimously resolved to ask Dr. Klinck to "honor our Federation by accepting Honorary Membership." They felt that "the time [had] come when our Federation should represent the whole of the teaching profession of the Province" (UA, PR, letter to Dr. Klinck, October, 1921, Roll 1). In his response Dr. Klinck "respectfully declined" the offer, noting that he had also refused membership in the Faculty Association.

To increase their chances of political success, the BCTF also worked to maintain positive relationships with both the Provincial Parent-Teacher Association and the BCSTA. At the District level, local associations did the same. Despite some differences in opinion (for example, over conditions of employment), the three groups often combined efforts to try to convince the government to assign more public funds to the schools.
Teachers realized that the government was not willing to give up its control over certification and therefore lobbied strenuously to convince both public and government – and their own members – that intensive study of the "science of education" was essential to the efficient running of the classrooms of the province. This ability to "sell" the profession was vital as "teaching standards [depended] upon the political attitudes adopted by provincial cabinets who, in the last analysis, make or break these standards" (Katz, 1963, p. 226). The BCTF (and the Canadian Teachers' Federation) were continually looking for ways to "to enlighten the general public as to the importance of Education to the Nation, and the vital necessity of public recognition and appreciation for the high and responsible nature of the work teachers [were] called upon to undertake" (The B.C. Teacher, 1921, I(1/2), p. 12).

In this search for public acceptance of teachers' professional status, the work of Charlesworth was particularly noteworthy. In spite of his assertion at a 1920 BCSTA Convention in Nelson, that the BCTF was "non-political" and that he believed education should be kept free of politics (London, 1985), he served as an energetic, politically astute, and positive spokesman for the Federation. Charlesworth was a key figure in the founding of the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF). In 1919 he contacted the Presidents of the teachers' organizations of the four western provinces, and as E. K. Marshall from Manitoba stated, "attempted to sell them his idea of an organization which
would bring together into some kind of relationship the teachers of the four western provinces" (as cited in Skolrood, 1967, p. 401). At the inaugural meeting in 1920, attended by all four western provinces and two representatives from Ontario, Charlesworth was elected first president.

The efforts of the CTF, like those of provincial teachers' associations, were carried out with the goal of putting teaching on an equal standing to other professions. One of the CTF's recommendations was that:

a Committee be appointed to consider the establishment of a Canadian Teachers' Journal, to become the official organ of the teaching profession of Canada, the staff of such magazine to consist of leading educational experts, the aim being to make it take the same important place in the teaching profession as the Law Journal, Medical Journal and Engineering Journal take in the professions with which they deal. This magazine would be largely professional, each Provincial Organization still retaining some form of magazine or bulletin for propaganda purposes. (The B.C. Teacher, 1921, I(1) p.12)

Summaries of the CTF meetings appeared in provincial association magazines and newsletters. One of the regular discussion topics, entitled "Professional Consciousness," reported instances of professional teacher behaviors. For example, in 1922, reference was made to the practice of teachers being discouraged from accepting jobs in areas where disputes were under way between the local teachers and the Board: "we can feel perfectly sure that teachers who are worthy of the name of teachers, if they are informed of difficulties existing in any community, will refrain from accepting positions in that locality" (The B.C. Teacher, November 1922, p. 54).
However, it was not only the federal, provincial, or even local associations who had the responsibility for raising the status of the profession. As Charlesworth, speaking to the Inland Empire Teachers' Association in 1922, dramatically exhorted:

in my opinion the first vital step to be taken in raising our standard of educational efficiency must be taken by the teachers themselves. When we each become a practical radiating centre for the propagation of the doctrine that our schools are beyond doubt an essential vital factor of National Life, then the effect on the general public will be such that we shall no longer have to mourn of the apathy and disinterestedness of the people. (Charlesworth, 1922, p. 3)

These ongoing efforts to foster and promote the cause of education in British Columbia were important to help refocus complaints against the school system, especially the "many otherwise sober-minded individuals, [who were] suffering from the delusion that educational expenditures have caused all our financial difficulties" (The B.C. Teacher, September 1923, p. 3). The BCTF categorized critics of education into three groups: those who thought that the present system was all wrong and needed "revolutionizing"; those who thought there was nothing wrong and that the system needed nothing but "eulogizing"; and those of moderate and plastic mind, who thought that much of the system was good, while some might be improved, and that it needed "evolutionizing" (Ibid.).

Realizing "that the prerequisite to an improved professional climate was an enlightened educational system" (Skolrood, 1967, p. 109), and being aware of
the positive benefits resulting from educational surveys in other parts of the country, the BCTF exerted pressure on the Department of Education to conduct a survey of the schools in British Columbia. The teachers knew that increased attention would be directed to schools as a result of the public meetings held during the Survey and believed that as citizens became more aware of the importance of education and the role played by teachers, their support of teachers would increase. The scientific legitimacy of the report would also serve to increase their own status as experts. Teachers stressed that they had requested a survey

not because of any widespread dissatisfaction or discontent, but rather because [they] believed that the common business practice of occasionally "taking complete stock" in order to keep up-to-date and progressive ... would be very beneficial if applied to the tremendously important business of education. (The B.C. Teacher, December 1924, p. 74)

The BCTF approved of the choice of the Commissioners who were both well-known supporters of Progressive Education and of the need for increased credentials for teachers. In the United States the professionalization of teaching had already "received a decisive push from the Progressive interest in school reform and a new ideology of education. The Progressive Era ... [had] provided schoolteachers with a new basis on which to push professionalization along the path of expertise ..." (Larson, 1977, p. 184). Putman and Weir were expected to endorse such progressive education techniques. Their recommendations would in turn lend support to the need for increased pedagogical skills for teachers.
Once their lobbying had proved successful and the implementation of the survey was announced in 1924 the BCTF immediately called on its members to help publicize the importance of the Commission in their communities. The BCTF took its professional responsibilities very seriously and set up a Committee of some of its most influential members (H. Charlesworth, G. Fergusson, J. Lister, J. Pollock, and N. Black were among them) to gather information and organize its own submission to the Survey. More than a dozen sub-committees were formed. Its final submission to the Putman-Weir Commission, presented what the BCTF believed was "a consensus of opinion of the teaching profession of British Columbia" (p. 73). Included in their report were requests for: improved educational attainments for teachers including higher entrance requirements to Normal School; provision for "specific training for the positions of Principal, Inspector or other Supervisor with the idea that no official be appointed except from men with such training ..."; a revision of high school curriculum; and implementation of a minimum age of 18 for teachers' certification. This final report, made by the formal representatives of a professional association, acquired status as the official view of "the teachers" and was generally assumed to represent typical viewpoints (Freidson, 1986). It provided a guide for political direction of the association for the next several years.

In 1924, Charlesworth had summarized the "fundamental things"
demanded by a "real profession":

(a) High qualifications for entrance;
(b) A long period of efficient training in thoroughly up-to-date institutions, both in the theory and the practice of the profession;
(c) Ample provision for post-professional training;
(d) A continuous professional spirit or attitude...;
(e) Observance of a strict code of ethics;
(f) Absence of deadening control by too rigid inspection, rules and regulations;
(g) Freedom for initiative and research;
(h) Control of the profession by the profession;
(i) Respect of the profession by the public, etc.

( pp. 49-50)

By the mid-1920s the teachers in British Columbia had taken several major steps towards meeting such criteria: professional training requirements for both elementary and secondary teachers had increased; the "professional spirit and attitude" to teaching had improved; and, in Charlesworth's view in any case, the ethical conduct of teachers was evident; indeed, teachers had "at a great sacrifice to their own personal advancement exhibited a standard of professional conduct unsurpassed by members of any other profession" (1924, p. 50).

Ever the optimist, Charlesworth assumed that it was only a matter of time before even more indicators of "real" professional status became apparent. He predicted changes in inspection which would allow greater freedom for teachers whose efficiency was "beyond question" (pp. 50-51). Although he admitted that "it [would] probably not be possible for the control of the profession to be in the hands of the profession, as is the case in medicine or law,"
he saw "not the slightest reason why the teachers should not have an officially recognized part in many of the matters affecting educational affairs" (p. 51). He even forecast that:

In all probability also, a movement will be initiated in Canada for a Teachers' Registration Council, after the pattern of that now functioning so excellently in England. Under this system, the teachers will have a body similar to the Medical or Law Society to which only members of approved qualifications and efficiency will be admitted, and from which any member guilty of departing from recognized standards of service and professional conduct would be removed. (p. 51)

An interesting dichotomy emerged. Although Charlesworth himself worked diligently and encouraged others to do the same, to create a professional identity for teachers, he was aware that the teaching profession was different from other professions: the disparity in training for teachers remained; the government continued to define who would be licensed; many teachers still chose to stay in the profession for only a short time; and while members of many other professions set up as individual practitioners, teachers had basically only one source of employment – the state (paid for by public funds) (p. 50). He also openly acknowledged that

These factors make it impossible to take in toto any other profession as the model upon which to build, when we are considering teaching as a profession. It would seem to be the wiser course to adapt the essential features which determine a profession, to the peculiar circumstances and needs of teaching. This would make teaching a real profession in a much higher degree, and in a much shorter time, than would be the case by simply trying to force theoretical ideals to impractical conclusions. (Charlesworth, 1924, p. 50)

Perhaps it was this recognition that Charlesworth used to convince other
members of the Federation that a new path had to be followed. Even though they had worked strenuously to get training for high school teachers incorporated into the university and to establish their independence from the Department of Education, by the mid-1920s they were recommending a new direction.

In 1925 Willis announced that "for the first time in several years the supply of fully qualified teachers was found to be equal to the demand for them" (as cited in MacLaurin, 1936, p. 214) and future projections suggested that this trend would continue. This situation supported the BCTF's professional aspirations and their desire to eliminate the employment of untrained (unprofessional) teachers. The "balance of supply and demand [was now] favorable to the profession," and, although it did not mean that teachers acquired a control over their profession, it certainly did give them "a better bargaining position" (Larson, 1977, p. 29).

Another factor in their choice for a new direction was influenced by a change to the Public Schools Act in 1925 which legislated different criteria for the supervision of practice teaching. In an attempt to ensure that a problem with practice-teaching placements did not recur, the Legislature updated the School Act to guarantee rights for all the student teachers of the Province:

It shall be the duty of the Board of School Trustees of every school district, whether municipal or rural, and they are hereby empowered to allow students enrolled in the normal schools or in the teachers' training class at the University of British Columbia to attend any class-room of any
public school in the district, at any time while it is in session, for the purpose of observation and practice teaching.

It shall be the duty of every teacher in the public schools:
To admit to his classroom for the purpose of observation and practice teaching pupils enrolled in the normal schools or in the training class for teachers at the University of British Columbia and to render, without additional remuneration or salary, such assistance to the students and instructors of such schools and training class as the instructors may consider necessary for the proper training of the students. (as cited in Weir, 1927, p. 41)

The BCTF Executive met with Willis on Saturday, January 9, 1926 to protest, on behalf of ninety members of the High School Teachers of the Lower Mainland, these recent amendments to the Act. They were concerned not only because the amendments were passed without "due" consultation, but also because of the removal of remuneration and the "handing over of the High Schools ... to professors of the University over whom the Department has no control." As the Executive reported, the results of the interview "can not be said to have been productive of satisfactory results from the teachers' point of view" (p. 7). Although Willis "received them courteously" and "listened patiently," "he explicitly refused to establish the principle of always consulting the teachers before making amendments to the Public Schools Act, though he assured [them] representations made by teachers would always receive a sympathetic hearing" (BCTF Minutes, March 13, 1926). Basically Willis implied that although he would always listen to what the Executive had to say, he would feel entirely free to ignore their advice if he chose. This was a major blow to the teachers'
aspirations for autonomy and their belief that a decentralized decision-making structure was imminent.

The BCTF opposed the principle of giving university faculty any control over their members. By now it was apparent that the university faculty had no intention of entering into a formal association with the BCTF. Teachers faced a conundrum: they wanted the prestige and professional status that were associated with the university, but they did not want university control.

Although it seemed incongruous in light of past difficulties and their efforts to wean themselves away from the authority of the Department of Education, the following resolution, forwarded by both the Provincial High School Section and the Education Committee of the Survey Committee, and endorsed by the Executive, was adopted at the Annual General Meeting on April 8, 1926:

That a Faculty of Education be established, be affiliated with the U.B.C., and be under the direct control of the Department of Education, and that regulations be laid down regarding qualifications of all appointees to the work of teacher training. (Minutes, BCTF, p. 20)

The report of the May 29th Executive Meeting noted that when this item was presented to the Department of Education it "was fully discussed, but the matter was laid over for decision" (p. 13). Although "real progress" was made, the Executive knew that it would "have to remain active in regard to this matter." It is easy to read between the lines that the reception of the Department of Education was at best tentative. Other resolutions that were presented at the same meeting were noted as having been "favourably received."
Eventually the resolution was buried.

This resolution had asked for a teacher training model that was very similar to that of Ontario. The reasons for the provincial Department of Education ignoring this concept were discussed in the preceding chapter. The British Columbia teachers must have seen advantages to their proposal. Perhaps they believed in Charlesworth's assertions that since the inception of the BCTF, there had been

such a marked improvement in efficiency, service and possibilities for future advances in the interest of educational progress, that the more intelligent portion of public opinion has already greatly increased its respect for those engaged in the development of the character and intelligence of the children of our Dominion (1924, p. 51)

and thought they would have more influence over a Department of Education ultimately responsible to the voters. They preferred the "devil that they knew" over the University. Their hopes of uniting all levels of those responsible for "teaching" under the auspices of the BCTF had ended. The status differential between themselves as practitioners and the university faculty as producers of teachers was becoming more fixed.

Summary

When the BCTF was formed and chose to assume responsibility for the professional leadership of British Columbia teachers, the teachers' "collective
credit rating" (Larson, 1977) in society was poor. Just as it is extraordinarily difficult to battle with a bureaucracy to improve a personal credit rating, so too the teachers faced an onerous struggle. Using a multi-faceted approach, the BCTF worked assertively to convince the Department of Education, the public and the government that teaching was a profession, and that as such its practitioners merited the benefits that traditionally accompanied this status.

Although their professionalization project was necessarily a collective effort, if it were to be successful, the benefits of "recognition, income and personal empowerment" would accrue to the individual teachers (Adler, 1985, p. 16).

The concept of mandatory pedagogical training for elementary teachers had already been accepted by the time the BCTF was formed. Lured by the desire for the social and economic benefits of professionalization and also by a concern for students and a sincere wish to improve the efficiency of the schools in which they taught, the British Columbia teachers had created what Putman and Weir described in their report as a "virile and aggressive organization" (p. 22). This organization, the Executive dominated by urban-dwelling males, spoke on behalf of all the teachers in British Columbia, in spite of having only formal representational powers for little better than one-half of the teaching population. In its efforts to achieve professional status, the BCTF members made a choice that, albeit filtered by the taken-for-granted professional ideology which dominated society, contributed to the continued structure of a gendered,
bureaucratic educational system.

The general status of all teachers was affected by the fact that the BCTF was not strong enough "to wrest autonomy from the public or the state" (Jarausch, 1983, p. 32). Since the earliest school acts of the 1870s, the teachers had "work[ed] within a framework of law and regulation and in a context which gave wide latitude to public opinion, whether it was local trustees and parents, or the legislature and the press" (Gidney & Millar, 1994, p. 233). In spite of the enormous strides teachers had made during the early 1920s, and the efforts put into their professionalization project, this did not change.

NOTES

1. From 1904 until 1914 the Provincial Teachers' Institute and the Coast Teachers' Institute met in alternate years. Some Interior Teachers' Institutes (Okanagan and Kootenays) were also held.

2. Hindle's Ph.D. thesis was completed at the University of Toronto and was signed by H. T. J. Coleman, W. Pakenham and P. Sandiford.

3. Macdonald (1930) told the story of an old Public School inspector "who had spent forty years in the profession and had seen a good many changes but had never got away from the three R's. In his youth they stood for "reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic", and in his old age for "rules, regulations and reports" (p. 108).

4. Men, on the other hand, could take advantage of many available jobs in the resource sector economy (lumbering, mining, industry) and often earn more than they could in teaching.
5. Clifford (1991) points out that "public schooling could not have become so quickly a universal institution had it not admitted women into teaching in massive numbers" (p. 120).

6. The NUT was founded by elementary school teachers. It was the organization which represented most of the non-degreed teachers, while the grammar and public boarding school teachers tended to join the Assistant Masters' and Assistant Mistresses' Associations (Perkin, 1989, p. 350).

7. This money was placed in a reserve fund used to help with expenses associated with convention speakers (Giles, 1993, p. 65).

8. In 1870, teachers in the Victoria school left their jobs because of the "non-payment of the monies due to [them] for [their] services" (Jessup & Burr as cited in Wotherspoon, 1989, p. 113). The school remained closed for a two-year period. Although this incident was not led by a formally organized group (it involved two teachers), it could also be given status as "the first teachers' strike" (MacLaurin, 1936; London, 1985).

9. For example in Ontario, in addition to the Ontario Educational Association, there was: a Federation of Women Teachers' Association of Ontario, founded in 1918 (5000 members); an Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, founded in 1919; and an Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation, founded in 1920. These groups did not unite until 1944 when the Ontario Teachers' Federation was formed.

10. Although no formal incentive programs were ever introduced, teachers were "strongly congratulated" if they "talked someone into joining."

11. The BCTF did not state the case as flagrantly as the Alberta Teachers' Alliance did in its inaugural magazine in 1920. For the A.T.A., if you were not a member, you were a "clog on the efforts of three fourths of your fellow-workers ...." Those who expressed doubts about teachers' organizations were "enemies. They fear organization, much preferring that you remain what you are, an individual powerless to resist domination."

12. In 1920/21, 45.9 per cent of the 2124 teachers were members; In 1921/22, 54.9 per cent of the 2924 teachers were members; In 1922/23, 51.0 per cent of the 3118 teachers were members; In 1923/24, 59.0 per cent of the 3211 teachers were members; In 1924/25, 56.4 per cent of the 3294 teachers were members.
13. In 1921, 65.2 per cent of the schools in the province employed only one teacher (655 schools). Another 20.7 per cent (208 schools), had two to four teachers. Only 1.6 per cent (16 schools), employed twenty or more teachers. (from Table 2 in London, 1985, p. 48)

14. The first such legislation, the "first of its kind in the English-speaking world" was passed in Saskatchewan in 1935 (Paton, 1962).

15. Victoria College had closed in 1915 when the University of British Columbia opened. After an active campaign by Victorians, the college was reopened in 1920. Under a tripartite arrangement among the Department of Education, the Victoria School Board and the university it became an affiliate of the University of British Columbia offering the first two years work in arts and science (Johnson, 1964, p. 85).

16. The BCTF formally supports the principle of salary equity in 1943. Comparable salary remuneration is not legislated by the Provincial Government until 1953.

17. Women were active participants in School Boards – at both local and provincial levels.

18. Wotherspoon (1989) further suggests that those who aspired to an education management career would be hesitant to undermine the existing hierarchy (p. 155).

19. It is interesting to wonder what would have happened to teacher education in British Columbia if Falconer had accepted the position of President of U.B.C. which he was offered in 1911 (Soward, 1930, p. 90). Would he have been successful in instituting teacher education for all teachers at the university? How influential would he have been with MacLean?

20. When this magazine was originally published it was without a name. As a result of a "name the magazine" contest, it became known as The B.C. Teacher.

21. The Faculty Association of the University of British Columbia was not formed until October 29, 1920. Dean Coleman served as first President.

22. Cyril James (1949) once defined a committee as "the academic panacea for all ailments" (p. 14).
23. Early in 1922 this offer of Honorary membership was also offered to Willis and MacLean. Both declined. (Giles, 1993, p. 72)

24. These invitations had the potential to be a good public relations move. If all, or even some of those invited to join had accepted, it would increase the prestige of the organization and have the added advantage of providing another inducement for more teachers to take out membership.

25. At this time, the United States had two national associations: the National Education Association of the United States, (originally known as the National Teachers' Association when it was organized in 1857), and the American Federation of Teachers, which was organized in 1916 and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. (John Dewey held the first membership card.)

26. In light of this unflattering depiction of provincial journals it was probably fortuitous that Harry Charlesworth (in addition to his other roles) was Managing Editor of The B.C. Teacher.
Chapter 7
The Role of the University

The policy adopted by the University of British Columbia Senate in 1920 to begin offering a Summer School for teachers had far-reaching implications. In reluctantly agreeing to involve the University in the training of teachers, few of these Senators would have foreseen that, six years later, a University Department of Education would be formally created, thereby bestowing on high school teachers the pedagogical training that they hoped would bring them professional status. As has been discussed, the impetus for the introduction of teacher training for secondary teachers in the university setting came from a variety of sources outside the academic community. In addition, strong forces within the university pressured for such an arrangement. The socio-political climate facilitated such a change.

Dr. Klinck, who became President of the University in 1919, played an important role in the university's willingness to undertake the training of high school teachers. John Ridington, University Librarian at the time, once described him in the following manner:

About Dr. Klinck there is little that is sparkling or spectacular. As a speaker he could not be justly described as brilliant or magnetic. But if he does not captivate, he can persuade, while in private conversation or public utterance one has a sense of contact with a fine and righteous personality, of calm and clear outlook, of sane and tempered judgment, and of quiet strength. (1925, p. 10)
Dr. Klinck, himself, once noted in a letter agreeing to address the Women's Canadian Club of Calgary that "in fairness to your members, I should add that I am not a fluent speaker and never make a formal address without adhering closely to my manuscript" (UA, PR, letter dated December 9, 1921, Roll 1). In spite of his less than stellar qualities as a speaker, in the view of Dr. Henry Angus, teacher of economics in the 1920s, Dr. Klinck had the exact qualities needed for a new university, still struggling to secure its place in society. Klinck "may have appeared at times cautious to the extent of being almost defensive or apologetic, but care and patience were the very qualities needed to enable the university to survive" (1966, p. 182).

Like the others influential in the institutionalization of teacher education, Dr. Klinck had also been a high school teacher in the early part of his career, and although he did not push for the creation of a University Department of Education, he was not averse to the request. John Calam (1994) contends that while Klinck was still Dean of Agriculture and on a tour of northeastern British Columbia in 1917, he "quickly realized that few children from such far-flung regions would ever attend UBC without vastly improved secondary-level education delivered by professionally trained high school teachers" (pp. 178-179).

Another person who played a significant role was Dr. H. T. J. Coleman, who came to the University of British Columbia as Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science and Professor of Philosophy in September, 1920. He believed in the
efficacy of teacher training for high school teachers and he felt strongly that the University was the rightful location for such a program. Early in his career, Coleman had been both an elementary school teacher (in Ontario, North Dakota, and Washington) and a high school principal (in Spokane, Washington). He had taught at the University of Colorado before moving to the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto (where he was Pakenham's assistant). After six years in Toronto, Coleman then accepted an offer from Queen's to become Dean of the Faculty of Education.

His tenure in Kingston was not without problems. When the Queen's Faculty of Education was inspected in April 1918 by the provincial ministry, it was harshly criticized. Among the complaints lodged were an over-emphasis on the lecture method and students' notetaking, poor lesson planning, and the lack of coordination between the high school and the faculty. In 1919, Coleman's annual reports to the Ontario legislature were negatively compared to those of Dean Pakenham's (at the University of Toronto) and he was accused of submitting incomplete data. When it became evident in 1919 that the Queen's Faculty of Education was in danger of being closed, two briefs were sent to the newly elected Ontario government, arguing for the retention of a faculty of education at Queen's. They were illustrative of Coleman's philosophy of teacher education and proposed the following features: a practice school; joint appointments in the arts and education faculties; provision of rural school
practice and the suggestion that all grades of teachers be trained in the same classrooms. In spite of forceful arguments like these that the proper place for teacher education was in the university setting, and not in one where the teachers "were almost as much apart as are priests trained in seminaries" unfortunately, this was not to be the case. The Faculty of Education at Queen's was closed in the spring of 1920. In the reorganization which took place, the training of high school teachers was centralized in Toronto and was segregated from elementary teacher training. Pakenham became the Dean of the newly formed College of Education in Toronto (Rogers, 1972, pp. 170-189).

Upon his arrival at the University of British Columbia, Coleman quickly became an influential member of the faculty. He was chosen as the first chairman and later President of the Faculty Association when it was first formed in 1920. Although Coleman resigned as president of the association in the spring of 1921 because of conflicts with his duties as Dean, his leadership style was well-respected. William Bruneau (1990) pointed out that "Coleman was almost infinitely kind, apparently incapable of the administrative nastiness that headships occasionally require" (pp. 15-16).

Coleman's arrival was not coincidental to the movement towards obtaining teacher training facilities at the University of British Columbia. His involvement in teacher education and his belief that pedagogical training should be located in the university was long-standing. Although it is unlikely there was
an unwritten agenda on the part of the University of British Columbia to accept responsibility for providing high school teacher training as early as 1920, in making their choice for the Dean, the administration of the University of British Columbia doubtless was well aware of Coleman's bias. This quickly became evident.

In addition to Coleman's previously described efforts to obtain university credit for extra-mural courses, (see Chapter 4) his lobbying started early for a full time training program for high school teachers. In a 1921 memo to the President, he stated:

I am sure you will agree that the teachers in elementary and high schools in the Province are a group of people to whom the University is under especial obligation, and whose academic and professional needs the University should seek to meet to the utmost limits of its powers. (UA, PR, Roll 4, September 21, 1921)

This special obligation to teachers was a constant theme in Coleman's efforts to bring teacher training to the University of British Columbia. In his budget submission to Dr. Klinck for the 1922-23 year, while acknowledging that the attitude of the Department of Education would no doubt influence what happened, Coleman noted:

it seem[ed to him] to be perfectly reasonable, and certainly highly desirable, for the university, the Normal School, and certain of the city schools (notably the King Edward High School) to work together in a program of teacher-training which would give to the high schools of the province a type of teacher much superior to that which can possibly be given under present conditions. (UA, PR, Roll 4, October 1, 1921)

His suggestions for this training was an omen of what followed.
The simplest way to begin this work in the University of British Columbia would be by the appointment of a Professor of Education in the Department of Philosophy, since Philosophy and Education are, in many of their aspects, very closely related. Further developments would wait upon demand and upon opportunity, but the university would at least have made a beginning.

It was this beginning that was difficult. By 1922, only one Educational Psychology course was being offered in the regular academic schedule. High school teachers were still attending the four-month program, with all its inherent challenges, at the Normal School. A little over two years after Coleman's arrival, (and two years of his pressuring for the institutionalization of high school teacher training), in response to a request of the Educational Committee of the BCTF, the Senate, at its December 20, 1922 meeting appointed a Committee of its members not only to inquire into extra-mural courses for teachers but also into:

The present need of a University Department of Education to assist in the professional training of High School Teachers, and in the work of the Summer Session.

and

Any other policy which, in the Committee's judgment, will enable the University to contract more directly and efficiently than it does at present to the interests of elementary and secondary education in the Province. (Senate Minutes, December 20, 1922, p. 309)

While this committee was conferring, Coleman continued to persuade Willis of the efficacy of university involvement in high school teacher training.

He wrote to Willis on January 4, 1923 describing what he believed was "a
feasible course of professional training for University graduates who desired to obtain [high school] teachers' certificates." He suggested a program split between the Normal School and the University, acknowledging that his ideas might be "susceptible to all sorts of modifications." After meeting with MacLean, Willis wrote to Coleman on January 17th to let him know that with "slight modifications" the plan Coleman had submitted would be "feasible and satisfactory." However, after this initial support, no other action was taken by the Department of Education for many months (See discussion in Calam, 1994, pp. 181-182; letters cited are from President's Vault in University Archives).

Like Coleman, the BCTF did not sit idle. It took direct action to try to influence the Senate vote when the Committee brought in its recommendations. On January 11, 1923 it mailed out to every teacher in the province a request that they respond to the Senate Committee, who "would be glad to have from you an expression of opinion," showing "your appreciation and interest." This letter contained a detailed description of a proposal to have extra-mural courses offered between October 1st and May 1st (UA, PR, Roll 5).

When the Senate Committee on Extra-Mural Courses reported back to the February 21st, 1923 meeting, the Senate endorsed "the establishment of extra-mural credit courses in the University work of the first two years in Arts."

However, the motion: "That, in view of the educational needs of the province, the Senate strongly recommend the appointment of a Professor of Education";
was defeated, ayes 8; nays 9 (Senate Minutes, February 21, 1923, p. 320). Although the vote was extremely close, the fact that the Senate, as the "guardian of educational policy" for the university (Soward, 1930, p. 71) defeated the motion gave the government a reason to postpone any further action.

The issue of university involvement in the education of high school teachers was not closed. Although Willis told his counterpart in Manitoba, Dr. Robert Fletcher, that MacLean had "agreed to the scheme with some reluctance" (Calam, 1994, p. 188), it was not completely unexpected that the Department of Education would intervene and ask the university to become involved. In a July 1923 Report to President Klinck, Coleman noted that he anticipated that the University would be "formally requested by the Provincial Department of Education to undertake the professional training of University graduates who are aspirants for teachers' certificates." His prediction was accurate.

Calls for change to the training for high school teachers had become increasingly strident. Past history between the university and the Department of Education suggested that it was fairly safe for the Department to assume that a request for university involvement would be honoured. However, like the decision to require mandatory Normal School training for university graduates to be eligible for certification, the request was not submitted early enough to allow time for effective implementation. Another ad hoc decision was made, this time less than one month before the program was to start!
By way of contrast, when the Faculty of Education was first established at the University of Toronto, Pakenham's appointment as Dean began on January 1, 1907, ten months before the faculty accepted students (Rogers, 1972, p. 141).

On August 4, 1923, this "request" did arrive, in the form of a letter sent from Willis to Klinck. It opened rather peremptorily with the statement:

The Department of Education wishes to make arrangements with the University for the professional training of University graduates who intend to become High School teachers. I would, therefore, like to place before you for the consideration of yourself and the Board of Governors a series of seven suggestions. (UA, PR, Roll 4)

Among these suggestions were: a specifically defined 510-hour curriculum, to be spread over thirty weeks, the courses to begin on 10th September and extend to 18th April; the lectures were to be held partly in the Normal School and partly in the University; a professor of education responsible to the Department of Philosophy was to be appointed by the Board of Governors to direct the work; David Robinson, Principal of the Vancouver Normal School was to be authorized to accept applications from University graduates until the appointment was made; the salary of the professor of education was to be met by the University and other expenses, such as honoraria, if any, to the University Professors who assisted in the work and to High School teachers who acted as critic teachers, would be paid by the Department of Education for the present year. The letter ended with the not-so-subtle reminder that "This Department is anxious that this new course be inaugurated this year and hopes that the above suggestions
will meet with the favour of yourself and the Board" (UA, PR, Roll 4).

A special meeting of the Senate was held on Friday, August 17th (in the
middle of summer vacation) to consider the Department of Education's proposal.
At this meeting the fourteen voting members present were not all the same
seventeen who attended the meeting where the motion was defeated in
February. Probably those known to be in favour of the motion were encouraged
to attend by Klinck and Coleman. For example, this time Coleman and both
principals of the normal schools were present (None of these three were at the
February 21st meeting); as too were four professors who had taught summer
school, an Inspector of high schools, an ex-City Superintendent and a high school
teacher. The Senate approved most of Willis' requests, subject to such provisions
being worked out, except for two items referring to financial provisions.² A
second resolution was passed forwarding the matter to the Board of Governors
(Senate Minutes, pp. 336-337).³ The Board of Governors was willing to approve
the Senate recommendation, but only "on condition that the necessary funds be
provided by the Government as a supplementary grant" (Board of Governors'
Minutes, August 28, 1923).

Willis, MacLean and Klinck met in Victoria on August 31. At that time
the Minister assured Klinck "that the government would, for this year, defray all
necessary expenses in connection with the professional training of teachers who
are graduates of the University." Robinson and Klinck had met prior to this
meeting and at that time Robinson had expressed concern not only about how all
the applicants could be handled in the Normal School but also about what the
division of work would be between the University and the Normal School.
Klinck wanted this clarified, as he did not believe that a Professor could be hired
before the New Year. (Presumably Robinson had not been invited to attend this
meeting.) Willis stated that "the only course to pursue would be for the Normal
School to give practically all the work during the Fall Term. The University
would take over in the Winter Term." It was agreed that Willis would convey
this information to Robinson. Willis further requested that arrangements be
made so that Coleman could assist with this program. By September 4 it had
been organized so that Coleman would act as provisional director and lecturer in
the History and Principles of Education and in Educational Psychology.
Robinson was sent a very abrupt telegram by Willis informing him of this (UA,
PR, Memo written by Klinck, Roll 4).

Fully expecting that the Senate would now approve the plan submitted
by Willis, Coleman and Klinck had "already put out feelers" in August for the
name of a professor of education (Calam, 1994, p. 184). Klinck met with
Sandiford in Edmonton on August 8 to get his opinion on three potential
candidates for the position. One of those was George M. Weir, who had left a
favourable impression when he was out in Vancouver teaching Summer School
in 1921. The search for the new professor of education began in earnest in
September when Klinck took an eleven-day tour of the western provinces to speak to referees concerning potential candidates. As could be expected there were many names suggested, but Weir remained a forerunner, in spite of receiving mixed reviews. Some "consultants had portrayed him as impatient, verbose, aggressive, indiscrete, tactless, and ambitious, ... [while others were impressed by] his vigour, appetite for work, incisive mind, and public presence" (Calam, 1994, p. 192). After talking to Weir in early October, Klinck made his decision and on October 29, 1923, Dr. Klinck wrote to the Chancellor and the Board of Governors recommending that George M. Weir be appointed as Professor of Education and Director of Teacher Training, at a salary of $4000 per annum, the term of appointment to be from the time he reports for duty to June 30, 1926 (UA, PR, Roll 5). On December 17, 1923 Klinck again wrote to the Chancellor and the Board of Governors requesting appointment of six university faculty as lecturers at a cost of $500.00 each and the appointment of Dean Coleman as Director of Teacher-Training for $500.00. Twenty members of the staff at King Edward High School were hired as critic teachers for a salary of $75.00 each (their appointments were approved on January 25, 1924).4

Once Dr. Weir began his employment at the university in January 1924, he too was influential in the creation of a Department of Education at the University of British Columbia. Dr. Weir had a particularly dynamic personality.
His diction fairly sizzles like a high tension wire. ... [His thoughts] surge up like hot lava and pour out in a devastating flow of words, without pause, without the least exertion. ... He is filled with a consuming fire of passionate protest, the zeal of a real reformer. (Hutchinson, as cited in Johnson, 1964, p. 113)

He was well qualified for his selection as the University of British Columbia's first Professor of Education, both academically and in terms of experience.\(^5\) He had attended four universities, completing his Honours B.A. at McGill University, his M.A. degree at Saskatchewan University, his Doctorate of Pedagogy, with Honours, at Queen's University, and post-graduate work at both Queen's and Chicago. He also passed the Bar Examinations of the Law Society of Saskatchewan. The BCTF was pleased with Dr. Weir's appointment.\(^6\) It noted that

his experience as a Public and High School teacher, as a Provincial Inspector, and as Principal of a Normal School, have given him a wide knowledge of the many problems involved in teacher-training and fit him adequately for the important post he now occupies in the educational life of British Columbia. (B.C. Teacher, 1924, p. 171)

Weir's first education class at the University of British Columbia found him, as "[their] own exclusive property," to have a "sympathetic and good-natured attitude" and to be "an earnest co-operator in [their] pursuit of knowledge." He expected his students to work hard and they found that "trying to keep up with him requir[ed] an amount of interest and effort in the class perhaps unparalleled in the histories of its members" (Annual, 1923-1924, p. 69).
A fourth major influence within the academic community that must be considered is that of the student body, both students in attendance as the changes were being implemented and also the alumni. Although the students' say in the final decision-making leading to the actual legislation of policy was limited, they were certainly very vocal about expressing their opinions in the public sphere. The Alumni Association was actively involved in the affairs of the university. Indeed, its stated purpose when it was formed on May 4, 1917, was "to assist the University by interpreting it and its needs to the public, by keeping the needs of the University before the Government and if necessary pressing for action; by means of gifts and personal service" (Tucker, 1967, p. 3).

The students of the university were representative of a wide spectrum of society. Material gathered by the Student Publicity Campaign Committee noted that the students came from:

- the homes of citizens in all stations of life, ... but the preponderance is not in favor of the rich or well-to-do. The highest percentage of students come from the homes of laboring men and office workers, according to this survey, no less than 28.9 per cent being in this classification. This includes manual laborers, carpenters and contractors, bookkeepers and clerks, and sailors.

Next to this class in number are the students who come from the homes of professional men. They total 27.9 per cent of the entire student body, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, engineers, teachers, bankers, and experts such as architects, etc., being included under the term professional.

The number of students who come from the homes of business men constitute 26.2 per cent of the total student body. Merchants, tradesmen, managers, and real estate brokers are included in this group.
From the farm come no less than 11.8 per cent of the University student body, including sons and daughters from farms, fruit ranches and dairy ranches. The children of government officials and employees constitute 5.2 per cent of the total. .... Those who come from the homes of retired men total 10.2 per cent. (The B.C. Teacher, March 1923, p. 160)

These students were actively interested in the welfare of the university.

In the 1920s the students "were almost painfully conscious of their responsibilities, realizing that what might pass as high spirits at an older university could utterly discredit them with a tax-conscious public not altogether convinced of the necessity for state-supported universities" (Angus, 1966, p. 183).

In the first six years after the war ended the veterans too "played a most important role in the life of the University. They were older than the average undergraduates and they were serious students intent upon making up for the time spent in the services" (MacLaurin, no date, p. 4).

Both student associations, the Alma Mater Society (AMS)\(^9\) and the Alumni Association, were politically active both within the university and externally. One of their very successful endeavors was to encourage, or shame, the government into finally approving funding for the building of the new campus. An Alumni article in the spring 1922 Annual belligerently asked how the Provincial Government ("hard-headed politicians rather than far-seeing statesmen") could claim that they had no money for the construction. After all they [had] thousands of dollars to spend on a "Patronage" Court[house] at Prince Rupert, the "Grafting" Sumas Dyke proposition, the "School Boy's Railroad" known as the P.G.E., and many other propositions which should
never have been given priority to the University. (As cited in Tucker, 1967, p. 5)

With a high degree of political acumen (and some sound advice from Vancouver Liberal M.L.A., Ian Mackenzie) they decided that the Government would act only if they had some assurance of acceptance from the general voting public. Early in 1922 the Alma Mater Society began its "Build the University" campaign to arouse public support in every part of the province in order to persuade the government to complete the buildings on the campus. Over the summer, students travelled throughout the province, and in spite of meeting indifference or even hostility in some locations, they acquired enough signatures to indicate broad public support for the building of the University. In the fall of 1922 petitions signed by over one-tenth of the British Columbia population were presented to the Legislature by Mackenzie. Also in the fall, the President of the Alma Mater Society that year, A. E. Richards, organized a march through the streets of Vancouver, ending at the Point Grey site. These two events helped to break the stalemate between the University Authorities and the Government (Johnson, 1964; Tucker, 1967) and certainly contributed to the government's awareness of the political influence of students.10.

Many of the students at the university planned to become teachers when they finished their degrees (in some years up to 40 percent of the graduates in the Arts and Sciences Program). They did not want to have to leave the University for their professional training and made their opinions adamantly
Their attitudes towards the Normal School were never in doubt. After four years of university, in which they were immersed in a professional culture which stressed that their education gave them a "specialness" within society, it was difficult for them to accept training in an institution that they considered far beneath them. Fearing that they would lose some of their prestige by association with the students in the Normal School they pressured the university to take on the responsibility for their training. As Elliott (1972) pointed out, "In a university setting ... ideas about future occupations will be circulated among students. ... Occupational intention is likely to be an important part of the student's social identity within the student culture" (p. 72). With such a large percentage of graduating students choosing teaching as a future occupation, the number agitating for changes in teacher training was significant. Within the Arts and Science Faculty at least, the interests of these students were probably widely known and supported.

By 1922, The Ubyssey reported that "the case seems clear for the establishment within the University of a Faculty of Education at as early a date as possible" (January 11, 1922, p. 4). Dissatisfaction with the Normal School continued to be expressed. One month after the Senate defeat of the recommendation to hire a Professor of Education, an editorial in the paper titled, "Chair of Education at the University," argued for a new solution.

It appears to us that if a chair of education were established here it would be possible to adjust the curriculum so that a student might elect the
necessary units during the four years of the BA Course, and might graduate with a degree and a teaching certificate at the end of that time. ... We feel that we are voicing a genuine need and desire of the students in arguing that the feasibility of this project be considered at the earliest possible moment. (March 22, 1923, p. 4)

Although this was not a solution supported by the faculty or the university administration, it did reveal the importance of the issue of teacher training to the students.

When high school teacher training was finally offered on campus in January 1924, another editorial entitled "Educational Course" referred to it as this "Faculty of Education" and went on to state that it furnishes the graduates with a more complete and thorough training than they were given formerly. It is hoped that in the future the University's participation will expand to take charge of the whole course, and thus establish a complete Department of Education. (The Ubyssey, January 24, 1924, p. 4)

Once the program for high school teachers was established in the university it quickly became entrenched. Although Weir taught for only one semester before he took a year's leave of absence to work on the Survey for the Department of Education, the survival of the teacher education program was not threatened. (Weir's original leave was to run only until December, but it was extended.) Perhaps his close involvement with the educational bureaucracy reassured the government that it maintained control over the education of the teachers. In any case, once it became a fait accompli, the university, the government, and the Department of Education seemed content to let the teacher
training program for high school teachers continue and even gradually take
some steps towards greater independence.

There was increasing academic acceptance of education courses (at least
History and Psychology) as was indicated by Senate endorsement of the
recommendation

That First or Second Class standing in History and Principles of
Education and in Educational Psychology for the year 1923-24 be accepted
as equivalent to a Minor for an M.A. degree, subject in each case to the
consent of Head of the Department in which the student wishes to major;
and that this concession be not considered as a precedent. (Senate
Minutes, February 20, 1924, p. 360)

At the December 16, 1925 Senate Meeting, the time-limiting proviso was
removed and these courses were accepted as appropriate for a minor in the M.A.
degree for the year 1924-25 and for subsequent sessions.

On February 17, 1926, the Senate went on record "as being in favor of
strengthening the requirements for admission to the course (Teacher-Training)"
(p. 451). At this same meeting it tacitly endorsed, by its acceptance of a
Calendar statement, that the Teacher Training Course had now become a
"Department of Education." (Whether or not this calendar submission was a
deliberate ploy by Coleman and Weir is unclear.)

On Friday, April 9th, 1926, a special meeting of the University of British
Columbia Senate was held. At that time the Faculty of Arts and Science
recommended "that the Teacher Training Course at present attached to the
Department of Philosophy, be constituted a Department of Education in the
Faculty of Arts and Science." The motion "that the Senate adopt the resolution and that the seal of the University be placed upon the resolution" was carried (Senate Minutes, p. 463).

At the completion of this program, students would be recommended to the Provincial Department of Education for the Academic Certificate, and to the Faculty of Arts and Science for the University Diploma in Education. The curriculum of the program comprised six courses offered at specific times: Educational Psychology, School Administration and Law, and History and Principles of Education, courses which ran throughout the University Session; Psychology of the Elementary School Subjects and Methods in Elementary School Subjects in the Fall Term; and Methods in High School Subjects during the Spring Term. In addition, they had to spend at least forty hours in the elementary schools in the Fall Term and at least sixty hours in the high schools in the Spring Term. The compulsory nature and the length (entire academic year) of psychology, history and school administration were indicators of the importance placed on their study. Like programs in the United States, such as the Stanford University program described here, this arrangement was meant to provide students already well-educated in the Liberal Arts with a scientific knowledge of children, with some experience in examining educational problems at first hand, with a good knowledge of the development of the human mind in the past, and fairly well acquainted with the best thought and practice in educational matters at present. (Gitlin, 1996, p. 600)
It is also significant that this program provided a general preparation for these students. Unlike doctors or lawyers, teachers often ended up teaching in areas in which they had not specialized. Few potential teachers would have the luxury of teaching only their baccalaureate majors. Accordingly, all students took methods courses in Art, Music, Writing and Primary grade activities in the Fall Term and had to select two obligatory high school methods (another was optional, but recommended).

This high school teacher training program, implemented in 1926, was an important step towards the eventual creation some thirty years later of a Faculty of Education.13

Reasons for the University’s Choice

The university's initial decision to accept responsibility for the training of high school teachers and then to allow the program to become more autonomous within the academic community was influenced by several factors. The members of the university faculty did not eagerly seek nor accept with open arms the institutionalization of teacher training. It must be remembered that, just as Coleman's lobbying was only one of his ongoing responsibilities, so too were other faculty concerned with their regular duties, the move to the new campus, and an involvement with building the importance and prestige of their own
academic area. Pedagogical training for teachers was simply an adjunct to their already busy lives.

A major reason for the university's acceptance of the responsibility to provide this training was the pressure being exerted by the provincial Department of Education. On its own initiative the university had rejected requests from the teachers. For example, in 1919 when the first request for summer school was presented, the answer was "No." Klinck believed that "the needs of the teachers would be fully met" by the Summer School run by the Department of Education (Senate Minutes, May 14, 1919, p. 100). It was only after the Department of Education added its request the next year that this was undertaken. The initial decision by the Senate to not support its own committee's request for a Professor of Education, again, was not reversed until a formal request came from Willis through the President. Many in the faculty had difficulty accepting the idea of granting credit for summer school courses and it was many years before the university acceded to the teachers' wishes for extra-mural course creditation. Many hours were spent on this issue and discussions were acrimonious. The Senate and the Board of Governors were "more sympathetic than Faculty to Summer Session work." The President himself was also opposed to granting a degree for summer session work (Soward, 1930, pp. 330-336).

Like a teenager wanting to become independent but not having the
financial wherewithal to do so, the university struggled to come to terms with the issue of independence from government control. Because it was still a new institution in the 1920s and was not yet firmly entrenched in the public domain, it was particularly vulnerable to outside pressure. Although theoretically protected "by the convention of university independence ... [it was]... nevertheless still susceptible to [governmental] power by virtue of indirect controls, not the least of which [was] the money made available to university budgets by provincial Cabinets" (Katz, 1963, pp. 226-227).

In 1921, Dr. Klinck sought legal advice on the matter. Unhappy with a government suggestion that senior matriculation rather than junior matriculation be used as the standard for entrance to the university, Klinck asked for a legal opinion from the law firm of Bowser Reid Wallbridge Douglas & Gibson. In March, they responded as follows:

In our opinion, except in so far as Section 25 of the "School Act Amendment Act 1920" may authorize, the Department of Education has no power to intervene in University matters. The government of the University is to be carried on, under the University Act, by the authorities therein mentioned. (italics added, UA, PR, Roll 1)

This lack of legal interference rights did not alter the power balance but did perhaps make it less one-sided than it would have been otherwise. Working relationships operated within the confines of this authority structure. In practice the British Columbia government accepted the recommendations of the university without question and the university thus controlled who was certified
for the Academic Certificate (Sheehan & Wilson, 1995, p. 317). However, because ultimate authority to licence teachers did rest with the Department of Education, a cordial alliance was essential. Klinck and the Chancellor negotiated budget matters with Premier Oliver, MacLean and the Executive Committee. Coleman and Weir usually worked through Willis who then presented any budgetary items or major changes to MacLean. Weir established a very close working relationship with Willis, and took advantage of every opportunity to let his views be known. Fortunately, in view of the power relationship previously referred to, both Willis and Weir (and Coleman) wanted the university to maintain responsibility for the training of high school teachers. It was apparent that Willis was fully aware that he was in the more powerful position (see Chapter 6).

Another instance where university personnel felt compelled to give in to government influence under protest took place during the Putman-Weir Survey. In the Fall of 1924, when the University's role in the education of high school teachers had been clearly established, Dean Coleman received a letter from Principal Robinson informing him that Professor Sandiford had requested the opportunity to test the members of the University Teacher Training Course as part of his work under the Educational Survey. After consulting with the Acting-President, Dean Brock, who was "of the opinion that since the Teacher Training Course is actually a part of the University, the granting of Professor
Sandiford's request would be tantamount to a submission of the University to the authority of the Survey Commission," Coleman suggested that if Professor Sandiford still desired admission to University classes at the Normal School, he should be referred to the Acting-President (PA, Letter from Coleman to Robinson, October 13, 1924, General Records, Roll 7).

In the records Brock kept he noted that, after Sandiford's request had been denied, he was then contacted by Dr. Putman. In a call on October 14th, Putman haughtily stated that "His Commission included everything connected with Public and High Schools including all Teacher Training" and if the University refused permission for this testing, "the Commission would simply state that they had not completed the work as the University had refused to allow them to examine their Teachers in Training." When Brock asked how they were planning to test the students, Putman replied "whatever they saw fit. They would be completely at their disposal." Obviously angered by this imperious response, Brock retorted that he should have received a "different sort of answer." After this acrimonious conversation, Brock then rang up Willis who "recognized that the University had the right to decide for itself," but at the same time made it clear that he wished the University to extend this permission as he feared it might be construed unfavourably if the request was refused.

Brock then met with Coleman who remained very opposed to the teachers being included in the survey. "It was Dr. Weir investigating his own course and
would leave him open to criticism." His opinion unmistakable, Coleman left the matter with Brock and said he would do as instructed. Brock then met with Weir to discuss the matter.

It was clearly a case in which one might be damned if he did and damned if he didn't. We decided that in view of Mr. Willis' manifest opinion and wish and the control that Dr. Weir would have over the report, the better and less dangerous course would be to allow the examination to be made. (Dean Brock's notes, October 14, 1924, PA, Roll 7)

On the same day he sent a letter to Coleman notifying him of the decision.

This discussion is revealing in many ways. Not only is it a clear indicator of the power dynamics between the university and the Department of Education (Mr. Willis' "manifest opinion" was obviously to be heeded), but it is also a vivid illustration and reminder that, just as the teachers worked in a bureaucratic organization, so too did the university professors: Sandiford complained to Putman; Robinson complained to Coleman who complained to Brock who complained to Willis. And the results — Sandiford got his way — were imparted in reverse order down the ladder. The "he said, he said" story (no "shes" involved) is also a blatant revelation of the integrity of the Survey. There was no need to worry about the results of the tests because, after all, Weir would have control over the report, and by implication could include, ignore, or manipulate "facts" as he saw fit.

The results of this incident would probably not have been different if Klinck had been on campus. He had already granted permission on October 8
for Dr. Peter Sandiford to administer an intelligence test to 350 members of the First Year Class on October 20 and might have just ordered Coleman to succumb without involving Willis. "... Klinck ... consistently upheld centralist administrative practice, evinced willingness to play along with provincial government policy, and accepted government views of the University's 'mission'" (Bruneau, 1990, p. 39).

This inability to operate independently from the Department of Education was apparent in little annoyances as well. For the summer school program, funding for lecturers' salaries had to be negotiated yearly with Victoria, especially when the university budgets were unable to absorb the costs. Also, copies of any announcements were submitted to the Department of Education "for opinion and suggestion before [they] went to the printer" (UA, PR, Roll 2, January 1921).

Once the government had "encouraged" the university to become involved with the training of teachers, to have refused to do so would obviously have been politically unwise – and probably futile. "With a knife poised at their financial jugular vein each year" (Callahan, 1962, preface), in the form of approval, or not, of the budget, full autonomy was not feasible at this early stage of development. However, there were several other very pragmatic reasons that also contributed to the university's willingness to incorporate teacher training for high school teachers. As The Ubyssey stated when the Teacher Education program first
began, "There is no doubt that the advantages and benefits accruing from such a course will fully recompense the University for undertaking it" (January 24, 1924).

Economic factors were one motivation. An increase in student enrollment for an extra year – over fifty students – brought funds into the university. So too did the supplementary grants from the government for the costs of a new professor. Another fiscal advantage, although less immediate in impact, would occur as the graduating teachers spread throughout the province. These teachers, as loyal alumni, would then encourage their students to attend the University of British Columbia (Urban, 1990; Corbett, 1992).

Another financial benefit of the institutionalization of teacher training was more immediately evident for some faculty. The manner in which the program was arranged meant that several of the Heads of Departments and faculty members had the opportunity to receive additional remuneration of $500 for teaching duties. When this was combined with summer session teaching, which also paid from $250 to $500 depending on the length of the course, the result was a hefty salary increase (more than twenty-five per cent in some cases). Thus, while the university was responding to the needs of both elementary and secondary teachers and to the desires of the Department of Education, it also provided a way for the faculty to augment their wages.¹⁵

A second reason, grounded in common sense and a strong survival
instinct, was the ongoing need to maintain a good relationship with the public. It was imperative that any publicly funded institution appear socially useful, as it was this that designated worth in the eyes of society. "The community-at-large [allowed] professionals to create a knowledge monopoly only if that monopoly [was] used disinterestedly in the community's best collective interests" (Silva & Slaughter, 1984, p. 14). Accordingly, if the tax-paying public did not accept that higher education was important and actually necessary to the well-being of the province, neither financial support nor prestige – nor even students – would be forthcoming. Just as was the case at the University of Alberta,

there was no desire for an ivory tower institution – an Oxford in the wilderness. Rather, the university was supported by government and business because it was seen as an integral part of making a new community. It was an educational, political, social and business investment all in one. (Owram in Corbett, 1992, p. xiii)

Thus, the university's agreement to undertake the training of teachers was in part an expedient decision not so much motivated by a desire to provide better teachers for the province, but by a need to "strengthen its hold upon the affection of the general public by showing an interest in popular education" (Putman & Weir, 1925, p. 231).

Because the university was located in Vancouver, it was critical that it somehow appear as vital to all other parts of the province as well; that is, it had to fulfil its function as a provincial university and not merely an institution for the Lower Mainland. These relations were particularly important to the
university

because its existence depended on the provision of money by a legislature in which that hinterland was grossly over-represented. ... it was not an easy task to convince the tax-payers in other parts of the province that the university deserved their support. (Angus, 1966, p. 185)

This was an ongoing and important battle. Charges of Vancouver bias were often heard. The Victoria Times (November 27, 1922) quoted Mr. M. B. Jackson, MLA for Islands, as accusing that

the university as it is now, is nothing more than an advanced high school for Vancouver centre. ... I do believe that if we had not been committed to the project of the university, no sensible business man or statesman would now think of embarking on the university such as we are planning for years to come. ... The money saved on the university could be used for assisting agricultural industry.

Klinck was well aware of this animosity. MacLean regularly forwarded to him lists of complaints about the university that the government had received. A very abrupt letter, sent from MacLean to Klinck on October 30, 1922, began "The charge is made that the University is nothing but a glorified High School" (UA, PR, Roll 4). He went on to demand that information on academic attainments of staff and students be forwarded to him immediately so that he could use it to refute such charges.

There were several ways that the university worked to combat this negative criticism and the "atmosphere of misunderstanding, prejudice and apathy ... " (Soward, 1930, p. 315) that was so prevalent. One of these was through the provision of extension programs. Although President Klinck
stressed that this was an important part of public relations, and important to
the survival of the university, its educational value was more questionable. As
Henry Angus, a professor of economics who was in charge of extension programs
during this time, pointed out:

For the unfortunate lecturer the tour was anything but a triumphant
progress. He might find an audience of three or four or one swelled to fifty
or sixty by including school children of all ages. In the same place lectures
were of necessity totally unrelated to each other. Ashton [head of the
department of modern languages] used to say that what people really
wanted was a dancing bear. His colleague in the French department
attracted a large audience for his lecture "Venice illustrated" but only, as
he found out to his disgust, because it had been advertised as "Venus
illustrated." (Angus, 1966, p. 186)

Another method of proving the worth of the university to the entire
province was through work done with various sectors of the economy. For
example, the Faculty of Agriculture was actively involved with members of the
farming community, and the Faculty of Applied Science worked closely with the
"extractive industries," as did the Department of Geology. For the Faculty of
Arts and Science which "in general had no deep roots in the province" the way
that it could most publicly contribute was "through the slow permeation of the
teaching profession by graduates of the University" (Angus, 1966, pp. 185-186).

That an Education program would generate broader popular support for
the University was well known to Dr. Coleman. Much earlier in his career Dr.
Coleman had stressed the significance of a university accepting the
responsibility for training teachers when he noted that "the University performs
an act of public service so manifest in its character and so far-reaching in its influence that increased public approval and support of the University in all its departments must necessarily follow" (1913, p. 73).

This socially utilitarian value of a university-level Education program was stressed by the university when it finally introduced its full-year course in high school Teacher Training:

The Teacher Training Course should make a very real contribution to the efficiency of the schools of the province, since it provides a very useful centre for the study of current educational problems and a very useful clearing house for educational ideas. (Coleman, 1925, p. 15)

Because the schools were institutions that were not considered at all esoteric, the universities were thus viewed as contributing a very practical benefit to the province (Urban, 1990, p. 63). For those who believed that the university was an important symbol of the "movement from frontier to metropolis" (Owram in Corbett, 1992, p. xiii), the addition of a new program was yet another indicator of the growing importance to this "crown" of the educational system of British Columbia.

In addition to the university being viewed as socially useful, at a more fundamental level, many believed that it was the duty of the university to meet the need for well-educated high school teachers. Just as society expected schools to become a panacea for social ills, it also hoped that universities would produce the teachers that could ensure that this correction would take place. Dean William Pakenham of the University of Toronto, in his address to the 1922
Conference of Canadian Universities, stated unequivocally that "the university [could not] shirk responsibility for the schools below it – the schools whose efficiency [was] a measure of its own efficiency." By training teachers the university would be providing a social benefit for all. What Sandford Fleming, Chancellor of Queen's University, noted about his university was equally true for the University of British Columbia. He stressed that the university's connection with teachers in the province (including both the direct education of high school teachers or extra-murally with elementary teachers) resulted in it being "the chief agency in moulding the minds of the young all over the land, ... thousands of children who will never take a college course" (as cited in Rogers, 1972, p. 116).

This moral obligation would also result in long-term faculty benefits. As Sir Arthur Currie (1927)\textsuperscript{19} noted at the eleventh National Conference of Canadian Universities, university professors often complained about the inadequate preparation of their students, "yet directly or indirectly the Universities [were] partly responsible for the training of teachers" (p. 26). It was logical that university faculty would desire to improve the quality of secondary teachers. After all,

\begin{quote}
The half-dozen years from the age of about 12 till the time of entering college are fundamental in the training of university students. These are the years during which students who are intelligent enough to deserve a university education must acquire habits of accuracy and hard work and must catch something of the scholar's passion for learning if they are not to fail miserably and leave the university after a year's unsatisfactory
\end{quote}
Yet, ironically university professors did not encourage their "best and brightest" to take up teaching as a career. In this way they both contributed to and were influenced by the status attached to the profession of teaching. If students were strong academically, even those professors who had been teachers themselves rarely suggested high school teaching as a career path. They noted that they would

feel apologetic towards a really able student if [they] were to suggest High School teaching as his life work. ... But at the next meeting of the Arts Faculty they might rise in their places and deplore the inadequacy of teaching in the High Schools. The situation would be ludicrous if it weren't so serious. (Macdonald, 1930, p. 111)

This dichotomy between the rhetoric and the reality of the academic view of high school teachers' position in the occupational career hierarchy was very evident. Some responsibility for the slow process in establishing the Department of Education was due to a situation internal to the University of British Columbia. Believing that advanced study in education was really philosophy, history, psychology, or sociology in some other form, some university personnel did not consider teacher training and the study of education to be a discrete academic area worthy of placement in the university setting. Other professors (Dr. Weir suggested it was a "negligible minority") saw education as "the Cinderella of the curriculum – a sort of undesirable intrusion or questionable innovation" (Weir, 1927, p. 38).
This was not a situation unique to education. Historically, the introduction of any new subject had faced the same difficulties. Both history and the sciences had been treated "in the same stepmotherly fashion" before a "status of respectability" was achieved (Weir, 1927, p. 38). Inevitably, a few professors continued to regard the professional training of teachers "as an insult to their arts and science graduates and as an implied criticism of their own teaching methods" (Stamp as cited in Carney, 1990, p. 42). Weir (1927) also noted that "occasionally one meets a university teacher who even deny[ed] the existence of education" (p. 39). He refuted this, using the terminology so important for legitimacy in the 1920s, by making reference to the fact that there was "a sufficiently large body of fairly reliable scientifically derived material bearing on education matters to discredit the contention of those who assert that a science of education is a mere myth" (p. 39).

The type of proposal that the provincial Department of Education submitted to the Senate for approval in 1923 was one that did not demand a radical alteration to the organization of the university's academic structure. It asked for change, but for one that could be accommodated with a minimal impact on the members of the Arts and Science faculty. The fundamental nature of their program was not challenged. By requesting training only for those potential teachers with a completed Bachelor's degree, "the focus of high school training remained discipline based, [and] the academic integrity of university
education never seemed threatened ..." (Goodlad et al., 1990, p. 147).

In assuming responsibility for the professional education of high school teachers (in fact, acquiring a monopoly over it), the university could thus not only have the benefits associated with "affirm[ing] an important link with the schools," but could also be assured that at the same time it was "avoiding the low-status, common, elementary school" (Urban, 1990, p. 64). Some professors were vehemently antagonistic towards the teaching of elementary education students – especially females. At the 1930 National Conference of Canadian Universities, one professor remarked: "no university teacher wants to be condemned to teaching women. He knows that that means an old age of pedantry or empty, meaningless aestheticism" (as cited in Axelrod, 1990, p. 91). Such demeaning comments directed at females were indicative of the atmosphere of the academic community and the desire to keep the training of elementary teachers out of the university setting and in a separate institution.

An integrated program, such as the one suggested by students, where teacher training was incorporated into the Bachelor degree, was never seriously considered for the education of British Columbia high school teachers. By insisting on the university degree as the minimum academic qualification for admission, the university "postpone[d] indefinitely the possibilities for the development of concurrent courses for undergraduates who might seek simultaneous training for a degree and a teacher's certificate" (Rogers, 1972, p.
For students, such a program would have had many advantages. The additional academic year certainly added time and expense to the basic certification requirements (and age to the students) and may have discouraged poorer students from pursuing such a long course. With the advent of extramural credits for both summer school and part-time studies, the completion of a degree would have been much more feasible for a greater number of individuals (including the elementary teachers). However, this option was ignored or denied, and, by limiting entry to the baccalaureate degree, "a unified [professionalization] project for elementary and secondary teachers [was made] impossible" (Gitlin, 1996, p. 603).

The chosen format aligned well with the medical model in which only after a solid base of knowledge (the baccalaureate degree) was established, was the professional training component introduced. A model based on progressive education learning principles, such as those advocated by John Dewey, with their focus on "learning by doing" was not chosen (Hansgen, 1991). In the 1920s, this sequential rather than simultaneous pattern was popular because it was the method that seemed most likely to lead to a successful professionalization project (Jencks & Riesman, 1968). Whether or not it was the most efficacious method of training high school teachers is controversial even today. It is very possible that this chosen method was an educational reform "manufactured" by the university and state bureaucracies with the "tacit support" of teachers and
professors, "who saw in it not only a measure of justice and efficiency but an addition to their own prestige and potential employment" (Perkin, 1989, p. 164). The desire to follow in the academic tradition established by medicine was indicative not only of an attempt to clarify the new Department of Education's position in the university hierarchy by "establishing clear and recognized boundaries of authority" (Wilson, 1990, p. 194), but also of an effort to secure the professional status of high school teachers by acquiring the special authority associated with science and university education.

Once the after-degree format was selected, the method by which it was implemented was another factor that had a long-term impact on the success of the program. Instead of hiring several instructors, the methods' lectures were conducted by seven of the Heads of Departments in the Arts and Sciences Faculty. Coleman had long been in favour of such joint appointments and this pattern of using instructors from outside the department was one already utilized by the Faculty of Agriculture. In addition to having well-credentialled instructors, the majority of whom had been high school or normal school teachers, the university avoided having the ongoing responsibility of hiring extra staff for the fifty to sixty students in the teacher training program. Because of the already established credibility of those who conducted the training, the teacher training program was likely to have both more support and more legitimacy within the institution.23
Of course, to imagine that one individual could be hired for $3500.00 to teach that great a variety of courses was probably not feasible – if such a skilled person existed. Moreover, because the rhetoric of professionalization extolled the values of specialization, this meant that each discrete subject needed an expert in its methodology (the skills for teaching history were not the same as those needed to teach English, etc.).

Weir, who was not involved in the design of the program or in its implementation pattern, alluded to many of the weaknesses of such a specialist-based system in his speech at the 1927 National Conference of Canadian Universities. He chose not to provide answers for the "questions of a delicate nature" that he posed:

The general criticism of the practice ... is the seeming lack of articulation between theory and classroom practice. Should the lectures in high school methods be given by capable high school teachers actually engaged in class-room work: Do the prestige and scholarship of the Heads of Departments counter-balance weaknesses inherent in the present practice? Can lectures in general methods be of the highest value when divorced, in part at least, from concrete and specific application in the class-room? Are detailed methods, while according with sound pedagogical principles, not largely matters dependent upon the teacher's individuality and should these be imposed upon the student-teacher as the only, or chief, methods to adopt and adapt? Does the average specialist in methods, who may be comparatively lacking in broad and accurate scholarship, tend to exert a benumbing and dwarfing, rather than an inspiring, influence on the young graduate student? Is there a tendency for the lecture method, probably too commonly used in university classes, to be carried over without adequate modification, to the high school class-room? (pp. 43-44)²⁴

In any case, this particular arrangement meant that the students were
only "in education" for a short time. In this time, not only did the students have to learn their pedagogical theory and practical skills, but also the sets of shared values and attitudes that were an integral part of their initiation into the teaching profession (Jencks & Riesman, 1968; Jackson, 1970). Potential high school teachers had four years of socialization in arts or science and only a one-year specialization in education. For many, their loyalties stayed with the old subject and a "process of re-socialization into the new subject loyalty" did not occur (Bernstein, 1977, p. 96; see also Doyle, 1990). As they absorbed the university's "rather snivy attitude of superiority to the teachers in secondary schools" (Macdonald, 1930, p. 113), the potential teachers also had their place in the educational hierarchy reinforced. The professional attitudes they were taught were not necessarily those "honoring the occupation of schoolteacher" (Urban, 1990, p. 65; see also Sagan, 1986).

Compounding this problem was the tendency of the instructors of the newly created courses to maintain primary allegiance to the parent discipline. Their teaching assignments in education were an added responsibility and their primary function was not to prepare teachers. Because an academic credibility had already been earned for example, for history, some professors of educational history defined themselves first as the more prestigious historians and only then as educationalists. Because "the traditions, values, and priorities of faculty members are linked to their various disciplines" (Lynton & Elman, 1987, p. 47),
mixed loyalties created a potential problem. Such ties, combined with the pervasiveness of a clear academic hierarchy (Bourdieu, 1984) were to influence the faculty of the University of British Columbia both in the making and acceptance of decisions concerning the organization of the Department of Education.

Summary

Whatever the motivation for the institutionalization of high school teacher training — a capitulation to a greater power; a wise public relations move; an altruistic gesture; blatant self-interest; or simple apathy — the university embarked on a course that was to affect the training of teachers and the schools of the province for years to come.

Dean Coleman was the most influential member of faculty to participate in the design and implementation of the program. His past history at Queen's foreshadowed what the nature of the program in British Columbia would be. Determined not to fail again, he was very probably motivated by a desire to show his former colleagues in Ontario that he had been correct all along. The new Ontario model of teacher training was certainly not one that he advocated or supported in any way. His position as Dean of Arts and Sciences was a more powerful one, or at least, a more established academic function, than was his
former role at Queen's University. Without Coleman's insistence on the value and efficacy of a university-level training program for high school teachers and the incessant pressure he placed on Klinck and Willis to institute such a program, it is unlikely that the institutionalization would have taken place when it did. It was his stabilizing influence and the program continuity he provided that ensured the survival of high school teacher training in the university.

The Willis proposal (predicated on Coleman's earlier recommendations) was based on the hiring of only one person, using others already employed in the university to teach the methods courses. When the Senate voted to approve the curriculum, they also implicitly approved "the capacity of the instructors of those subjects to teach them competently" (Freidson, 1986, p. 77). The credibility of the program was quickly enhanced by the appointment of seven highly respected professors from different academic specialities, even though it was unlikely that there was a "shared paradigm" or that they were "committed to the same rules and standards" as the others (Kuhn, 1970, p. 11). As the student yearbook of 1924 noted, "the mention of their names is in itself formidable enough."

After four years of study under academic conditions where they were immersed in a culture in which scientific expertise and educational achievements were highly valued, university students strongly believed that it was preferable to complete their pedagogical training in the university. As "active constructors of the meanings of the education they encountered" (Apple,
1993, p. 61), they "knew" that a move *down* to the Normal School was a demotion in status. From their decision to attend university in the first place, it was clear that they had already accepted education as "the eleventh commandment" (Gidney & Millar, 1994, p. 336) and were hoping to accrue the benefits of professional status. In their view, only the university training could meet this need.

The choice of the first professor of Education in itself attests to the esteem and cultural capital that affiliation with a university necessarily endows. Weir had been a Vice-Principal of the Provincial Normal School in Saskatoon for six years and then became Principal of the same institution for another five years. That he willingly gave up his position as head of an entire institution to become titular head of a one-person department shows how powerful was the allure of the university (and the importance Weir himself assigned to it).

Although certainly realizing that the university was a different environment than a normal school, Weir nonetheless brought with him the philosophy and values of the single-purpose training institution which were in ways not fully compatible with those of the university. This, no doubt, is understandable, for in times of pressure, the natural tendency is to revert to what is known and comfortable (especially in Weir's case where past behaviours had been successful). And certainly there was pressure. Over and above the usual problems that accompany establishing oneself in a new organizational
structure, the design of the high school teacher training program would have placed Weir in an interesting and challenging position. In spite of his not having taught in a university environment (except for summer school), as Head of the Teacher Training Program, theoretically he had seven senior, very influential faculty members teaching in "his" program. To impose on or to convince them to accept a different philosophy and new methodologies would have been a daunting task.

Perhaps this contributed to Weir's decision to concentrate his ambition outside the university. Weir's external involvement certainly suggests that he did not place an emphasis on the creation of a dynamic and new teacher training program. Of Weir's twenty-one year tenure at the University of British Columbia, he spent only ten years on campus! (Calam, 1994, p. 195).

On the other hand, Weir's repute may have been as important to the success of the high school teacher training program as were his actual actions. Just as the general public assumed that the BCTF spoke for "the teachers," so too did Weir, as "the" professor of education become the spokesperson for the program. This fusion of personal reputation with organizational status (what Larson (1977) referred to as "Amtcharisma") meant that as Weir's name became well-known throughout the province, so too did the university program for high school teacher training.

The impetus for the introduction of teacher training for secondary
teachers in the university setting was provided by a combination of factors — including personalities, politics, and socio-economic influences. By agreeing to offer a Summer School for teachers in 1920, the University of British Columbia Senate set in motion a chain of events with far-reaching implications. It was to lead many years later to the formation of a separate Faculty of Education. That this decision served to entrench the long-standing hierarchical training structure of teacher education was an inherent feature of the specific choice that was made.

NOTES

1. William Pakenham, a graduate from Ottawa Normal School, had been Principal of Toronto's Technical High School.

2. Just prior to this, at the end of July, the Board of Governors had voted NOT to establish a Faculty of Law citing that "finances have played the determining part." As for education the merits of the proposal had been reviewed by a special committee of the Senate and then by a special committee of the Board of Governors (UA, PR, letter dated August 3, 1923).

3. The Senate also approved a motion recommending to the Department of Education "that such steps as are necessary be taken to admit graduates in Agriculture to professional training for teachers' certificates on the same basis as graduates of other Faculties" (Minutes, p. 337).

4. The university is given a $5,625.00 grant to run the program.

5. After his "promotion" to the University, he later became Minister of Education in the Liberal Government (1933 - 1941).

6. Weir was quick to associate himself with the BCTF. He took out associate membership, agreed to serve on the Editorial Board of The B.C. Teacher, and agreed to speak at the Teachers' Convention.
7. Gaffield, Marks, and Laskin's (1989) study of Queen's in the 1890s showed a similar mix of students. Although students were relatively more privileged than the general population, their social origins were more "modest" and diverse than generally realized. Axelrod's study of Queen's in the 1930s confirmed this result.

8. Many of the "well-to-do" chose to attend the more established eastern universities such as the University of Toronto and McGill University.

9. Sherwood Lett, the first president of the Alma Mater Society, was a Senate member present at the 1926 meeting when the university Department of Education was created.

10. The government approved $1,500,000 to construct the new campus. The first classes at the new campus at Point Grey were held in the Fall of 1925 with a total enrollment of 1463 (including 57 in the Teacher Training Course).

11. By way of contrast, when the University of Alberta instituted school of education in 1928, it emphasized observation and practice teaching rather than methods courses. Students spent two days a week over a six-week period in a junior high school in the Fall Term and over an eighteen-week period in a public high school in the Winter Term (Chalmers, 1967, pp. 426-427).

12. James Earl Russell, Dean of Columbia Teachers' College in the early twentieth century had established these three subjects as the core of a teacher's professional knowledge. Teachers, he believed, should be scientifically "trained in the theories underlying educational practices" (as cited in Cremin, 1961, p. 174).

13. The University of British Columbia did not actually grant a Bachelor of Education degree until 1942 and it was not until 1956 that a Faculty of Education was formed and all teacher education was integrated into the university.

14. Sample salaries were as follows: Professor Peter Sandiford was paid $750, "with the understanding that the appointee meets all railroad and other expenses" (UA, letter from Coleman to Willis, January 1921, Faculty of Arts and Science, Roll 2); Dr. G. Weir, for 2 hours lecture daily for three weeks, $250.00 plus an allowance for return travelling expenses of $125.00 (UA, University Summer School, Roll 1, July, 1921).
15. The faculty wages were so low in 1921 that Klinck, in a meeting with John Oliver and four cabinet members (including MacLean), claimed to have "lost so many of his best men that the tone of the University was in danger of being lowered" (PA, Oliver notebook, February 26, 1921, p. 57). Although the wages had improved by 1923, they still were not as high as at some other Canadian universities.

16. Even for people in Vancouver, the University of British Columbia in its temporary headquarters at Fairview was not as well-known as it would have liked to be. Dr. H. F. Angus, on his first visit to the University of British Columbia in 1920, noted that the university quarters were "so inconspicuous that the street car conductor could not tell [him] where to get off" (1966, p. 165).

17. The 1936 University of British Columbia's Twenty-First Anniversary booklet had similarly stressed how the Summer Session had benefitted the people of the Province as a whole. One advantage was that "through the direct association of the teacher with the child and the home, the Summer Session is helping share with the whole community that cultural heritage which the University has in its keeping" (p. 20).

18. The Canadian Annual Review of 1919 noted that one of the problems the University of British Columbia faced was the tendency of Victoria students to go to Eastern or United States universities instead of the Provincial institution (p. 574).

19. Currie was a schoolteacher in British Columbia in the 1890s before he went into real estate. After the war in which he became commander of the Canadian Corps, he was appointed principal and vice-chancellor of McGill University.

20. In a May 28, 1923 letter to their membership, the Federation of University Women in Canada noted that women held less than one percent of the permanent positions in the Universities, in spite of the fact that they formed one-third of the total undergraduate student body (UA, PR, Roll 5).

21. In the Queen's submission to the Ontario government in 1919, one of the suggestions had been that "all grades of teachers be trained in the same classrooms, thus demonstrating a oneness in the teaching profession" (Rogers, 1972, p. 187).
22. In the 1920s, the library reform movement also recommended a change to this pattern.

23. The reputation of these instructors was so well-established that they did not need to worry about being considered as less significant because they were teachers of teachers (Leggatt, 1970).

24. One of Weir's personal friends, F. W. Bates, Director of Agricultural Education in Saskatchewan, believed that Weir's most serious flaw was getting along with others (Calam, 1994, pp. 189-190). After his vituperative comments about Normal School instructors in the Survey and his implied criticisms of his colleagues in his speech to the Conference of Canadian Universities in 1927, it is easy to understand why.

25. Margaret Moloney (1986) discussed similar problems that the nurses faced when directors of nursing programs became deans of university programs.
Chapter 8

Conclusion

This thesis has discussed the way in which three groups made decisions based on discrete sets of needs that fortunately could be met by pursuing a common course of action. Only through mutually supportive interactions of this triad – composed of the teachers of British Columbia and their professional association, the BCTF; the government and the Department of Education; and the University of British Columbia – could the occupation of teaching have been elevated to professional status, however tenuous. This process and the forces which drove it have been the focus of this study.

Like the British medical practitioners described here, the high school teachers' professional status was first secured by "heteronomous means, in the form of a monopoly secured through legislative tactics within the institutional arena of the state" (Witz, 1992, p. 74). It was only after the provincial Department of Education increased certification standards to include mandatory pedagogical training that the BCTF began in earnest to mobilize support to have this training for high school teachers located in the university. This decision was an important part of the BCTF's efforts to achieve two related goals: to enhance the teaching proficiency of its members, and to achieve for its members the
increased public esteem that could only be attained through professionalization.

Because the direction chosen by all parties was unavoidably influenced by the dominant professional ideology and prevailing patriarchal culture of the time, the institutionalization of teacher training in the university setting was limited to those potential high school teachers who had already achieved baccalaureate status. That is, the ideological premise that pedagogical training must follow the acquisition of theoretical knowledge effectively precluded any consideration of providing concurrent course offerings for undergraduates who might choose to seek simultaneous training for a degree and a teacher's certificate (cf. Rogers, 1972). Moreover, although some opportunities were created by the peripheral development of an extra-mural program, few people objected to the exclusion of elementary teachers from the institutionalization activity. As well as making it impossible for all British Columbia teachers to be united in a common professionalization project, this division of potential teachers into two groups gave symbolic sanction to the importance of providing university-based education for the high school teacher, while at the same time entrenching the principle that such training is not needed for "mere" elementary-school teachers.

Still, this exclusion of elementary-school teachers was arguably a crucial step in the attempt to establish professional status for teachers, for the ideology-driven assumptions about teaching young children (i.e. it is "women's work" and
thus simplistic and non-scientific) tainted everyone labelled a teacher. In a functionalist sense, full professional status could not be bestowed on all teachers as long as there persisted the assumption that teachers are born, not made. Although individual teachers may have been held in high regard, the lack of any real public respect for elementary school teachers in general seriously impeded any teachers' claim to possession of the esoteric scientific knowledge that was so important to achieving professional status in the early twentieth century. Thus, in order to generate esteem for some of its members, the BCTF quite pointedly (and with little apparent compunction) chose to pursue a course of action that assigned the remainder of its members an inferior status.

Even this move to credential-backed exclusivity was no final solution, for those teachers with university degrees still faced a difficult challenge in convincing the public to accept and endorse their claims of professional status. No one disputed that the responsibility for teaching the young people of the province was of vital importance, but many people still did not so willingly accept that specialized expertise was needed to complete this task. Although many of the general public readily admitted that they didn't want to become teachers, they believed that they could do so if they chose. Because so many adults had completed elementary education and, increasingly, at least part of a high school education, there was little mystique attached to the teaching process. Through their own "empirical" observations, citizens believed that they understood the
role of the teacher in the classroom.\textsuperscript{1}

Another obstacle was the teaching profession's dependence on the state for so many fundamental aspects of their occupation. In British Columbia, the autonomy of the teacher was clearly limited, for his/her conduct in the classroom was clearly circumscribed by the imposition of a provincially-set curriculum, external exams, and the ever-present requirement to pass regular inspection.\textsuperscript{2} Thus, because the state maintained the authority to educate, hire (and fire), and license all teachers, it was easy for the public to view them as just another type of salaried employee.

This commitment of the state to control teaching arguably derives from a fourth impediment to the professionalization of teaching: 100 per cent public funding. Unquestionably, the need to be (and to \textit{appear} to be) rigorous in its management of taxpayers' dollars made the state leery of abrogating either their responsibility for, or control over, the schools and the teachers. Still, the British Columbia government was not being consistent in its unwillingness to grant even partial autonomy, that is, self-management, to the teaching profession. After all, the government could have assumed the same power over other public-funded professions as they had over teachers (for example, doctors who worked in government-funded hospitals), but they chose not to (cf. Gidney & Millar, 1994). Michael Apple (1993) suggests that the basis for this discriminatory approach can be seen by asking one simple question.
... we do not think it is possible to understand why teachers are subject to
greater control and to greater governmental intervention, and what the
effects of such mandates are, unless we step back and ask a particular
kind of question. By and large, who are doing the teaching? (p. 122)

In British Columbia, at the time of this case study, the answer was clear:
women. Herein lies the fifth, and perhaps most severe, impediment to
professionalization. Public unwillingness to accord professional status to
teachers in general was greatly influenced by the feminization of the teaching
force that had begun in the nineteenth century. The proportional and numerical
superiority of women necessarily brought with it the low status that was
ideologically inherent in any predominantly female occupation in the 1920s.
Thus, even the better-paid male teachers were “demeaned” through their
affiliation with a predominantly female work force.

Neither the state nor the BCTF tried to reverse the ideological denigration
of women in order to combat this negative perception attached to a "ladies'
profession"; rather, they hoped that their professionalization project would
succeed by reducing the proportion of females in the profession.

The implication is of course, that if the semi-professions [teaching] were
staffed mainly by men they would be far more likely to attain professional
autonomy and closure – what might be called the machismo theory of
professionalisation. It might come as an interesting piece of news to
workers in mining, docks, and construction industries that their routine
submission to managerial command is a characteristically feminine
trait. But perhaps it is only the white-collar version of manhood that is so
staunchly resistant to the importunities of authority and all
encroachments upon personal autonomy. (Parkin as cited in Witz, 1992,
p. 61)
A sixth problem that impeded the drive to professionalization was the external perception that pedagogy lacked a "scientific body of knowledge," a perception held both within the academic community and in society. Because the knowledge base of education was an outgrowth of the social sciences which tended to have much less power and autonomy than did the natural sciences, the derivative teacher education has been similarly depreciated (cf. Barber, 1970). Indeed, this problem is one that seemingly has never been fully dispensed with. In spite of the many attempts made by those in the field of education to form a strong association with science, accusations of an absence of a clearly-defined body of theoretical knowledge continue even today to be directed at the study of pedagogy.

In trying to overcome these six related problems, teachers had to cope with one factor that further complicated their task: they were responsible to three discrete groups of clients with varying needs – the state, the students and their parents. The three groups were all important stakeholders deeply affected by the teachers' work in the classroom (cf. Leggatt, 1970). However, each group tended to have discrete and even conflicting criteria in their definition of "good" teaching. This pressure to be accountable to groups with very different demands made teachers particularly vulnerable to external pressure and criticism; frustratingly, meeting the expectations of one group could lead one of the other two groups to cite this as an instance of non-professional conduct.
For those confronting such obstacles in their pursuit of heightened social esteem, there seemed to be only one solution: try harder to professionalize. The very attainment of this goal would in itself help dispel many of the image problems that were bedeviling the professionalization project. And to all involved, it seemed clear that the single biggest accomplishment by which the status of the teaching profession could be sharply boosted would be the increased academic rigor in the training of teachers. As a corollary to this, teachers believed that if the pedagogical education of prospective high school teachers remained in the normal school, the professional recognition they sought was at best a distant hope. Therefore, they focused their energies towards influencing the state to institutionalize high school teacher training in the university.

Ironically, if teachers (and the Department of Education) had recognized the inherent weaknesses and even the injustices of the ideological assumptions that were inextricably attached to professionalization, and had decided to keep training for all teachers in the Normal School, they may have only entrenched other weaknesses and injustices. That is, if they did not act in line with the "view of dominant groups concerning legitimate knowledge" in the 1920s, they would not only "not attain professional 'benefits' but stereotypes about the occupational group [might have been] reinscribed" (Gitlin, 1996, p. 591). In essence, teachers felt they had no choice but to push for professionalization, even though they ran the risk of imposing higher standards on themselves without
getting the desired professional status.

Still, despite the impediments and the risks, the BCTF eventually succeeded in reaching their goal. The government agreed to the policy of training high-school teachers in the University of British Columbia, a decision that by and large met the needs of all three groups involved. For the provincial Department of Education, this policy was an overall success. Discord at the Normal School over training high school teachers ended; in the short term, control over teacher training was maintained and the number of high school teachers available for the schools of the province did increase (although not a great deal). For the BCTF, the policy achieved its goal of institutionalizing the pedagogical training of its high school teachers in the University of British Columbia. And for the university, the policy did prove to bring additional revenues and, although impossible to determine in any quantifiable sense, an increased public acceptance of its usefulness to British Columbian society.

However, although all three groups of participants in this professionalization project contended that their decisions were made in order to create more efficient schools to ensure a quality education for students, it is difficult not to be skeptical of these rhetorical claims of unselfish acts "for the public good." Even though students and teachers and the public good may well have been the intended beneficiaries of the reform, their best interests did not appear to be the central issue of this policy change. For one thing, the direction
chosen by the three parties involved in this professionalization project helped reinforce and perpetuate ideological assumptions and stereotypes about women and elementary teachers. Concurrently, power was more deeply and more "legitimately" entrenched in the authority of male administrators with university credentials. The public's ready deference to credentialled expertise led them to believe that the administrative decisions concerning the operations of the British Columbia school system were based on neutral and objective interpretations of factual information; thus, there was no concern over the sharpened division of power along gender lines. In this way, professionalization became "a facade for the continued, and in some cases even worsened, controls under (or despite) which teachers [had to] function" (Adler, 1985, pp. 15-19).

One of these "controls" took the form of a more clearly delineated hierarchy of power within the school system. Lee Stewart (1990) has suggested that when the university's Department of Nursing was established in 1919, (the first university in the British Empire to do so), it was not created to further any women's rights but rather because hospital administrators (mainly male) wanted to create a hierarchy within nursing. Although a hierarchy already existed in teaching (with elementary teachers on the bottom rung of the ladder), perhaps the chance to entrench this division was a persuasive factor in not only the provincial government's and the BCTF Executive's support but also the University of British Columbia's acceptance of the responsibility to undertake
the training of secondary teachers. Some theorists have suggested that by promoting the professional ideology, with its inherent bureaucratization and faith in expertise, administrators made their jobs easier by perpetuating this hierarchical system which gave them advantages (cf. Ozga & Lawn, 1981; Wotherspoon, 1989). Neo-Marxists went even further and proposed that administrative support of such an ideology had "the specific purpose of co-opting teachers into repudiating class struggle and accepting bureaucratic domination" (Filson, 1988, p. 305).

Regardless of whether or not there was a conscious motive to entrench the existing educational hierarchy of power with the privileged positions of male administrators, such entrenchment clearly was the result. The "horizontal and vertical gendered divisions already found within the educational community" were given "institutional force" (Gitlin, 1996, p. 591). The hierarchal positions of the University and the Normal Schools and the high school teacher and the elementary teacher were strengthened. Jacques Derrida could easily borrow such binary oppositions for his attack on the "far-from-innocent hierarchy of values which ... serves to exclude and devalue allegedly inferior terms or positions" (as cited in Bloland, 1995, p. 527). In the society of the 1920s, there is no doubt which were the inferior terms. Even today such a hierarchy is regarded by many people as a truism.
Contemporary Judgements

The pervasiveness of the professional ideology in twentieth century society is undeniable. It is easy to understand why teachers, immersed in these societal values and attitudes, strove to acquire professional status for their occupation. Yet many contemporary theorists are critical of the longlasting impact that the “success” of the professionalization project has had on both teachers and schools, pointing out the negative repercussions of teachers' search for status. For example, Jurgen Herbst (1989) believes that the pursuit of professionalization with its focus on university education for high school teachers and administrators was a mistake. By emphasizing the use of the “science of education” with all its associated trappings as a means of substantiating educational policy decisions, proponents of professionalization effectively limited a teacher's responsibility and prerogative to determine what took place in his or her classroom. Thus, student-teacher interaction in the classroom was overshadowed by the emphasis placed on curriculum and supervision and was correspondingly denigrated or ignored (cf. Urban, 1990). Even today, many educators, deeply committed to professionalization, continue to be obsessed with focussing on the task of providing even more “tangible” proof of the science of education (cf. Holmes Report, 1986; Welker, 1992).

The zeal with which attempts were made to link teacher training with
science led to an entrenchment of the "theory before practice" premise which many today see as counter-productive. This approach (established after Flexner's 1910 report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching) contributed to "an over-emphasis on the knowledge of theory and a consequent denigration of the knowledge of practice" (Murray, 1992, p. 509; Schon, 1983). Accordingly, Schon (1987) calls for a redefinition of professional competence and for the creation of a teacher education program where "reflective practitioners" use a problem-solving approach to learn to deal with the everyday situations they will face in the schools.

Closely linked to this continuing focus on science is the use of a university-granted credential to define both the possession of expertise and professional status. As David Brown (1995) argues, the credential itself has become more important than the skills it is supposed to represent. Ability is accorded recognition only when it is attached to some form of accreditation. Dennis Forcese (1986) agrees and further suggests that credentials are often required even when the skills attested to by the credentials are of negligible value to a specific education task. So too, teacher credentialling requirements have been increased even when conflicting evidence about both what prospective teachers should learn and how they should be taught prevents any consensus as to what the most efficacious form of education entails. And while no theorist would simplistically assert that teachers are born, not made, many do point out that
mere success in a credential-targetted program of studies does not magically assure proficiency in real teaching skills. Moreover, this privileging of the theorist over the practioner which distinguished professionalization, says Giroux, led to the ongoing reproduction of a "cult of 'experts and professionals'" which is inimical to good teacher-training. Like Schon, he believes that there is "a real necessity to break down the pompous and dangerous ideology of professionalism that is so ingrained in teacher education" (Giroux, 1981, p. 155).

The opportunity for such change is supported by a growing number of researchers who argue that the hierarchy of knowledge is now shifting. They claim that as the hegemony of science and the association with the metanarratives of progress [and] rationality ... are [being] undermined and deprivileged, the boundaries and hierarchies they sustain are weakened and move toward collapse. Thus, academic disciplines based on these metanarratives find their borders dissolving and the bases for their hierarchical structures attenuated. (Bloland, 1995, p. 537)

Thus, as all metanarratives are increasingly being exposed as fictions (albeit comforting ones), the social power accorded to the professional is deteriorating and what Peter Novick (1988) refers to as the "transvaluation of professionalism" is taking place (cf. Wexler, 1987).

There are two main frameworks for looking at the features and implications of this decline in the social power of the professions. One group of theorists proposes that the beginnings of "deprofessionalization" are apparent. Cecilia Benoit (1994), referring to the medical profession, suggests that this
deprofessionalization results from an organized challenge by many in the general public against “their would-be professional caregivers.” This consumer challenge applies equally to other professions, including teaching, and is certainly affected by the improved educational levels in society and also by the consumer's increasingly easy access to information through television, through books and magazines, and through the Internet. By reading about symptoms and alternative treatments for disease and watching "E.R." or even actual surgeries on the Learning Channel; by learning what questions "good" doctors should ask and what tests they should run; by learning the symptoms of dyslexia and attention deficit disorders and how "good" teachers should enrich their programs to ensure quality education for these children; by watching "Law and Order" and reruns of "Matlock" and "Perry Mason" — consumers of services have acquired the knowledge that makes them less predisposed to regard a professional's knowledge as sacrosanct. Now, with the purchase of a software package, anyone can engage in many of the functions that once had been the arcane preserve of lawyers, tax accountants, even doctors. In particular, the Internet has made it possible for parents, with curricular support, to school their children at home. Not a single credential or certificate or licence or other proof of "scientific" expertise is required! The mystique of special skill is changing, the charisma of the professional is waning, and monopolies of service are ending. For years the "central feature of all professions [has been] the motto: credat
emptor, let the buyer trust" (Hughes, as cited in Goodlad, 1984, p. 7). The new motto seems to be, let the buyer question. And it may soon be, “why buy? – anyone can do this.”

A second major group of professional decline theorists uses an economic argument and points out that a powerful corporate elite is gaining ascendency in the education process just as professionals are being discredited. This then results in proletarianization of those who previously had been looked on as professional. Supportive evidence for this rationale can be seen in increasing trends toward privatization (where teachers compete for jobs and are compensated in line with market forces) as well as in the pressure to be more entrepreneurial in order to withstand corporate encroachment (cf. Benoit, 1994). This is evident in schools advertising their special programs in attempts to draw students, the growth (and even increased public funding) of private institutions, the emergence of special-focus charter schools, and advertisements extolling the quality of teaching staff, etc. One significant impact of this advertising by professionals is a move from collegial to competitive relations which "weakens traditional controls over professional conduct and contributes to the destruction of public trust in professional ethics, wisdom, and competence" (Murray, 1993, p. 12). This loss of esteem for professionals who advertize parallels the same fate which befell those of the British landed gentry who were driven by fiscal need to engage in trade: almost immediately, these people’s hallowed status
disintegrated. In fact, the de-professionalization phenomenon seems to entail a "striking reversal of values: the aura that used to attach to the value of the public welfare [that is, the value of the common good], now adheres to anything that is private – or can be privatized" (Hall, as cited in Apple, 1993, p. 31).

Other critics see the changing status of professionals as being less sweeping. For example, Perkin (1989), while acknowledging that the authority of the professional seems to be "losing ground," contends that "because it has already gained so much ground to lose, ... the ebbing tide has taken back much less than at first sight appears" (p. 289). He colourfully adds that:

...the professional hierarchy has already imposed itself so firmly on contemporary society that, like the stricken whale, every effort to throw off the harpoon merely serves to make its barbed grip the stronger. Or, rather, the struggle is not about whether but about which professionalism will triumph... . (p. 289)

Will there always be a profession and a field of study that have more status than others? I have no doubt that there will be a field of study with greater social significance. I am not so sure that professions, described either in functionalist or socio-historical terms, will remain privileged. The public's increasing challenges to the merit of a mere credential, its growing refusal to regard "the expert" with awe and the steady decline of powerful professional monopolies are all signals that the "professional society" that so dominated the period under discussion in this thesis may be coming to an end.

Wexler (1987) suggests that the new form of social energy in a postmodern
world with its debunked metanarratives is closely associated with the centrality of the production, distribution and interpretation of information. The new elite seem to be those skilled in some aspect of digital technology. "Older" professions have become increasingly dependent on new occupations (for example, computer programmers, technicians, and electronics experts) to access specialized information, a dependence that is imposed by an esoteric, rapidly moving technology that further strips professionals of control over the nature, quality, and range of services that they are able to provide, thus exacerbating the pressures toward loss of autonomy. (Haug, 1977 as cited in McGuire, 1993, p. 11)

Many of these new occupations have an esoteric knowledge base not easily accessible to, or understood by, most of society (and certainly with a language of their own). But while this knowledge base most often is accrued through post-secondary education, there is much less emphasis placed on credentials; proficiency and successfulness, not degrees and licences, are the criteria which measure a person's social esteem. In short, the debate over the merits of the teachers' push to attain professional status may soon be moot, for the goal of public approbation could be contingent on a complex of new factors that have little connection with the ones historically associated with professionalism.

Summary

This thesis has examined the connection between the lure of professionalization and the institutionalization of high school teacher training in
the University of British Columbia. That high school teachers were successful in having their pedagogic training occur within a university is as much indebted to the chance overlap of three groups' interests as it is to the "natural" right of Education to be a university discipline. Moreover, in spite of achieving their goal of having their pedagogical training successfully located in the university, the profession of teaching was not well served in all respects as a result. Women were kept relegated to an inferior role. The training of the majority of the teachers in the province was effectively excluded from the university for thirty more years. And this institutionalization did not have an appreciable impact on the number, gender or academic prowess of the secondary teachers-in-training.

As this study has shown, public perception of the legitimacy of an occupation and the power it is accorded in the social structure is complex, for the "attitudes embedded in the social fabric take more than legislation to change" (Sheehan, 1995, p. 323). Ironically, teachers were collectively motivated by the ideology of professionalism, but they were thwarted in their ambitions to gain substantial public esteem by the very ideology of "teacher."

Today the future for teacher education is uncertain. A new narrative is being written and new questions are being asked. Will British Columbia teachers after their long struggle to attain professional status respond open-mindedly to contemporary challenges to professionalism and to the manner in which they are educated? Where will teachers be in any new hierarchy that
may be forming? Will the teachers' pursuit of the power grounded in cultural capital continue to buttress the ideology of professionalism and the hegemony of university training? Will the ideology of the "true teacher" continue to remain strong? Will it be an advantage or a disadvantage for the teaching profession if it does? These are some of the questions that face the policy makers for the twenty-first century.

As the type of knowledge associated with social power changes, so too must the framework for teacher education. In the early twentieth-century, with its metanarratives mandating rigorous scientific methods, teachers chose to follow an established pattern hoping it would lead them to professional success. To borrow from Robert Frost, perhaps this time they will take the road "less traveled by" and that will make "all the difference."

NOTES

1. Michael Skolnik (1991) suggests a similar parallel for the status of higher education as a field of study. "Every academic considers him/her self an expert on the subject and is thus unlikely to recognize the special expertise of those who specialize in the field" (p. 108).

2. Eliot Freidson (1986) draws attention to the fact that the one important "source of leverage practitioners have over their clients is their capacity to serve as gatekeepers of desired resources – with school grades..." (p. 213).

3. Even as late as 1946 critics at the Congressional hearing on the proposal to include the social sciences in the National Science Foundation referred to social science as "a non-descript category consisting mainly of reformist and propagandist ideologies and isms" (Barber, 1970, p. 322).
4. Sheehan and Wilson (1995) note that “unlike other professional faculties—medicine, law, business, engineering—faculties of education have not been as successful in gaining the respect of either the university or the professional community” (p. 313). Two other instances of criticism directed at those responsible for the training of teachers are as follows: in 1990, the Corporate-Higher Education Forum (To Be Our Best: Learning For the Future), held in Montreal, recommended ways be found “to raise the profile and status of faculties of education within the university community”; yet again in 1991, a Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education reported that “it is all too clear that research in the whole field of education is not highly regarded at most Canadian universities” (p. 89). (See also Clifford & Guthrie, 1988; Goodlad et.al., 1990; Murray, 1992)

5. Although the impetus for change came from budgetary restrictions, the University of Calgary began in 1994 to move towards its current Master of Teaching program which uses a model of practice- and problem-based learning centred on an integrated format that emphasizes being learner-focussed, field-oriented and inquiry-based.
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