

TOWN AND GOWN:
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE VANCOUVER INSTITUTE

by

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ABSTRACT

"Town and Gown: The Early History of The Vancouver Institute" is about the establishment and first twenty-three years of that adult education institution. It explores the social roots that help explain the creation of The Vancouver Institute in 1916, and follows its administrative development until 1939. The thesis argues that the initial promoters held mutually compatible interests that encouraged the growth of the institution, but later promoters were forced to decide not only on the Institute's physical location, but its symbolic association as well. The final decision was, to some extent, a political victory for those who held a particular view of The Vancouver Institute's proper social location.

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PREFACE

For there was also a good deal of lecturing...
Both specialists and intellectual privateers
supplied middle-class citizens of the age (who
were still deeply attached to the notion of
culture, although it had long since been robbed
of its former meaning) with large numbers of
lectures.¹

Hermann Hesse may have been reassured to learn that lectures were alive and well in the farthest reaches of the British Empire. Vancouver, British Columbia was between the wars home to a number of organizations that regularly provided public lectures: the local Art, Historical, and Scientific Association, University Women's Club, Canadian Club, Archaeological Society, Academy of Science, Alpine Club, Dickens Society, and many more. One institution, however, stands out as the most prestigious of its kind. Combining the status of the new provincial university with the airs and traditions of existing societies, The Vancouver Institute became the city's leading institutionalized academic lecture series.

The Vancouver Institute (VI) was established in 1916 as an organization to unite the efforts of local societies in providing a lecture series, hosted by the

¹Hermann Hesse, Magister Ludi, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969), 13.

fledgling University of British Columbia (UBC). A popular description of the VI has long been that it combined "town" (local citizens and their societies) and "gown" (university representatives) to provide the lectures, a distinction that would prove to have interesting implications. This thesis is about the combination of town and gown, and how the VI grew from an idea in 1916 to a stable organization by 1939.

What makes the VI especially interesting is that it continues today to provide Saturday evening lectures, despite considerable competition from television and other mass activities. During its September to April season, it regularly draws an average audience of seven hundred to lectures at its UBC location. Prominent academics, artists, and public figures address topics ranging from science and literature, to politics and painting. The Dalai Lama has attracted the largest audience to date, with some twelve hundred people packed into several lecture halls! Yet the VI, a product of its history, is still directed by councillors from both the UBC and Vancouver communities, and has never charged an admission fee.²

There has not yet been a systematic study of the organization. Maria Tippet, in her survey of cultural institutions, touches on several bodies and social events linked to the VI, but does not identify the Institute itself.³ Various popular histories of Vancouver and British Columbia similarly overlook the VI.⁴ If Patricia Roy is right to see the VI as integral to the

²Much of this information can be found on The Vancouver Institute annual program.

³Maria Tippet, Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

⁴For example, no mention can be found in Alan Morley, Vancouver (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1961). Nor is the VI referred to in Eric Nicol, Vancouver (Toronto: Doubleday,

cultural and educational leadership offered by the new University of British Columbia, then historians of province and city might want to reconsider its significance.⁵ Curiously, "The Vancouver Institute" is located on a map in Vancouver: A Visual History, with essentially no explanation.⁶

Harry Logan's popular history of UBC does make several references to the VI, but without elaboration.⁷ It also receives passing mention in the early UBC Alumni Chronicle and Peter Waite's biography of Larry MacKenzie.⁸ A number of prominent Vancouver residents who worked to support or to govern the VI also mention the Institute. M.Y. Williams, a UBC faculty member who worked for a number of years as a VI councillor, wrote a brief history of the VI's first two decades. It summarizes significant events in the VI's early life, but offers little explanation as to why these events occurred, and virtually no reference to the social setting. It does, however, reveal Williams's attitudes about the VI.⁹

The founding of the VI is listed in Gordon Selman's chronology of adult education in British Columbia, and Ian Hunt considers the VI's influence in

1978) or Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

⁵Patricia Roy, Vancouver: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1980), 121.

⁶Bruce MacDonald, Vancouver: A Visual History (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1992), 34. The VI is placed correctly on a street map but with an incorrect date and no explanation.

⁷Harry Logan, Tuum Est (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1958).

⁸"Makers of the University—Frank Fairchild Wesbrook," UBC Alumni Chronicle (Autumn 1955), 17. Peter Waite, Lord of Point Grey: Larry MacKenzie of UBC, (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 107.

⁹M.Y. Williams, "The History of the Vancouver Institute," Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, Vancouver Institute Collection, Box 1-2. (Subsequent references to this collection are labelled as VI Collection.)

his study of mutual enlightenment in Vancouver.¹⁰ Since the VI grew out of the adult education traditions of certain local "learned" societies and later became inextricably linked to UBC's extension efforts, a study of the VI would form a kind of bridge between Hunt's work on mutual enlightenment and Selman's history of UBC Extension.¹¹ Whether in the perspective of Vancouver, UBC or adult education history, the VI is a noteworthy but unexamined entity.

The VI deserves attention not just because it was the leading organization of its kind, but also for its active role in the evolution of several movements of the day: self improvement through mutual enlightenment, the development of adult education, UBC's growing influence, social issues (including labour, public health, and women's issues), and economic promotion. The VI attracted the support of people who were working to advance these social causes, and became itself a factor in their development. On the other hand, the VI embodied the educational efforts and interests of a wealthy and influential segment of Vancouver's population, and so became a part of the story of this group's contribution to the local society. The Vancouver Institute is integral to Vancouver's social and cultural history, and forms an impressive thread in the historical tapestry of adult education.

¹⁰Gordon Selman, A Chronology of Adult Education in British Columbia, Occasional Papers in Continuing Education, no. 14 (Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, 1977), 14. Ian Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment in Vancouver, 1886-1916" (Ed.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1987), 43. Hunt suggests that "the fragmentation of intellectual and cultural leadership was finally resolved in 1916 by the foundation of the Vancouver Institute."

¹¹Gordon Selman, "History of Extension Department University of British Columbia" (M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1963).

My study is limited in several respects. It is but one of many possible perspectives on the institution, offering an administrative/political account of the VI between 1916 and 1939, and on occasion referring to the social context for explanation. I wanted primarily to know what happened, and who worked to promote and to direct the VI and why. I ended by seeing the two main categories of supporter as town (citizens who had no strong UBC affiliation and their societies) and gown (those with strong UBC connections, primarily as faculty members). This thesis is not about the learning or motivation of VI audiences. It is not primarily about the economic life or significance of associated players, nor does it examine the aesthetic or intellectual implications inherent in the lectures themselves. It describes neither the psychological outlooks of those involved nor the demographic patterns of those who participated. Race, gender, and class matters could each be examined in relation to the VI, but remain for some future writer to consider.

This history is largely based on primary sources located in archival collections. The Vancouver Institute Collection at UBC Special Collections contains five boxes of material, including minutes, membership lists, treasurer reports, programs, scrapbooks, and correspondence. These materials are particularly suited to an administrative and political history of the VI, but admit of some social questions. The UBC Board of Governors, Senate, and Department of Extension collections (also at UBC Special Collections) document UBC's reasons to be interested in the VI. The records of several Vancouver societies that participated in the VI can be found in the Vancouver City Archives, and family papers are found both in the Vancouver and UBC archives. Finally, newspaper articles provide another source of VI information. Many of these are found as clippings

within the VI collection, whereas others are found in newspaper collections or microfiche files. Newspaper articles report on VI activities and provide biographical information. These primary sources, although not reliably representative and complete (particularly in the case of the Institute minutes), provide useful evidence as to what transpired in the VI and how the organization related to its world.¹²

Secondary sources are used where necessary to describe the VI's social setting. Several well regarded histories of Vancouver are supplemented with broader histories of British Columbia, and some national and international research is also included. These sources help to show the relation of the VI with other social developments occurring prior to and during the period of this study.

Chapter 1, Preparing for The Vancouver Institute, examines social currents prior to 1916 that helped give birth to the VI. Vancouver's mutual enlightenment and university movements, together with a rising educated population, provided the background for the VI's establishment and leadership. This leadership grew out of prior social circumstances, but came to have a character of its own. Chapter 2 deals with the period from 1916 to 1925, arguing this was a period of political balance between town and gown in VI affairs and thus a time of stability and increasing popularity. Chapter 3 describes the period from 1925 to 1929 as a moment when the VI became more town-oriented. Chapter 4, in contrast, describes an increasingly strong gown presence from 1929 to 1939. This evolution

¹²One conspicuous limitation in the VI minutes is that they rarely say much about debate in the VI. This was an amateur organization, and the voluntary secretary only wrote down what seemed interesting to him or her. The secretary for 1920-21 did not record any minutes at all.

began with the VI's symbolically important move to UBC's Point Grey campus, but became a predominant feature of the Institute after 1933.

Town and Gown is a first look at a long-standing Vancouver institution of adult education; at the time of writing, The Vancouver Institute remains a popular lecture series. If this study adds to an understanding of adult education in British Columbia, or encourages further studies of the VI or its role in the historical development of adult education in British Columbia, then it will have served a useful purpose.

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Despite the efforts of those who have been involved with this thesis, any remaining errors are my own responsibility.

CHAPTER 1

PREPARING FOR THE VANCOUVER INSTITUTE

Few institutions are born by fiat and thrust into the world completely unannounced. The Vancouver Institute, like other adult educational institutions, was not created in a social vacuum but grew out of its time and place. As Gordon Selman might suggest, it responded to the nature of the society within which it functioned.¹ To understand how the VI began and how it became important to those who organized and promoted it, one must examine Vancouver society prior to the VI's establishment in 1916.

Vancouver in the early 1900s was in many ways an unstable city. It had grown quickly in the century's first decade; the local economy boomed, development rose considerably, and population nearly quadrupled. Vancouver had become the undisputed metropolitan centre for Canada's Pacific Coast.² Native-born Canadians accounted for nearly half of the population, but a strong British and American population was also present.³ British and American social attitudes tested each other.⁴ Civic boosters seeking wealth jostled with suffragists and other reformers.⁵ Socialists

¹Gordon Selman, "The Canadian Movement in Context," The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1993), 35.

²Patricia Roy, Vancouver: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company), 51.

³Norbert MacDonald, Distant Neighbours: A Comparative History of Seattle & Vancouver, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987) chapter 4.

⁴N. MacDonald, Neighbours, 43.

⁵Roy, Vancouver, 51; Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 210.

challenged the developing economic order, and Vancouver, a "city of churches and churchmen," had a disturbing "immoral underside."⁶ Vancouver was dominated by eager young men on an "untrammelled quest for individual economic betterment."⁷

The 1912 depression shook the confidence of the previous decade, and the First World War had a direct effect on all aspects of life throughout British Columbia.⁸ Economic and social progress seemed available to many Vancouverites, but the methods to achieve them became less secure and less accessible. Well-organized financial and political interests competed; some of the leaders of those interests were strictly self-serving and profit or career hungry, whereas others were concerned with public welfare or cultural betterment. How could people realize their aspirations? In considering the VI, it is important to be aware of this sentiment: how might the VI be useful to achieve goals, whether for oneself, one's group, or one's cause?

Three aspects of early Vancouver society had a direct influence on the VI the mutual enlightenment movement, which gave rise to learned societies and their traditions of public lectures; the university movement, providing recognition of and support for an institution of higher education in British Columbia; and a rise in the number and kinds of formally educated professionals, who promoted a particular range of tastes and interests. The VI arose in the presence of these forces. The founders of the VI were

⁶Robert A.J. McDonald, "Working Class Vancouver, 1886-1914: Urbanism and Class in British Columbia," B.C. Studies 69-70 (Spring-Summer 1986), 34; Roy, Vancouver, 82.

⁷R.A.J. McDonald, "Working Class Vancouver," 65.

⁸Roy, Vancouver, 87; Barman, The West, 198.

arguably products of these forces. Lemuel Robertson, a resident in Vancouver for some time preceding the VI, and relative newcomer Frank Fairchild Westbrook knew and were sensitive to the forms of self-interest at play in Edwardian Vancouver. This chapter explores the historical background to the formation of the VI, and the significance of the work of Robertson and Westbrook.

Historical Currents

The mutual enlightenment, university, and professionalization movements were three distinct but interrelated social currents of the decades preceding the VI's establishment. Although they can be examined separately, they grew alongside each other and were drawn together in the VI. This was demonstrated by the those who were (or had been) active in these movements and became early VI promoters.

Mutual Enlightenment

The phenomenal growth of early twentieth century Vancouver was accompanied by various views as to the sort of city Vancouver should be. For some, economic prosperity and population growth were only part of what made Vancouver worthy. Some took very seriously the social and cultural improvement of the city.⁹ To that end, various cultural and learned societies appeared, almost immediately after Vancouver's incorporation, to foster "mutual enlightenment." As "learned" societies, they were largely

⁹N. MacDonald, Neighbours, 33. MacDonald argues that early Vancouverites were city-builders as well as profiteers.

concerned with amateur research and study of literary or scientific works. Many of those involved were prosperous and influential and, inspired by British ideals of high culture, helped temper what began as "an ugly, smelly city."¹⁰

Ian Hunt has described the emergence and growth of mutual enlightenment in Vancouver at the turn of the century. Through a number of organizations, participants sought to improve the cultural, aesthetic, and social condition of Vancouver residents. Although some organizations attended only to their own members, others turned their attention to the plight of the "unenlightened masses."

A number of groups discussed by Hunt would affiliate with the VI.¹¹ The first were the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association, Vancouver's oldest learned society; the Vancouver Archaeological Society; and the British Columbia Academy of Science. They were soon joined by the British Columbia Society of Fine Arts; the Natural History Section of the British Columbia Mountaineering Club, which would become the Vancouver Natural History Society; and the Alpine Club of Canada (Vancouver Section). The University Women's Club and the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council were also engaged in similar voluntary educational activities, although each had its own particular interests, and both groups became early supporters of the VI.

¹⁰Ian Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment in Vancouver: 1886-1916," (Ed.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1987); Roy, Vancouver, 29.

¹¹VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. Data from this collection are sketchy and generally biased to promote the merits of the VI. Few records describe the debates that transpired, although the recorded outcomes can be given some credibility. Inferences based solely on VI records are tentative at best.

It was typical of these groups to provide lectures to their membership or the general public.

These and other mutual enlightenment groups dealt with ideas and problems analogous to those informing the "new education" in turn-of-the-century Canadian schools. Among the "new education" topics were civics, science (particularly through nature study), physical education (including health and hygiene), and manual training.¹² Although the topics were interpreted to fit specific Vancouver interests, they can be found in the programmes of at least some voluntary scientific and literary associations. The Art, Historical, and Scientific Association certainly promoted civics, advanced as high culture coloured by imperial sensibility.¹³ Others, to varying degrees, promoted science (for example, the Archaeological Society, British Columbia Academy of Science, and the British Columbia Mountaineering Club), physical recreation (for example, the Alpine Club of Canada), health and hygiene (the Academy of Science included several physicians), or manual training (the Vancouver Arts and Crafts Association, Society of Fine Arts).¹⁴ These interests would in turn be expressed through the VI: lecture topics often included science, health, patriotism, mountaineering, or nature. The educational ideas at large in this complicated movement were championed by Sir William Macdonald as part

¹²Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), chapter 12.

¹³Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 41.

¹⁴Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," passim; Lawrence Ranta, "British Columbia Academy of Science," Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, British Columbia Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-1. (Subsequent references to this collection are labelled "Academy of Science Collection.")

of the "Macdonald/Robertson Movement."¹⁵ Macdonald, interestingly, helped to finance McGill University College of British Columbia in 1906.¹⁶ Isolated as Vancouver may have been, it was not without contact with educational ideas elsewhere in Canada.

The first participants in the VI were the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association (AHSA), the Archaeological Institute, and the British Columbia Academy of Science.¹⁷ The Institute was proposed as "a means to loosely federate and coordinate existing societies, to enhance each, harmonize related lines of endeavor, and cultivate new fields."¹⁸ Such a cooperative effort is significant in consideration of Hunt's conclusion that many of these groups (his "exemplars") ignored each other.¹⁹ The other mutual enlightenment groups previously mentioned petitioned for membership within a couple of months, and the Alpine Club and Society of Fine Arts joined a year later. The VI's appeal was based on its potential to further the interests of the affiliating societies.

¹⁵Sutherland, Children, Chapter 12.

¹⁶Harry Logan, Tuum Est (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1958), 18.

¹⁷Vancouver City Archives, Art, Historical, and Scientific Association Collection, Add. Mss. 336, Volume 2-10, Minutes, 23 March, 1916. (Subsequent references to this collection are labelled "AHSA Collection.")

¹⁸Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, Department of University Extension Collection, Box 3-1, Correspondence, 29 March, 1916. This statement was on the invitation to join the VI. (Subsequent references to this collection are labelled "UBC Extension Collection.")

¹⁹Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 271.

The University of British Columbia

The VI was indirectly yet powerfully influenced by the new University of British Columbia (UBC). British Columbia residents first considered a university as early as the 1870s, but took twenty-five years to agree on its location and constitution.²⁰ Not only did UBC's existence spark the VI, but the themes of the debates over the control and function of the university would also find expression in the VI.

Control of the proposed university was a popular issue for those who argued for a university. Before the provincial government decided in 1910 to locate the new UBC on the tip of Point Grey, McGill University had established affiliates in the province.²¹ Initially through Victoria College and Vancouver High School (which became Vancouver College), and, in 1906, McGill University College in Vancouver, McGill came to dominate higher education in British Columbia.²² McGill's dominance annoyed a few Vancouverites who had loyalties to the University of Toronto and upset those who wished a locally controlled indigenous university.²³ Although McGill played a crucial role in higher education in British Columbia, the ethos of the university movement was clearly dominated by a concern for local and

²⁰Logan, Tuum Est, 2; R. Cole Harris "Locating the University of British Columbia" B.C. Studies 32 (Winter 1976-77), 107.

²¹Harris, "Locating the University," 108-109.

²²Logan, Tuum Est, 23.

²³Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, President's Office/Wesbrook Collection, Box 1-5, Minutes, 1906. (Subsequent references to this collection are labelled "Wesbrook Collection.") The unknown author recorded the notes at a public meeting to discuss the 1906 legislation concerning McGill's role in higher education in British Columbia.

public control, and the movement to create a provincial university independent of McGill continued.²⁴ The VI would attract people who were keen on an independent and locally controlled educational organization. Furthermore, the VI would explicitly be an independent Vancouver institution, whereas UBC had to be shared with the Province of British Columbia. Civic boosters mixed with graduates of McGill University and the University of Toronto. Later, even the institutional presence of UBC would cause some to fear that VI autonomy was waning.²⁵

The functions of the university were related and controversial matters. This is unsurprising in a province experiencing tremendous growth and clashing immigrant cultures. Cultural differences, particularly between British and American ideals, would inform different perspectives on the importance of a university.²⁶ Although many felt that UBC should be a practical university for economic development because "the man who knew all about classics or literature was useless,"²⁷ others stressed the "character-building" role of a university. Henry Essen Young, as Provincial Minister of Education, was sympathetic to the former view yet declared that

²⁴Logan, Tuum Est, 31.

²⁵W.R. Dunlop to P.T. Timms, 17 October 1933, VI Collection Box 2-15. Dunlop stressed the separation between UBC and the VI.

²⁶Harris, "Locating the University," 125; Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1991), 137 ff. Among the middle-class, Barman suggests a division between leisurely, class-conscious Britons and more industrious Anglo-Canadians. N. MacDonald, Neighbours, 43, suggests, particularly in Vancouver, a clash between British and American social values. The division between British and Anglo-Canadian Vancouverites is also described by Roy, Vancouver, 60.

²⁷Daily Province, 4 February, 1908. Cited in Harris, "Locating the University," 113.

"character building was the great duty of a university."²⁸ Although the desire for a practical and scientific university predominated (a major reason why UBC was located near commercial Vancouver), it was balanced by the character-building goal, however defined.²⁹ Vancouverites felt their city to be the best university location for industrial and cultural reasons.³⁰ Both these sentiments would be expressed in the operation of UBC. When UBC finally welcomed students in 1915, it was unable to provide education in a number of practical fields, whereas the budget for Classics (a staple of liberal education) remained ample.³¹ The VI attracted support from individuals and groups interested in the industrial function of UBC (for example, the Chamber of Mines) as well as those interested in the cultural, character-building function (for example, mutual enlightenment groups).

The structure of the VI embodied these sentiments surrounding the establishment of UBC. Like the University, the VI was controlled by British Columbia citizens and not "foreigners." More importantly, it was controlled by proud Vancouverites interested in both the commercial and cultural

²⁸Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, Convocation Records, Box 1-2, Daily News Advertiser, 22 August 1912.

²⁹Logan, Tuum Est, 37; Harris, "Locating the University," 115, 116, also notes the American influence behind the practical and scientific views.

³⁰Harris, "Locating the University," 115.

³¹Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, UBC Board of Governors Collection, Box 1, Reel 1, Minutes, 11 January 1916. (Subsequent references to this collection are labelled "UBC Board of Governors Collection.") The social and occupational status conferred through knowledge of classics is discussed in Robert Gidney and Winnifred Millar Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 5.

virtues of education.³² The lecture syllabus itself blended practical and cultural topics. Early titles ranged from "The Evolution of Agriculture" to "The Romantic Period of English Literature."³³

Rising Professionalization

A third element in early Vancouver was an increasing professionalization of certain occupations. Although defining features of professionalization are difficult to identify, a "profession" here is characterized as an occupation requiring a knowledge base learned through a prolonged period of education, and carrying certain social status and influence.³⁴ Vancouver's formally educated population began to increase during the 1890s, as did the social leadership from professionals (particularly lawyers).³⁵ Such people brought not only their educated tastes, but also occupational concerns. Professionalization was becoming linked to university education, which could also lead to enhanced social mobility.³⁶

Traditional professions such as law, medicine, and clergy, and emerging professions such as engineering, architecture, scientific research, and

³²Harris, "Locating the University," *passim*. Harris stresses the point that British Columbia communities—particularly Vancouver—promoted their local interests vigorously.

³³VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs.

³⁴See Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 3, for a broader consideration of the difficulties in defining professions.

³⁵Robert A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders in Early Vancouver 1886-1914," (Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1977), 244.

³⁶Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 354; R.A.J. MacDonald, "Business Leaders," 230.

education were growing in Vancouver with the city's increased capacity to employ such people. The debates over UBC included arguments that education for professions, particularly those fields deemed scientific, be provided in a British Columbia university.³⁷ It is not surprising that several professional associations took interest in the VI, perhaps to influence UBC curriculum as it related to their occupations (the Architectural Institute of British Columbia, for example, sought to influence UBC's curriculum), or to gain access to a public forum that would enhance occupational status.³⁸

Although professionalization brought with it a set of narrowly occupational aims, it also indicated growth in the number of persons in the educated class who promoted certain cultural tastes.³⁹ A number of professionals were sympathetic to the mutual enlightenment movement and participated (often as leaders) in various local societies. As it attracted those of the mutual enlightenment and university movements, the VI also attracted those with certain occupational backgrounds. These people also brought with them a desire for occupational control and enhancement, and an interest in UBC as an institution to educate professionals.

³⁷Harris, "Locating the University," 115. The interest in science was popular in Vancouver as elsewhere. See also Westbrook papers, Box 1-4/5.

³⁸Vancouver, City Archives, British Columbia Institute of Architecture Collection, Add. Mss. 326, Vol. 1-2, Personal note, ca. 1914. (Because of organizational name changes, subsequent references to this collection are labelled "Architectural Institute Collection.") This note described suggestions for university courses in architecture. The charters of other VI affiliated professional associations explicitly stated an objective to enhance (or claim) the professional status, e.g. Vancouver, City Archives, Vancouver Teachers Association, Add. Mss. 994; B.C. Society of Fine Arts, Add. Mss. 171.

³⁹R.A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders," 244.

By providing expert, high-status lectures under the auspices of UBC, the VI attracted the interests of local learned societies, professional organizations, the University itself, and individual citizens. Table 1 shows those who were first consulted about or supported the VI in its first few months, and their mutual enlightenment, university, or professional (occupational) affiliations. Motives for affiliation will be described in the following chapter. Here, it is adequate to note that they shared similar backgrounds in the three areas in question.

Table 1 shows many affiliations held in common and how the three social movements combined in early VI promoters. Robertson, Scott, Bryan, Hill-Tout, Howay, Twizell, and Fripp had been mutual enlightenment leaders, and brought to the VI not only their own tastes and enthusiasms but also those of the local societies they represented. Wesbrook, Robertson, Davidson, both Jamiesons, Scott, Hill-Tout, Farris, Howay, Hall and Wade had been involved in the establishment of UBC. They brought to the VI a strong support for the University. (Another early UBC supporter, Robie Reid, would become active with the VI the following year.) Wesbrook, Robertson, Bryan, Twizell, Davidson, Hall, Matheson, Fripp, Anna B. Jamieson, and Klinck were among those concerned with aspects of professionalization. The people who met to plan the VI in early 1916 not only represented the mutual enlightenment, university, and professionalization movements, but many of them simultaneously embodied all three.

TABLE 1
PLANNERS AND FIRST SUPPORTERS OF THE VANCOUVER INSTITUTE,
SPRING 1916

Name	Occupation/Affiliations prior to VI establishment
Frank F. Wesbrook	UBC President
Lemuel Robertson	UBC Professor, Archaeological Institute,
Kennerly Bryan	Architect, Architectural Institute, AHSA
James G. Davidson	UBC Professor, British Columbia Academy of Science
R.F. Hayward	Businessman
Charles Hill-Tout	Archaeological Institute, B.C. Academy of Science, AHSA
Frederick W. Howay	Judge, AHSA, UBC Senate
Anna B. Jamieson	Teacher, University Women's Club, UBC
James H. McVety	Labour Organizer, Trades and Labour Council, UBC
W.P. O'Boyle	Catholic Priest, Local Societies
S. Dunn Scott	Editor News-Advertiser, Archaeological Inst., UBC Gover.
H.C. Shaw	Lawyer
Rev. E. Thomas	Methodist Minister
Sir Charles H. Tupper	Lawyer, AHSA
R.P.S. Twizell	Architect, AHSA, Architectural Institute,
Frederick C. Wade	Lawyer, AHSA, UBC Senate
G.A. Laing	High School Principal
J.W. de B./Evelyn Farris	Lawyer, AHSA/University Women's Club
A. Buckley	Assistant, Public Library
T.Proctor Hall	Physician, British Columbia Academy of Science
E.G. Matheson	UBC Professor, Architect/Civil Engineering
L.S. Klinck	UBC Dean, B.C. Academy of Science
R.Mackay Fripp	Architect, Architectural Institute, Arts and Crafts Assoc.
H. McLatchy	Businessman, B.C. Mountaineering Club, UBC Convocation
R.S. Sherman	Teacher, B.C. Mountaineering Club,
Helena Gutteridge	Tailor, Vancouver Trades & Labour Council
J.E. Wilton	Vancouver Trades & Labour Council
J.G. Lister	Educator, Vancouver Teachers Association
J. Fee	Educator, Vancouver Teachers Association
(Mrs.) J.S. Jamieson	University Women's Club; Alpine Club; (lawyer husband)
S.P. Judge	Commercial Artist, British Columbia Fine Arts Society
G.H. Hawkins	British Columbia Fine Arts Society
J. Ashworth	British Columbia Chamber of Mines
N. Thompson	Engineer, Businessman, B.C. Chamber of Mines

Source: a) VI Minutes;

b) Harry Logan, Tuum Est;

c) Membership lists, AHSA Collection;

d) British Columbia Academy of Science Collection;

e) Ian Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment in Vancouver 1886-1916";

f) UBC Convocation Collection, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver;

g) Henderson's Vancouver Directory, 1912-1920;

h) Vancouver Social Register and Club Directory (Vancouver: Welch & Gibbs, 1914).

Other personal associations were forged indirectly. For example, other members of the British Columbia Academy of Science, in supporting the VI, would likely have been allied with UBC personnel through the Academy's support for UBC.⁴⁰ Similarly, since the Vancouver School Board had played a role in the University Movement, and the Normal School had become affiliated with UBC, it seems probable that Lister and Fee, as the Vancouver Teachers Association representatives, were familiar with many of the others.⁴¹ (The Vancouver Trades and Labour Council also had an historical connection with UBC that lead McVety, Wesbrook and Klinck to work on an educational project for returning veterans.⁴² However, the Trades and Labour Council members likely did not know many of the other VI supporters on a congenial social basis.) Many of these people became the first VI Council, constituting a fairly homogeneous group. Of particular note are the connections with UBC; although there was no explicit or formal association with the University, VI members were clearly interested in UBC. Many were UBC faculty members, governors, senators, or just supportive citizens.

The homogeneity of the initial VI promoters was also indicated by their occupations. This included academics (Robertson, Wesbrook, Klinck), lawyers (Howay, Wade, Farris, and Tupper), scientists (Klinck, Davidson, Hill-Tout, Hall), clergy (O'Boyle, Thomas), architects (Fripp, Twizell, Matheson), journalists (Scott), school teachers or administrators (Lister,

⁴⁰Ranta, "Academy of Science," 3.

⁴¹Logan, Tuum Est, 16, 37.

⁴²Wesbrook Collection, Box 6-2, Joint Meeting of the Returned Soldiers and Committee on education and training, Minutes, 30 June, 1916. McVety, Wesbrook, and Klinck were named on the committee.

Fee, A.B. Jamieson), and artists (Judge, Hawkins). Tupper and Wade could also be counted among the city's business leaders.⁴³ If these occupations were not already accepted as professions (such as law or the clergy), they were among the aspiring professions (such as teaching or architecture). This occupational orientation reinforced the homogeneity of the early VI supporters.

The University Women's Club members also belonged with the other VI supporters. Although with a different political agenda, they were also university educated and socially well connected, either personally or through husbands or fathers, and reflected the trend for higher status women to participate in clubs and other social activities.⁴⁴ The only exceptions to this well-educated, socially well positioned, and ethnically homogeneous group were those representing the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council. As representatives of organized labour, McVety, Gutteridge, and Wilton reflected a somewhat different background from many others.⁴⁵ With this exception noted, however, the VI still drew chiefly from an upper middle-class socio-economic group of professionals.

It is worth noting the presence of Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, which further illustrates the social standing of the initial VI membership. As the pre-eminent social leader in early 1900s Vancouver, his presence would

⁴³R.A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders," 495, 500.

⁴⁴Barman, The West, 217, 225. A number of middle class women, notably Helen Gregory McGill, a UWC member, were socially and politically active; women's suffrage was a popular issue. See also R.A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders," 249.

⁴⁵McVety was not adverse to participating with UBC personnel on special projects of an educational nature.

help establish the VI as a socially prestigious organization.⁴⁶ Prior to the University's establishment, the University Club had been among the city's most prestigious and exclusive social clubs. The VI offered the hope of a prestigious "club" with university airs but without requiring particular credentials.⁴⁷ Although he was not particularly active in managing the VI's affairs, Tupper's presence indicated the educated, upper-middle class Anglo-Canadian leadership that was attracted to the VI.

Despite drawing on these social movements, the VI did not emerge spontaneously. It took the efforts of certain key individuals to establish and gather support for the new organization. These leaders also "fit" the social setting, but provided the essential impetus to found the institution.

Key Leaders

Two figures stand out as the prime movers of the VI. Lemuel Robertson, a UBC faculty member in 1916, and Frank Fairchild Wesbrook, UBC's first president, were responsible for initiating the VI and generating early enthusiasm. To understand how these two men came to such actions it is necessary to examine their relation to the social features and "forces" listed earlier. Robertson, a Vancouver resident since early in the century, participated in and was shaped by each of these features. Wesbrook, arriving in Vancouver in 1913, brought with him values and sensibilities compatible with them.

⁴⁶R.A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders," 240.

⁴⁷R.A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders," 226.

Robertson

Lemuel Robertson was widely known in early Vancouver educational circles as a Classics scholar and instructor in Greek and Latin. He also worked in various administrative roles to advance and support higher education in British Columbia.⁴⁸ Less well known, however, was his influence on British Columbia education. The VI was another project that illustrated Robertson's influence and administrative acumen.

Robertson had been a teacher in Prince Edward Island in 1891 and, after earning a degree at McGill University in 1899, moved to Vancouver to become a teacher at Vancouver High School. To advance his career, he took teaching positions at McGill affiliated Vancouver College in 1901, and in 1904 returned to his alma mater to teach and earn an M.A. degree.⁴⁹ While at McGill, he began negotiations to establish McGill University College of British Columbia. "McGill B.C.," as it became known, was legally constituted in 1906.⁵⁰ Robertson became a faculty member of McGill B.C.

Robertson was a well known supporter of McGill B.C., although some accused him of acting on behalf of his own and McGill University's

⁴⁸"Makers of the University—Lemuel Robertson." U.B.C. Alumni Chronicle, Spring 1955.

⁴⁹Vancouver City Archives, Newspaper biography of Lemuel Robertson, 8 July, 1941, Microfiche 8023; "Makers of the University—Lemuel Robertson," 18.

⁵⁰Logan, Tuum Est, 18-20.

interests.⁵¹ There is some truth in these accusations; Robertson would gain status and material rewards from a position in the new institution. For the first few years, he was the registrar and bursar for McGill B.C. before resuming his teaching duties.⁵² The desire for a locally controlled provincial university was certainly not extinguished by McGill B.C.'s presence, however, and Robertson played a part in establishing the University of British Columbia.⁵³ When UBC was finally established, Robertson became a faculty member.

Robertson was also active in mutual enlightenment societies, particularly the Vancouver Society of the Archaeological Institute of America.⁵⁴ By 1916 he was a prominent member of that group.⁵⁵ He was also familiar with members of the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association; by 1916 he was a well known lecturer for that group.⁵⁶ One can presume he fraternized with other mutual enlightenment figures who shared his academic interests, as

⁵¹Wesbrook Collection, Box 1-5, Notes, Public Meeting, ca. 1906. An unidentified audience member suggested that Robertson had played a major role in a "conspiracy" to create McGill B.C.

⁵²Vancouver City Archives, Newspaper biography of Lemuel Robertson, 8 July, 1941, Microfiche 8023.

⁵³Wesbrook Collection, Box 1-4. Robertson, as a member of the University Graduates Association, helped lobby for UBC. Also described in "Makers of the University—Lemuel Robertson," 18.

⁵⁴What began as the Vancouver Archaeological Society in 1911 became referred to as the Archaeological Institute in VI records after affiliation with the American organization. See Hunt, Mutual Enlightenment, 42, and the letterhead of correspondence Robertson to Wesbrook, Wesbrook Collection, Box 6-2, 23 June, 1916.

⁵⁵Correspondence, Lemuel Robertson to Frank Wesbrook, 23 June, 1916, Wesbrook Collection, Box 6-2.

⁵⁶AHSA Collection, Vol. 2-10, Minutes, 1916 passim.

well as others in the University Graduates Association.⁵⁷ Robertson's interest in education went beyond the confines of a formal institution.

There was, however, an important link between Robertson's career and his mutual enlightenment interests. His field of expertise was classics, and he lived at a time when some argued that "the man who knew all about classics or literature was useless."⁵⁸ In the debates between the utilitarian or character-building function of universities, it would be in Robertson's interest to stimulate support for classics, considered in British traditions to be hallmarks of a gentleman's liberal education.⁵⁹ Popular support for a provincial university that included classics would help ensure Robertson a career.

As an educator, Robertson would also be acutely aware of the attempts by teachers to claim professional status for their occupation. Formal teacher training in Vancouver's Normal School began in 1901, but did not find a place in UBC until 1920 (and only then as a summer session for elementary teachers).⁶⁰ As university education became a mark of a professional, teachers (particularly high school teachers) were looking to universities for professional status.⁶¹ The British Columbia university movement was aided

⁵⁷Wesbrook Collection, Box 1-4, List of Members, University Graduates Association.

⁵⁸Daily Province, 4 February, 1908. Cited in Harris, "Locating the University," 113.

⁵⁹Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 5.

⁶⁰John Calam, "Teaching Teachers: Initial Moves and the Search for UBC's First Professor of Education," Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'Histoire de l'Education 6, no. 2 (Fall 1994): 178; Nancy M. Sheehan and J. Donald Wilson, "From Normal School to the University to the College of Teachers: Teacher Education in British Columbia in the 20th century," Journal of Education for Teaching 20, no. 1 (1994): 25.

⁶¹Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 354.

considerably by the University Women's Club, several members of which (notably Anna B. Jamieson, mentioned above) were teachers; other teachers were also involved in the university movement.⁶² Robertson would be familiar with such people and their concerns, and stood to benefit from an enhanced teaching profession. His own academic status would be enhanced, as would his role in higher education.

Robertson worked not only as a teacher and scholar, but as a supporter of the institutions that employed him. He also worked to influence the general status of education in British Columbia, and became highly influential in provincial education. Not only did he participate in the politics of Vancouver College, McGill B.C., and UBC, but he later influenced educational policy at the Ministry level.⁶³ Later in life, he was described as "the power behind the throne in education in B.C." and as one of three Prince Edward Island immigrants who "virtually controlled Education in British Columbia for several decades."⁶⁴ The VI can be seen as part of Robertson's purposeful educational influence.

Robertson was credited with the idea for the VI, and like other early participants combined in himself mutual enlightenment, university, and

⁶²Wesbrook Collection, Box 1-5, Minutes, Public Meeting ca. 1906. A high school teacher is identified as favouring the "McGill project."

⁶³Valerie Giles, "Historical Evolution of the Office of Deputy Minister in British Columbia Education Policy Making 1919-1945: The Career of Samuel John Willis" (Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1993), 10. Robertson, almost single handedly it seems, was able to promote Willis's career in the upper levels of educational administration.

⁶⁴Vancouver City Archives, Newspaper Clipping, 16 August, 1941, Microfiche 8023; Peter Lawson Smith, cited in Giles, "Historical Evolution," 10.

professional interests.⁶⁵ He had a considerable stake in the union of the three, as his career depended on professional status in a university as a Classics professor. Robertson likely saw his personal interests and his educational aims as arising from a stable and unified educational presence, and the VI was conceived as a vehicle to help blend and stabilize various educational elements. Robertson's idea was, then, somewhat inspired. Although he would serve on the VI Council each year between 1916 and 1925 (and on the executive twice) and provide a few VI lectures, his influence was perhaps most significant in his conception of the VI and who was invited to participate.⁶⁶ His first step was to enlist the help of UBC's first President, Frank Fairchild Wesbrook.

Wesbrook

Frank Fairchild Wesbrook came to Vancouver as UBC's first president in 1913.⁶⁷ Although he had not been part of Vancouver's development during the previous decade, his background and sympathies fit well with the themes in question. He, like Robertson, embodied the cultural, industrial, and professional concerns that united in the VI, and was an ideal public leader of the new institution.

⁶⁵Wesbrook Collection, Box 5-11, Correspondence, Howay to Wesbrook, 9 March, 1916; Howay acknowledged receiving a "statement from Professor Robertson" regarding the founding of the VI.

⁶⁶Programs, VI Collection, Box 4-5. Council and Executive were listed on the programs. Robertson provided his first two lectures in 1920.

⁶⁷Logan, Tuum Est, 45.

Wesbrook had been raised in Winnipeg, and in 1890 graduated from the University of Manitoba in medicine.⁶⁸ His surgery career was halted after an accident resulted in an amputated finger, so he turned his talents to medical research in pathology. Between 1890 and 1895, he had various research positions at the University of Manitoba and then at Cambridge University, England. In 1893, as part of an ambitious Cambridge "open house" event to demonstrate the Pathological Laboratory, he revealed a penchant for public education and took to teaching in addition to his research and publication work.⁶⁹ In 1895, the University of Minnesota advertised a position for a scholar who was also a teacher, and Wesbrook got the appointment.

At Minnesota, Wesbrook addressed various public health and epidemiology problems as Professor of Bacteriology and Pathology. He also encouraged the development of new medical research facilities and ran the pathology laboratory. His appointment to the Minnesota Board of Health brought out a considerable diplomatic talent. In 1906 he became Dean of Medicine and, among other projects, established a university hospital, a nursing program, amalgamated three previously existing medical departments, and instituted a program of continuing medical education with a state-wide network of physician support. He became well regarded for his administrative statesmanship, and well known for his emphasis on the teaching function of a university.⁷⁰

⁶⁸William C. Gibson, Wesbrook and his University, (Vancouver: The Library of The University of British Columbia, 1973). Much of the summary of Wesbrook's career is taken from Gibson.

⁶⁹See also: Wesbrook Collection, Box 2-1, Memorabilia.

⁷⁰Gibson, Wesbrook, 28, describes incidents of his statesmanship.

By 1908, Wesbrook had a reputation as a leading educator.⁷¹ In addition to championing the teaching role of a university, he maintained that universities had an important role to play in nation building. State (secular) universities were, he maintained, important investments in the State. Such a view fit with, and was probably encouraged by, the University of Minnesota, an American land-grant university with a strong teaching history and extension.⁷²

When, in 1913, Wesbrook accepted the offer to become UBC's first President, his sensibilities would help him to fit in with the various social movements in Vancouver. He would be welcomed by those in the university movement for his support of secular, state sponsored higher education as a tool for "nation building," appealing particularly to those who supported the commercial/industrial function of UBC. However, his familiarity with British high culture would appeal to those concerned with the character-building function of education.⁷³ In selecting Wesbrook as UBC's first President, Young, Provincial Minister of Education, chose someone who portrayed a "noble character."⁷⁴ As a University of Manitoba alumnus, Wesbrook would

⁷¹Gibson, Wesbrook, 43.

⁷²James Gray, The University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1951).

⁷³Gibson, Wesbrook, 35, describes his views on state education; Telegram, Wesbrook to [Young?], Wesbrook Collection, Box 2-2, describes Wesbrook's views on nation building. During Wesbrook's Cambridge days he was in touch with a number of social leaders; see Memorabilia, Wesbrook Collection, Box 2-1. While in London, England, he fraternized with high-status individuals; see Gibson, Wesbrook, 8. Gibson, p. 19, also suggests that Wesbrook's educational philosophy grew out of his stimulating Cambridge days.

⁷⁴Gibson, Wesbrook, 46, suggests Young's critical role in selecting Wesbrook; Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, Convocation Records, Minutes, 21 August, 1912, describe Young's speech concerning the need for a "noble" UBC president.

not upset graduates of Toronto or McGill Universities regardless of their perceptions of a university's proper function.

Wesbrook would also appeal to professional interests. During his career, he had dealt with physicians, scientists, teachers, health-care workers, and public administrators, and, through his work in tying these professions to a university, participated in a trans-Atlantic campaign to have universities provide professional education.⁷⁵ Wesbrook would appeal to those seeking professional sanction from UBC.

Although a Vancouver newcomer, Wesbrook was well aware of the three features of Vancouver society and the politics that led into the VI. In addition to this awareness, Wesbrook was remarkably charismatic and administratively astute.⁷⁶ He appealed to concerned Vancouverites not only because of a background of compatible interests, but also because of his personal qualities. Many welcomed him as a guest lecturer.⁷⁷ Wesbrook was also favorably disposed to UBC's role in providing extension services. As a UBC administrator, Wesbrook's support for the VI seems particularly apposite given his views of universities as teaching institutions and his vision of UBC as "The People's University."⁷⁸ He came to see the VI as an

⁷⁵Konrad Jarausch (Ed.), The Transformation of Higher Learning, 1860-1930: expansion, social opening, and professionalization in England, Germany, Russia, and the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

⁷⁶For testimonials of Wesbrook's personality, see, e.g. Isobel Harvey, "Frank Fairchild Wesbrook," The University of British Columbia Graduate Chronicle, (May 1932); Gibson, Wesbrook, 28, describes incidents of his statesmanship.

⁷⁷Wesbrook Collection, Box 5 (unfiled), Day-book entries, 1916. His entries revealed a large number of public lectures for local societies, many that could be considered "mutual enlightenment."

⁷⁸Wesbrook Collection, Box 2-2.

extension service in a democratic vein.⁷⁹ Such views were consonant with the modestly progressive educational ideas expressed by the Vancouver School Board.⁸⁰

Wesbrook contributed to the VI's future stability in another way. Wesbrook's first university appointee and associate was L.S. Klinck.⁸¹ Klinck was initially active in the VI as the representative of the British Columbia Academy of Science, but would provide even greater support as President of UBC after Wesbrook's death.⁸² Klinck, with prior involvement in adult education, became a long-standing symbol of UBC's support of the VI as well as other projects.⁸³ He would also encourage UBC support of the Institute and provide many lectures, often speaking of the University's role in adult education.⁸⁴

⁷⁹Wesbrook Collection, Box 3-1, Report to Ministry of Education.

⁸⁰Jean Barman, "'Knowledge is Essential for Universal Progress but Fatal to Class Privilege': Working People and The Schools in Vancouver During The 1920s," Labour/Le Travail, 22 (1988).

⁸¹Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, President's Office/L.S. Klinck Collection, Box 10-1, Autobiographical notes, 5 November, 1959. (Subsequent references to this collection are referred to as "Klinck Collection.")

⁸²VI Collection, Box 1-5, Minutes, 16 March, 1916. (Subsequent references to the minutes of The Vancouver Institute are referred to as "VI Minutes.")

⁸³Klinck Collection, Box 10-1 passim. Klinck had been active in agricultural extension at the University of Minnesota and Macdonald College (McGill University). He also had some "social gospel" experience through the YMCA and Student Christian Movement. VI Collection Box 5-6, Vancouver Natural History Society Program. Klinck is listed as the Honourary President of that organization.

⁸⁴Klinck Collection, Box 1-2 passim, Biographical notes; Klinck's autobiographical note in Gordon Selman, "A History of the Extension and Adult Education Services of the University of British Columbia 1915 to 1955," unpublished MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1963, 24. Klinck's support of the VI and his professed commitment to adult education are described.

Wesbrook was a natural choice as leader of the VI. He appealed to various elements in Vancouver, and had the personal qualities to unite them. He became associated with the VI, and is often considered to have initiated it, although his role was not, and perhaps could not be substantive.⁸⁵ However, the role of Wesbrook cannot be considered without also considering that of Robertson. Wesbrook was a convenient catalyst in forming the VI, but Robertson provided the vision and initiative to bring the VI into existence. Wesbrook would have very little practical influence on the VI, but Robertson remained with it for nine years.⁸⁶

Conclusion

The Vancouver Institute fit the society in which it was born. It attracted three social elements in a city that had yet to stabilize social patterns. The VI appealed to various promoters not only because it was a workable idea, but because it would allow participants an opportunity to advance certain interests, whether for public betterment, private profit, or occupational stability. Could it satisfy all those involved? Was it a vehicle for social reform? University support? Public enlightenment? Occupational

⁸⁵Roy, Vancouver, 121; "Makers of the University—Frank Fairchild Wesbrook," U.B.C. Alumni Chronicle (Autumn, 1955), 17. Both works credit the VI to Wesbrook. VI Minutes, passim. Wesbrook helped launch the VI, but soon held only an honorary position and was rarely present at meetings.

⁸⁶VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. Robertson was an "at large" Counsellor for nine years.

enhancement? These questions awaited those who supported and promoted the VI.

CHAPTER 2

TOWN AND GOWN: STABILITY 1916-1925

Organizational stability may not be good for stories of political intrigue, but it does help an institution achieve its goals. The period 1916 to 1925 marks the time from the VI's establishment to the relocation of UBC to its Point Grey location, and was a period of stability for the VI. As described in chapter 1, the VI began with a plan that blended three contributing social forces not only by involving representatives of each, but by blending these forces in key individuals themselves. Various local societies affiliated with the VI throughout this period and, with one exception, maintained limited but sustained interest. With such a stable background, the VI was slowly able to increase its membership and lecture attendance, two of its goals. This initial period of stability ended when UBC, the VI's host, finally moved to Point Grey in 1925.

Lemuel Robertson and Frank Wesbrook, and the council they established, were central to the construction of a unified town and gown organization that retained its organizational and curricular form across nine years. The council in turn attracted and held the interests of various societies, and they are examined in this chapter. Finally, the gradual growth of the VI, as measured in membership and particularly attendance, is also noted. This growth was aided considerably by the organizational stability that the VI enjoyed.

Creating The Vancouver Institute

Although the VI arose from the confluence of existing social features, it owed a great deal to the initiatives of a few keen supporters. The VI was less a response to the demands of a potential audience than it was a promotion by the VI council, and the council (especially the executive) was the driving force of the organization.¹ A comment by S.D. Scott, a charter member regularly on the council, seems to capture this sentiment: "by gathering together large audiences an interest will be awakened and the rest will follow."² The context of this comment implies that "the rest" included a concern for membership and revenue to sustain the VI's activities. Scott's words underline the role played by the VI council; the success of the VI would rely on the efforts of the council to "make it work." Therefore, it is important to see how the council was established, and who was on it.

Robertson, Wesbrook, and eighteen unidentified people met on 25 February, 1916, to consider the VI. Fifteen people were subsequently invited to a meeting the following month, 16 March, to serve on an organizational committee to discuss a constitution for the VI that would lead to incorporation under the Benevolent Societies Act. Wesbrook personally invited some of those people who planned the VI on that occasion.³ Over the course of several more meetings in the spring of 1916, The Vancouver Institute was born.

¹VI Collection, Box 1-3, Constitution. The VI constitution awarded council the power to make most decisions.

²VI Minutes, 21 October, 1916.

³VI Collection, Box 1-5, frontpiece; Wesbrook Collection, Box 5-11, Correspondence, Howay to Wesbrook, 9 March, 1916; Hill-Tout to Wesbrook, 10 March, 1916.

The initial leadership for the VI came simultaneously from UBC personnel and local societies, in-as-much as Robertson and particularly Wesbrook were seen to represent both. Wesbrook was perceived as the instigator "acting upon suggestions of the representatives of the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association."⁴ Wesbrook was quick to portray the VI simply as a means to federate and coordinate existing societies, although he also had considerable interest in the welfare of UBC.⁵

The VI was immediately popular with certain very influential people. Businessman and amateur scientist Charles Hill-Tout was "greatly interested in the matter" and Judge F.W. Howay, a leader in academic circles, was "heartily in accord with the movement."⁶ Members of the University Women's Club "eagerly moved to endorse Dr. Wesbrook's scheme for the formation of an institution, to be known as The Vancouver Institute," and the Art, Historical, and Scientific Society members quickly pledged their

⁴VI Minutes, 25 February, or 16 March, 1916. Recorded by Judge Howay of the AHSA. This illustrates the sense of control town interests had.

⁵UBC Extension Collection, Box 3, Correspondence, Wesbrook to local societies, 29 March, 1916.

⁶Wesbrook Collection, Box 5-11, Correspondence, Howay to Wesbrook, 9 March, 1916; Hill-Tout to Wesbrook, 10 March, 1916. Howay was a leading academic not only in the Vancouver area, but in Canada as well. Over his career, he was known as an educator, lawyer, judge, and historian. He had executive roles in a number of national academic societies, so his involvement with the VI was significant. See William Kaye Lamb, "A Bibliography of the Printed Works of Frederic William Howay," B.C. Historical Quarterly, 8, 1 (January, 1944): 27-51. Hill-Tout was similarly regarded. See James E. Hill-Tout, "The Abbotsford Hill-Touts," (Vancouver: Unpublished, 1976).

support.⁷ Other organizations petitioned for and gained affiliation in June of 1916.⁸ Evidently the VI appealed to certain interests.

The first council in 1916 combined town and gown interests (see Table 2). The council elected from itself an executive; all six were intimately connected with the University either as faculty members, administrators, or governors. Two of the seven councillors at large also had intimate connections with UBC, and two more, as clergy, were probably supporters of the University.⁹ The initial leadership of the VI held interests in professions, UBC, and local societies. This balance between town and gown became a notable feature of the VI for its first nine years, and contributed to its administrative stability.

This mix of UBC and community interests would continue for the 1916-1925 period. During the first nine years, several names repeatedly made the council. Robertson remained consistently involved during those years, as did seven others (see Table 3). This stable core of councillors also had interests in professions, UBC, and local societies.

⁷Phyllis Reeve, History of the University Women's Club of Vancouver (Vancouver: The University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1982), 5. AHSA Collection, Vol. 2-10, Minutes, 28 March, 1916.

⁸VI Collection, Box 1-3, Constitution. Council was empowered to admit affiliates. VI Minutes, 22 June, 1916.

⁹The Anglican and Presbyterian (and to some extent the Methodist) Churches had a history of supporting universities, particularly affiliated theological colleges. A "liberal education" was considered by many clergy as an important part of preparation for the clergy. See also Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 153, 268ff. Clergy listed in the local Westminster Hall and Farthest West Review, Vancouver Public Library, Special Collections, generally had university degrees.

TABLE 2:
FIRST COUNCIL OF THE VANCOUVER INSTITUTE, 1916

Name	Occupation/Affiliations
Charles Hill-Tout (Exec)	Businessman; Local Societies; Proposed to UBC Senate
F.F. Wesbrook (Exec)	President UBC
F.W. Howay (Exec)	Judge; Local Societies; UBC Senate
Mrs. J. Jamieson (Exec)	University Women's Club; Education
T.Proctor Hall (Exec)	Physician; Local Societies; UBC Senate
Lemuel Robertson (Exec)	UBC Faculty Member; Local Societies
A. Buckley	Public Library Assistant
Evelyn Farris	University Women's Club; UBC Senate; Lawyer husband
Anna B. Jamieson	University Women's Club; Educator; (Future UBC Governor)
G.A. Laing	School Principal
E.G. Matheson	UBC Faculty Member; Architectural Institute; Local Societies
Father W.P. O'Boyle	Catholic Priest
Rev. E. Thomas	Methodist Minister

Sources: a) VI Minutes

b) Henderson's Vancouver Directory, 1917-25;

c) Wesbrook Collection, UBC Special Collections, Box 1-3;

d) Academy of Science Collection, UBC Special Collections;

e) University Women's Club Collection, Vancouver City Archives;

f) Architectural Institute Collection, Vancouver City Archives;

g) Logan, Tuum Est.

However, the council of 1925 was different from that of 1916. The number of UBC affiliated representatives declined over the years, such that by 1925 the council only had one UBC representative on the Executive.¹⁰ Four of the nine remaining at-large councillors had ties with UBC, but many were not very active with the VI.¹¹ Such a shift, however, did not have much influence on the operations of the VI during this period.

¹⁰VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs.

¹¹VI Minutes, *passim*.

TABLE 3:
LONGEST SERVING COUNCILLORS OF THE VANCOUVER INSTITUTE,
1916-1925

Name	Number of seasons serving VI Council, 1916-1925	Occupation/Affiliations
L. Robertson	9	UBC Professor, Local Societies
Robie Reid	5	Lawyer/Businessman; UBC Governor
S.D. Scott	5	Editor; UBC Governor; Societies;
John Davidson	4	UBC Professor; Local Societies
W. Plowden	4	(Husband businessman)
W.E. Banton	4	Lawyer
J.G. Davidson	4	UBC Professor; Academy of Science
Judge F.W. Howay	4	Judge; UBC Senate, Local Societies
Anna B. Jamieson	4	Educator, University Women's Club

Source: a) VI Minutes; (note: incomplete data for 1919-1920);

b) Henderson's Vancouver Directory 1917-25;

c) R.A.J. MacDonald, "Business Leaders in Early Vancouver."

Councillors never had to promote one interest above another during the first nine years; whatever differing views concerning the objectives of the VI there may have been were of little consequence. This stability arose partly from the fact that UBC, then at its Fairview location, was very much a part of Vancouver. There was no geographical separation between town and gown. The stability was also partly due to a sense that each element needed the other in some way. Even if Robertson had not himself been involved with issues of professionalism, establishing a university, or mutual enlightenment, these three reinforced each other. As we shall see, UBC required popular support, certain local societies sought enhanced status, and self-identified professions looked for ways to educate their own and to enhance their status.¹² The combination of people and interests in the VI

¹²Selman, "A History of Extension," 25, notes the precarious nature of public support for UBC. Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 140, describes the waning vitality of the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association.

was mutually beneficial. It is, therefore, no accident that these particular interests combined to make a stable organization.

By 22 June, 1916, council had prepared a syllabus of lectures for the 1916-17 season.¹³ It featured twenty-two lectures sponsored either by an affiliated society or the Institute itself, all lectures presented in the Assembly Hall of UBC at Tenth Avenue and Willow Street, Vancouver. Lectures were held Thursday evenings at 8:15 and used "lantern illustrations" (slides) or other media when appropriate. The format would not change for nine years, except to change lecture halls on the same UBC site, nor would the nature of the lecture topics vary appreciably (see Table 4).¹⁴

The lectures dealt primarily with popularized academic "arts and sciences" topics, as opposed to popular or practical topics. This fits with the general orientation of UBC as an "arts and sciences" university, further illustrating, perhaps, the influential if unspoken role UBC had on the VI.¹⁵ Not all planned lectures were delivered; one or two cancellations each season were not uncommon, and there were eight cancellations during the 1918-19 season, probably because of the influenza epidemic.¹⁶ Extra lectures were, at times, added, but these are not well documented.

¹³VI Minutes, 22 June, 1916.

¹⁴VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs.

¹⁵William Bruneau, "Toward a New Collective Biography: The University of British Columbia Professoriate, 1915-1945," Canadian Journal of Education 19, no. 1 (1994), 74.

¹⁶Logan, Tuum Est, 73. A number of UBC activities were cancelled that year.

TABLE 4:
LECTURE TYPES: 1916-1925

Season	Science	Arts	Social	Fine Arts	Other	Unknown
1916-17	7	8	3	3	0	1
1917-18	6	8	7	2	1	1
1918-19	7	9	2	3	1	2
1920-21	6	11	2	1	0	1
1921-22	6	9	5	0	1	0
1922-23	1	9	6	1	2	2
1923-24	5	10	1	2	3	0
1924-25	7	10	4	1	1	0
Totals	45	72	30	13	9	8

Source: VI Programs; see Appendix 1 for categorization guide

Note: insufficient data for 1919-20; data reflects planned lectures

Notes on categories: "Science" denotes lectures dealing with aspects of natural and applied science (physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, engineering, agriculture); "Arts" denotes lectures dealing with other academic topics (philosophy, history, biography, geography, literature); "Social" indicates lectures concerned with public social concerns (education, politics, economics, racism); "Fine Arts" denotes artistic performances or illustrations, or lectures on artistic topics other than literature (music or painting appreciation); "Other" includes topics of travel, mountaineering, industry, professions.

The initial organization of the VI and the organization's first nine years was marked by stability. The council began and continued as a fairly homogeneous group of individuals, and attracted compatible affiliated societies. Another stable element was the service itself. The format and content of the lectures varied little from a general pattern of evening lectures on academic topics.

Affiliates

The Vancouver Institute began as a union of the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association, the Archaeological Institute of British Columbia, and

the British Columbia Academy of Science.¹⁷ The unspoken (and never official) affiliate was, of course, the University of British Columbia. The affiliated societies had two explicit functions. One was to pool resources to provide high-quality lectures, and each affiliate was obligated to arrange at least one lecture each season; the other was to encourage members of the various societies to attend lectures and join the Institute.¹⁸ Other local societies were encouraged to affiliate under the same conditions, and some eighteen did so during the first nine years of the VI. Societies desiring affiliation had to petition for acceptance, although there is no record of any being denied membership.¹⁹

Why did the VI appeal to these local societies? Although a fully contextualized answer goes beyond the limits of this study, three tentative explanations deserve mention. One has to do with the interests of UBC. Although a "silent partner," UBC would gain from a project that would enhance the status of the University and its perceived relevance to the general public. Another was the desire of mutual enlightenment groups to acquire status and legitimacy, and to solidify both membership and economic base. They also stood to gain new audiences for their educational missions. Finally, professional groups affiliated to enhance the status of certain occupations, and also to raise (or control) the educational requirements of their occupations. As universities across Canada began playing a greater role in education for the professions, practitioners perhaps

¹⁷AHSA Collection, Vol.2-10, Minutes, 28 March, 1916.

¹⁸AHSA Collection, Minutes, 23 November, 1916; VI Minutes, 21 October, June 1916.

¹⁹VI Minutes, 18 April, 1916. The "founding" three societies were themselves "granted" affiliation by VI councillors.

felt that the VI would facilitate a good relationship with UBC.²⁰ These categories might overlap for certain people, as several councillors worked in professional occupations, had memberships in local societies, and participated in UBC affairs. The only noted exception is the British Columbia Academy of Science, which had both mutual enlightenment and professional status.²¹

The University of British Columbia

UBC administration did not claim a formal connection between the VI and the University.²² UBC was never listed on the programs as an affiliate, but was a key part of the Institute if only because it provided free space for most of the lectures and gave the organization its approval. UBC did, however, have considerable interest in the Institute, so deserves special attention.

Although the continued UBC presence was informal, it was deliberate. On Wednesday, 11 October, 1916, the UBC Senate approved a motion to create a committee

to deal with the relations of the University to learned
Societies and the utilization of the University buildings so

²⁰Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 355. By 1900, many of the traditional professions in Ontario were based on university education.

²¹The Academy of Science began primarily to share knowledge and improve communication between local and international scientists. In this sense it is a mutual enlightenment organization, and Hunt identifies it as such (Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 42). However, it began to advance the career status of scientists by, for example, encouraging science education in schools and criticizing "semi-scientific periodicals." Ranta, "British Columbia Academy of Science," 2; Minutes, 1932, 1934, Academy of Science Collection Box 1-13.

²²Such a claim cannot be found in VI materials, UBC Board of Governors, or UBC Senate minutes.

as to make the University a focalizing point for activities of the the University scope.²³

Three of the five members of that committee, Classics Professor Lemuel Robertson, Physics Professor James G. Davidson, and Botany Professor John Davidson (unrelated), became long-serving the VI supporters (see Table 3).²⁴ This suggests an awareness of the value in maintaining an association with the VI, and is reinforced by a passage on the early Institute programs stating that University visitors might become sympathetic to the University.²⁵ Furthermore, UBC claimed the VI as an extension project in the 1916 report to the Minister of Education, and UBC administration promoted Robertson as the "Unpaid Honourary Secretary & Organizer of (the) Vancouver Institute."²⁶ The UBC Extension Lectures Committee, formed in 1918, claimed any lecture provided voluntarily by UBC faculty members as a "University Extension Lecture."²⁷ The VI lectures, providing they remained free, thus qualified as extension lectures.

At a time when the fledgling University wanted public approval,²⁸ UBC and its faculty had a self-serving interest in the VI. However, Westbrook, Robertson, Klinck, and many of the UBC Professors who provided lectures

²³Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, University of British Columbia Senate Collection, Minutes, 11 October, 1916.

²⁴John and James G. Davidson continued to play important roles in the VI after 1925. See VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs; VI Minutes, *passim*.

²⁵VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs.

²⁶Westbrook Collection, Box 3-1, Report to Minister of Education, 1916.

²⁷UBC Extension Collection, Box 1-2, Report of the Extension Lecture Committee, 1923-24.

²⁸Selman, "A History of Extension," 25.

were noted educators. Wesbrook often stated educational goals he believed would help build a cultured, civilized, and prosperous British Columbia.²⁹ UBC Professors such as Robertson, G.G. Sedgewick and J.G. Davidson, were involved with the VI as councillors or lecturers, and were fondly regarded as generous educators.³⁰ John Davidson, UBC botanist and former Provincial Botanist, is particularly notable. In addition to his work as a VI councillor and lecturer, he engaged in an active schedule of public lectures to promote a message of natural theology.³¹ During a speech to the Vancouver Natural History Society 28 September, 1918, Davidson commented on civic development and encouraged Society members to replace a "primitive" motive of personal gain with a "higher" motive of generous giving.³² If UBC as an institution stood to benefit from publicity generated through the VI, the university's faculty members, advertised in Institute programs as UBC representatives, were often motivated by a sense of educational mission.

²⁹Wesbrook Collection, Box 3-2, Correspondence, UBC Board of Governors to Premier of British Columbia, 27 May, 1914. The Board (of which Wesbrook was then Chairman) suggested that UBC had a role in "destroying sectionalism and abolishing class prejudice" in the province.

³⁰"Makers of the University—Lemuel Robertson." Robertson is described as an enthusiastic and popular educator. Gordon Shrum, Gordon Shrum: An Autobiography, eds. Peter Stursberg and Clive Cocking (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 51. Shrum described Sedgewick as a highly appealing, if not famous, English teacher. Vancouver City Archives, Obituary, 25 August, 1948, Microfiche 2338. The author described J.G. Davidson with humanitarian superlatives.

³¹Vancouver City Archives, Transcripts, John Davidson Collection, Add. Mss 505, Box 1-1. (This collection is subsequently referred to as "Davidson Collection.") Davidson often spoke on the divinity of Nature, and the plan of the Architect of the Universe; for a discussion of natural theology, see Carl Berger, Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).

³²Davidson Collection, Vol. 1-2, Lecture Transcript.

Mutual Enlightenment Affiliates

All of the founding societies of the VI are mentioned by Hunt as mutual enlightenment organizations.³³ These organizations were the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association (AHSA), the Archaeological Institute of British Columbia, and the British Columbia Academy of Science. Mutual enlightenment organizations, as characterized here, exist for the express purpose of providing cultural or academic education for personal and/or civic improvement. Unlike professional organizations, they are not expressly concerned with occupational issues of control, status, or expertise. The University Women's Club and the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council are somewhat different in that each had explicit political goals, but remain included in this category because their involvement with the VI can be seen as education for general social welfare, rather than narrow occupational interests. For a complete list of mutual enlightenment affiliates before 1925, see Table 5.

Table 5 shows the Mutual Enlightenment societies that affiliated before 1925. Their relative interest in and support for the VI is suggested by the duration of affiliation and number of lectures provided.

³³Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 42.

TABLE 5
MUTUAL ENLIGHTENMENT AFFILIATES, pre-1925

Affiliate Name	First Season	Last Season	No. of Lectures
Art, Historical, and Scientific Association	1916-17	1932-33	24
Archaeological Institute	1916-17	1927-28	3***
B.C. Academy of Science	1916-17	1932-33	28
Vancouver Natural History Society*	1916-17	1932-33	24
Vancouver Trades and Labour Council**	1916-17	1920-21	6
University Women's Club**	1916-17	1931-32	13
British Columbia Society of Fine Arts	1916-17	1927-28	6
Alpine Club of Canada	1917-18	1932-33	15
Dickens Fellowship	1923-24	1932-33	6
Shakespeare Society	1923-24	1932-33	5
Vancouver Musical Council	1924-25	1928-29	4
British Columbia Institute of Authors	1924-25	1925-26	2
Women's Methodist Education Club	1924-25	1924-25	0

Sources: a) Institute programs, VI Collection Box 4-5. Dates are those printed on the programs, and do not necessarily indicate exact date of affiliation or standing. Data incomplete for 1919-1920.

b) VI Minutes

* Formerly the Natural History Section of the British Columbia Mountaineering Club

**Separate discussions follow

***Archaeological Institute co-sponsored unlisted lectures from time to time

Various motives may have encouraged these societies to affiliate with the VI. One was a motive of public service. The AHSA was incorporated with a mission of such service, even if it was defined in elitist terms.³⁴ The AHSA and the Society of Fine Arts cooperated to establish a museum and art gallery.³⁵ The Vancouver Natural History Society, through John Davidson's influence, had an element of public service.³⁶ Similarly, the University Women's Club had a moderate political agenda and was active in various civic

³⁴Journal of the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association of Vancouver, B.C. (Vancouver, Trythall & Son, 1917); Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 41.

³⁵AHSA Collection, Vol. 2-10, President's Report, 1916.

³⁶VI Collection, Box 5-6, Vancouver Natural History Society program. Davidson was the Society's founder and frequent president.

activities, from UBC and Arbor Day support to providing lectures to Women's Institutes.³⁷ Even the Academy of Science, although essentially catering to its members, was interested in promoting a public library and museum.³⁸

If there were motives of public service, there were also motives of organizational enhancement or survival. The VI may have been regarded by group leaders as useful to boost the status and membership of the respective organization. Hunt has argued that many mutual enlightenment groups were introverted, not actively seeking to engage those outside the group, but still in need of members.³⁹ The VI may have addressed these self-serving motives in two ways. By associating with UBC, the individual societies stood to enhance their status; and by contacting VI membership and audience attendance they stood to boost their own membership.

Status enhancement was a stated mission of the British Columbia Society of Fine Arts, but may have been implicitly prominent in the case of other societies.⁴⁰ The AHSA had in 1894 been the only "learned society" in Vancouver, but slowly lost pre-eminence to other specialized societies; its future, by 1913, was uncertain.⁴¹ The AHSA appealed to Vancouver's socially prominent citizens, but by the time The Vancouver Institute was

³⁷Reeves, University Women's Club, 4; Vancouver City Archives, University Women's Club Collection, Add. Mss. 872, Vol. 1-1, Minutes, passim. VI Collection, Box 3-8, Correspondence. The UWC often provided lectures for the Women's Institutes.

³⁸Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-2, Constitution.

³⁹Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 260.

⁴⁰Vancouver City Archives, British Columbia Society of Fine Arts Collection, Add. Mss. 171, Vol. 1-9, Constitution.

⁴¹Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 42, 140.

created, the demographics had changed.⁴² Vancouver's business leaders prior to World War I were no longer British, but Anglo-Canadian, and many of them supported the new University.⁴³ Although the British population of the city might be receptive to the patriotic aspects of the AHSA, its elite nature might be considerably less appealing. Social status amongst the business elite could also be enhanced slightly by university education, not membership in a local society.⁴⁴ Membership in the AHSA in itself no longer held the intellectual or social prestige it once did, even if many members remained socially prominent. In associating with other organizations with a claim to cultural or intellectual leadership—particularly UBC—the AHSA might hope to remain prominent and reclaim lost status.⁴⁵

The AHSA certainly did promote their association with the VI, providing members with the VI syllabus and reporting on their Institute contributions in separate journal entries.⁴⁶ The affiliation with the VI was a proud one that, even if it did not increase popular regard for the Association, may have increased members' satisfaction with their own organization.

Although the AHSA was in a position to reclaim lost prestige (or at least halt further losses), other societies could likewise benefit from an association with UBC. The local chapter of the Alpine Club of Canada was rather elitist before World War I, and may have felt challenged by the

⁴²Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 35.

⁴³R.A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders," *ibid.*, 278.

⁴⁴R.A.J. McDonald, "Business Leaders," 230.

⁴⁵Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 140, argues that the AHSA by 1916 was seeking public assistance for its activities, and the VI (along with the public museum) provided it.

⁴⁶AHSA Collection, Vol. 2-10, Minutes, 23 November, 1916.

presence of the more local and accessible British Columbia Mountaineering Club on the Institute program.⁴⁷ (The Natural History Section of the British Columbia Mountaineering Club was the forerunner of the Vancouver Natural History Society and an early affiliate of the VI.) The Alpine Club would continue to promote its interest in alpinism through the VI, flavoured by British sensibilities recalling the "Golden Age" of British mountaineering.⁴⁸

Several affiliates were worried about declining membership, and were interested in recruiting new members. For example, the membership of the AHSA was in decline;⁴⁹ one would imagine a wish to recruit. The University Women's Club wanted a list of Institute members' names, with the implied purpose of recruitment to University Women's Club membership.⁵⁰ Several mutual enlightenment societies were looking for members, and hoping to keep their old ones, as Hunt argues for in the pre-war period.⁵¹

There was also a web of personal interest behind the affiliation of mutual enlightenment societies with VI; a few examples demonstrate the role certain individuals played in "tieing together" the Institute. Personal concerns often touched on occupational as well as recreational interests,

⁴⁷Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 42, 157. The Alpine Club was also listed in the Vancouver Social Registry and Club Directory (Vancouver: Welch & Gibb, 1914).

⁴⁸John Cleare, Mountains (London: Macmillan, 1975), 16.

⁴⁹AHSA Collection, Vol. 2-10, Minutes, 1916 passim.

⁵⁰Vancouver City Archives, University Women's Club Collection, Vol. 1-1, Minutes, 18 September, 1916. The agenda for that meeting reads: "3. Names for membership, 4. Vancouver Institute ask for list of members names."

⁵¹Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 255.

and, of course, UBC plays a continuing role. Occupational interests, however, will be discussed more deeply in the next section.

Judge Howay, for example, was a UBC Senator and an AHSA director. He was also well known as a historian. Howay advocated affiliation of the AHSA with the VI.⁵² R.P.S. Twizell was also an AHSA director, and, as a practising architect, had an occupational interest in UBC as he helped affiliate the AHSA with the VI.⁵³ Robertson, as discussed, was a UBC professor and Archaeological Institute executive member. Various members of the University Women's Club—Anna B. Jamieson, for example—had interests in the University and in teaching occupations.⁵⁴ Architect R. Mackay Fripp was a keen civic developer, mutual enlightenment leader, and was instrumental in securing the Institute affiliation of the British Columbia Society of Fine Arts.⁵⁵ W.R. Dunlop would also become a key player in the Institute; he was a local director of Dingwall, Cotts, & Co., a prestigious shipping firm, and held leadership roles in the AHSA and Shakespeare Society, both affiliates of the Institute.⁵⁶ Many UBC scientists were in the British Columbia Academy of Science, including John Davidson who also had

⁵²AHSA Collection, Vol. 2-10, Minutes, 23 March, 1916.

⁵³AHSA Collection, Vol. 2-10, Minutes, 28 March, 1916. Occupational interests are described in the next section.

⁵⁴UWC members often had professional spouses (e.g. Evelyn Farris was wife of a prestigious lawyer), or were aspiring professionals themselves (e.g. Anna B. Jamieson was a teacher with administrative and political aspirations).

⁵⁵Vancouver City Archives, Microfiche 1617, Vancouver Daily World, Biographical sketch of R. Mackay Fripp, Spring 1891. Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 32. Fripp was prominent in the Vancouver Arts and Crafts Association as well as the Society of Fine Arts. Vancouver City Archives, British Columbia Society of Fine Arts Collection, Vol. 1-1, Add. Mss. 171, Minutes.

⁵⁶Vancouver City Archives, Microfiche 2667, Obituary, Vancouver Sun, W.R.Dunlop, 6 January, 1941.

a strong influence on the Vancouver Natural History Society and some influence on the Alpine Club of Canada.⁵⁷ The affiliated societies shared a number of personal contacts with each other. These people were involved not only with various mutual enlightenment societies, but also aspects of professionalization and the role UBC might play in that regard.

An indication that the VI could be used for personal status enhancement comes from A.B. Jamieson. Jamieson was often an Institute councillor, and when she sought public office in the 1930s, a biographical sketch listed her as "one of the regular speakers for the Vancouver Institute."⁵⁸ Similarly, J.G. Davidson's and Dunlop's obituaries both note their involvement with the VI.⁵⁹

Not every organization or individual that affiliated with the VI fit, despite the inclusive sentiments of the VI constitution.⁶⁰ The Vancouver Trades and Labour Council (VTLC) was a short-lived anomaly. It was an organization of trade union activists, that, in the VI, found itself among local capitalists and professionals.⁶¹ The VTLC's initial presence can be explained on a

⁵⁷Ranta. "British Columbia Academy of Science." Davidson Collection, Vol. 3-2, Correspondence, Davidson to Alpine Club President Munday. Davidson and Munday corresponded frequently.

⁵⁸Vancouver City Archives, Major Mathews Collection, Add. Mss. 54, Vol. 13, Microfiche 02322, Biographical sketch (possibly press release) of Anna B. Jamieson.

⁵⁹Vancouver City Archives, Microfiche 2667, Obituary, Vancouver Sun, W.R.Dunlop, 6 January, 1941. Obituary, J.G. Davidson, 25 August, 1948, Vancouver City Archives, Microfiche 2338.

⁶⁰VI Collection, Box 1-3, Constitution. The constitution offered affiliation to any group that claimed to support the objects of the VI.

⁶¹Long-serving VI councillor Roble Reid, for example, was at one time considered among the city's business leaders; Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, present during the VI organizational meetings, was the city's quintessential social and business leader in Vancouver in the early 1900s. See R.A.J. McDonald, Business Leaders, 240, 495. Early

number of accounts. Organized labour was generally a moderate force in Vancouver, reformist rather than revolutionary.⁶² Its moderation was expressed in the wish to reform schools; education and schooling were generally welcomed by working people, and education should (various labour leaders thought) be free and accessible to working people. Schools offered the promise of social mobility.⁶³

UBC was yet another schooling institution that might have had room for working people, and leaders of organized labour, once opposed to the institution, were not averse to cooperating with University personnel.⁶⁴ J.H. McVety, a socialist who dominated the VTLC from 1905 to World War I, was, as described earlier, a part of an educational advisory committee for returning WW I veterans with Wesbrook and Klinck.⁶⁵ Wesbrook and McVety also had other unspecified dealings, and McVety was invited to the early Institute organizational meetings.⁶⁶ Organized labour was also

councillors Howay, Wesbrook, Robertson, Jamieson, Farris, O'Boyle, Thomas, and others were all "professionals," either by occupational status, university education, marriage, or a combination.

⁶²R.A.J. McDonald, "Working Class Vancouver." Despite some increase in union activity during WWI and the strikes of 1918, as described in Roy, Vancouver, 93, this moderate status continued into the 1920s, as described by Jean Barman in "Knowledge is Essential for Universal Progress but Fatal to Class Privilege: Working People and The Schools in Vancouver During the 1920s," in Labour/Le Travail, 22 (Fall 1988): 9.

⁶³R.A.J. McDonald, "Working Class Vancouver," 63; Barman, "Knowledge," 14, 50.

⁶⁴Barman, "Knowledge," 50. Harris, "Locating the University," 122. The VTLC in 1904 opposed UBC as a class institution.

⁶⁵R.A.J. McDonald, "Working Class Vancouver," 61.

⁶⁶Wesbrook Collection, Box 3-2, Engagement diary entry; Wesbrook Collection, Box 5 (unfiled), Diary entry, Wednesday, 26 April, 1916, . VI Minutes, 25 February, 1916;

accustomed to presenting regular Sunday speeches.⁶⁷ It was therefore not odd that the VTLC would associate with what appeared to be a university initiative to provide a familiar service. The VI appeared as a potentially useful vehicle to increase the legitimacy of Labour's messages.

Another personal connection was made through Helena Gutteridge, former president of the Tailor's Industrial Union and prominent member of the VTLC.⁶⁸ Gutteridge was also acquainted with various members of the University Women's Club and other social reformers through her work for women's suffrage.⁶⁹ Gutteridge became one of the VTLC's representatives to the VI. Gutteridge, however, may have contributed to a strained relationship between the VTLC and The Vancouver Institute members.

As the VTLC representative, Gutteridge immediately introduced her suffrage views to Institute councillors when she suggested in 1916 that "ladies be added to the Syllabus." Although this motion was carried, Mrs. Jamieson of the University Women's Club countered that subjects, not lecturers, should decide the syllabus, and this suggestion met with council approval.⁷⁰ Had Gutteridge not previously fallen out with other middle-class

Wesbrook Collection, Box 5-15, McVety to Wesbrook, 31 March, 1916. McVety acknowledged Wesbrook's invitation to help plan the VI.

⁶⁷Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, Microfilm AW1 R2594, Article, B.C. Federationist, 1918. Throughout 1918 there were such speeches, and no indication is given that this was a new practice.

⁶⁸Irene Howard, The Struggle for Social Justice in British Columbia (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 107, 129.

⁶⁹Howard, Struggle, 61, 64.

⁷⁰VI Minutes, 22 June, 1916. Judge Howay recorded this exchange.

suffragists (such as could be found in the University Women's Club), her views might have found more support from VI councillors.⁷¹ Several years earlier, she had also written an angry editorial denouncing the views of Father W.P. O'Boyle, who had spoken on the topic of women's suffrage.⁷² O'Boyle was an Institute councillor in 1916, and he and his supporters probably did not work well with Gutteridge. Gutteridge's conflicts with these members of Vancouver society and her activities as a trade unionist meant that she was not generally amongst supporters in the VI, and that may have hampered the VTLC's relationship with the VI.

In February, 1919, VI executive discussed ways of insuring that affiliate presentations would be in accordance with the objects of the institute, giving the executive "the power to reject the discussion of contentious or otherwise unsuitable topics."⁷³ The VTLC presentations of that year— "A Working Man's Viewpoint of History" and "Women's Relation to the Labor Movement" (presented by Gutteridge herself)— appear as the most likely candidates for "contentious or otherwise unsuitable" lectures.⁷⁴ No representatives of the VTLC were at that meeting to debate the issue. In February 1922, the council discussed whether unrepresented affiliates should be stripped of membership; the VTLC was the only group at that

⁷¹Howard, Struggle, 64. Gutteridge mixed socialism and unionism with her suffrage activism, resulting in severed connections with middle-class suffragists.

⁷²Howard, Struggle, 75.

⁷³VI Minutes, February 1919. (John Davidson recorded the minutes.)

⁷⁴VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. The VTLC lectures were the only overtly political lectures that season. See Appendix 1 for a comparison of lectures for the 1918-19 season.

time whose name disappeared from the list of affiliates.⁷⁵ Given the tensions between organized labour and capital in Vancouver at the time, it is not surprising that VTCL representatives would fit poorly with other VI affiliates, and it seems likely that the other Institute members did not welcome labour activists into their midsts.⁷⁶ In return, the VTLC probably found the VI to be of little use to its cause.

In considering the case of the VTLC's involvement in the VI, it is worth noting that the recording secretary for most of the meetings in which the issue arose was John Davidson.⁷⁷ Davidson had a peculiar background for a university professor. His parents could not afford to provide a university education for him, so he had no academic degrees at all. He learned botany as a young man working at Scottish universities and earned a position in the Royal Linnean Society. The recommendations of others had secured him a position as British Columbia's Provincial Botanist in 1911, and in 1916 he was "taken over" by UBC when that position was terminated.⁷⁸

Davidson, as previously mentioned, often promoted a religious message.⁷⁹ He also professed a disdain for profiteers, developers, moneymakers, and especially real estate agents.⁸⁰ The background and aspirations of Davidson

⁷⁵VI Minutes, 23 February, 1922; VI Collection Box 4-5, Programs. The VTLC was not listed on the 1920-21 program; records for 1919-20 are missing.

⁷⁶Roy, Vancouver, 93, 94; Barman, West, 220.

⁷⁷VI Minutes, *passim*.

⁷⁸Davidson Collection, Vol. 3-5, Autobiographical notes for UBC employment application; Wesbrook Collection, Box 6-3, Note.

⁷⁹See note 31.

⁸⁰Davidson Collection, Vol. 1-2, Personal notes.

suggest, therefore, that he may have been sympathetic to the lives of working people, and less concerned with the aspirations of businessmen and professionals. As recording secretary, he perhaps wrote with less class antagonism than might have been the case with another recording secretary. His observations concerning the VTLC, then, have a certain added credibility.

Local "mutual enlightenment" societies affiliated with the VI for several possible reasons. These included a genuine mission of public service, but also a desire for enhanced public image, member satisfaction and recruitment, and the social, intellectual, and occupational interests of key individuals. Much of the anticipated status boost would come from UBC's presence. Many years later, on reflecting upon the VI's location in UBC facilities, an George Winter claimed that the University confers a "standing (and) suggestion of a connection which we could not have if we met elsewhere."⁸¹ Groups interested in literary topics mixed with those interested in scientific topics. Even groups whose enlightenment objectives were more openly political were welcome, although the middle-class University Women's Club was considerably more welcome than the working-class Vancouver Trades and Labour Council. Of course, many who supported the affiliation of their society with the VI had interests in other areas, most notably in professional education. It becomes necessary to consider why professional associations might wish to affiliate.

⁸¹VI Collection, Box 3-8, Correspondence, G. Winter, to ? [1935]. Winter was then President of the VI.

Professional Affiliates

Despite considerable problems in defining "professional," it will here be considered (after the manner of Gidney and Millar) as a restrictive term denoting practitioners of certain prestigious occupations. In considering the motivations of the five professional organizations to affiliate with the VI before 1925 (see Table 6), one can, as with the other affiliates, examine public and private interests. But although individuals from each organization may have been motivated by public service, there is little to suggest that public service was a prime objective of these organizations. The Vancouver Teachers' Association and the Architectural Institute, as described by their constitutions, were strictly interested in the welfare of their members.⁸² The Chamber of Mines existed to promote and to support mining.⁸³

TABLE 6:
PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION AFFILIATES, pre-1925

Name	First Season	Last Season	No. of Lectures
B.C. Academy of Science	1916-17	1934-35	28
Architectural Institute of British Columbia	1916-17	1931-32	4
Vancouver Teachers Association	1916-17	1934-35	7
British Columbia Chamber of Mines	1916-17	1934-35	11
Institute of Mines and Metallurgy	1924-25	1927-28	3

Sources: a) Programs, VI Collection Box 4-5. Dates are those printed on the programs, and do not indicate whether the society was in good standing or not. Data incomplete for 1919-1920.

b) VI Minutes

⁸²Architectural Institute Collection, Constitution (1914); Vancouver City Archives, Vancouver Teachers' Association, Add. Mss. 994, Constitution (1916).

⁸³Academy of Science Collection, Box 2-28, British Columbia Chamber of Mines Brochure. The Chamber of Mines was not a professional association such as the Architectural Institute, but it did tie in with the "professional" status of engineers and metallurgists.

The motivations of these organizations to affiliate with the VI were more due to their self-interest. One of their concerns was education for the professions. The occupations represented had particular but sometimes changing educational requirements.⁸⁴ By 1900, it was evident that universities in Ontario—and by extension, much of English Canada—were playing an ever-increasing role in preparing men (usually) for professions. Not only were universities used by traditional professions (such as law, medicine, or clergy), but occupational groups aspiring to professional status (such as engineering and teaching) sought university education.⁸⁵ In the case of British Columbia, that included resource exploitation occupations such as mining, agriculture, and forestry.⁸⁶ UBC was destined to play a role in professional education.

The VI attracted a number of occupational groups that looked to UBC for educational preparation. The VI may have been regarded as useful to these groups in securing a congenial relationship with UBC as negotiations over educational programs continued.

The young UBC had few professional education programs in its earliest years, and some local occupations wished to influence how the programs developed.⁸⁷ The Architectural Institute was one of these. One member

⁸⁴Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, xi.

⁸⁵Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 345.

⁸⁶Harris, "Locating the University," 113. UBC was established with considerable sentiment that expert resource developers rather than lawyers and doctors were to be trained.

⁸⁷Logan, Tuum Est, 66, 67.

wrote of the development of architect training programs in Canadian universities, and noted his suggestions for appropriate courses at UBC.⁸⁸ Later, the Architectural Institute would make recommendations to the UBC Senate.⁸⁹ Teachers were likewise interested in how teacher training would develop at UBC. The trend across Canada was for teacher education to move from normal school to university or college control.⁹⁰ UBC had, by 1923, made preliminary arrangements for teacher training.⁹¹ The presence, over the years, of Anna B. Jamieson in the Vancouver Teachers' Association, The Vancouver Institute, the University Women's Club, and UBC governance also suggests a connection. If the VI could in any way help occupational groups form a beneficial relationship with UBC, it seems likely it would be done.

The mining industry had little need to worry about whether UBC would cater to their needs. Like its predecessor, McGill University College, UBC provided programs in mining and related technologies from its beginning.⁹² It continued to do so, and UBC faculty members were often active in local industry organizations; some were active in the Chamber of Mines.⁹³

⁸⁸Architectural Institute Collection, Vol. 1- 2, Personal note. The author is unidentified, and the date can be inferred to be 1914 as it also discusses the proposed re-incorporation of the Architectural Institute that took place that year.

⁸⁹Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, University of British Columbia Senate Records, Box 1-1 Minutes, 17 December, 1924.

⁹⁰Sheehan and Wilson, "From Normal School to the University," 33.

⁹¹John Calam, "Some Historic Trends in British Columbia Teacher Education" (Unpublished, 1991), 1.

⁹²Logan, Tuum Est, 66. UBC Board of Governors Collection, Minutes, 11 January, 1916.

⁹³VI Collection, Box 2-13, Correspondence. The Chamber of Mines' letterhead names several UBC faculty members as vice-presidents.

Several of these affiliates had, as part of their constitution, an aim to elevate the status of the occupation. The British Columbia Architectural Institute and the Vancouver Teachers' Association explicitly sought to enhance their occupational status.⁹⁴ The British Columbia Academy of Science, comprised largely of career scientists, indirectly sought status enhancement through support for the University, a public library and museum, but, as a group, was not unified in its desire for general publicity.⁹⁵ The British Columbia Chamber of Mines seemed less concerned with social status than it did in promoting the mining industry.⁹⁶ If the VI could help with such objectives, then it would be worth affiliation. Some, like the Architectural Institute, evidently thought it worthwhile to maintain affiliation despite contributing few lectures to the syllabus.⁹⁷

However, the VI also played to an older, perhaps more British, conception of the "professional gentlemen." In this view, the professional learned the practical skills of the occupation through some method of apprenticeship, yet possessed other qualities of "genteel education and social or political influence."⁹⁸ A number of "professional gentlemen" were attracted to the VI. "Professor" Charles Hill-Tout, Professor John Davidson, and W.R. Dunlop (all British born) are three examples of Institute supporters who

⁹⁴Architectural Institute Collection, Constitution (1914); Vancouver City Archives, Vancouver Teachers' Association Collection, Add. Mss. 994, Constitution (1916).

⁹⁵Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-2, Constitution; Box 1-13, Minutes, describe discussions as to the necessity of the Academy at all with UBC present.

⁹⁶Academy of Science Collection, Box 2-28, British Columbia Chamber of Mines Brochure.

⁹⁷In considering the Architectural Institute, the lucrative contracts for designing the University cannot be overlooked.

⁹⁸Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 153, 206.

lacked university credentials, yet there is no indication that they saw themselves as any less professional than peers with university degrees.⁹⁹ For these "professionals" and others, the value of the VI was less in the possibility of UBC association, and more in the opportunity to exhibit the characteristics that truly made them "professional gentlemen."

One early and continuing problem Institute promoters faced was that of getting the affiliated societies—whether mutual enlightenment or professional—to organize a lecture.¹⁰⁰ In the first four seasons, the VI itself sponsored approximately one quarter of the lectures and the remainder were sponsored by the affiliated societies. However, from the fifth season on (1920-21), the Institute sponsored half or more of the season's lectures. This reinforces the idea that the the council, rather than the affiliated societies, largely determined the lectures. Minutes of the meetings suggest that affiliate representatives rarely attended, and the at-large councillors came as individuals rather than as envoys of another organization.

Growth

The Institute minutes record membership and audience attendance at lectures. This, it seems, was regarded as an indication of growth and success. Although records were poorly kept, there is enough to suggest a general pattern of development.

⁹⁹Robinson, "The Great Fraser Midden," in The Great Fraser Midden, by the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association (Vancouver: Art, Historical and Scientific Association, 1948); Davidson Collection Vol. 3-5, Autobiography; Vancouver City Archives, Microfiche 2667, Obituary, W.R. Dunlop, Vancouver Sun, January 6, 1941. These sources list academic standing (they were all Fellows of noted academic societies), but no university degrees.

¹⁰⁰VI Minutes, 22 September, 1921; 16 March, 1922. Letters in Box 1 contain frequent requests to provide lectures.

Membership and attendance figures suggest the VI grew slowly between 1916-1925 (see Table 7). Membership was keenly sought, as this would increase revenue through a nominal membership fee. Good audience attendance was also important, partly because it enhanced the lectures (at least one lecturer complained about poor turn-out), and partly because of the belief that attendance preceded membership.¹⁰¹

TABLE 7
MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE, 1916-1925

Season	Membership	Annual Attendance
1916/17	56	-
1917/18	64	1746
1918/19	56	1234
1919/20	60	2084
1920/21	41	-
1921/22	37	-
1922/23	104; 155*	3360
1923/24	-	3850
1924/25	82	4200

Sources: a) Membership lists, VI Collection Box 4-11

b) VI Minutes

c) Secretary's report, 1925, VI Collection Box 1-4.

note: these numbers are largely estimates and approximations.

* these conflicting numbers are found in VI Minutes, p. 123.

The membership roster suggests some of the growth of the VI, although it also indicates that growth was not particularly overwhelming. While records disagree in exact numbers, the VI began with some fifty-six members, and, for the years records were kept, reached a height of one hundred and four

¹⁰¹VI Minutes, 16 March 1922. In her Secretary's Report, Winnifred Plowden told of an unidentified lecturer who described the VI as "the worst run thing" in Vancouver after his poorly attended lecture. VI Minutes, 21 October, 1916.

members in the 1922-23 season.¹⁰² Membership rose and fell, suggesting a fairly small number maintained the meagre finances of the Institute. By 1925, however, membership had increased slightly.

More telling are the recorded attendance numbers. Approximate annual attendance steadily rose from 1,746 in 1917-18 to 4,200 in 1924-25.¹⁰³ In 1922, the VI secretary wrote

That there is something inherently worthwhile about the Institute the attendance this year proves. Generally speaking, the room has been comfortably filled, while in several cases 'standing room only' testified to the popularity of the lectures."¹⁰⁴

Average audience attendance that rose from seventy-five to one hundred and seventy-five suggests an increasing popularity of the Institute lectures.

In the VI's second year, one observer suggested a link between the sponsoring society and the lecture: "the size of the audience appears to vary according to measure of life and activity of each organization."¹⁰⁵ This suggests that affiliates did an important job in promoting the Institute lectures and building a support base during these early years.

¹⁰²Membership lists and secretary reports vary a little. See VI Collection, Box 4-11, and VI Minutes, *passim*.

¹⁰³VI Minutes, Secretary's Annual Report, 1917-18; 27 April, 1925.

¹⁰⁴VI Minutes, 16 March, 1922. Secretary Plowden often wrote flatteringly of the VI.

¹⁰⁵VI Minutes, Secretary's Annual Report, 1917-18.

Conclusion

The first nine years of The Vancouver Institute saw the Institute's beginnings and first efforts to carve for it a secure niche in Vancouver society. Robertson, acting from a position allied with the new provincial university (UBC), proposed a project that built on several educational currents in Vancouver, and that fit its social mood. Robertson found support for his idea from social leaders who felt that The Vancouver Institute would be useful in a variety of ways: to provide a public educational service, to enhance personal or group status, to promote the new university, or to secure an educational alliance with UBC. These people were in a good social position to arrange for different aspects of the VI's operation, from creating a syllabus of lectures and enlisting speakers, to rousing public support and handling meagre finances. The key to initial success, however, was that all these interests were simultaneously present and not generally contradictory.

The distinctive feature of the VI during this early period was organizational stability and a primary concern for the success of the VI as defined by membership, attendance, and the presence of distinguished lecturers. There was little internal debate or argument, and VI leaders busied themselves with the tasks needed to make the Institute successful. With the exception of the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council, affiliated bodies were content with VI organization and the perquisites of association even if they did not contribute greatly.

No one debated relative benefit. Although UBC was never formally affiliated, it claimed the VI as an extension project. The VI council felt this to be no threat to the organization or themselves. Neither did council worry

about the different aims of mutual enlightenment or professional organizations.

Part of this success lay in the geographic proximity of town and gown. Boundaries were not easily defined in physical or symbolic terms. With the removal of UBC to Point Grey, however, a new chapter began in the life of The Vancouver Institute. It was characterized by internal disagreement brought on by UBC's move, and resulted in four years of instability and dwindling support.

CHAPTER 3

LEFT IN TOWN: 1925-1929

UBC's move to Point Grey in 1925 was practically and symbolically significant to The Vancouver Institute. Because UBC had provided a free location for the VI, Institute councillors faced a choice between following the university or finding a new, perhaps expensive, location for the lectures. The union of town and gown had earlier presented no problems, since the gown was physically located in the town. UBC's 1925 move had a symbolic as well as an economic and geographic significance; the University had appeared as the "natural" host of the VI, and separation from UBC would sever this symbolic connection. With UBC's move, different views became apparent regarding who would symbolically claim the VI, town or gown. These contrasting views were not over the nature of the VI's service, which remained relatively unchanged, but over who would appear as the provider of the service.

The four years 1925-29 were marked by a strong town influence. This is implied in the decision to remain in Vancouver, rather than relocate to Point Grey, and is suggested by the composition of the VI council and the attitudes of some of those councillors. During this time, the VI was without a regular lecture hall and, with except for one season, suffered decreased membership and attendance. Because of town influence, it was also a time when UBC representatives tried to draw the VI "back" to UBC. The question of location was eventually decided in favour of UBC nominally for reasons of economic and administrative survival, but in another and more

explanatory sense was a political victory to regain the symbolic association between the VI and UBC.

A Town-Oriented Vancouver Institute

As described in chapter 2, one of the noticeable changes in the VI council in the years prior to 1925 was the gradual reduction in the number of UBC personnel in executive roles and on the VI council. This may have been a factor in keeping the VI located in Vancouver proper. At the 1924-25 Annual General Meeting, Professor John Davidson indicated UBC's offer to house the VI at Point Grey, and hoped that the offer would be accepted. Outgoing VI President William R. Dunlop, an accountant, countered with a recommendation to accept an offer from the Vancouver School Board. This was subsequently moved by lawyer Capt. A.J.B. Mellish, seconded by lawyer W.E. Banton, and the motion was carried by those in attendance.¹ The VI would not move to Point Grey. The choice to remain in Vancouver meant weakening the symbolic relationship with UBC, and forced the VI to find a suitable auditorium for its lectures. The VI did not fare well under that arrangement, as a decline in membership and lecture attendance indicates, but was still able to attract new affiliates.

Council

During the 1925-29 period, the most persistent council members were town representatives. Only professors J. Davidson and J.G. Davidson provided an ongoing direct connection with UBC, although other UBC

¹VI Minutes, 3 April, 1925. Minutes of the 1924-25 Annual General Meeting.

faculty members held intermittent positions on the VI council. Robertson, a constant presence since the VI's beginning, was gone. Klinck remained as Honourary President, but had little to do with running the VI.² Table 8 presents those who had a persistent presence in the VI during this time.

TABLE 8
LONGEST SERVING COUNCILLORS OF THE VANCOUVER INSTITUTE,
1925-1929

Name	Number of seasons serving VI Executive, 1925-1929	Occupation/Affiliations
Samuel Petersky	4	Medicine; B.C. Medical Assoc.
J.G. Davidson	4	UBC Professor, Academy of Science
C.O. Scott	4	Newspapers
Cpt. A.J.B. Mellish	4	Law, Local Societies
G.A. McGuire	4	Dentistry
J. Davidson	3	UBC Professor, Van. Nat. History Soc.
W.R Dunlop	3	Accountant/Businessman, Local Societies
Norcross	3	Newspapers
Rev. F. Maccaud	3	Anglican Clergy
Anna B. Jamieson	3	University Women's Club; Educator
Edith Idle	3	B.C. Music Teachers Assoc.

Source: a) Councillor lists on programs, VI Collection, Box 4-5

b) Wrigley's Vancouver Directory, 1925

c) Art, Historical, and Scientific Association Collection

It would be easy for a town-oriented council in a time of civic promotion to remain in Vancouver.³ UBC's Point Grey campus was poorly developed, was in a less populated area with poor public transportation, and was in

²VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. Klinck provided the occasional lecture, but otherwise is not recorded in the minutes as being present at meetings, nor is he named on any committees. However, his relationship with UBC faculty and Academy of Science members who participated with the VI Council suggests a possible indirect influence.

³Roy, Vancouver, 92.

effect "a mudhole." ⁴ If UBC's role in the VI was merely to donate a free lecture hall, then a move to the campus might not seem worthwhile. This view of UBC as a source of a free venue overlooks the symbolic role UBC may have played, and was promoted by some councillors between 1925-29.

Two people during this period were particularly active in promoting town's claim on the VI. W.R. Dunlop, an accountant with business interests in shipping and Samuel Petersky, a medical doctor, were particularly active in the VI during this period.⁵ Both served on the council executive, and Petersky kept the VI minutes for several years, recording the enthusiasm and attitudes of the council.

Dunlop was a local director of Dingwall, Cotts, & Co., an international shipping company, and was very active in local learned societies.⁶ He held leadership positions in the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association and served on the VI council executive several times since 1923, becoming president twice.⁷ He had a history of supporting public lectures, but his loyalties were to Vancouver rather than UBC. As early as 1916, Dunlop had approached Wesbrook with a suggestion to host lectures by Sir Ernest Shackleton under the auspices of the Mayor, City Council, the School Board,

⁴Logan, Tuum Est, 95; Roy, Vancouver, 103, 110, 168; Shrum, Shrum, 49.

⁵These occupations are confirmed by personal letterheads. Vancouver Institute Collection, Box 2-4.

⁶Vancouver City Archives, Microfiche 2667, Vancouver Sun, Obituary, W.R. Dunlop, 6 January, 1941. Dunlop was a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and involved with the Shakespeare Society, Fellowships of Arts of New Westminster, Pacific Northwest Academy of Arts, and Arts and Letters Club among others. There is no indication that he held a university degree.

⁷AHSA Collection, Minutes, 25 January 1927; VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs.

and UBC.⁸ This suggests an inclination to promote Vancouver and its cultural virtues rather than UBC.

Dunlop was enthusiastic about promoting the VI as a Vancouver institution. He had, after all, been the first to propose keeping the VI in town and not moving to Point Grey. In the year of his second VI Presidency (1926-7), minutes record discussions about the VI's valuable role in the city and the official accolades it deserved.⁹ Dunlop actively encouraged press support for the VI, and maintained enthusiasm for town locations many years after the VI moved to Point Grey.¹⁰ He later expressed considerable concern over the possibility that the gown discriminated against the town; he did not see the VI as a UBC extension service.¹¹

Dunlop's promotional enthusiasm fits with the social climate of Vancouver during the mid-twenties. The post-war depression and labour unrest gave way to increased economic activity in the early 1920s.¹² Dunlop, with shipping interests, enjoyed the growth in the logging and shipping industries and may have joined those who played an active role in stimulating tourism and business, helping Vancouver become a proud and

⁸Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, University of British Columbia Senate Collection, Box 1-1, Minutes, 11 October, 1916.

⁹VI Minutes, 8 April, 1927. Petersky, another town supporter, recorded these sentiments.

¹⁰VI Collection Box 2-4, Correspondence, Dunlop to Banton, 23 February, 1925; Dunlop to Timms, 3 October, 1929. Dunlop wrote to colleagues of the need for better publicity through newspapers. VI Minutes, 4 April 1932; 1 April, 1933. Dunlop suggested relocating to the new Art Gallery, and later raised again the "place of meeting question."

¹¹VI Collection, Box 2-15, Correspondence, Dunlop to Timms, 17 October, 1933.

¹²Roy, Vancouver, 88.

leading city.¹³ The complimentary reference in the VI minutes to "our progressive mayor, Mr. L.D. Taylor" as providing "moral support" to the VI comes at a time when Taylor and other business interests were forming the Western Canada Unity and Development League.¹⁴ It seems likely that town interests in the VI council might regard the VI as a civic accomplishment for booster purposes.

Petersky was also prominent during the VI's 1925-29 period. He was a local physician who had been born in Winnipeg but raised in Vancouver. In 1906 he graduated in medicine from McGill University and returned to practice in several small centres in British Columbia. Upon relocating to Vancouver, he had become a leader in the Jewish community and active in the Liberal party.¹⁵

He was on the VI council each year during this period (and continued for several more years), serving on the executive twice. As VI secretary for two years, he was in a position to influence which VI actions were to be considered noteworthy. He records an attitude that the VI was an independent institution thankful for, but not dependent on, UBC support. Petersky's note 8 April, 1927, for example, expresses council's thanks for the support of several influential bodies, UBC among them.¹⁶

¹³Roy, Vancouver, 88, 92,93; Barman, The West, 236.

¹⁴VI Minutes, 8 April, 1927. Such views are recorded by town supporter Petersky. Roy, Vancouver, 92.

¹⁵Vancouver Public Library, Vancouver Province, Obituary, Samuel Petersky, 17 February, 1934.

¹⁶VI Minutes, 8 April 1927.

Petersky was also a proponent of finding alternate funding (numerous civic subsidies for promoting tourism were available) for a financed-starved VI, rather than moving to UBC.¹⁷ In his Secretary's report for 1927-28, he noted the economic stresses of the VI and concluded that "the only solution would be a civic auditorium in a central location."¹⁸ During his year as VI President (1928-29) council moved to write to the mayor of Vancouver asking that the VI "be recognized as an important member of society."¹⁹ Like Dunlop, Petersky was keen to promote the VI as Vancouver's premier lecture series, not as a UBC service.

As a physician, he was a link between the VI and the British Columbia Medical Association in 1926.²⁰ But as a physician, Petersky was not necessarily seeking UBC support for the medical profession. Although UBC had the power to grant medical degrees, and had been influenced by president Wesbrook and Chancellor R.E. McKechnie, both medical doctors, UBC had no facilities for training physicians during the 1920s. Furthermore, the Vancouver medical community, like others in Canada, was divided in its view regarding the role of universities.²¹ One view kept medical training in hospitals under the control of local doctors, the other

¹⁷Roy, Vancouver, 93; VI Minutes, 30 March, 1928.

¹⁸VI Minutes, 30 March, 1928.

¹⁹VI Minutes, September 24, 1928.

²⁰VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. The BCMA is first listed as an affiliate in 1926. Petersky was the BCMA representative and appears to have been the only physician to become active with the VI (unlike businessmen, scientists, and lawyers).

²¹If control of the medical profession in British Columbia resembled that of turn-of-the-century Ontario, then problems of quackery, lay conveyancing, unprofessional conduct, and poor internal solidarity troubled British Columbia doctors. In other words, occupational control was minimal. See Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 302, 336.

invited universities to participate.²² With UBC's move to Point Grey, far away from its one time neighbour Vancouver General Hospital, it would be very easy for some physicians to lose interest in UBC, although UBC and the medical community had long discussed plans for medical education.²³ Petersky could well have promoted an independent VI without considering its potential role in UBC negotiations.

TABLE 9
LECTURE TYPES, 1925-1929

Season	Science	Arts	Social	Fine Arts	Other	Unknown
1925-26	1	13	4	3	2	0
1926-27	11	5	6	1	0	1
1927-28	5	9	3	5	1	1
1928-29	7	4	3	4	1	3
Totals	24	31	16	13	4	5

Source: a) VI Minutes

b) VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs; see Appendix 1 for categorization guide

note: data reflect planned lectures

Notes on categories: "Science" denotes lectures dealing with aspects of natural and applied science (physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, engineering, agriculture); "Arts" denotes lectures dealing with other academic topics (philosophy, history, biography, geography, literature and others); "Social" indicates lectures concerned with popular social concerns (education, politics, economics, racism and others); "Fine Arts" denotes artistic performances or illustrations, or lectures on artistic topics other than literature (music or painting appreciation); "Other" includes topics of travel, mountaineering, industry, professions.

²²Peter Waite, Lord of Point Grey, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 130.

²³UBC Senate had early discussed plans for medical facilities, and the local medical association had sought UBC's sanction for their training programs. See Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Senate Records, Box 1, Minutes, 14 May, 1919, 17 December, 1919, 18 February, 1920.

If the nature and composition of the council changed since the 1916-25 period, the service did not. The lectures were similar in format and topic to earlier ones. Table 9 shows that popularized academic "Arts and Sciences" lectures still dominated in proportions comparable to the 1916-1925 period.

The similarity between syllabi suggests that the major change in the VI during this time was UBC's physical and symbolic move, leaving a town oriented VI. Any consideration of popular support must take this change into account.

The attitude of council between 1925-29 was one of enthusiasm for a town oriented VI, influenced particularly by Dunlop and Petersky. However, the enthusiasm of these promoters was not sufficient to continue the slow growth in the VI's popular support. Instead, membership and attendance decreased for all but one season during this period.

Homelessness and Dwindling Support

The decision to remain "in town" raised the problem of finding suitable accommodation for the lectures. As described earlier, the VI council appreciated UBC's academic resources but downplayed the symbolic connection. The place for lectures was, however, financially and geographically significant. The former UBC facilities were free, conspicuous to the public, centrally located, and very accessible by public transit.²⁴ Such

²⁴B. MacDonald, Vancouver: A Visual History, 34, shows a major electric railway line running past UBC. N. MacDonald, Neighbours, 111, describes the slow rise in automobile ownership and continuing patronage of the electric railway system.

Such an ideal location was hard to replace. From 1925-29 the VI had four different and unsatisfactory homes.

The 1925-26 lectures were held at the Provincial Normal School at Tenth Avenue and Cambie Street. A small rental fee (22.00 for the year) increased VI expenses, and attendance was down somewhat from the previous year (see Table 10).²⁵ Council blamed this on the new site: "the removal of the University to Point Grey, and the holding of the lectures in a new auditorium some distance removed from the hall where the lectures had in previous years been delivered will to some extent account for this situation."²⁶ The move itself no doubt influenced audience attendance, but the Normal School was not very far from UBC's former Tenth and Willow location. From a strictly geographical perspective, the Normal School was probably a good choice for relocation so the council's judgement appears weak.²⁷ Council also gave the feeble excuse that the Thursday evening time slot conflicted with the regular meeting time of some of the affiliated societies.²⁸

²⁵VI Collection, Box 3-13, Treasurer's statement, 15 April, 1926.

²⁶VI Minutes, 29 April, 1926. Banton, a lawyer, records this sentiment.

²⁷The Normal School was only a few blocks away from the former UBC site, and just as accessible by electric railway. See B. MacDonald, Vancouver: A Visual History, 34.

²⁸VI Minutes, 29 April, 1926.

TABLE 10
MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE, 1925-1929

Season	Membership	Annual Attendance
1925/26	78	"lower than previous year"
1926/27	134	"greatest in VI history"
1927/28	104	1920
1928/29	-	1625;1383*

Source: a) VI Collection, Box 4-11, Membership lists
b) VI Minutes

*conflicting numbers are given in VI Minutes

note: these numbers are largely estimates and approximations.

Such comments reinforce the view that UBC's influence came primarily from its willingness to donate a meeting place, and contrasts with the belief that UBC provided certain prestige not otherwise attainable.²⁹ The problem was seen as location, not symbolic association. This view fits with the dominant attitudes of the VI council, a council comprised largely of local Vancouver businessmen and professionals who had no strong ties to UBC.

Having rationalized circumstances thus, the VI council chose to remain in Vancouver and moved downtown to the Vancouver Technical School at Dunsmuir Avenue and Homer Street for 1926-27. This choice may have been encouraged by J.G. Lister, principal of the school and sometime VI lecturer and representative for the Vancouver Teachers' Association.³⁰ Council changed the lecture night from Thursdays to Fridays to accommodate the wishes of affiliated societies and proposed "an aggressive

²⁹VI Collection, Box 3-8, Correspondence, Winter to ?, ca. 1935.

³⁰VI Minutes, 22 June, 1916. Lister is identified as the Teachers' Association representative. VI Collection, Box 4-8. A note describing the 1926 syllabus describes Lister's forthcoming lecture and identifies him as Principal of Vancouver Technical School.

effort... to enlarge the membership" to offset extra costs of hall rental.³¹

The result was that the 1926-27 season was the "most successful year in the history of The Vancouver Institute, both from the point of view of membership... and attendance at the lectures." ³²

As shown on Table 10, membership for the year was about 134. As "the most successful year," annual attendance would have exceeded the 1924-25 count of 4200. The Executive Secretary attributed the success of the 1926-27 season to the downtown location of the Vancouver Technical School and noted the financial and moral support provided the VI by "distinguished members," the Mayor, the press, the speakers themselves, Vancouver School Trustees, UBC President Klinck, and UBC faculty members. Council took such support as evidence that the VI "fulfilled a 'want' in the life of the city." ³³

This success was not to be repeated the following year. The 1927-28 season of the VI was housed downtown at Aberdeen School at Burrard Street and Barclay Avenue. Although it remains uncertain why the VI did not remain at Vancouver Technical School, money may have played a role. Rent began at \$4.00 per session, and rose to \$8.00 per session.³⁴ Annual rent may have exceeded one hundred dollars, encouraging VI executive to choose other facilities.

³¹VI Minutes, 29 April, 1926, 18 October 1926. Petersky recording.

³²VI Minutes, 18 October, 1926; 8 April, 1927. Petersky recorded the enthusiasm. In the absence of a credible attendance figure, this description is suspect.

³³VI Minutes, 8 April, 1927. Petersky recording.

³⁴VI Collection, Box 3-10, Invoice.

The following season at Aberdeen School proved to be a less popular location. Rent remained fairly high at \$84.00 for the season, and attendance and membership declined markedly.³⁵ Only about 1900 people attended the lectures, and membership dropped to about 104 (see Table 10). The new facilities were blamed, since access to the lecture hall was via a long flight of stairs and, unlike the Vancouver Technical School, there was no elevator. The reduced membership meant that the VI was faced with financial strains.

In keeping with the tradition of free lectures, and the continuing belief that people would join the VI upon exposure to the service, the proposed solution to the location problem was to reduce the VI's rental expenses without charging audience fees. Hence, several executive members proposed that the City of Vancouver be approached for an operating grant: "that would insure a large attendance and a larger membership would naturally follow."³⁶ Grants were fairly available from the city, primarily to promote tourism.³⁷ Moving to UBC in Point Grey was not seriously discussed, although the season's two lectures held at UBC drew record attendance each time.³⁸

The final "in town" location for the VI for 1928-29 was the Vancouver Unitarian Church near Tenth Avenue and Granville Street. Although this was an accessible location, and despite a syllabus of lectures comparable to

³⁵VI Collection, Box 3-13, Treasurer's Report, 1928.

³⁶VI Minutes, 30 March, 1928.

³⁷Roy, Vancouver, 92.

³⁸VI Minutes, 30 March, 1928. These lectures required scientific apparatus.

previous years and some press coverage, attendance declined.³⁹ Although records are contradictory, perhaps between 1400 and 1600 attended the lectures that season, making it one of the most poorly attended seasons ever. Because attendance was considered to be a catalyst for the voluntary membership, the decline in attendance implies a reduced membership. Since a rental fee of \$4.00 per week was charged for the facilities, the VI finished the season with a \$6.00 deficit.⁴⁰

The vagrant years of 1925-29 were not particularly successful years for the VI, as measured in membership and, particularly, attendance. The unfixed location likely accounted for much of this decline, but the loss of symbolic association with UBC may have played some role; UBC's participation had been a part of the success of the first nine years. The VI was facing financial indications that a major change was needed. That change was to move to Point Grey and reunite with UBC.

Affiliated Organizations

The relationship between the VI and most affiliated organizations was largely unchanged during 1925-1929. However, four new organizations joined the VI, but six revoked their affiliations.⁴¹ Affiliate participation continued to raise difficulties for the VI as they contributed few lectures to the syllabus (and only after considerable encouragement by VI council) and

³⁹VI Collection, Box 5-3, Newspaper clippings. Several newspapers ran a list of the season's lectures. The change from a school to a church (particularly a non-mainstream church) may also have played a role in attendance decline.

⁴⁰VI Minutes.

⁴¹VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs.

often failed to pay affiliation dues.⁴² The benefit of the affiliates was the topic of occasional discussion in the VI council.⁴³ However, affiliate support also suggested which organizations saw the VI as useful. Most of those to disaffiliate were mutual enlightenment organizations, while two of the new affiliates were professional associations. The latter were not likely to support a strictly town oriented VI.

The Archaeological Institute revoked its affiliation, but it had never been able to muster much practical support. In 1922 it was not even meeting, so its existence was probably tenuous at best.⁴⁴ However, since it existed in close relationship to the Arts, Historical, and Scientific Association, personal affiliations may have remained. The Archaeological Institute had been an intermittent contributor to the VI lecture syllabus, although, as the local branch of an American parent organization, it used the VI to host speakers on lecture tours.⁴⁵

The British Columbia Society of Fine Arts also revoked its affiliation. This is not surprising, since Society members showed little interest in the VI.⁴⁶ The Society wanted an art gallery as a public forum for their work, and participated with the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association to that

⁴²AHSA Collection, Minutes, 17 February, 1927. Dunlop explained the difficulty the VI had in getting an early commitment for affiliate sponsored lectures. VI Collection, Box 1-6 to 1-9, and Box 2-1 to 2-12, contains many letters requesting affiliates' dues.

⁴³VI Minutes, 24 September, 1928.

⁴⁴VI Minutes, 23 February, 1922. As described by the Archaeological Institute representative.

⁴⁵VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. The programs from the early period of the VI occasionally listed special lectures sponsored by the Archaeological Institute.

⁴⁶Very little mention of it in Society minutes. Vancouver City Archives, British Columbia Society of Fine Arts Collection, Add. Mss. 171, Box 1-1, Minutes, 1917-1928, *passim*.

participated with the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association to that end.⁴⁷ The Society's objectives and methods to achieve them appear incompatible with those of the VI.⁴⁸ Perhaps the initial involvement of R. Mackay Fripp, a prominent developer and architect, in both the Society and the VI prompted affiliation.⁴⁹ Fripp's death in 1917 left no one to encourage involvement in the VI, and the Society of Fine Arts sponsored only six lectures during their ten year involvement. In 1928, Society members moved that the organization retire from the VI, and VI councillors "accepted with regret" the resignation of the Society.⁵⁰

The Vancouver Musical Council, Institute of Mines and Metallurgy, B.C. Institute of Authors, and the Royal Society of Theatrical Art also relinquished affiliation during this period. None of these organizations had been particularly strong or long-standing supporters of the VI, although their contributions to audience recruitment is unknown. The Royal Society of Theatrical Art left two years after affiliation in 1925, and after having been denied reimbursement for a VI presentation.⁵¹ In these cases, it can be presumed that VI affiliation was of little value to the organizations, and their

⁴⁷AHSA Collection, File 2-10, Correspondence, Art, Historical, and Scientific Society to British Columbia Society of Fine Arts, 24 February, 1917.

⁴⁸AHSA Collection, File 2-10, Correspondence, Society of Fine Arts to Art, Historical, and Scientific Association, 24 February, 1917. The Society primarily wanted a gallery, not a lecture series. In co-operation with the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association, the Society was probably after public (City) assistance. See Hunt, Mutual Enlightenment, 140. However, once established, public lectures were held at the Art Gallery. See Tippet, Making Culture, 52.

⁴⁹Vancouver City Archives, Microfiche 01617, Biography of R. Mackay Fripp.

⁵⁰VI Minutes, 24 September, 1928. Despite their "regret," VI councillors did not encourage the Society of Fine Arts to reconsider.

⁵¹VI Minutes, 8 April, 1927. The stipulation that affiliates cover their own expenses was usually upheld by council.

departures prompted the VI council to consider the role of the affiliates. Affiliated organizations were, however, still useful in building the VI's status and promoting its program, so they remained welcome.

The British Columbia Medical Association became a new affiliate in 1926, bringing its concerns of occupational control and status enhancement to the VI. Although Petersky, the Association's representative to the VI, supported an independent town oriented VI, the Medical Association had considerable interest in a UBC medical school for medical training.⁵² It also had a history of fraternity with the Academy of Science, whose support for UBC and the VI has been described.⁵³ UBC's role in the VI, although eclipsed by town enthusiasm, would appeal to the Medical Association as would the opportunity for status enhancement.⁵⁴

The British Columbia Music Teachers' Federation also affiliated during this period. The VI had from its beginning welcomed such artistic groups, both to diversify its program and to attract another segment of Vancouver's population.⁵⁵ The Music Teachers' Federation also had an interest in education that extended to UBC. The Federation had recommended to UBC

⁵²Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Senate Collection, Box 1, Minutes, 14 May, 1919, 17 December, 1919, 18 February, 1920.

⁵³Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-17, Executive Minutes, 9 April, 1921.

⁵⁴Physicians had long been accorded "professional" status, but status and occupational control were not entirely secure in British Columbia in the 1920s. Universities were playing an increasing role in medical training, but UBC was not yet able to provide such services. Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 3; Waite, Lord of Point Grey, 130.

⁵⁵The VI was nominally open to any society that wished to join, but musical groups might attract the support of influential Vancouverites. For example, Mrs. B.T. Rogers financed the Vancouver Symphony during the 1920s and later became involved with the VI. Roy, Vancouver, 121; VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs .

Senate the establishment of a Faculty of Fine Arts, and later revealed to the VI council a desire "to see a Chair of Music established at the University."⁵⁶ As music teachers sought professional status, the VI was a possible vehicle to enhance public regard and occupational control. Various personal connections also helped form a link between the VI, Music Teachers' Federation, and UBC.⁵⁷

Affiliate contributions and dues were difficult to collect and the merits of maintaining affiliate relationships were discussed from time to time.⁵⁸ However, affiliates also played a role in promoting the VI, and encouraging membership and attendance. They were still valuable to the VI. Some affiliates, however, evidently did not feel that the VI was valuable to their purposes. The affiliation of two new groups that had considerable interest in UBC suggests that the University's presence had not completely disappeared despite the enthusiasm of "town" promoters. This foreshadowed the move to Point Grey and UBC sponsorship.

Back to UBC

Although town had a certain influence in the council during this time period, several UBC personnel remained and the tie with the University was

⁵⁶VI Minutes, 7 April, 1930; Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Senate Collection, Box 1, Minutes, 17 December, 1924.

⁵⁷VI Minutes, 7 April, 1930. Mrs. W. Coulthard represented the Federation to the VI and was related to UBC faculty member W. Coulthard.

⁵⁸VI Collection, Box 1-6 to 1-9, and Box 2-1 to 2-12, contains many letters requesting affiliates' dues. VI Minutes, 23 June 1925; 4 September, 1928; 4 March 1929.

never entirely severed.⁵⁹ Professors John and James G. Davidson maintained long-standing membership. H.T.J. Coleman, Dean of Arts and Science; F.M. Clement, Dean of Agriculture; W. Sage, Professor of History; and M.Y. Williams, Professor of Geology were active for a season or two. S.D. Scott and A.B. Jamieson were the only figures in UBC administration who retained membership on the VI council, but their role in the VI management, as suggested by their absence in VI minutes, was modest.⁶⁰ Some of these people would keep alive the idea that the VI would find a suitable home at UBC.⁶¹ By the end of the 1928-29 season, the VI had suffered the lowest annual attendance ever and a deficit of six dollars. This prompted a special meeting to discuss the future of the VI and its location.⁶² UBC became a serious consideration for the first time in four years.

On March 4, 1929, an executive meeting was held to discuss the future of the VI. This meeting was distinguished by the presence of UBC President Klinck who, although the perennial Honourary President, rarely attended meetings.⁶³ Some of the executive (perhaps Petersky; Dunlop was not present) remained interested in pursuing a city grant and, perhaps ironically, appointed long-time UBC supporters Hill-Tout, J. G. Davidson and

⁵⁹VI Minutes, (late 1925), Newspaper Clipping. The clipping advertised that the Institute's "connection with UBC will be maintained."

⁶⁰VI Minutes, 13 September, 1927. Jamieson was on the lecture committee, but rarely enters the minutes otherwise.

⁶¹VI Minutes, 30 March, 1928. Petersky briefly described a sustained offer of UBC facilities.

⁶²VI Minutes, 4 March, 1929.

⁶³VI Minutes, 4 March 1929. Klinck was rarely listed as attending VI meetings, and was clearly identified on this occasion.

J. Davidson to a committee to secure such a grant.⁶⁴ During the Annual General Meeting of 5 April 1929, VI members discussed the relationship between the VI and UBC, especially whether the VI would hold the lectures at the University. On 22 April, 1929, Wilfrid Sadler, a UBC Professor of Dairying, moved that VI executive seek an interview with Klinck for the purpose of securing UBC facilities for the VI.⁶⁵ UBC Board of Governors subsequently granted permission to the VI to hold its meetings at the University.⁶⁶ With the offer of free UBC facilities and faced with declining attendance and membership, council and members had little choice but to rejoin with the University and locate in Point Grey for the forthcoming season. Thus the VI's years without fixed location ended, and UBC became the long-standing host.

This decision to relocate at UBC was not entirely motivated by the costs of various rental halls. Various interests seemed to favour returning the VI to UBC for other reasons. For example, Klinck secured a mandate from the UBC Board of Governors to provide a location for the VI through a motion moved by Vancouver Mayor Malkin. The relationship between Malkin and Klinck, and between Malkin, UBC, local businessmen, and educational efforts deserves additional research.⁶⁷ Perhaps Malkin thought the VI ought

⁶⁴VI Minutes, 4 March 1929. Dunlop and Petersky had established reputations for seeking non-UBC solutions to VI problems so they are likely candidates to seek a civic grant.

⁶⁵VI Minutes, 22 April 1929. Sadler (who was not listed as a VI Councillor) and J. Davidson became unofficial UBC contacts.

⁶⁶UBC Board of Governors Collection, Box 1-1 Minutes, 27 May, 1929.

⁶⁷Klinck and Malkin had similar religious backgrounds, particularly through the United Church; see Klinck Collection, Box 10-1, Autobiographical notes, and Roy, Vancouver, 123. Malkin had won the civic election on a platform that included 'civic morality,' suggesting he might not support the business community in all their promotional enthusiasms.

ought to be tied to UBC, rather than to local businessmen and aspiring professionals; or perhaps he simply thought the move might save the city money.

Perhaps the strongest impetus for reuniting the VI with UBC came from the British Columbia Academy of Science. The Academy was an early ally of UBC: "In order to guarantee that the Academy would maintain contact with the strongest scientific stimulus likely to develop in the province, it was decided that its headquarters should be located in the community housing the provincial university."⁶⁸ In 1924 and 1925, Academy executive questioned whether the establishing of UBC had, in fact, made the Academy superfluous, implying that part of its *raison d'être* was to encourage the establishment of the university.⁶⁹ Since the University was now well established, the Academy decided to continue in a supporting role, promoting professional science and the institution that supported it. The symbolic tie between the VI and UBC was important to Academy members.

The Academy of Science had been a regular supporter of the VI. It had been a charter affiliate and still provided more lectures than any other society. Although its constitution did not encourage participation in public ventures such as the VI, the Academy had long been dominated by enthusiastic and long standing VI supporters (including Wesbrook, Klinck, J. Davidson, J.G. Davidson, Coleman, Clement, Williams, Sadler, and Hill-Tout who were, except for Hill-Tout, also UBC faculty).⁷⁰ The Academy was particularly concerned to promote scientific research and publishing of

⁶⁸Ranta, "British Columbia Academy of Science," 3.

⁶⁹Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-1, Minutes, 19 November, 1924; Box 1-13.

⁷⁰Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-2, Constitution.

"professional" scientists and later became critical of "semi-scientific periodicals" and the societies that produced them.⁷¹ The VI provided a useful platform on which to promote their expertise and support the University.

In April, 1929, the Academy met and discussed the "rather unsatisfactory affiliation with the Vancouver Institute" over the past few years, and decided on "either making a real effort to bring the institution back to the University or else ceasing our affiliation with it."⁷² Clearly, members of the Academy of Science felt that there was a benefit in the implied association between the VI and UBC. This underscores the irony of placing Hill-Tout, J. and J.G. Davidson on a committee to investigate civic funding to keep the VI in town.⁷³

It is clear that, at least to some, UBC represented more than merely free accommodation. The symbolic relationship between the University and the VI was part of the reason for association, although UBC administration never claimed an official connection. The University Women's Club had a long-standing interest in UBC, as did those groups wishing to secure educational services from UBC: the Architectural Institute, British Columbia Music Teachers' Federation, Vancouver Teachers' Association, Chamber of Mines, and the British Columbia Medical Association. Their interests in advancing

⁷¹Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-2, Constitution. Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-13, Executive Minutes, 14 February, 1934. The Academy was, in particular, criticizing the AHSA and the Burrard Field Naturalists. J.G. Davidson suggested that experts from the Academy could join amateur scientific organizations to provide leadership suggesting Davidson's motivation for his continuing VI involvement.

⁷²Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-13, Minutes, 11 April, 1929. The quotation is attributed to C. Hill-Tout.

⁷³VI Minutes, 4 March, 1929.

their occupations have been described earlier as involving status enhancement and UBC cooperation. But it also involved the educated tastes of individuals who were accustomed to and fond of a university ethos. To some, the VI emerged from the population at large, but others continued to see it as auxiliary to an institution of formal education.

The reunion of town and gown was made public in a 1929 newspaper article entitled "Institute Seeking U.B.C. Assistance."⁷⁴ The article suggested that UBC would provide not only a location, but add new vigour and intellectual stimulation to the Institute. However, the service would change little; lectures by UBC faculty were as well represented during the "vagrant years" of 1925-1929 as they had ever been.⁷⁵ Although the visible change was geographical, a more significant change was to re-establish the symbolic association with the University in the eyes of the public, exactly as many VI leaders wanted.

Conclusion

The years 1925-1929 were awkward for The Vancouver Institute. They were characterized by UBC's move to Point Grey, which left the VI without its traditional accommodation and led to contrasting views in the VI council as to who provided the service. During this time, popular appeal and support for the VI declined.

The departure of UBC to Point Grey brought to light two views of the aims and modus operandi of the VI. One view was that the VI was merely a

⁷⁴VI Collection, Box 5-3, Newspaper Clipping, 1929.

⁷⁵VI Collection, Box 4-5 Programs. Programs list speakers' origins or sponsor.

convenient vehicle to combine the resources of existing local societies. In this view, the VI resulted in "a first-rate Syllabus of Lectures by men of note... given in the Assembly Hall of the University of British Columbia, *under the auspices of the several Societies*" (emphasis mine).⁷⁶ UBC merely played a host's role.

The other view was that the VI owed a great debt to the University. In this view, the VI was claimed as a UBC extension service, and provided a link with the University in "raising the intellectual face of society," "cultivating the public mind," and "purifying the national taste."⁷⁷ The VI hosted speakers of note *under the auspices of UBC* (emphasis mine).⁷⁸

These two views had not needed reconciliation previously because UBC was geographically situated in Vancouver; town and gown were not easily separated. Furthermore, VI councillors themselves embodied both views: Judge Howay and Robie Reid, for example, were both very much men of town, yet great supporters of the University. Their involvement in the VI symbolically demonstrated a peaceful relationship between the two views. At the time of the UBC move (1925), however, the two views found separate supporters, and a choice had to be made between them.

For four years the choice was to remain in town. A town-oriented council that included members enthusiastic to promote the VI as a Vancouver institution kept the VI in town in various locations. However, dwindling support and financial debt posed serious problems.

⁷⁶AHSA Collection, Box 2-10, Minutes, 23 November, 1916.

⁷⁷Klinck Collection, Box 2-29, Lecture transcript, 25 November, 1922. Klinck described his views of the role of universities.

⁷⁸VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. This is stated on VI programs pre-1925.

The "solution" to these problems was, in 1929, to follow UBC to Point Grey. This move had material consequences since facilities were free, as well as symbolic consequences. The former was that the immediate problem of expenses disappeared, and the latter was that the relationship between the VI and UBC was re-established. Although this relationship was never formal, it was an important symbolic relationship for some VI supporters.

With the move to rejoin UBC, the VI would work to reinforce the informal relationship; gown would again appear as the natural host for the service. Proponents of a town-oriented VI accepted the practical necessity of the UBC reunion, but Dunlop, at least, remained hopeful of a return to town. UBC's informal influence lasted several years until gown more formally asserted itself.

CHAPTER 4

RETURN TO GOWN: 1929-1939

The third historical period in The Vancouver Institute's development may be said to run from 1929 to 1939. During this period, the VI moved to what would become its permanent location on the Point Grey campus of the University of British Columbia (UBC). Although the change in location was significant, many aspects of the VI's service provision until 1933 remained as they had been. Despite some objections to the move, popular interest (as judged by attendance) in the VI increased slightly, assuaging those fears.

Some UBC faculty members and administrators were especially active in redefining UBC's role in the life of the VI, and their work culminated in 1933 with a constitutional revision that enshrined a new relationship between town and gown. Gown became very well represented on the council, which was strongly influenced by certain UBC faculty members. This change in VI administration coincided with a change in syllabus priorities, together leading to considerable growth in membership and attendance. Although never establishing formal ties with UBC, the VI played a role consistent with the recommendations that led to the Department of Extension. Some UBC faculty members came to regard the VI as an unofficial branch of the extension department.

Location Changes, Service Continues

The move from Vancouver to UBC's Point Grey campus was an obvious change for the VI. It was geographically a move of some distance, and the

VI ceased to be located in Vancouver.¹ This provided a physical connection between the VI and the University lacking the previous four years, and weakened the physical link with the city. Despite this change, the VI's service, as to providers and to syllabus, changed little between 1929 and 1933. The net effect of the VI's move was a slight increase in audience attendance, and a generally favourable response to the VI's leaders' decision to move to a new home.

The Move

One powerful reason the VI moved to Point Grey was economic. As described in chapter 3, decreased attendance and the difficulty in finding affordable facilities in Vancouver proper made the University's offer of free space too appealing to reject. This offer apparently covered such related costs as janitorial service and utilities. The VI President commented that UBC "charges nothing," and the site was somewhat improved since 1925.² In light of the economic incentive, the view of the VI as a UBC independent institution had lost much of its support, and the closer ties with UBC were generally accepted.³ In 1929 no one strongly objected to the move,

¹UBC, located on its endowment lands, was not part of the City of Vancouver. This had been a deliberate factor when the site was chosen in 1910. See Harris "Locating the University," 106-125.

²VI Minutes, 1 April, 1933; comment made by VI President G. Shrum. Shrum, a forceful and influential physics Professor, likely favoured increased UBC influence. His role in the VI will be discussed in more detail later.

³VI Minutes, 7 April, 1930. Dunlop continued to express the view that, although the VI was located at UBC, it was not a part of UBC. M.Y. Williams, "The History of the Vancouver Institute," VI Collection, Box 1-2. UBC Professor Williams saw the VI becoming an unofficial branch of the emerging Department of Extension.

whatever the differences between the views. Even Dunlop accepted the location at UBC, although he had not entirely abandoned the idea of finding a town location.⁴ The VI council was unanimous in recognizing the economic necessity of the move.

The move was not without its practical problems. One was the relative isolation of the University campus from the City of Vancouver. The streetcar system in 1929 used a less reliable feeder motor bus service to connect with the University, prompting VI councillors to "take up the matter with the B.C. Electric Railway."⁵ (This was later remedied by a special arrangement to have buses cater to VI lectures.⁶) At least one affiliated society representative suggested the distance would discourage his members from attending, and representatives of another long supporting society regarded UBC as inaccessible.⁷

Service as Usual

The move to UBC was by all appearances a major one for the VI, dependent for its life on so many unpredictable factors, yet some things did not change much. The membership of the VI council of the four UBC

⁴VI Minutes do not record any objections to the move to UBC during the 1929-30 season. VI Minutes, 4 April, 1932. Dunlop suggested relocation to the new Vancouver Art Gallery.

⁵Roy, Vancouver, 110. VI Minutes, 29 September, 1930.

⁶VI Collection Box 4-5, Programs. This service is advertised on the programs, and was first offered 1931-32.

⁷VI Collection Box 2-4, Correspondence, Alpine Club of Canada to Vancouver Institute, 13 September, 1929. Vancouver City Archives, University Women's Club Collection, Add. Mss. 872, Box 4-44, Minutes, 24 September, 1931.

seasons 1929-1933 resembled the VI council of the previous few seasons. The council contained names familiar from earlier times: Edith Idle, Samuel Petersky, William R. Dunlop, John Davidson, James G. Davidson, and Rev. Francis W. Maccaud. Phillip Timms, a comptroller with the A.H. Timms printing business (which, incidentally, began printing the VI programs in 1929-30), was the only new person who began a long-term relationship with the VI. It is evident from Table 11 that the persistent personnel on the VI council were largely employed in non-university occupations. As with the 1925-29 period, the VI continued to be well represented by familiar town interests.

TABLE 11
LONGEST SERVING COUNCILLORS OF THE VANCOUVER INSTITUTE,
1929-1933

Name	Years	Occupation
Phillip Timms	4	Comptroller
Edith Idle	4	Music teacher
Rev. F.W. Maccaud	4	Anglican Minister
S. Petersky	4	Physician
W.R. Dunlop	3	Accountant
J. Davidson	4	UBC Faculty Member
J.G. Davidson	4	UBC Faculty Member

Sources: a) Program Brochures, VI Box 4-11

b) Wrigley's British Columbia Directory, 1931

The syllabus for the 1929-33 period was similar to the previous period 1925-29 (see Table 12), except that a few more lectures were concerned with popular social issues than with specialized academic interests. This shift was not as pronounced as it would later become, but suggests a slight re-orientation to popular concerns. As Vancouver entered the first years of

the Depression, it is not unreasonable that the VI would respond with lectures such as "The Menace of Business Depressions," "The New Humanism," "The Future of Civilization," or the very popular critique of "The Kidd Report."⁸

TABLE 12
LECTURE TYPES, 1925-1933

Season	Science	Arts	Social	Fine Arts	Other	Unknown
1925-26	1	13	4	3	2	0
1926-27	11	5	6	1	0	1
1927-28	5	9	3	5	1	1
1928-29	7	4	3	4	1	3
Totals	24	31	16	13	4	5
1929-30	6	5	5	5	2	1
1930-31	7	4	7	2	1	2
1931-32	5	4	4	4	2	4
1932-33	6	4	6	3	2	1
Totals	24	17	22	14	7	8

Source: Programs, VI Collection, Box 4-5. These were the lectures as planned. See Appendix 1 for categorization guide

Notes on categories: "Science" denotes lectures dealing with aspects of natural and applied science (physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, engineering, agriculture); "Arts" denotes lectures dealing with other academic topics (philosophy, history, biography, geography, literature); "Social" indicates lectures concerned with public social concerns (education, politics, economics, international affairs); "Fine Arts" denotes artistic performances or illustrations, or lectures on artistic topics other than literature (music or painting appreciation); "Other" includes topics of travel, mountaineering, industry, professions.

Table 12 compares the syllabus from the 1925-29 period, when the VI was located in Vancouver, with the syllabus from the 1929-33 period after

⁸Lectures, January 19, 1931; January 26, 1931; December 7, 1931; 15 October, 1932. VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. UBC Professor Angus provided a detailed critique of the Kidd Report. Logan, Tuum Est, 119, described the event as a "brilliant dissection of the report." The Kidd Report was drafted by Vancouver businessmen to recommend drastic revenue cuts to the provincial government. One recommendation was to close UBC, if necessary.

relocation to Point Grey (UBC). Based on the classification of planned lectures, there is no change in the number of Science topics, and a slight increase in Fine Arts and Other topics. The only significant change is that the number of Arts lectures drops considerably (from thirty-one to seventeen) and the number of popular Social issue lectures increases (from sixteen to twenty-two). However, the general orientation of the syllabus is little changed. Academic topics remain dominant.

One other element changed very little, and its persistence tells much about the VI. Vancouver in the early 1930s was suffering along with the rest of Canada from the depression. Indeed, Vancouver had some unique problems because of its mild climate and location at the end of trans-Canadian railways. Unemployed transients, mainly single men, from the Prairies and British Columbia Interior flocked to the milder coastal climate of Vancouver. Their presence and that of their "jungles" caused considerable alarm.⁹ However, these affairs did not influence the VI very much. The lecture topics, on occasion, did reflect the current social situation; but there is no mention in the VI records that these problems were of any particular concern to the VI. The VI was still generally promoted by a particular segment of the local population that was immune from the worst effects of the Depression.

Affiliated Societies

In some ways, the relationship with affiliated organizations also changed very little. However, several long-supporting affiliates severed their formal connections, and the nature of the remaining affiliates shifted. As with

⁹Roy, Vancouver, 95.

earlier periods, council had difficulty securing the support of the affiliated societies both to provide lectures and participate in council meetings. Several societies let their affiliations lapse; some earned the label "delinquent," suggesting the frustration some councillors had over the affiliates' role.¹⁰ Several others, perhaps recognizing that their affiliation was nominal and their active participation in the operation of the VI was effectively nil, formally severed connections. The Art, Historical, and Scientific Association (AHSA) and Women's University Club, cited "drastic revenue cuts" in their organization or poor attendance at sponsored lectures as reasons to discontinue affiliation.¹¹

These reasons, although legitimate, may not fully explain disaffiliation; cost is hardly convincing in the case of the AHSA given the low cost of affiliation and the affluence of many AHSA members.¹² The reason of decreased audience attendance must also be looked at carefully, since some affiliates (e.g. the Architectural Institute and the Vancouver Teachers' Association) maintained ongoing affiliation despite sponsoring few lectures. Other motives likely weighed in the several decisions to maintain or to suspend affiliation.

¹⁰VI Collection, Box 3-13, Treasurer's Records, 1 April, 1933. Six societies were not in good standing, 1932-33 season. VI Minutes, 30 March, 1931. Recorded by Rev. F. Maccaud, who, as a long-time VI supporter from "town," may have felt that affiliates had a duty to provide support.

¹¹VI Minutes, 1 April, 1933. VI Collection, Box 2-14, Correspondence, University Women's Club to The Vancouver Institute, 12 September, 1932. The University Women's Club did not feel adequately rewarded for their efforts by audience attendance.

¹²VI Minutes, 5 October, 1931. Affiliate dues had been raised slightly from the traditional \$2.00. Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 41, 42.

The VI likely no longer served the purposes of certain organizations. As discussed, the AHSA had a motive of public service but also stood to gain status and increased membership from involvement with the VI.¹³ The promised increase in status may not have materialized, as the AHSA provided no obvious leadership in the VI. Part of the initial motivation for affiliation may have been to re-assert a lost influence in the intellectual life of Vancouver, but this was becoming difficult in the VI, particularly as the Academy of Science was asserting the expertise of professional scientists.¹⁴ Of the twenty-two lectures planned for the 1932-33 VI season (the season the AHSA disaffiliated), fourteen were presented by UBC faculty, and one was by a scientist from an allied institution; several others were not strictly of an academic nature.¹⁵ With critical colleagues bearing strong academic credentials, the AHSA, sponsoring a single academic lecture, was unable to assert a place of authority within, or promote such an image through, the VI.

The records of the AHSA suggest that the Association was suffering from low funds.¹⁶ However, the Association did have sufficient funds to pay a low affiliation fee if VI affiliation had been considered important. The AHSA was much more concerned with the operation of the museum and art gallery, for which it was responsible, and the effects of civic funding cuts. Public lectures had become a much smaller concern.¹⁷

¹³Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 255, suggests this as well.

¹⁴Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 140, suggests that a changing sense of culture and the rise of specialized organizations by 1916 made the AHSA less influential than it had been.

¹⁵VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs.

¹⁶AHSA Collection, Balance sheets in Minutes, 27 April, 1933 and 28 September 1933.

¹⁷AHSA Collection, President's Report, 1933.

which it was responsible, and the effects of civic funding cuts. Public lectures had become a much smaller concern.¹⁷

Other societies that disaffiliated may likewise have found the VI unhelpful in their cause. As suggested earlier, one attraction of the VI to affiliated societies was the possibility to recruit new members. Although the University Women's Club (UWC) cited low attendance, high costs, and poor accessibility as reasons to sever VI affiliation, it may not have achieved earlier objectives through its affiliation.¹⁸ For example, one of the first requests the UWC had of the Institute was for a list of members' names.¹⁹ If that request was in aid of UWC recruitment, then the rather meager membership the VI attracted would not be helpful to the UWC. Furthermore, the UWC had various political objectives ranging from support for public education to women's equity issues. On one occasion, for example, it deliberately used the VI to reach a Women's Institute audience but found their lecture to be poorly attended. It used this occasion to help justify severing their affiliation with both the Women's Institutes and the VI.²⁰

¹⁷AHSA Collection, President's Report, 1933.

¹⁸VI Collection Box 2-14, Correspondence UWC to Timms, 10 September, 12 September, 1932.

¹⁹Vancouver City Archives, Women's University Club Collection, Add. Mss. 872, Box 1-1, Minutes, 18 September, 1916.

²⁰Vancouver City Archives, Women's University Club, Add. Mss. 872, Box 4-44, Minutes, 24 September, 1931.

A similar story may be for the Dickens Fellowship, which claimed that the VI did not provide fresh audiences.²¹ If the Fellowship had a recruitment or publicity agenda, the VI would not have been useful. The decision to sever affiliation would, in this light, seem reasonable.

The VI's move to UBC coincided with the onset of the Depression. Vancouver in the early 1930s was suffering from a depressed economy, unemployment, and related social troubles.²² If the VI councillors were somewhat immune to those concerns, owing to secure socio-economic status, one cannot assume others were. VI affiliates had a number of distractions, ranging from money to carry out their activities to the issues that attracted their attention. The VI became, to some, less important.

The societies that remained at the end of the 1932-33 season were the British Columbia Academy of Science, British Columbia Music Teachers' Federation, Vancouver Teacher's Association, British Columbia Chamber of Mines, British Columbia Medical Association, Vancouver Natural History Society, Canadian Authors Association, Shakespeare Society, and the Alpine Club of Canada.²³ The Architectural Institute of British Columbia renewed its affiliation after a short lapse, although it contributed few lectures.²⁴

²¹VI Collection Box 2-14, Correspondence, 10 September, 1932. The Dickens Fellowship indicated that many in the audience were from their own group.

²²Roy, Vancouver, 99.

²³VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. The AHSA was still listed, although it had written a letter to dis-affiliate.

²⁴VI Collection, Box 2-14, Correspondence, 25 April, 1932. The Architectural Institute of British Columbia wrote to re-affiliate with the Institute. VI Collection Box 4-5, Programs. The brochures identify approximately four scheduled lectures sponsored by the Architectural Institute of British Columbia over the Institute's seventeen seasons.

Compared with the VI's earliest years, the mix of affiliated societies was different. Whereas earlier the VI had largely attracted mutual enlightenment groups, it now attracted professional associations.

The British Columbia Academy of Science, British Columbia Music Teachers' Federation, Vancouver Teacher's Association, British Columbia Chamber of Mines, and British Columbia Medical Association were engaged with UBC concerning professional education. As already proposed, part of the attraction of the VI was its potential utility in developing or maintaining cordial relations with UBC to facilitate the development of professional education programs. University education had become a mark of professional status.²⁵ Occupations seeking such status were compelled to address the issue of university representation. Many remaining VI affiliates had such an occupational interest UBC.

In 1930, May James of the British Columbia Music Teachers' Federation described to the VI council her group's ambition "to see a Chair of Music established at the University."²⁶ As a Chair had not been established by 1933, the Federation's continued affiliation with the VI may have been thought helpful to achieve that end, either through direct UBC influence or by enlisting public support. The Federation had even recommended to the UBC Senate to establish a Faculty of Fine Arts.²⁷

²⁵Gidney and Millar, Professional Gentlemen, 355.

²⁶VI Minutes, 7 April, 1930; 30 March, 1931.

²⁷Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, UBC Senate Records, Box 1, Minutes, 17 December, 1924.

Architects were similarly interested in UBC. A short-term attraction was no doubt the contracts for the University's buildings, but architects had broader occupational concerns. A member of the Architectural Institute of British Columbia had earlier expressed considerable interest in the prospects for UBC to educate architects, particularly since UBC was the only local body legally authorized to provide such instruction.²⁸ UBC would not establish a Department of Architecture until 1945, and it would not become a School—a designation with more autonomy—until 1951.²⁹ Until then, a congenial relationship with UBC was desirable for the Architectural Institute, which had also recommended that UBC establish a Faculty of Fine Arts.³⁰

The Vancouver Teachers' Association had an immediate interest in teacher education and UBC's role in it. Teacher education had generally been the responsibility of normal schools in the province in 1901. A summer school for teachers was introduced to UBC in 1920, and by 1925 the minute Department of Education was formed. However, the UBC programs at that time were for those already holding baccalaureate degrees. During the 1920s, high school teachers required a university degree and additional professional preparation.³¹ This move reflected a Canadian

²⁸Vancouver City Archives, Architectural Institute of British Columbia Collection, Add. Mss. 326, Vol. 1-2, Personal note.

²⁹Logan, Tuum Est, 192.

³⁰Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, UBC Senate Records, Box 1, Minutes, 17 December, 1924.

³¹John Calam, "Teaching Teachers on Campus: Initial Moves and the Search for UBC's First Professor of Education," Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'Histoire de l'Education 6 (2) (Fall 1994), 180.

pattern that saw teacher education—for high school teachers at least—moving from normal school to university or college control.³² The Vancouver Teachers' Association, including high school teachers, would continue to benefit from good UBC relations, aided, perhaps, by the VI.³³

The British Columbia Chamber of Mines had a long relationship with UBC in-as-much as UBC Faculty had been part of the Chamber's management for a number of years.³⁴ By 1929 UBC was receiving scholarships for applied science in general, and from the mining industry in particular.³⁵ The Chamber of Mines was an enthusiastic promoter of the mining industry, one that would benefit from UBC's mining research and education.³⁶ The Chamber was also affiliated with the Academy of Science, a continuing supporter of the VI.³⁷

The British Columbia Medical Association had long been compelled to acknowledge UBC's presence. The still-born University Act of 1890, and

³²Sheehan and Wilson, "From Normal School to the University," 33.

³³Lister, a Teacher's Association representative, was also a science teacher as well as principal of Vancouver Technical School. Calam, "Teaching Teachers," 200, suggests that (high school) teachers actively pressed UBC for appropriate courses.

³⁴VI Collection, Box 2-13, Correspondence. Chamber of Mines stationery letterhead indicates several UBC faculty members were Vice Presidents.

³⁵Logan, Tuum Est, 107. The Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy sponsored a scholarship, although that organization did not maintain its VI affiliation. The Institute of Mining and Metallurgy had a link with the Chamber of Mines and The Vancouver Institute through shared director Nicholas Thompson. Vancouver City Archives, Add. Mss. 334, File 18-8, Newspaper Biography, 18 September, 1930.

³⁶Academy of Science Collection, Box 2-28, British Columbia Chamber of Mines brochure, 1924. This brochure contains enthusiastic booster rhetoric to encourage investment in the mining industry.

³⁷Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-13, Minutes, 6 April, 1925.

later successful legislation of 1907, specified that UBC could grant degrees in medicine.³⁸ However, medical facilities were expensive, and by the early 1930s, medical studies were limited to pre-med courses, public health studies, and nursing. Medical students still had to go elsewhere for advanced medical training. The Vancouver medical community had early sought UBC's sanction for their training programs, and universities were important institutions in providing medical education.³⁹ Physicians and UBC representatives continued to negotiate the role the University would play in providing medical education, and the VI, reunited symbolically with the University, may have appeared helpful in those discussions.

The British Columbia Academy of Science had long been a supporter of the University; membership included scientists from a wide variety of professions, including UBC researchers.⁴⁰ Although its membership included physicians, engineers, and agriculturists—applied scientists—others were physicists, chemists, biologists, and meteorologists who perhaps had less status in a city that emphasized industrial interests. The social referents for science-based occupations (such as medicine and engineering) were conspicuous: doctors and engineers did recognized and valued work. But what of more basic scientific research? Those referents were unclear, unless, perhaps, science was part of a legitimate and valued

³⁸Logan, Tuum Est, 3, 34.

³⁹Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, University of British Columbia Senate Records, Box 1, 14 May, 1919, 17 December, 1919, 18 February, 1920. Waite, Lord of Point Grey, 129.

⁴⁰Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-1, Minutes, passim.

institution of higher learning. UBC was a natural ally of scientists and the Academy of Science.

A continuing role of the Academy was to promote professional science, and the VI continued to help in that way. In 1932, for example, Academy executive proposed that a science "open house" for high school students be arranged to coincide with the Academy's Institute lecture.⁴¹ The VI was still useful to promote science publicly, allowing Academy members to pursue technical science in their own circles.⁴² Various members of the Academy also continued to be personal supporters of the VI. John Davidson and James. G. Davidson were two such men. The former has been described as a scientist with an almost evangelical mission of natural theology that carried him through many years of VI support. J.G. Davidson was a keen promoter of science whose patience and benevolence made him a regular VI councillor.⁴³ He also believed that "experts" could provide guidance to amateur organizations by becoming members.⁴⁴ Such personal support helped maintain the association between the Academy of Science and the VI.

⁴¹Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-17, Executive Minutes, 20 October, 1932.

⁴²Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-17, Executive Minutes, 14 November, 1931.

⁴³Vancouver City Archives, Microfiche 2338, Obituaries, 29 July, 1948; 25 August, 1948. J.G. Davidson had been a fellow of the American Physical Society, member of the American Association for Advancement of Science, and the American Association of Physics Teachers as well as one-time President of the Academy of Science and Vancouver Institute. The obituary of 25 August, 1948, describes his personal qualities of patient generosity. Davidson served on the VI council some twelve seasons, many in executive positions.

⁴⁴Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-17, Executive Minutes, 14 February, 1934.

The other remaining affiliates—The Vancouver Natural History Society, Alpine Club of Canada, Shakespeare Society, and Canadian Authors' Association—were the last of the mutual enlightenment affiliates (although the latter conceivably had an interest in the business aspects of authorship). The appeal of the VI to these groups was waning, although the Natural History Society was encouraged by personal contacts.

The Natural History Society was no doubt influenced by John Davidson's faith that "by mountaineering with a scientific perspective, one is humbled by the puny efforts of man as compared with those of the great Architect of the Universe" and his determination to encourage this perspective in others.⁴⁵ Davidson himself continued to be highly supportive of the VI although, as a UBC Professor and member of the Academy of Science, he must have had professional preoccupations that influenced him.⁴⁶

The Alpine Club of Canada (ACC) also kept involved with the VI in the early 1930s. Despite protests over the new UBC location, the ACC continued to provide lectures in keeping with their interests.⁴⁷ Similarly,

⁴⁵Davidson Collection, File 1-1, Address to St. John's Presbyterian Church Literary Society, 1914. In looking through this manuscript collection, one is struck by the number of lectures Davidson provided to various local groups, and the consistency of his "natural theology" message.

⁴⁶VI Collection, Box 4-5. John Davidson served at least fifteen seasons as VI councillor from 1916 to 1939, based on councillor listings on VI programs. Academy of Science Collection, Minutes, Box 1-13, passim. John Davidson was the "curator" in 1914-15, and continued to hold positions on the Academy Executive.

⁴⁷VI Collection Box 2-24, Correspondence, 13 September, 1929. An Alpine Club representative wrote to the VI Secretary that the University was "much too far away" for its members. VI Collection, Box 2-15, Correspondence, September, 1932. An Alpine Club representative wrote that the "present location is not sufficiently central." VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. Titles such as "Explorations in the Coast Range by Alpine Club Members" (February 4, 1933) were traditional favorites.

the Canadian Authors' Association maintained its contribution during this time, perhaps encouraged by the continuing (if strained) participation by the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association and the Shakespeare Society and Dickens Fellowship.⁴⁸ Neither group, however, was a large part of the syllabus, contributing only one lecture a year at most.

By 1933, not only was the influence of affiliated societies in the VI minimal—as it had always been—but the groups still interested were largely those with occupational (professional) interests, interests that extended to UBC as well as to the VI. Mutual enlightenment groups, a founding influence on the VI, were losing interest. With the disaffiliation of the University Women's Club in 1931 and the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association in 1933, the VI lost the support of two of its first affiliates. The relationship between the VI and other Vancouver organizations had changed.

These losses produced no immediate crisis. In fact, they hardly mattered at all. If the VI had become useless to certain societies, they were likewise of low value to the VI. This was confirmed in 1933 when the revised VI constitution formally excluded affiliates from significant participation in the VI's management. The initial constitution had specified that two representatives from each affiliated society would become councillors with those elected from the VI membership. The revised constitution specified that two councillors were to be UBC appointees, and the others were to be

⁴⁸VI Minutes, 31 May, 1927. The VI representative at that time for the Canadian Authors was also the representative for the Art, Historical, and Scientific Association, Shakespeare Society, and Dickens Fellowship.

elected from the VI membership.⁴⁹ The VI council finally acknowledged that the elected council, not affiliates, ran the VI. Whereas the VI was once a vehicle to unite local societies' efforts to provide lectures, it had by 1933 taken on a life of its own, one that had a different appeal. This life would become inextricably linked to UBC.

Popularity Rise

Despite reservations about the new location, the council judged the lectures to have been well attended during the first half of the first season, although less well attended during the second half. The decrease was attributed to poor weather. Attendance for the season, however, was up from the previous year by some six hundred people, and the VI Secretary recorded a "sense of encouragement" over the move to UBC.⁵⁰ With little change in the 1929/30 syllabus format from previous years, the VI was able to carry on as before in its new location. (See Table 13: Attendance.)

⁴⁹VI Collection, Box 1-3, Constitutions.

⁵⁰ VI Minutes, 7 April, 1930.

TABLE 13
ATTENDANCE, 1929-1933

Season	Annual Attendance
1929/30	2262; 1927*
1930/31	2,569
1931/32	1700
1932/33	-

Source: a) VI Minutes.

b) Correspondence, VI Collection Box 2-14

*conflicting numbers are given in VI Minutes; the second number is the most quoted.

note: these numbers are largely estimates and approximations.

The satisfaction felt by VI councillors in 1930 likely continued for the next several years. Attendance figures also improved. The first season at the new location saw an audience increase of six hundred people. The following season saw a further increase of three to six hundred people. The 1931-32 season was less well attended, but still exceeded the low number of 1928-29. In light of the economic situation, it was still considered a good year; surplus finances were recorded which spoke "volumes in this fourth year of depression."⁵¹ Although some of the audience members may have come from the University community itself, it is apparent that the VI grew slightly in spite of (or because of) its move to UBC.⁵²

⁵¹VI Minutes, 4 April, 1932.

⁵²Logan, Tuum Est, 134. VI Collection Box 3-8, Correspondence, 1935?. G. Winter, long serving VI President, suggested that the University confers a "standing and connection which we could not have if we met elsewhere." Further research might reveal how, if at all, the audience changed.

The life of the VI between 1929 and 1933 was characterized largely by a change in location, but otherwise by a noteworthy stability—if not stasis. The providers—that is to say, the council—retained their earlier composition and interests. The influence of affiliated societies remained minimal; thus when a number of them formally severed nominal ties, the consequences for the VI were without vast import to the service and its popularity. The syllabus of lectures changed only slightly. To the satisfaction of the council, the VI grew slightly in popularity although it is not known how the audience may have changed. This fairly stable situation would not last, however. UBC professors and staff members became noticeably interested in the VI as judged by accounts of University politics, and this led at last to a new VI constitution and a revitalized lecture series.

University Takes Notice

1933 was a watershed year in the life of The Vancouver Institute. In response to social pressures felt by the University of British Columbia, the University moved to tie the VI more closely to itself. The council became a “mouthpiece” for UBC, and the VI’s service was rejuvenated. The upshot was a marked increase in attendance and membership in 1933-39.

Social Pressures

The critique of the Kidd Report before a VI audience on 15 October, 1932, was particularly significant in view of the relationship, albeit informal, between the VI and UBC. Drafted by Vancouver businessmen, the Kidd

Report sought to influence how the Provincial Government should handle its finances during the Depression. Among its recommendations was the closure of UBC "if necessary."⁵³ At the time of the Kidd Report, the VI council was comprised of four UBC faculty members, one of whom was the VI President. The Kidd Report would hardly have gone unnoticed by these people, nor would Henry Angus, the UBC Economics Professor who provided the critique, have been unconcerned over the implications of the Kidd Report on the operation of UBC. Before an over-flow audience, Angus delivered a "scathing speech" that promoted the role of academics to guard against such dangerous propaganda.⁵⁴ UBC stood to benefit from such a vigorous statement from the VI.

The Kidd report was not an isolated threat to the University. It came at a time when UBC was cleaning up several unrelated problems. The Senate and Board of Governors had been divided over university finances, and President Klinck had even faced a vote of non-confidence in the Senate. Faced with Depression-induced cut-backs in provincial funding, UBC was suffering both from internal and from external problems.⁵⁵

Concurrently, UBC began to pay more attention to its public relations. The forerunner of the Public Relations Committee was established in 1932. The Alumni Association also began operation in the early 1930s, and

⁵³Logan, Tuum Est, 119, describes the reaction to the Kidd report.

⁵⁴Vancouver, University of British Columbia, Special Collections, "Professor Angus Flays Kidd Report," The Ubyyssey, 15 October, 1932.

⁵⁵Logan, Tuum Est, 110-119.

preparation for the Extension Department began in 1933.⁵⁶ In 1934, A.F. Barss, a UBC Professor of Horticulture, wrote "A Proposal to Improve relation of University to the Province by the establishment of a University Extension Service."⁵⁷ UBC began taking a very keen interest in its public support.

UBC had long thought of the VI as, if not an extension service, then certainly an outlet for extension activities.⁵⁸ Among the recommendations made by Barss in his proposal was to continue public lectures and encourage UBC "open houses."⁵⁹ The VI already provided both, and could continue if the syllabus remained dominated by UBC personnel (or affiliated academics) and the VI remained housed at UBC. This was ensured in the spring of 1933 when the VI constitution was re-written in favour of an increased UBC presence.

Remaking The Vancouver Institute

The VI president for 1932-33 was Gordon Shrum. Shrum had been appointed to the UBC faculty in 1925 as Professor of Physics. He was widely

⁵⁶Logan, Tuum Est. 128.

⁵⁷Logan, Tuum Est. 69. UBC Extension Collection, Box 2-5, A.F. Barss, "A Proposal to Improve relation of University to the Province by the establishment of a University Extension Service."

⁵⁸UBC Extension Collection, Box 1-18, Report of Extension Lecture Committee 1923-24. The committee claimed any free lecture by UBC personnel as an extension lecture. Klinck also referred to the VI as an extension service. Klinck Collection, Box 1-20, Lecture, 8 October, 1932.

⁵⁹Barss, "A Proposal."

regarded as a very talented and energetic individual, and later became the second Director of Extension in 1937.⁶⁰ Shrum had been involved in the move by the Academy of Science to hold the VI lectures in UBC facilities.⁶¹ He had contributed lectures to the VI as early as 1928, and by 1931-32 was on the VI council.⁶² Shrum had also been responsible for initiating a short-lived tradition of entertaining VI speakers and guests following the lectures.⁶³

To some, Shrum was a superb manager and charismatic teacher.⁶⁴ To others he was ambitious, occasionally ruthless, quick, and impatient.⁶⁵ Many found him intimidating, if not terrifying.⁶⁶ Although he had contributed to physics research at the University of Toronto by liquefying helium and discovering the origin of the auroral green line, he preferred the lively atmosphere of a young UBC.⁶⁷ At UBC, he discovered his teaching skills and flair for management, and participated in a great many campus

⁶⁰Logan, Tuum Est, 129.

⁶¹Academy of Science Collection, Box 1-13, Minutes, 11 April, 1929.

⁶²VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs.

⁶³VI Collection, Box 1-2, M.Y. Williams, "A History of The Vancouver Institute." Williams was a geology professor at UBC who was involved for many years with the Institute. His "history" provides a useful if idiosyncratic chronology of Institute events.

⁶⁴Shrum, Shrum, xii.

⁶⁵Peter. B. Waite, Lord of Point Grey (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 123.

⁶⁶Shrum, Shrum, xiii.

⁶⁷Shrum, Shrum, 42-43.

activities.⁶⁸ Such traits help explain his involvement with the British Columbia Academy of Science and the VI.

His involvement in the Academy of Science is hardly surprising, given his physics background. He had been introduced to the highly competitive nature of scientific research during the 1920s, and the value in promoting Canadian science and stimulating young researchers.⁶⁹ The VI initially gave him an outlet for his lecturing and promotional interests, but his propensity for organizational leadership lead to a stronger role in the VI's management.

It is not surprising, then, to see Shrum as the VI president in 1932-33, proposing amendments to the VI constitution that would favour an enhanced UBC presence and encouraging VI members to accept them.⁷⁰ The objects of the VI did not change significantly in the revised constitution, but other features did.⁷¹ Affiliates no longer provided lectures; the VI itself provided all lectures (although at times with the sponsorship of another society). Members were more broadly welcomed. Those willing to apply and pay the one dollar fee were granted membership without any sort of election or approval by council, and no special class existed for members of an affiliated organization. Quorums for decisions that required a vote were reduced. Perhaps, though, the most significant changes were to the

⁶⁸Shrum, Shrum, 146.

⁶⁹Shrum, Shrum, 47.

⁷⁰VI Minutes, 1 April, 1933. Shrum led the initiative to revise the constitution. VI Collection, Box 2-15, Correspondence, Shrum to VI members, 28 March 1933. Shrum wrote to members of the need to approve the new constitution, and of the significance of the VI.

⁷¹VI Collection, Box 1-3, Constitution.

changes were to the nature of the council. Previously, council was comprised of nine councillors from VI membership and two from each affiliated society. Under the new constitution, ten councillors were elected from the VI, and two were appointed by the President of UBC. Nominations for councillors signed by four or more members were required in writing ten days prior to the annual general meeting.

UBC was thus guaranteed a certain influence, but the major effect of the constitutional revision (which seemed to garner little immediate concern) was a dramatic shift in the backgrounds of councillors.⁷² The new election of councillors was conducted by mail in April 1933. The result was an influx of UBC personnel (including the UBC President's appointees), and the loss of several long-serving councillors, notably Idle and Petersky. Dunlop strongly disapproved of the election after it had been conducted, indicating that Petersky was "peeved and alienated," suggesting that both Idle and Petersky be brought in anyway.⁷³ These results may have been anticipated by Shrum and his colleagues. Shrum and other key VI supporters (including both Davidsons, Klinck, and Williams—all Academy of Science members and

⁷²VI Minutes, 1 April, 1933. No major objections to the revisions were recorded for that meeting, although perennial "town" supporters Dunlop and Petersky were present. Shrum's powerful personality may have kept them quiet. Given Dunlop's past, he would likely have insisted that any objections be recorded, and Cpt. Mellish recorded an inconsequential objection.

⁷³VI Collection Box 2-15, Correspondence, Dunlop to Timms, 29 June, 1933. Dunlop wrote quite strongly of his disapproval (after the election) and of his fears that "gown" discriminated against "town."

UBC scientists—and Rev. Maccaud) did not vote for Dunlop; many did not vote for Petersky or Idle either.⁷⁴

The 1933-34 VI council saw Shrum back as President, along with at least five other UBC faculty; the five remaining councillors were not UBC faculty.⁷⁵ This strong UBC representation would continue until 1939, with many new, long-serving councillors from the UBC faculty. Table 14 illustrates the strong representation UBC faculty had in the VI after 1933; many who had not previously been involved were suddenly frequent supporters. In particular, Barrs, who drafted the recommendation for an Extension Department, suddenly became a long-serving councillor. The cumbersome procedure set out in the new constitution for electing councillors may have helped maintain familiar people on the council, and council became self-perpetuating.⁷⁶

⁷⁴VI Collection, Box 5-5, Election Ballots. It is perhaps telling that, although Petersky voted for Dunlop, Mrs. Petersky did not. Dunlop may not have been particularly popular. His title (FRGS), to his annoyance, was omitted from that year's VI brochure.

⁷⁵VI Collection, Box 4-5. List of councillors as indicated on program for the year. There is no indication of who were the UBC appointees.

⁷⁶Williams, "History of The Vancouver Institute," 15.

TABLE 14
LONGEST SERVING COUNCILLORS, 1929-1939

Name	Years, 1929—33	Years, 1933—39	Occupation
Phillip T. Timms	4	4	Comptroller
J.D.P. Malkin	0	4	Businessman
Mrs. B.T. Rogers	0	3	Social leader
George Winter	0	6	Accountant
L. Anderson	1	3	Van. Nat. History Soc.
John Davidson	4	4	UBC Faculty Member
Gordon Shrum	2	6	UBC Faculty Member
John Ridington	0	6	UBC Faculty Member
M.Y. Williams	2	6	UBC Faculty Member
F.H. Soward	0	5	UBC Faculty Member
V.W. Odium	0	5	UBC Governor
A.F. Barss	0	6	UBC Faculty Member
A.C. Cooke	0	3	UBC Faculty Member

Source: a) Program Brochures, VI Collection Box 4-11
b) Wrigley's British Columbia Directory 1931

With the exception of the UBC appointees, faculty members were apparently under no compulsion to maintain VI affiliation. Although Williams would describe the Institute as becoming "unofficially the senior branch of the extension department," Klinck would declare that there was no formal connection between the University and the VI.⁷⁷ Shrum was involved in 1937-38 at, apparently, his own behest; the following year he was appointed by UBC President Klinck. Concerns to promote UBC were mixed with personal concerns typified by the ongoing support of John Davidson.

⁷⁷Williams, "History of The Vancouver Institute," 14. VI Collection Box 2-15, Correspondence, 2 August 1934, Klinck to VI President G. Winter.

Syllabus Reorientation

The VI council change was accompanied by another change. Lectures from 1916 to 1933 had generally been academic "arts and sciences" topics. A small shift toward popular-interest topics was apparent in the 1929-33 period (see Table 12), but such topics became well represented between 1933-39 (see Table 15). It was common for these lectures to outnumber those of special academic interest. Titles such as "Responsibility for Peace or War on the Pacific," "Hitler and the Nazi Revolution," "Education in a Changing Social Order," "Some Social Problems," and "A Plan for Adult Education in B.C." were among the more provocative.⁷⁸

Such a shift was likely fully intentional, and may have been influenced by current ideas about adult education. One newspaper reported in 1934 that the lectures were given "under the adult education plan that is the Institute's aim during the current season."⁷⁹ If part of the plan was to increase the popularity of the programs by addressing popular concerns, then the plan worked. Klinck's 1935 speech on "A Plan for Adult Education in B.C." and the 1934 report by Barss on the desirability of an Extension Department both stressed the University's need to become more relevant to British Columbia residents, and the former described residents' demand for lectures and guided readings.⁸⁰ Robert England, UBC's first Director of Extension, spoke in 1937 to the VI on "The Threat to Disinterested

⁷⁸VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs. Lecture titles, 14 October, 1933; 18 November, 1933; 17 March, 1934; 12 January, 1935; 16 November 1935.

⁷⁹VI Collection, Box 4-9, Newspaper Clipping.

⁸⁰UBC Extension Collection, Box 2-5, Manuscript.

Education: A Challenge." England, in touch with contemporary adult education thought, urged a humanistic, socially concerned role for academia and adult education.⁸¹

TABLE 15
LECTURE TYPES, 1933-1938

Season	Science	Arts	Social	Fine Arts	Other	Unknown
1933-34	3	5	11	1	1	0
1934-35	3	3	12	1	3	0
1935-36	4	6	7	0	3	0
1936-37	2	0	9	3	5	1
1937-38	5	3	8	0	4	0
1938-39	3	3	6	0	1	8
Totals	20	20	53	5	17	9

Source: Lecture Programs, VI Collection Box 4-5. See Appendix A for categorization guide. Notes on categories: "Science" denotes lectures dealing with aspects of natural and applied science (physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, engineering, agriculture); "Arts" denotes lectures dealing with other academic topics (for example, philosophy, history, biography, geography, literature); "Social" indicates lectures concerned with popular social concerns (for example, education, politics, economics, international affairs); "Fine Arts" denotes artistic performances or illustrations, or lectures on artistic topics other than literature (for example, music or painting appreciation); "Other" includes topics of travel, mountaineering, industry, professions.

Popular notions about adult education had reached UBC by the time University faculty had asserted their presence in the VI. Klinck's 1935 speech referred to adult education influences such as the Mansbridge Report, Thorndike's research on adult learning, and the Antigonish project

⁸¹Robert England, The Threat to Disinterested Education: A Challenge (Toronto: MacMillan, 1937). SPAM 10138, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

of St. Francis Xavier University.⁸² Klinck had long promoted publicly the role of universities in adult education, citing extension as one of the functions of a university. For example, in a 1925 address to the Vancouver Canadian Club, a 1926 article in the *Evening Sun*, a 1932 radio address, and other public addresses, Klinck promoted the extension (adult education) function of the University.⁸³ In his 1932 address to The Vancouver Institute "Some Functions of a University," Klinck described the VI as a valuable extension service.⁸⁴ UBC administration was well aware of adult education developments.

The syllabus reorientation suggested that popular issues were considered in planning the lectures, rather than leaving public appeal up to publicity and a good lecture.⁸⁵ Hunt has argued that some of the mutual enlightenment groups were introverted in nature and typically addressed only members of its group.⁸⁶ By 1933, the VI had lost most of its mutual enlightenment affiliate support, and, influenced by a public UBC university, could not afford to appeal only to a small core of loyal supporters.

This reorientation and concern for social issues reflected a wider social phenomenon. In 1933, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF)

⁸²UBC Extension Collection, Box 2-5, Transcript, L.S. Klinck "A Plan for Adult Education in B.C."

⁸³Klinck Collection, 1-10, 1-19, 2-29, Lectures, 19 June, 1925; 6 January, 1932; 25 September, 1926, Evening Sun.

⁸⁴Klinck Collection, 1-20, Transcript, 8 October, 1932.

⁸⁵VI Minutes, 21 October, 1916. S.D. Scott commented that the first step is to gather large audiences.

⁸⁶Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment," 260.

became the official opposition in the British Columbia legislature, with 31.5 percent of the vote, and seven members in the legislature.⁸⁷ This move was reflected in local Vancouver politics as well.⁸⁸ Helena Gutteridge, once alone with her views in the VI, may have found a different organization in 1933, one that was more willing to sponsor lectures such as "Labour's View of the Present Economic Policy" or "The Challenge of Socialism."⁸⁹ The latter was presumably supportive of socialism, as it was given by CCF member Dorothy Steeves.

Increased Attendance

The result of this new orientation was a remarkable jump in audience attendance (see Table 16). Despite the lingering depression and the relative inaccessibility of UBC, the VI was more popular than it had ever been. Although some of this might be attributed to UBC students in the audience, the enthusiastic press coverage suggests that the events were significant to the larger community of Vancouver.⁹⁰

⁸⁷Electoral History of British Columbia 1871-1986 (Victoria: Elections British Columbia, 1988). Cited in Barman, West p. 362.

⁸⁸Morley, Vancouver, 226. Two socialist (CCF) politicians were on the Vancouver City Council in 1933.

⁸⁹VI Collection, Box 4-5, Programs.

⁹⁰Logan, Tuum Est, 134. VI Collection, Box 4-9, Newspaper Clippings. Lectures during the three seasons 1933-1936 attracted several articles each, some promoting upcoming lectures, and some describing past ones.

TABLE 16
MEMBERSHIP AND ATTENDANCE, 1933-1939

Season	Membership	Annual Attendance
1933/34	-	10,000
1934/35	-	9,000
1935/36	98	-
1936/37	173	-
1937/38	110	(60-800/lecture)
1938/39	95	(100-1200/lecture)

Sources: a) Membership lists and applications, VI Collection Box 4-11 and Box 5-2;
b) Minutes, VI Collection, Box 1-4;
c) Newspaper clippings, VI Collection, Box 4-9.
d) Receipts, VI Collection Box 4-1.

note: these numbers are largely estimates and approximations.

Table 16 shows a remarkable jump in VI support and attendance. The 1937-38 and 1938-39 figures do not indicate an annual total, but give a sense that the VI had become a much more widely patronized form of adult education. Membership figures were not well recorded, and different records provide conflicting data. The receipt book of members' paid dues is perhaps the most systematic record and was kept by an experienced accountant. These sources indicate a modest membership. By the end of the 1930s, some nine hundred and fifty people were named as supporters of the VI, although they were obviously not all in good standing.⁹¹ If the move to UBC had enhanced the VI's membership, the rejuvenated program at the direction of the new council had brought considerable increase in popular support through lecture attendance.

⁹¹VI Collection, Box 4-11, Membership Lists.

Conclusion

Following the "coup" of 1933, the VI settled into a pattern of operation that lasted until 1939 when UBC, Vancouver, and the world turned its attention to the Second World War. The VI had become a different organization since its inception in 1916. After four years of relative independence, the VI was reunited with UBC in 1929, re-establishing the symbolic connection between them. In 1933, UBC faculty members effectively took over the VI council. A new orientation to the syllabus of lectures swelled audience attendance, and the VI found a stable social niche. Local societies were invited to affiliate (and indeed they did), but without the privileges they once enjoyed.⁹² By the end of the 1930s, The Vancouver Institute had carved for itself not only a new identity, but also a new place in Vancouver society.

⁹²VI Collection, Box 1-3, Constitution. The new constitution still allowed for organizational affiliations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY

S. D. Scott remarked during an early VI meeting in 1916 that "by gathering together large audiences an interest will be awakened and the rest will follow."¹ The audiences were gathered, the rest followed, and the VI has been in operation ever since. It continues today to attract audiences to its weekly lectures and supporters to its membership. The VI has not, however, been without change. During its first twenty-three years, the idea of the VI became an institution that underwent several shifts in the politics of its administrative structure. Growing out of Vancouver society, it blended several social currents into an initial stable organization. The relationship between these currents, however, changed to create various interpretations as to the VI's proper social place.

The three social movements of an educational nature prior to 1916 that help to explain the VI were the mutual enlightenment movement, with its traditions of learned societies and public lectures; the university movement, which introduced a new institution of higher education to Vancouver; and a movement towards professionalization, wherein a number of people sought greater control and prestige for their occupations. These movements met in the VI. Many who have been identified as participating in these movements also participated in the establishment and early years of the VI.

¹VI Minutes, 21 October, 1916.

Two individuals were particularly notable for their roles in forming the VI. One was Lemuel Robertson, a scholar, teacher, administrator, and promoter of education in British Columbia. Robertson conceived the VI as an organization to join several educational currents, and by influencing the choice of early participants was able to attract a homogeneous group of supporters. Like Robertson himself, many of those supporters were involved with both the University of British Columbia and local learned societies, and worked in occupations that claimed (or sought) professional status.

Frank Wesbrook was also important in establishing the VI, as he was a strong public leader who could draw people together in a new organization. Wesbrook's background, sensibilities, and status as UBC's first President made him a valuable asset. His involvement with the VI was an important part of Robertson's plan.

The stability that arose from the homogeneous group of VI supporters and the fixed location at UBC encouraged nine years of increasingly popular lectures. Promoters of the VI were able to mix their different interests without having to choose one above another, and different conceptions as to the proper social location of the VI were easily reconciled. Town and gown could easily be joined symbolically because they were joined physically. Attendance, and to some degree membership, slowly increased in the wake of this organizational stability.

UBC's move to its Point Grey location in 1925 marked a new period in the life of the VI. Perhaps aided by a diminished UBC presence on the council, the VI remained located in Vancouver. Two differing conceptions regarding the social place of the VI surfaced. Several influential VI

supporters of the time were particularly keen to promote an independent organization without UBC's facilities, but others encouraged the move to Point Grey thereby maintaining a close relationship with UBC. For four years the VI was without a fixed location and suffered financial and popularity losses. Faced with the organization's demise and with additional invitations to rejoin the University, the VI moved to Point Grey.

The move to Point Grey reunited the VI with UBC, a reunion that, for some, was symbolically very significant. The service changed little, however, although Vancouver's social climate during the Depression encouraged lectures of a more popular nature. In 1933, the VI councillors who were UBC faculty members were able to re-write the VI constitution to allow for a greater UBC presence. Not only would UBC continue to host the VI, but UBC representatives were guaranteed a place on the council. The lectures became much more popular, membership stabilized, and the VI found a new and stable social niche. UBC has been the host ever since.

The central questions that guided this study asked about the beginnings and first years of the organization. How was the VI established, and how did it change in an attempt to find an enduring status? These are questions about the evolution of the administrative structure, and invariably includes questions of politics. The answer to these questions suggests that the VI began as an outgrowth and continuation of several existing social movements, but eventually became closely associated with one of them (UBC).

The study also asked about who was involved and why. During the initial stages, VI supporters were a homogeneous group of men and women who shared certain interests in education, whether for social and personal

development, professional enhancement, or encouraging UBC support. Whatever differences in purpose they had for the VI were easily reconciled, largely because of the VI's location. When UBC moved and the VI was forced to find a new location, these different purposes became more apparent. Some VI promoters encouraged an independent, locally governed institution that arose from Vancouver itself. Others encouraged an institution that was more closely tied to UBC. Financial considerations and dwindling popular support prompted closer ties with UBC, but was also a political victory for those who saw the VI as useful to UBC interests.

As a first explanatory study of the VI, it leaves many questions unasked.² Limited to the first twenty-three years, it invites the question of what happened next. The VI continued to the present, but how did it change in response to the Second World War or other changes in Vancouver society? What relationship did it have to UBC and to the wider community following this study? Such an inquiry could be from UBC's point of view, emphasizing the public relations function of the VI, or from the point of view of the non-University participants in the VI administration. Why do such people remain attracted to the VI? What explains the change from a roster of some dozen councillors in the 1930s to some seventy as listed on current programs? There is an opportunity to bring this study up to the present; the bulk of The Vancouver Institute archival collection is about the VI after 1936.

This study also did not inquire into other dimensions of the VI, particularly that of the audiences. Who were the audiences and did they

²Williams's study is essentially a chronological summary, and adds little explanatory analysis.

change, particularly when the VI moved from Vancouver to Point Grey? Why were they interested? What was the influence of the VI in their lives? Did they learn anything, or was it merely a form of erudite entertainment? These are difficult questions to answer. Perhaps more accessible is the question of who the members were and how the VI fit into their lives. There are some membership records that might help to answer these questions.

The role the VI played in other social developments is another intriguing question. This study has touched on three aspects (mutual enlightenment, professionalization, and the establishment of UBC), but each could be explored on its own. Other social movements also played a part in the VI. The rise of science and science-based occupations, the increasing presence of women in social and educational activities, and the influence of upper-middle class Euro-Canadian actors in defining culture are but three other social developments that participated in the VI. Each could be explored in conjunction with the VI.

There also remain some interesting organizational questions. This study suggests that a "successful" educational enterprise benefits from an administration of like-minded individuals. As the VI began with an idea and no money, and never had significant assets of its own, this study also suggests the power of a good idea in building a stable organization. These are highly speculative suggestions, but could be used in conjunction with other organizational histories to build an argument to address such questions.

Also missing from this study are deeper theoretical considerations. How, for example, might the VI be understood from a theory of race, class, or

gender? There is no question that the VI largely appealed to middle and upper-middle class people of European descent. Although women were very much present as councillors and members, they were still a minority. Other categories used in this study are open to similar questions. Much was made of the notion of "professional," but this is also a slippery concept. It was here defined as an occupation that required considerable preparatory education and carried certain status, but this begs the question of whether there are any functional differences between "professionals" and other educated and socially well-positioned people. Such theoretical considerations remain for another study of the VI.

Town and Gown has, it is hoped, introduced the VI to the reader interested in the history of adult education, particularly in Vancouver or British Columbia. It has also argued for a particular understanding of the VI's administrative evolution as linked to the interests of its early promoters and their social situations. Although this study raises many questions, it will be valuable if it provides a useful starting-point in finding their answers.

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APPENDIX 1

THE VANCOUVER INSTITUTE: LECTURES 1916-1939

The following is a list of VI lectures 1916-1939, providing the speaker, date, and title. It also presents a classification of those lectures into various categories. "Science" (Sc) denotes lectures dealing with aspects of natural and applied science (physics, astronomy, chemistry, biology, engineering, agriculture); "Arts" (Ar) denotes lectures dealing with other academic topics (philosophy, history, biography, geography, literature); "Social" (So) indicates lectures concerned with public social concerns (education, politics, economics, international affairs); "Fine Arts" (FA) denotes artistic performances or illustrations, or lectures on artistic topics other than literature (music or painting appreciation); "Other" (Ot) includes topics of travel, mountaineering, industry, professions. Unknown titles are also indicated (?).

The list is compiled from the Programs, Vancouver Institute Collection, Box 4-5, and modified slightly by information in the VI Minutes.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Title</u>
1916	Oct. 12	Archibald, E.H.	Sc	The Atom of the Chemist
1916	Oct. 21	Howard, Rossiter	FA	Our Architectural Inheritance from the Renaissance
1916	Oct. 26	Archibald, E.H.	Sc	The Atom of the Scientist (Concluded)
1916	Nov. 2	Eastman, Mack	Ar	Brandy and the Fur Trade in New France, 1610-1760

1916	Nov. 9	Clark, R.H.	Sc	Can We Manufacture Our Own Chemicals in Canada?
1916	Nov. 16	Ashton, H.	Ar	Madame de Sevigne
1916	Nov. 23	Larsen, Thorlief	Ar	The Romantic Period of English Literature
1916	Nov. 30	Hall, T.P.	So	The Present Phase of Social Evolution
1916	Dec. 4	Boggs, T.H.	So	The High Cost of Living. Its Causes and Remedies
1916	Dec. 7	Wesbrook, Frank F.	Sc	Bacteria
1916	Dec. 14	Tupper, Sir Charles H.	?	Subject T.B.A.
1917	Jan. 11	Wood, F.G.C.	Ar	English Drama in its Relation to Present-day Problems
1917	Jan. 18	Davidson, J.G.	Sc	The Conservation of Waste Products
1917	Jan. 25	Scholefield, E.O.S.	Ar	Early Settlement of British Columbia
1917	Feb. 1	Haggen, E.A.	So	The Relation of Precious Metals to Finance and Banking
1917	Feb. 8	Wade, F.C.	Ar	The United Empire Loyalists of Ontario
1917	Feb. 15	Klinck, L.S.	Sc	The Evolution of Agriculture
1917	Feb. 22	MacBeth, Rev. R.G.	Ar	The Early Settlements of the Red River Valley
1917	Mar. 1	Fripp, R. MacKay	FA	The Evolution of Architecture from the Primitive to the Romanesque
1917	Mar. 8	Hodge, E.T.	Sc	Mountains and How They are Formed

1917	Mar. 15	Weston, W.P.	FA	The Place of Art in Education
1917	Mar. 22	Reid, R.L.	Ar	The French Settlement of Acadia
1917	Oct. 5	Scott, S.D.	So	Recollectionsof the Parliamentary Press Gallery.
1917	Oct. 11	Fraser, C. McLean	Sc	Adaptation to Environment as Shown by Some Marine Animals.
1917	Oct. 18	Macbeth, Rev. R.G.	Ar	Pathfinders to the Coast -- Alexander MacKenzie and Robert Campbell.
1917	Oct. 25	Fripp, R. MacKay	FA	The Evolution of the House.
1917	Nov. 1	Raymond, W.O.	So	The Woman Who Has Gone and the Woman Who Has Come.
1917	Nov. 8	McConkey, Mrs. W.A.	So	Proportional Representation.
1917	Nov. 15	Lister, J.G.	Sc	The Magnet and Its Modern Application
1917	Nov. 22	Hawkins, Norman	FA	The Pre-Raphaelites.
1917	Nov. 29	McVety, J.H.	So	Industrial Accidents and Workmen's Compensation.
1917	Dec. 6	Davidson, J.	Sc	A Survey of Our Native Flora.
1917	Dec. 13	Reid, R.L.	Ar	The Coinage of Gold Coins in B.C.
1917	Dec. ?	Kelsey, F.W. (Archeology)	ScFA	St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome
1918	Jan. 10	Hutchinson, A.H.	Sc	Growth, Development and Evolution.

1918	Jan. 17	Jamieson, Mrs. J.S.	So	Recent Tendencies in Socialism.
1918	Jan. 24	Ashton, H.	Ar	Balzac - The Man.
1918	Jan. 31	Trotter, W.R.	Ar	Migration Within the Empire.
1918	Feb. 7	Wheeler, Arthur O.	Ot	The Peaks and Passes of the Canadian Rockies.
1918	Feb. 14	Shaw, H.C.	Ar	The Poets of Today.
1918	Feb. 21		?	TBA
1918	Feb. 27	Anderson, L.F.	Ar	Delphi -- Ancient and Today.
1918	Feb. 28	Clark, R.H.	Sc	What is Combustion?
1918	Mar. 7	Clement, Mr. Justice	Ar	The State of Canada Between the Quebec Act and 1838.
1918	Mar. 14	Kingsley, E.T.	So	Capital, Labor and the State.
1918	Mar. 21	Sparling, R.	Sc	A Ramble Through the Prehistoric World -- Restoration of Ancient Life Forms.
1918	Mar. 28	Boving, P.A.	Sc	Mendelism and Plant Breeding.
1918	April 4	Thomas, Rev. Ernest	?	TBA
1918	April 12	Gowen, Rev. H.H.	Ar	Rabindranath Tagore
1918	Mar.	Horta, Victor	Ar	The Cathedrals and Public Buildings in Belgium and Northern France as Affected by the War.
1918	Oct. 3	Howay, F.W.	Ar	The Spaniards at Nootka.
1918	Oct. 10	Mullin, R.H.	Sc	Saving Babies.

1918	Oct. 17		?	TBA
1918	Oct. 24	Pritchard, W.A.	So	A Working Man's Viewpoint of History.
1918	Oct. 31	Hebb, T.C.	Sc	Radiation and Ether.
1918	Nov. 7	Ridington, John	Ar	The 'New' Poetry.
1918	Nov. 14	Twizell, R.P.S.	FA	How to Recognize the Principal Styles of Architecture.
1918	Nov. 21	Hill-Tout, Charles	Sc	Recent Discoveries Bearing Upon the Original Source of Our Alphabetic Symbols.
1918	Nov. 28		?	TBA
1918	Dec. 5	Sparling, R.	Sc	Through the Southern Deserts.
1918	Dec. 13	Gowen, Rev. H.H.	Ar	The War Poetry of the Bible
1919	Jan. 9	Bursill, J. Francis	Ar	Shakespeare on the Stage.
1919	Jan. 16	McEvoy, Bernard	FA	Art and the Printing Press.
1919	Jan. 23	Gordon, J.S.	Sc	Nature Study in Schools.
1919	Jan. 30	Makovski, L.W.	Ar	Where East Meets West.
1919	Feb. 6	Ridington, John	Ar	The New Poetry.
1919	Feb. 13	Hall, T.P.	Sc	The Mathematical and Psychological Principles of Music.
1919	Feb. 20	Gutteridge, Miss H.	So	Women's Relation to the Labor Movement.
1919	Feb. 27	Sedgewick, G.G.	Ar	Joseph Conrad.
1919	Mar. 6	Sadler, Wilfred	Sc	A City Milk Supply.

1919	Mar. 13	Plaskett, J.S.	Sc	Modern Views of the Universe.
1919	Mar. 20	Owen, V. Lloyd	Ot	Peace River Opportunities.
1919	Mar. 27	Todd, O.J.	FA	The Architecture of the Athenian Acropolis.
1919	n.d.	Twizell, R.P.S.	FA	How to Recognize the Principal Styles of Architecture.
1919	n.d.	Hutchinson, A.H.	Sc	The Romance of Biology.
1919	n.d.	McKechnie, R.E.	Sc	The Romance of Prehistoric Man.
1919	n.d.	Plaskett, J.S.	Sc	The Romance of Astronomy.
1919	n.d.	McGregor, Donald	Ar	The Prospector as a Factor in the Expansion of Civilization.
1919	Oct. 30	MacMillan, H.R.	Sc	The Forest Regions of B.C.
1919	Dec. 11	Reid, R.L.; Taylor, A. Dunbar	Ar	Sam Slick
1920	Jan. 22	Sedgewick, G.G.	Ar	Matthew Arnold as Mid-Victorian Critic of Literature, and Poet.
1920	Feb. 12	Davidson, J.G.	Sc	Fuel as a Determining Factor in the Future History of Western Canada.
1920	Feb. 19	Clark, R.H.	Sc	The Romance of Chemistry.
1920	Feb. 26	Boggs, T.H.	So	Democracy: A Failure, An Achievement or a Hope.
1920	n.d.	MacIntosh, D.A.	Sc	The Age of the Earth.
1920	n.d.	Sadler, Wilfred	Sc	A City Milk Supply.
1920	n.d.	Hill-Tout, Charles	Sc	The Mind of Primitive Man.

1920	n.d.	Sharpe, Captain	Ar	War Photography.
1920	n.d.	Foster, W.	So	National Parks as an Investment.
1920	n.d.	Robertson, Lemuel	Ar	Cicero: Man and Statesman.
1920	n.d.	Wicker, E.	Ar	With Allenby at Armageddon.
1920	n.d.	Wilson, Charles	Ar	Reminiscences of the Cariboo
1920	Mar. 11	Brock, R.W.	Ar	Bible Lands.
1920	Oct. 7	Robertson, Lemuel	Ar	Recent Excavations in Crete.
1920	Oct. 14	Coleman, H.T.J.	So	The Schoolmaster and Democracy.
1920	Oct. 21	Jamieson, Mrs. J.S.	So	The Fabian Society.
1920	Oct. 28	Howay, F.W.	Ar	Captain Cook at Nootka.
1920	Nov. 4	McDonald, W.L.	Ar	Robert Louis Stevenson.
1920	Nov. 11	(Alpine Club)	?	TBA
1920	Nov. 18	Gowen, Rev. H.H.	Ar	War Poetry of the World.
1920	Nov. 25	Buchanan, D.	Sc	Other Worlds Than Ours.
1920	Dec. 2	Ashton, H.	Ar	Hotel Rambouillet.
1920	Dec. 9	Denison, F. Napier	Sc	Earthquakes and Volcanoes
1921	Jan. 13	Archibald, E.H.	Sc	Liquid Gases.
1921	Jan. 20	Brock, R.W.	Sc	Vancouver's Ancient History.
1921	Jan. 27	Scott, S.D.	Ar	Joseph Howe.
1921	Feb. 3	Hebb, T.C.	Sc	The Aether and Relativity.
1921	Feb. 10	Davidson, J.	Sc	The Morality of Plants.
1921	Feb. 17	Todd, O.J.	Ar	Herodotus.

1921	Feb. 24	Sedgewick, G.G.	Ar	Poetry of Meredith.
1921	Mar. 3	Schofield, S.J.	Sc	The Origin of Mountains.
1921	Mar. 10	Fraser, C. McLean	Sc	Biological Problems of the Pacific.
1921	Mar. 17	Sedgewick, G.G.	Ar	Poetry of Hardy.
1921	Mar. 24	Musical Evening.	FA	Vancouver Women's Musical Club.
1921	Oct. 6	Fraser, C. McLean	Sc	Zoology in Relation of Everyday Life.
1921	Oct. 13	Clark, A.F.B.	Ar	In Memory of Dante -- 1321-1921 Dante's Life and Times
1921	Oct. 20	Boving, P.A.	Sc	Turnips and Immigration.
1921	Oct. 27	Clark, A.F.B.	Ar	The Poetry of Dante.
1921	Nov. 3	MacBeth, Rev. R.G.	So	Elements of Nation Building in the West
1921	Nov. 10	Eastman, Mack	So	Two Revolutions: Bolsheviks and Jacobins.
1921	Nov. 17	Thompson, N.W.	Sc	Smelting, Ancient and Modern.
1921	Nov. 24	O'Boyle, Rev. W.P.	Ar	St. Augustine.
1921	Dec. 1	Foster, W.W.	Ot	With the Alpine Club on Mount Robson.
1921	Dec. 8	Klinck, L.S.	So	Gleanings from the Congress of the Universities of the Empire
1922	Jan. 12	Buchanan, D.	Sc	The Making of Worlds.
1922	Jan. 19	Gill, L.W.	So	The Field of the Technical School.

1922	Jan. 26	Wood, F.G.C.	Ar	The Plays of Lord Dunsany.
1922	Feb. 2	Wade, M.S.	Ar	Some Pathfinders of the B.C. Hinterland
1922	Feb. 9	Denison, F. Napier	Sc	Earthquakes and Slow Earth Movements.
1922	Feb. 16	MacKay, Mrs. Isabel E.	Ar	Glimpses of Canadian Writers.
1922	Feb. 23	Clement, F.M.	Sc	The Economic Basis of the Development of Agrarian Movements.
1922	Mar. 2	Buell, W.F.	Ar	Some Events of Canada's Great War, 1812-1815.
1922	Mar. 9	Eastham, J.W.	Sc	Fungi: Their Mode of Life and Importance to Man.
1922	Mar. 16	Uglow, W.L.	Sc	Life in the Peruvian Andes.
1922	Mar. 23	Gowen, Rev. H.H.	Ar	Literature and the Animal World.
1922	Oct. 5	Davidson, J.G.	Ar	Science, Theology and Christianity.
1922	Oct. 12	Vance, Principal	So	The Influence of Machinery on the Worker.
1922	Oct. 19	Brock, R.W.	So	The Situation in the Near East.
1922	Oct. 26	Walker, F.C.	FA	Artistic Lying.
1922	Nov. 2	Dunlop, W.R.	Ar	The Periclean Age in Modern Athens.
1922	Nov. 9	Schofield, S.J.	Ot	The Mining Industry of B.C.
1922	Nov. 16	Henderson, James	Ar	Some Modern Philosophical Theories.

1922	Nov. 23	Wheeler, Major	Ot	The Mount Everest Expedition of 1921.
1922	Nov. 30	Williams, M.Y.	Sc	Birds of Prey.
1922	Dec. 7	Murphy, Mr. Justice	Ar	Reminiscences of Pioneer life in B.C.
1923	Jan. 11	Logan, H.T.	Ar	Nero.
1923	Jan. 18	Ashton, H.	Ar	Cambridge.
1923	Jan. 25	Angus, H.F.	So	Impressions of Economic Conditions in Central Europe.
1923	Feb. 1	Sharp, G.L. Thorton	So	Town Planning.
1923	Feb. 8	Bollert, Miss M.L.	Ar	Folklore.
1923	Feb. 15	Uglow, W.L.	Ot	The Evolution of Gold Mining in the Cariboo.
1923	Feb. 22	Burnett, W.B.	?	Healing Cults.
1923	Mar. 1	Goard, Rev. W. Pascoe	?	The Crown of the Continent.
1923	Mar. 8	Ireland, Rev. G.D.	So	Social Relief, a Scientific and Human Problem.
1923	Mar. 15	Mayers, E.C.	So	The Destruction of Law by Legislation.
1923	Mar. 22	Sage, W.N.	Ar	David Thompson.
1923	Oct. 4	Clement, F.M.	Ar	Niagara, the First Capital of Upper Canada.
1923	Oct. 11	Kidd, George E.	Ar	Ancient Egypt.
1923	Oct. 18	Williams, M.Y.	Sc	Some Geological Discoveries in the North.
1923	Oct. 25	Denison, F. Napier	Sc	Earthquakes and how they are Recorded.

1923	Nov. 1	Dunlop, W.R.	Ar	Africa and the Zimbabwe Ruins.
1923	Nov. 8	Rees-Thomas, Mrs.	FA	Shakespeare as a Musician.
1923	Nov. 15	Fraser, Miss A. Ermatinger	FA	The Painters of Light in Holland.
1923	Nov. 22	Outram, Sir James	Ot	First Ascents in the Rockies.
1923	Nov. 29	Coleman, H.T.J.	Ar	Nature and Human Nature.
1923	Dec. 6	Todd, O.J.	Ar	Old and New Around the Mediterranean
1924	Jan. 10	Odlum, E.	Ot	Travels through Egypt, Palestine, India and Japan.
1924	Jan. 17	Turnbull, J.M.	Sc	Mining: Ancient and Modern.
1924	Jan. 24	Sedgewick, G.G.	Ar	The New Wordsworth.
1924	Jan. 31	Sadler, Wilfred	Ar	Harwich to London -- Through Copenhagen and Strasbourg.
1924	Feb. 7	Plaskett, J.S.	Sc	The Evolution of the Stars.
1924	Feb. 14	Clark, A.F.B.	Ar	Florence.
1924	Feb. 21	Brock, R.W.	Ar	China.
1924	Feb. 28	Klinck, L.S.	Ot	University Administration.
1924	Mar. 6	Ward, Rev. N.L.	Ar	Mysticism in Comparative Religions.
1924	Mar. 13	Bursill, J. Francis	Ar	The London of Charles Dickens.
1924	Mar. 20	Gowen, H.H.	So	Educational Conditions in the Orient.
1924	Oct. 9	Dunlop, W.R.	Ar	Aspects of Imperial Federation.

1924	Oct. 16	Angus, H.F.	So	Trade and Unemployment in Great Britain.
1924	Oct. 23	Davies, K.C.J.	Ar	The Cities of the Moguls.
1924	Oct. 30	MacBeth, Rev. R.G.	Ar	The Romance of the Royal Mounted.
1924	Nov. 6	Reid, R.L.	So	The Supreme Court of the League of Nations.
1924	Nov. 13	McKillop, A.L.	Ar	The Truth About Einstein.
1924	Nov. 20	Duckering, W.E.	Ar	Religion in Science, and Science in Religion, by a Layman.
1924	Nov. 27	Morrison, Mr. Justice	So	Judicial Tribulations.
1924	Dec. 4	Ross, Rev. J.J.	Ar	The Land of the Caesars.
1924	Dec. 11	Boving, P.A.	Sc	Breeding and the State
1925	Jan. 8	Vickers, H.	Sc	Radio Telegraphy and Telephony.
1925	Jan. 15	Sovereign, Rev. A.H.	Ot	Mount Garibaldi.
1925	Jan. 22	MacInnes, Isabel	Ot	Picturesque Bavaria.
1925	Jan. 29	Harper, W.E.	Sc	Some Famous Observatories and their Work.
1925	Feb. 5	Ogden, Rev. J.W.	Ar	Athens, the Glory that was Greece.
1925	Feb. 12	Christie, H.R.	Sc	Forests and Water Supply.
1925	Feb. 19	Coulthard, Mrs. Walter	FA	British Music.
1925	Feb. 26	Clemens, W.A.	Sc	Life in Inland Waters.

1925	Mar. 5	Sedgewick, G.G.	Ar	The New Wordsworth.
1925	Mar. 12	Guernsey, F.W.	Sc	The Production of Sulphur.
1925	Mar. 19	Dickson, Frank	Sc	Plant Diseases.
1925	Mar. 26	Gowen, H.H.	Ar	The History and Romance of Verse Forms.
1925	April 3	Weir, G.M.	So	Public Opinion and Education.
1925	Oct. 8	Davidson, J.	Ar	Nature Study and Religion.
1925	Oct. 22	Hill-Tout, Charles	Ar	The Antiquity of Man.
1925	Oct. 29	Weir, G.M.	So	Social Aspects of Education in B.C.
1925	Nov. 5	Williams, M.Y.	Ar	Impressions of the Far East.
1925	Nov. 12	Sage, W.N.	Ar	The Making of a Governor (Sir James Douglas).
1925	Nov. 19	Foster, W.W.	Ot	The Conquest of Mount Logan
1925	Nov. 26	MacInnes, Isabel	So	Some Aspects of Conditions in Germany.
1925	Dec. 3	Ward, Rev. H.L.	Ar	The Soul of Japan.
1925	Dec. 10	Jamieson, Miss A.B.	So	Education for Women.
1925	Dec. 17	Hood, Robert A.	Ar	Puck on Pegasus
1926	Jan. 7	Nelson, Miss Blanche B.	FA	Music as an Expression of Nationality.
1926	Jan. 14	Dunlop, W.R.	Ar	The Scottish Reformation.
1926	Jan. 21	Ridington, John	Ar	America and the Arts.
1926	Jan. 28	Spencer, G.J.	Ar	Am I My Brother's Keeper?
1926	Feb. 4	Webster, L. Bullock	FA	The Drama in Canada.

1926	Feb. 11	Hinton, Joseph	FA	The Influence of the Italian Renaissance on the Art of Singing.
1926	Feb. 18	Bursill, J. Francis	Ar	The Evolution of the Shakespearean Drama.
1926	Feb. 25	Schofield, S.J.	Sc	Ore Deposits of B.C.
1926	Mar. 4	Ogden, Rev. J.W.	Ot	Constantinople as I saw it, or Where East meets West.
1926	Mar. 11	Robertson, Lemuel	Ar	A Day on the Sacred Mountain of Rome.
1926	Mar. 18	Hill, H.W.	Sc	The Alleged Public Health of the Old Testament.
1926	Mar. 25	Gowen, H.H.	Ar	The Pacific Ocean, in History and in Vision.
1926	April 2	Macdonald, M.A.	So	Public Opinion.
1926	Oct. 8	Dunlop, W.R.	Ar	South Africa and the Empire.
1926	Oct. 15	Taylor, A. Dunbar	Ar	Kipling and His Poetry.
1926	Oct. 22	Buchanan, D.	Sc	Stellar Evolution.
1926	Oct. 29	Denison, F. Napier	Sc	Earthquakes as Affecting this Continent
1926	Nov. 5	Klinck, L.S.	So	The University and the State
1926	Nov. 12	Coleman, H.T.J.	Ar	An Hour with a Pessimist.
1926	Nov. 19	Nelson, Miss Blanche B.	Fa	Mediaeval Music.
1926	Nov. 26	Thompson, H.N.	Sc	Iron -- Cold Iron.
1926	Dec. 3	Schofield, S.J.	Sc	Geological Features of the Coast Range of B.C.

1926	Dec. 10	Vernon, F.W.	Sc	Aeroplane Design and Future Possibilities
1926	Dec. 17	Bursill, J. Francis	Ar	London in the Time of Dickens
1927	Jan. 7	Dobson, Rev. Hugh	So	Racial Problems in Canada.
1927	Jan. 14	Burris, Miss Grace	So	Impressions of League of Empire Tour in Europe.
1927	Jan. 21	McElhanney, T.A.	Sc	Forest Products Research and the Timber Industry.
1927	Jan. 28	Lister, J.G.	Sc	Some Aspects of the Modern Idea of the Structure of the Atom.
1927	Feb. 4	Hill, H.W.	Sc	Does Poor Health Cause Disease?
1927	Feb. 11	Galloway, J.D.	Sc	Some Great Canadian Geologists.
1927	Feb. 18	Gomery, Percy	Ar	The Mechanics of Authorship.
1927	Feb. 25	Hennings, A.E.	Sc	Weather Proverbs.
1927	Mar. 4	TBA	?	
1927	Mar. 11	O'Boyle, Rev. W.P.	So	The Agrarian Movement.
1927	Mar. 18	Coulter, Howard S.	So	The New Germany.
1927	Mar. 25	Mara, Miss Frances C.	So	Girl Guides at Work and at Play.
1927	April 1	Buck, F.E.	Sc	Efficiency in City Building.
1927	Oct. 7	Coleman, H.T.J.	Ar	Sixty Years After -- Or Then and Now in Canadian Life.
1927	Oct. 14	Fraser, C. McLean	Ot	A Glimpse of Japan.
1927	Oct. 21	McLaren, D.R.	Ar	Flying in Canada.

1927	Oct. 28	Baker, S.H.	FA	Some Tendencies in the Contemporary Novel.
1927	Nov. 4	McKelvie, B.A.	Ar	British Columbia's Part in Confederation.
1927	Nov. 11	Larsen, Thorlief	Ar	Tragedy.
1927	Nov. 18	Williams, M.Y.	Sc	What has Geology Contributed to Western Civilization?
1927	Nov. 25	Howay, F.W.	Ar	The Romance of the Maritime Fur Trade.
1927	Dec. 2	King, H.B.	So	The Process of Educational Reorganization in B.C. and its Implications.
1927	Dec. 9	Munday, Mrs. Don	Ot	Mystery Mountain.
1927	Dec. 16	Eastham, J.W.	Sc	Epidemics in the Plant World.
1928	Jan. 6	McKay, J.G.	Sc	Mental Hygiene.
1928	Jan. 13	Shrum, G.M.	Sc	Cold Light.
1928	Jan. 20	Reid, R.L.	?	TBA.
1928	Jan. 27	Angus, H.F.	So	Political Freedom.
1928	Feb. 3	Morgan, J.W.	Fa	Shakespeare -- His Infinite Variety.
1928	Feb. 10	James, Miss M.E.	FA	Dr. Ethyl Smith (A British Composer).
1928	Feb. 17	Brock, R.W.	So	Pacific Relations.
1928	Feb. 24	Gowen, H.H.	Ar	Thirteen Centuries of Islam.
1928	Mar. 2	Wyman, J. Benson	Ar	The Maoris
1928	Mar. 9	Scott, Charles H.	FA	Modern Movements in Art.
1928	Mar. 16	Dolmage, Victor	Sc	Mineralogy and Petrology.

1928	Mar. 23	Clark, R.H.	Sc	The Wonders of Cellulose.
1928	Mar. 30	Brown, Rev. J.G.	Ar	Ethical Standards in Ancient Civilizations.
1928	Oct. 5	Petersky, S.	Sc	An Outline of the Art of Psychoanalysis.
1928	Oct. 12	McGill, Helen G.	So	Juvenile Courts and Their Functions.
1928	Oct. 19	Bellairs, Robert R.	FA	Canadian Plays.
1928	Oct. 26	Burnett, Frank	Ar	South Sea Islanders and Their Customs.
1928	Nov. 2	Eastham, J.W.	Sc	Edible and Poisonous Mushrooms.
1928	Nov. 9	Dickens' Fellowship	FA	An Evening with Dickens.
1928	Nov. 16	Hill-Tout, Charles	Sc	The Drift of the Continents.
1928	Nov. 23	Hodgson, E.K.	Ar	The Real Abraham Lincoln.
1928	Nov. 30	Gillies, G.A.	Sc	Modern Methods of Ore Treatment.
1928	Dec. 7	Coleman, H.T.J.	Ar	The Philosophy of Leisure.
1928	Dec. 14	Greaves, G.A.	Sc	Physiotherapy.
1929	Jan. 18	Lister, J.G.	?	TBA
1929	Jan. 25	Campbell, J.C.	Ar	Canada's Wild Life Sanctuary.
1929	Feb. 1	Dolmage, Victor	?	TBA
1929	Feb. 8	Reames, Inspector	Ot	Canadian Administration in the Arctic.
1929	Feb. 15	Cornfield, C.J.	FA	Music of India.
1929	Feb. 22	Hutchinson, A.H.	Sc	Evolution Through Co-operation.

1929	Mar. 1	Gibson, J.W.	?	The Landscape Beautiful.
1929	Mar. 8	Straight, R.	So	Modern Educational Measurements.
1929	Mar. 15	Duncan, George	FA	Elizabethan Theatre.
1929	Mar. 22	Davidson, J.G.	Sc	Musical Vibrations.
1929	April 5	O'Boyle, W.P.	Ar	The Role of Canada.
1929	Oct. 7	Petersky, S.	Sc	The Newer Medicine -- Health Audits.
1929	Oct. 14	Klinck, L.S.	Ot	Scandinavia Revisited.
1929	Oct. 21	Davidson, J.G.	Sc	Color.
1929	Oct. 28	Clark, A.F.B.	So	What Soviet Russia Really Looks Like.
1929	Nov. 4	Harris, J.A.	Sc	The Chemist -- A Mystery Man.
1929	Nov. 11	Soward, F.H.	So	British Labor and the League of Nations
1929	Nov. 18	Sadler, W.	Sc	What a Cheese Can Do.
1929	Nov. 25	Fraser, C. McLean	Ot	Around the World in 80 Minutes.
1929	Dec. 2	Plaskett, J.S.	Sc	The Rotation of the Galaxy.
1929	Dec. 9	Weston, W.P.	FA	Modern Developments in Architecture.
1929	Dec. 16	Dickens' Fellowship	FA	An Evening with Dickens
1930	Jan. 6	Hill, H.W.	Sc	Why Eat?
1930	Jan. 13	Steeves, Mrs. R.P.	Ar	Holland's Golden Age and Its Art.

1930	Jan. 20	Sanford, A.M.	FA	A Distinctive Note In Canadian Poetry.
1930	Jan. 27	Logan, A.J.	Ar	Christianity and the Early Roman Empire
1930	Feb. 3	Day, J. Friend	So	The Place of Business Subjects in Higher Education
1930	Feb. 10	Hill-Tout, Charles	Ar	Picture Writing of the Ancients and How Our Letters are Derived from Them.
1930	Feb. 17	Gowen, H.H.	Ar	The Evolution of Literature.
1930	Feb. 24	TBA	?	
1930	Mar. 3	Henderson, James	Ar	Philosophy of As If.
1930	Mar. 10	Angus, H.F.	So	Impressions of the Kyoto Conference on Pacific Relations.
1930	Mar. 17	No name	FA	Irish Music.
1930	Mar. 24	Stevens, Mrs. Winifred	Ar	Mrs. Annie Charlotte Barton.
1930	Mar. 31	Morrison, A.	So	Law Enforcement.
1930	Oct. 6	Maccaud, Rev. F.W.	Ar	Evolution and Involution of Religion.
1930	Oct. 13	Buchanan, D.	Sc	Illustrated Lecture in Astronomy.
1930	Oct. 20	Burnett, W.B.	So	Sterilization of the Feeble-minded and Criminals.
1930	Oct. 27	Quainton, Rev. C.S.	So	What the Jew has Given to Human Life.
1930	Nov. 3	Davidson, J.G.	Ar	Gleanings from My Trip to the International, and Horticultural Congresses.

1930	Nov. 10	Stevens, A.M.	Ar	Nationalism of Canadian Poetry.
1930	Nov. 17	Gillies, G.A.	Ot	Impressions of the trip to the Empire Mining Congress in South Africa.
1930	Nov. 24	Fisher, Mr. Justice	So	Vocational Guidance.
1930	Dec. 1	Ure, William	Sc	The Nature of Matter.
1930	Dec. 8	MacDermot, H.J.	So	Can I Afford to be Sick?
1930	Dec. 15	Kurth, B.L.	FA	The Spirit of the Carol
1931	Jan. 5	Denison, F. Napier	Sc	Weather Cycles and Abnormal World Weather.
1931	Jan. 12	Kidd, George E. (Dr.)	Sc	Racial Cranial Characteristics.
1931	Jan. 19	Carrothers, W.A.	So	The Menace of Business Depressions.
1931	Jan. 26	Coleman, H.T.J.	So	The New Humanism.
1931	Feb. 2	Members of the Dickens'	FA	Fellowship gave An Evening with Dickens.
1931	Feb. 9	TBA	?	
1931	Feb. 16	Shrum, G.M.	Sc	The Electron: What is It?
1931	Feb. 23	Kelly, W.N.	Ot	Whales and Modern Whaling.
1931	Mar. 2	Farris, Evelyn F.	So	The Contribution of the Small College.
1931	Mar. 9	Pauw, John H.	So	Architecture in its relation to Town Planning.
1931	Mar. 16	Eastham, J.W.	?	TBA.
1931	Mar. 23	Larsen, Thorlief	Ar	New Light on Shakespeare.

1931	Oct. 19	Maccaud, Rev. F.W.	Ar	The Prodigal Son in the Light of Philosophy.
1931	Oct. 26	Fallis, Rev. G.O.	So	Europe as We See It Today.
1931	Nov. 2~	Vrooman, Charles H.	Sc	Prevention of Tuberculosis in B.C.
1931	Nov. 9	Klinck, L.S.	So	The University and Adult Education.
1931	Nov. 16	Marshall, M.J.	Sc	Chemistry in Relation to Industry.
1931	Nov. 2	Brock, R.W.	Ar	Finland and the Arctic Coast of Norway.
1931	Nov. 30	Charlesworth, H.	So	Education and International Relationships.
1931	Dec. 7	Renison, Rev. R.J.	So	The Future of Civilization.
1931	Dec. 14	Smith, G.M.	?	TBA
1931	n.d.	Finlay, Allan H.	Ot	The World's Greatest Bridges
1932	Jan. 4	Dalgleish, Alex	Ot	Prospector's Valley Camp.
1932	Jan. 11	Sage, W.N.	Ar	Spanish Explorers of B.C.
1932	Jan. 18	Thomson, H.M.	Sc	Keeping up with Metallurgy.
1932	Jan. 25	Dunlop, W.R.	Ar	Burns, in Song and Story.
1932	Feb. 1	Hutchinson, A.H.	Sc	The Greatness of the Small in Life.
1932	Feb. 8	Pearce, J.A.	Sc	The Structure of the Universe.
1932	Feb. 15	Members of the Dickens'	FA	Fellowship gave Another Evening with Dickens.
1932	Feb. 22	Adams, F.D.	?	TBA
1932	Feb. 29	Howay, F.W.	?	TBA

1932	Mar. 7	Shakespeare Society	FA	Scenes from Shakespeare.
1932	Mar. 14	Music Teachers' Federation	FA	An Evening of Ensemble Music.
1932	Mar. 22	Hinchcliffe, J.	TBA	
1932	Mar. 29	Gowen, H.H.	Ar	Jerusalem, Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow.
1932	Oct. 8	Klinck, L.S.	So	Some Functions of a University.
1932	Oct. 15	Angus, H.F.	So	The Kidd Report.
1932	Oct. 22	F.H. Soward	So	Hitlerism and the German Republic.
1932	Oct. 29	Spencer, G.J.	Ar	St. Mark 1:6.
1932	Nov. 5	Carrothers, W.A.	So	Is Capitalism Doomed?
1932	Nov. 12	Weir, G.M.	So	Vital Social Economies.
1932	Nov. 19	Shrum, G.M.	Sc	The Nature and Origin of Cosmic Rays.
1932	Nov. 26	Brown, Roscoe M.	Sc	Why Use Wood?
1932	Dec. 3	Boving, P.A.	FA	Scandinavian Art.
1932	Dec. 10	Cullwick, E.C.	Sc	Electricity. the Servant of Man
1933	Jan. 7	McGregor, D.A.	Ar	Sir Matthew Begbie.
1933	Jan. 14	Wood, F.G.C.	Ar	Sir Walter Scott -- After One Hundred Years.
1933	Jan. 21	Haywood, A.K.	?	The Healing Cults.
1933	Jan. 28	Reid, R.L.	Ot	Canadiana from a Collector's Standpoint.

1933	Feb. 4	Alpine Club	Ot	Explorations in the Coast Range by Alpine Club Members.
1933	Feb. 11	Cromie, R.J.	So	Publicity's Place in Civilization.
1933	Feb. 18	Plaskett, J.S.	Sc	The Expanding Universe.
1933	Feb. 25	Clark, R.H.	Sc	Chemistry in the Service of Man.
1933	Mar. 4	MusicTeachers' Federation	FA	A concert to mark the Brahms Centenary.
1933	Mar. 11	Buchanan, D.	Sc	Some Recent Developments in Astronomy.
1933	Mar. 18	Ridington, John	Ar	Art, and Its Changing Standards.
1933	Mar. 25	Todd, O.J.	Ar	Pagan Ethics.
1933	Oct. 14	Angus, H.F.	So	Responsibility for Peace or War on the Pacific.
1933	Oct. 21	Carrothers, W.A.	So	The N.R.A. -- An American Experiment.
1933	Oct. 28	Odium, Victor W.	So	A Critical View of the League Of Nations.
1933	Nov. 4	Sage, W.N.	So	The British Commonwealth and Foreign Policy.
1933	Nov. 11	Reid, R.L. [Chairman]	So	Debate -- Resolved that Democracy Offers Greater Guarantees for Peace than Dictatorship.
1933	Nov. 18	Soward, F.H.	So	Hitler and the Nazi Revolution.
1933	Nov. 25	Robertson, Lemuel	Ar	Ancient Monetary Systems.
1933	Dec. 2	Cleveland, E.A.	Sc	Water Supply Problems.

1933	Dec. 9	Williams, M.Y.	Sc	Life through Geological Ages
1934	Jan. 13	Bengough, Percy R.	So	Labour's View of the Present Economic Crisis.
1934	Jan. 20	Farris, J.W. de B.	So	A Lawyer's View of Reform.
1934	Jan. 27	Nicholas, B.C.	Ot	Evolution of a Newspaper.
1934	Feb. 3	Lett, Sherwood	Ar	Cecil Rhodes and His Scholarships.
1934	Feb. 10	Galloway, J.D.	Ot	Gold Mining in B.C.
1934	Feb. 17	Clement, F.M.	So	Wheat Quotas.
1934	Feb. 24	Clark, A.F.B.	So	Nationalism and Internationalism in Literature.
1934	Mar. 3	Music Teachers' Federation	FA	An Evening of Music.
1934	Mar. 10	Davidson, J.G.	Sc	The Science of Musical Sounds.
1934	Mar. 17	MacCorkindale, H.N.	So	Education in a Changing Social Order.
1934	Mar. 24	Howay, F.W.	Ar	Facts and Fancies in Our Early Geography.
1934	Mar. 31	Cooke, A.C.	Ar	Renaissance Art and the Rise of Capitalism.
1934	Oct. 13	Brewing, Rev. Willard	So	The Future of Europe and the Russian Experiment.
1934	Oct. 20	McGeer, G.G.	So	A Criticism of the So-Called Sound Money System.
1934	Oct. 27	Soward, F.H.	So	The Outlook in International Affairs.
1934	Nov. 3	Walker, J.F.	Ot	The Development of a Gold Mine.

1934	Nov. 10	Coleman, Norman F.	So	The Conflict of Interests in the Far East, and How it Concerns America.
1934	Nov. 17	Cass, Rabbi Samuel	So	The Jew in the Modern World.
1934	Nov. 24	Harris, J.A.	Sc	Reality in the Chemical Age.
1934	Dec. 1	Duff, D.C.B.	Sc	Hunting a Microbe.
1934	Dec. 8	Steeves, Dorothy	So	The Challenge of Socialism.
1934	Dec. 15	Logan, H.T.	Ar	Stories of Greece and Rome by Modern Novelists
1935	Jan. 12	Weir, G.M.	So	Some Social Problems.
1935	Jan. 19	Dilworth, Ira	Ar	Romanticism in Contemporary Poetry.
1935	Jan. 26	Nicholas, B.C.	Ot	The Evolution of a Newspaper.
1935	Feb. 2	Cassidy, H.M.	So	Some Trends in Social Insurance.
1935	Feb. 9	Pearce, J.A.	Sc	Island Universes.
1935	Feb. 16	Clarke, A.F.B.	So	Purity and Propoganda in Art.
1935	Feb. 23	Munday, Mr & Mrs. Don	Ot	Mount Waddington.
1935	Mar. 2	Brown, Harold	So	Education in Commerce.
1935	Mar. 9	Angus, H.F.	So	American and Canadian Relations.
1935	Mar. 16	Boving, P.A.	Ar	Swedish Literature.
1935	Mar. 23	Wood, C.B.	So	The Future of Secondary Education.
1935	Mar. 30	Sedgewick, G.G.	Ar	Dante's Paradise.
1935	Oct. 19	Angus, H.F.	So	The Search for Plenty.

1935	Oct. 26	Foster, W.W.	Ot	Alpine Adventures in B.C. and the Yukon.
1935	Nov. 2	Weir, G.M.	So	Some Social Trends.
1935	Nov. 9	Soward, F.H.	So	The Outlook in International Affairs.
1935	Nov. 16	Klinck, L.S.	So	A Plan for Adult Education in B.C.
1935	Nov. 23	Buchanan, D.	Sc	An Expanding Universe.
1935	Nov. 30	Clark, R.H.	Sc	Modern Miracles.
1935	Dec. 7	Lamb, W. Kaye	Ot	Some Pioneer B.C. Journals and Journalists.
1935	Dec. 14	Robertson, Lemuel	Ar	Horace: B.C. 65 -- A.D. 1935
1936	Jan. 18	McKenzie, Vernon	So	Behind the Headlines in Europe Today.
1936	Jan. 25	Compton, Arthur H.	Sc	The Quest of the Cosmic Ray.
1936	Feb. 1	Dolman, C.E.	Sc	Bacteriological Research in Relation to Health and Disease.
1936	Feb. 8	Evans, D.O.	Ar	Andre Gide.
1936	Feb. 15	Maitland, R.L.	Ar	Pacific Ships -- and Coastwise.
1936	Feb. 22	Roys, Ralph L.	Ar	Mayan Civilizations of Central America.
1936	Feb. 29	Ridington, John	So	Education and the Library.
1936	Mar. 7	Finlay, Allan H.	Ot	Some Modern Bridges.
1936	Mar. 14	MacDonald, W.L.	Ar	The Proletarian Novel.
1936	Mar. 21	Warren, H.V.	So	Minerals and the World Crisis.
1936	Mar. 28	Sage, W.N.	Ar	Vancouver's Half-Century.

1936	Oct. 17	Finlayson, J.N.	Ot	Future Trends in Industry.
1936	Oct. 24	Cass, Rabbi Samuel	Ot	What I Saw in Palestine.
1936	Oct. 31	Dilworth, Ira	Fa	This Modern Stuff -- A Study of Contemporary Music.
1936	Nov. 7	Soward, F.H.	So	The Present International Outlook.
1936	Nov. 14	Shrum, G.M.	Sc	Recent Experiments on the Transmutation of Matter.
1936	Nov. 21	MacInnes, Isabel	FA	The Spirit and Tradition of German Literature.
1936	Nov. 28	MacLeod, H.J.	So	Social Aspects of Science.
1936	Dec. 5	Payne, R.R.	Ot	The Fish Industry of B.C.
1936	Dec. 12	Sedgewick, G.G.	FA	Shakespearian Imagery.
1937	Jan. 16	England, Robert	So	The Threat to Disinterested Education: A Challenge.
1937	Jan. 23	Pop, G.L.	Ot	Wild Life in British Columbia.
1937	Jan. 30	Newton, Eric	?	TBA
1937	Feb. 6	Connell, Robert	So	Liberty: An Old Dilemma in a New Form.
1937	Feb. 13	Odlum, Victor W.; Lett, Sherwood; Shrum, G.M.; Carrothers, W.A.; Finlay, Allan H.	So	Passchendaele -- A Phase of the Lloyd George-Haig Controversy.
1937	Feb. 20	Payne, R.R.	Ot	The Fishing Industry of British Columbia
1937	Feb. 27	Moe, G.G.	So	Plant Breeding and its Relation to Canadian Welfare.

1937	Mar. 6	Farris, Evelyn F.	So	A Century of Higher Education in Canada.
1937	Mar. 13	Carrothers, W.A.	So	The Economic Position of B.C.
1937	Mar. 20	Nichols, M.E.	So	Factors in National Attainment.
1937	Mar. 27	Crease, A.L.	Sc	The Normal Mind.
1937	Oct. 16	Sage, W.N.	So	The Coronation and Its Significance to Canada.
1937	Oct. 23	Pearce, J.A.	Sc	Exploring Space.
1937	Oct. 30	Haskins, W.E.	Ot	The Marketing of Farm Products in B.C.
1937	Nov. 6	Burnett, W.B.	Ot	The Mining Industry in B.C.
1937	Nov. 13	Soward, F.H.	So	The Outlook in International Affairs.
1937	Nov. 20	Spencer, George	Sc	The Lives of Little Things.
1937	Nov. 27	Pullen, Newton F.	So	The Telephone and the Community.
1937	Dec. 4	Ure, William	Sc	Laboratory and Factory.
1937	Dec. 11	Mainwaring, W.C.	Sc	Electricity -- the Modern Aladdin.
1938	Jan. 15	Farris, J.W. de B.	So	Canadian Unity.
1938	Jan. 22	Drummond, G.F.	So	The General Economic Effects of the Depression.
1938	Jan. 29	Harris, G. Howell	Sc	Tank Gardens and Growth Promoting Substances.
1938	Feb. 5	Nichols, M.E.	So	Factors in National Attainment.
1938	Feb. 12	Weir, G.M.	So	Some Educational Problems.

1938 Feb. 19	Wood, F.G.C.	Ar	The English Novel During the Reign of George V.
1938 Feb. 26	Smith, Frank H.	Ot	From Ararat to Everest -- Mountaineering Ancient and Modern.
1938 Mar. 5	Pilcher, Jennie W.	Ar	The Maoris.
1938 Mar. 12	Dafoe, John W.	Ar	Canadians of Yesteryear.
1938 Mar. 19	Winn, E.S.H.	So	Workmen's Compensation.
1938 Mar. 26	Recknagel, A.B.	Ot	Recent Developments in the Management of Douglas Fir.
1938 Oct. 8	Ellis, C.D.	Sc	Secrets of Radium Unfolded.
1938 Oct. 15	Sedgewick, G.G.	Ar	In the Beginning Was the Word.
1938 Oct. 22	McNaughton, A.G.L.	Sc	The Role of Research in Industry.
1938 Oct. 29	Irving, J.A.	So	The Philosophy of Communism.
1938 Nov. 5	Williams, M.Y.	Sc	Birds, Ancient and Modern.
1938 Nov. 12	Soward, F.H.	So	The Outlook in International Affairs.
1938 Nov. 19	Smith, Sidney	Ot	The Safety of Life at Sea.
1939 Jan. 21	Drummond, G.M.	So	Economic Effects of the Depression.
1939 Jan. 28	McDonald, J. Nelson	So	The St. Francis Xavier Experiment with Co-ops.
1939 Feb. 4	McInnes, Isabel	Ar	The Medieval German Town.
1939 Feb. 11		?	

1939	Feb. 18	Crumb, Joseph A.	So	Planning for the Economic Millenium.
1939	Feb. 25	Tupper, R.H.	So	Changing Views of Government.
1939	Mar. 4		?	
1939	Mar. 11		?	
1939	Mar. 18	Creighton, Mrs. John	Ar	The Destructive Element -- A Note on Contemporary Literature.