PATTERNS OF CHANGE, SOURCES OF INFLUENCE: 
AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE CANADIAN MUSEUM AND THE MIDDLE CLASS, 1850-1950

by

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Abstract

This thesis argues the continued relationship between museums and the middle class over the period from 1850 to 1950, showing in particular how major events and trends affecting the history of the middle class influenced the manner in which museums developed. It argues, however, that, despite participation in an international bourgeois culture which included a worldwide 'museum movement', the regional circumstances of both museums and the middle class in Canada had a significant effect on their related histories determining, if not the final product, at least the timing of its completion and the manner in which it was reached.

This argument is made through a comparison of the histories of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, the Ontario Provincial Museum, the Royal Ontario Museum, and the British Columbia Provincial Museum. For each institution, three themes are considered: the way in which its collection shaped or reflected a regional identity; the form of education it offered, the intended audience, and the ways in which both changed; and the impact of professionalization on both the museum and the people who worked in it. The comparisons show that, despite the uniqueness of the museums' collections and histories, in the final analysis, each institution conformed to the patterns of the 'museum movement', or, as in the case of professionalization, to the pattern of a professionalizing middle-class society.

Informed by recent critical work on the history of museums, this thesis uses archival and secondary sources to establish the narratives of four Canadian museums and places them into the broader context of the international 'museum movement', while also indicating the uniqueness of Canadian cultural institutions created by the colonial experience. In this way, it adds a new perspective to the history of Canadian museums. At the same time, it adds to our understanding
of the Canadian middle class through its demonstration of how the major societal trends affected individual members of that class.
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INTRODUCTION:

MUSEUMS AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

A museum is itself a historical artefact, which reflects both the intellectual and material contexts in which it arose. (B. Schroeder-Gudehus, *Industrial Society and Its Museums*, 1)

The museum—"that most Victorian of institutions"—has its origins in the rise of the middle class. Although some scholars have searched for the origins of the museum in the ancient world, institutions with the explicit educational and implicit social agendas which mark out museums arose only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Inextricably linked to the political and economic revolutions of the period, museums are one of a number of institutions established or appropriated by the middle class to "direct the population into activities which would...transform the population into a useful resource for the state." As institutions closely linked to the middle class' rise to power and to its creation of the modern state, museums provide an excellent window through which to view that class.

The middle class is a problematic concept complicated by the historical and geographical specificity of its composition. Broadly speaking the middle class can be seen as that group of

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people who, as Charles Morazé describes, were the driving force behind, and the primary beneficiaries of, the political and economic revolutions of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which transformed Europe, England, and the Americas. In Marxist terms, in which class is defined by the relationship to the means of production, the middle class were initially the capitalists, the owners of the means of production. However, over the course of the nineteenth century, changes in the nature of capitalism together with the process of professionalization expanded the middle class to include the 'new' middle class: people such as salaried managers, professionals, retail clerks, and office workers.\(^4\) In addition to change over time, the composition of the middle class was affected by place. This was particularly true in the New World where a more fluid social structure made class origins more difficult to discern and lack of an established aristocracy allowed the wealthier members of the middle class to perform the functions of an upper class.

Yet a purely economic definition of class is insufficient; a social aspect is required to fully explain the range of people who, over the course of two centuries, could be categorized as middle class. Without going so far as to argue, with Loren Baritz, that class is simply "a state of mind,"\(^5\) a consideration of shared attitudes and values is necessary to grasp the more subjective side of class belonging or class consciousness. Indeed, Baritz notes that even shared aspirations to middle-class status play a role in defining membership in the middle class. This combination

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\(^4\) On this point, see especially, Carchedi, "On the economic identification of the new middle class," and Mills, *White Collar*.

\(^5\) Baritz, *Good Life*, xii.
of the economic and the social, then, offers an explanation of the middle class as those who, individually, were reasonably well-off financially (even if, by the end of the nineteenth century, they were usually dependent on a salaried position) and who, collectively, shared such attitudes and values as a belief in progress, science, industry, and God, a conviction of the value of knowledge and education, and a desire for respectability and status. Although, like any attempt to define something as amorphous as the middle class, this description is a vague and sweeping generalization to which there may be as many exceptions as there are examples which fit, it nonetheless serves to provide a sense of who these people were that collectively rose to power in the nineteenth century and whose histories can be tracked through the development of the institutions which they created.

As the middle class gained in economic and political power in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so too did it aim to extend its social and cultural power. The suppression of older forms of popular recreation such as the uncontrolled celebrations of the annual fair, their replacement by or re-creation in institutions such as the international exposition (or world's fair), the creation of new institutions such as the department store, and the spread of state-supported schooling for all were among the strategies invoked by the middle class to spread its attitudes and values and thereby its cultural power.\(^6\) The appropriation of the 'cabinet of curiosities' or the

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'museum' offered an ideal vehicle through which to practice this strategy. Institutions which combined many of the characteristics of fairs, expositions, and schools, museums were places in which knowledge was created through the collection, classification, and organization of the natural and manufactured world. This knowledge was then exhibited to the public as 'truth'. The rational and scientific knowledge thus created and displayed by the nineteenth-century museum defined an hierarchical racial and social order, based on the patriarchal family, in which the white male of the middle class naturally held power over the working classes, women, children, and people of other races. In particular, museums of anthropological, archaeological and ethnological artefacts were used to demonstrate the 'rightness' of the European countries' dominance over so-called primitive peoples. And, in displaying exotic artefacts, curiosities, and the art of other cultures, ie. in showing what the citizens of European nations were not, museums defined the nation within which they existed.

This link between the creation of knowledge and the definition of the middle-class nation played an especially important role in 'new' places like Canada, where newly-created knowledge

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7. For a full discussion of how museums exhibited and legitimated this hierarchy, see Bennett, Birth of the Museum, 189-208.

8. I use the term 'European' rather than 'western' in this thesis in order both to include the colonies of Australia and New Zealand, and to suggest, as Susan Pearce explains, that the actions and assumptions on which these ideas were based pre-date the use of the term 'western' by Europeans. Susan M. Pearce, On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition (London: Routledge, 1995): 39-40.
could, quite literally be used to forge a nation.\textsuperscript{9} Canadian museums, as they were established in the nineteenth century, functioned as the shapers and reflectors of the new land and the new nation through the display of specimens of the local natural history, of the 'anthropological artefacts' of the local native peoples, and of the 'art' of European nations and civilizations. They claimed a past for the nation, illustrated its present, and pointed to its great future as part of industrialized civilization. The museum was an intellectual and cultural institution which the middle class could use to re-organize and reshape society in its own image.

\* \* \* \* \* \*

There is a vast and long-standing literature on museums. From George Brown Goode's and William Henry Flower's papers on museum administration, museum education, and museum history\textsuperscript{10} to the museum-related journals\textsuperscript{11} to the many sermons on the uses and value of


\textsuperscript{11} The (British) Museums Association began publishing the proceedings of its annual conference in 1890, succeeded in 1901 by the \textit{Museums Journal}. The American Association of Museums' \textit{Museum News} began in 1922 was the successor to its \textit{Museum Work}, and the Canadian Museums Association publishes \textit{Muse}, formerly the \textit{CMA Gazette}. Other museum-related organizations, and museums associations also publish newsletters or journals. As well, there are some journals published by museums: perhaps the best-known of these, and one of the few refereed journals in the museum world is \textit{Curator}, out of the American Museum of Natural History.
museums\textsuperscript{12} to the relatively recent explosion of 'how-to' books,\textsuperscript{13} museum people have rarely wanted for published discussion on their work. As well, there has been an active trade in museum directories and surveys of museums and their work, often commissioned by a museums association.\textsuperscript{14} Many of these various types of works begin with a survey of the history of museums in order to demonstrate the origins of the work being done, or, occasionally, to contrast 'today's' museum to the 'cabinets of curiosity' and dusty attics of the past.\textsuperscript{15} With the exception, however, of the memoirs of museum personalities and official histories of individual institutions, which have always been a popular form of publication,\textsuperscript{16} the history of

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}

\item \textsuperscript{13} The Heritage: Care-Preservation-Management series published by Routledge is, perhaps, the best example of this genre. The series includes such titles as Timothy Ambrose and Crispin Paine, \textit{Museum Basics} (1993); Sheena Mackellar Goulty, \textit{Heritage Gardens: Care, conservation and management} (1993); and Fondation de France and ICOM, \textit{Museums without Barriers: A New Deal for Disabled People} (1991).


\item \textsuperscript{16} Among the many examples are Ralph W. Dexter, "Frederic Ward Putnam and the Development of Museums of Natural History and Anthropology in the United States," \textit{Curator} 9, 2 (1966): 151-155; Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Henry A. Ward: the merchant naturalist and American museum development,"
museums as an end in itself seems to have been largely a post-war phenomenon.

Germain Bazin's *The Museum Age* is, perhaps, the best and the best-known example of the comprehensive survey of the history of the museum as an idea and an institution.\(^{17}\) Some authors, such as Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, have chosen to focus their historical work on a specific time period; others, such as J. Mordaunt Crook, have continued the tradition of the history of a single institution; while still others have considered only the history of certain types of museums.\(^{18}\) Kenneth Hudson's social history of museums attempted to measure the success of exhibits in reaching their visitors.\(^{19}\) Edward Alexander has used the biographies of famous museum personalities to understand some of the history of museums.\(^{20}\) Much of this work,


however, has tended to be laudatory, uncritical, and often lacking in analysis.

The spread of literary and cultural theory in recent years, especially through the works of such scholars as Barthes, Baudrillard, Bourdieu, Derrida, and Foucault, has brought a welcome new critical approach to the study of museums and their history. The work of Douglas Crimp and of Carol Duncan on art and museums, of Susan Pearce on collections and the object, of Tony Bennett on the museum, the international exposition and the fair, and of the many authors showcased in the anthologies of Ivan Karp, Christine Kreamer, and Steven Levine, Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus, Peter Vergo, Daniel Sherman and Irit Rogoff, and the New Research in Museums Studies series edited by Susan Pearce has been particularly useful in expanding our understanding of what it is museums actually do, and how they do it.21

Although many of these authors have focussed on the work of the museum in the late twentieth century, museums and collections of the past have provided a rich source of material. Crimp has used a mixture of historical and contemporary criticism to analyse the decontextualization of objects in the museum and the museum's construction of cultural history, the "consciousness of the present" and its "engagement with the past," which was the subject of

the 'museum fictions' of the Belgian artist, Marcel Broodthaers.\textsuperscript{22} Carol Duncan considers the public art museum as a space of ritual, "a stage setting that prompts visitors to enact a performance of some kind."\textsuperscript{23} As a place in which "politically organized and socially institutionalized power most avidly seeks to realize its desire to appear as beautiful, natural, and legitimate,"\textsuperscript{24} the rituals enacted make of the museum an agent to communicate the ideas and values of the dominant class to its visitors and to affirm and reproduce those values. Pearce has looked at the history of collecting and museum collections to understand the nature of the museum and the ways in which the museum creates meaning in and of the objects in the collections. Bennett argues that in the nineteenth century the museum was "enlisted for the governmental task [of] civilizing the population as a whole," and, thus, became part of the "new economy of cultural power."\textsuperscript{25} Bennett traces the relationship between the nineteenth-century museum's display of progress and the aggressive modernity of places like Blackpool Pleasure Beach, or the nationalizing narratives of Brisbane's Expo '88. But his primary point is to show how the museum acted as a "reformatory of manners," in such a way that eventually fairs and amusement parks could lose their carnivalesque transgressive attitudes and become, instead, upholders of the dominant symbolic order.

Other authors have been less explicit in their use of history to critique the late twentieth-century museum, but have nonetheless considered the importance of understanding the museum's

\textsuperscript{22} Crimp, "This is Not an Art Museum," in Crimp, \textit{On the Museum's Ruins}, 200-234.

\textsuperscript{23} Duncan, \textit{Civilizing Rituals}, 1-2.

\textsuperscript{24} Duncan, \textit{Civilizing Rituals}, 6.

\textsuperscript{25} Bennett, \textit{The Birth of the Museum}, 19 & 24.
past to explain its present. Daniel Sherman's _Worthy Monuments_, for instance, is a study of the
development of art museums in nineteenth-century France, the role of the French state in the
creation of provincial museums, and the relationship of these museums to the local elites. His
study ends with the beginning of the First World War, yet he makes it clear that this is,
onetheless, still about museums in the present:

Uncertainty about the present often reflects, and in many ways can be regarded as a
consequence of, a lack of awareness of the past. If ... we have little idea of where the
museum is going..., that may be because we have so little sense of where it has come
from or of the course it has followed.26

Gaynor Kavanagh's analysis of British museums during the First World War, in which she
considers both their use during the war and the effects of the war on museums in the interwar
period, is similar in that she has not attempted explicitly to extrapolate from the war and interwar
periods to the 1990s. But, as in Sherman's study, there is an implicit message that understanding
the museum's past will aid in guiding its present and future. Joel Orosz, whose _Curators and
Culture_ is a study of the development of American museums from 1740 to 1870, is the only one
of these three authors to explicitly link his argument regarding the museums' past to their present
in that he argues for 1870 as the date at which museums reached the understanding of the
relationship between research and education by which they operate today.27 Rooted in an
empiricism which seems to be lacking from the more theoretical works of Bennett, Pearce,
Duncan, and Crimp, Sherman's, Kavanagh's and Orosz's studies are narrower in scope than some

26. Daniel Sherman, _Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-

27. Kavanagh, _Museums and the First World War_; and Joel J. Orosz, _Curators and Culture: The
and Orosz's studies are discussed in greater detail in the introductory sections to Parts II and III of this
work.
of the broad sweeping generalizations which consider museums as an international phenomenon. Yet their very narrowness provides the detailed evidence which lends support to the broader arguments.

Most of the work described so far has been done by American and British authors, and has focussed on American and British museums, with the occasional continental European institution included for good measure. Canadian scholars have been more reluctant to study the history of their museums. Archie Key wrote the only comprehensive survey of Canadian museums almost twenty-five years ago. Lynne Teather of the University of Toronto's Museum Studies Department published, in 1992, a short article on museums in Canada which was meant as the prelude to a larger work but that work has, as yet, not been published. There do exist a number of official histories of individual institutions: one of the better examples is Lovat Dickson's history of the Royal Ontario Museums. There are also histories of the New Brunswick Museum, the National Gallery, UBC's Museum of Anthropology, and the Royal British Columbia Museum. There are also a few article length unofficial histories. Few of these works have

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28. Each of these three considers only a certain type of museum or specific examples of museums in a single country rather than discussing "the museum" in all of its forms and permutations in every country.


considered the Canadian museum as a part of a whole culture. One which has placed a Canadian museum into a broad historical context is Susan Sheets-Pyenson's *Cathedrals of Science*. In a study of the role of colonial museums in the scientific work of empire, Sheets-Pyenson includes the Redpath Museum, McGill University, as one of the five colonial institutions she compares.\(^{33}\)

Much of the literature on American and British museums has been written in the context of the history of the academic disciplines which were so often pursued in the realm of museums.\(^{34}\) Here too, however, there exists little Canadian literature. Douglas Cole's study of the appropriation and exportation of northwest coast native artefacts considers the role of the British

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\(^{33}\) Susan Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums during the Late Nineteenth Century* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988). The other museums she considers are the Buenos Aires Museum and the La Plata Museum in Argentina, the National Museum of Victoria in Melbourne, Australia, and the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, New Zealand.

Columbia Provincial Museum in that process, and Michael Ames' collection of essays on the anthropology of museums looks at the inter-relationships between museums and anthropology, occasionally in an historical context. The history of the Geological Survey of Canada by Morris Zaslow necessarily touches on the history of the Canadian national museum, which began as the collections of the Survey.\textsuperscript{35} There are other works on the histories of anthropology and natural history in Canada, and they are both growing fields, but as yet, few of these works consider the role of museums in the development of those disciplines.\textsuperscript{36}

As in each of the other categories, Canadians have been loath to write memoirs and biographies of their museum personalities. Gerald Killan's biography of David Boyle, first Superintendent of the Ontario Provincial Museum, is one of the few full-length studies of a Canadian museum personality. Edward Sapir, the American anthropologist who came to Canada in 1910 to head the new division of anthropology at the Geological Survey of Canada, has been the focus of some work, and Gerald Thomas has discussed the role of John C. Webster in the history of the New Brunswick Museum. While not the only such studies, these are among the very few. As well, Charles Currelly's \textit{I Brought the Ages Home} is one of the few memoirs by a Canadian museum personality, and his focus is his archaeological work, not his work in the


\textsuperscript{36} The exception to this generality is some of the work coming out of Québec on the nineteenth-century museums. See the notes in Hervé Gagnon, "Pierre Chasseur et l'émergence de la muséologie scientifique au Québec, 1824-36," \textit{Canadian Historical Review} 75, 2 (June 1994): 204-238, for a guide to this literature.
The history of the museum in Canada is, therefore, still a largely unexplored field and this thesis constitutes what I hope will be an important addition to the literature. In bringing the work on Canadian museums together with aspects of the foreign studies mentioned above, and with archival sources, in order to look at Canadian museums as part of a group rather than as isolated institutions, it places Canadian museums, for the first time, within the context of the international 'museum movement'—the proliferation of museums which swept most of the European world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—and demonstrates their relationship not only to each other but to museums throughout the European world. Museum people in Britain, Canada, and the USA were quite conscious of each other and of their roles in an international 'movement', and attending to that movement from the perspective of Canada reveals the role and place of Canadian museums in it—where and how they conformed to general patterns and where or how they diverged. In placing Canadian museums within this international context, this thesis argues that however unique each institution was, however much the history of Canada or


38. Published comments on annual museums association conferences make this clear. A 1921 British comment on the program of the 16th annual meeting in America claimed that the program "gives a clear idea of the vitality of the museum movement across the Atlantic." And, in 1934, when the American Association of Museums held its conference at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, the newsletter explained how the site "brought out especially the International aspect of the museum movement." Only 50% of the delegates were from the USA; seven delegates from Britain were in attendance and Canadian delegates came from as far away as British Columbia. "The Activities of Museums in America," Museums Journal 21, 1 (July 1921): 9; "Toronto Meeting Report," Museum News 12, 3 (1 June 1934): 1.
of the province affected their development, Canadian museums cannot be understood outside of the broader cultural context which created and shaped both them and the country as whole.

As well, this thesis situates the history of Canadian museums in the larger context of the history of museums generally and so contributes to our understanding of that history. Specifically, it looks at the interaction of society and the small group in society charged with maintaining the museums. Rather than considering museums as what Bennett has described as a performance of power, it examines their place in middle-class culture. It is especially concerned with the impact of change on the museum as the middle class matured and, indeed, re-formed and reshaped itself. In using the extended narratives of four specific institutions, it illustrates the diversity of the museum experience, something often missed in the meta-narratives of the museum as an idea. Although a focus on individual institutions can make the patterns more difficult to see, it puts the discussion on a more human level, providing insight into the experiences of individuals and individual institutions.

This study also has a purpose beyond the history of museums. Although the work of Hooper-Greenhill has demonstrated that museums are a product of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century rise of the middle class, and others have analyzed the museum's role in that rise and in the modern state, no one has made a thematic study of the relationship between museums and the ambitions and fortunes of the middle class. Carol Duncan has noted that "however much they are shaped by particular historical conditions ... museums also belong to the larger international history of bourgeois culture." This is as true in Canada as elsewhere and as a cultural

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39. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. This work is discussed at greater length in the introductory comments to Part I.

manifestation of middle class values and aspirations, museums reflect and exhibit that class. This work examines that aspect of museums' history. Broadly, it verifies what other works have said concerning what members of the middle class considered important both to their own lives and to society as a whole. It illuminates their aims and goals; it provides evidence for their desires and glimpses into their failures. In a more narrow sense, it provides insight into the nature of the transition from the Victorian natural historian to the twentieth-century scientist, and demonstrates the increased pressure on members of the middle class to attain credentials. Under pressure from the growing need to acquire a university degree, the very notion of "learned" changed. The Victorian men of letters and gentlemen of science, who had dominated intellectual life in the nineteenth century, became in the twentieth little more than old men. This study thus helps to further our understanding of that sub-group within the middle class that traded not in goods or services but in knowledge.

Although this work is informed by many of the studies considered in the above literature review, it has very much its own focus. It aims to display the middle class--its efforts to invent society in its own image, its attempts to reproduce itself, and its reorganization of society--through its study of the impact of that class on the museum and on the people who worked in it. It therefore engages the theoretical and historical literature in such areas as education and professionalization more than does much of the work on museums per se. In order to make the nature of its approach clear, it is divided into three parts with each part being preceded by a brief review of the literature on the topic under discussion.

* * * * *

The themes considered in this thesis are collecting, education, and professionalization. All
three are relevant to the history of museums for different, if overlapping, reasons. Most importantly, the role and impact of all three of these themes continue to be debated in the museum world today. As well, both collecting and education are integral to the museum as an institution, and education and professionalization tie the museum into the developments of nineteenth- and twentieth-century society.

Collecting is of pre-eminent importance to the museum. Although there are some who would argue the point, most people agree that a museum without a collection is not a museum. Yet, collecting and the collection do not of themselves constitute a museum. Scholars have recently argued that, in the long history of collecting, it is only in the modern period, when collections were opened to the public and began to be used for the purpose of educating that public, that they truly become museums.\footnote{Krzysztof Pomian, "The Collection: Between the Visible and the Invisible," in K. Pomian, \textit{Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice 1500-1800}, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990): 42.} Thus, in attempting to place the individual Canadian museum experience into the larger context, it is as important to understand what education means in a museum as it is to appreciate the role of collecting in the museum's history.

The idea that the general public required education, and that this could be done through museums, did not arise in isolation. The developments of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries which brought education for the lower classes to the forefront of public concerns also gave rise to the desire for professionalization. Although not a theme of weight equal to that of education in museums of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the role of professionalization in determining the dominance of the middle classes in society meant that it could not fail to have an impact on the middle class-led 'museum movement'. Thus, a study of
professionalization in museums and its impact on them allows us to see the interaction between museums and society at large.

The form that this dissertation takes is a comparative study of four institutions in Canada which were, or are, provincial museums.\textsuperscript{42} The institutions being compared are the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, the Ontario Provincial Museum (OPM), the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), and the British Columbia Provincial Museum.\textsuperscript{43} These were not chosen to stand as a cross-section of museums in Canada, nor are they a statistical or representational sample of provincial museums. They were chosen for a variety of sometimes idiosyncratic reasons.

The Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia was run for 40 years by a man who kept voluminous and detailed records, most of which have been preserved by the museum and the Public Archives; it is possibly the best documented museum in Canada. This made it a perfect

\textsuperscript{42} See "Note on Terminology" at the end of the Introduction.

\textsuperscript{43} The Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, founded in 1868, was renamed the Nova Scotia Museum of Science with the passing of the first Museum Act in 1947. The phrase "of Science" was dropped from the name in 1955, when a History Division was added to the museum. With the addition to its mandate of historic sites and exhibit centres around the province in 1970, the name was changed again to the Nova Scotia Museum Complex. The Ontario Provincial Museum was the title given to the collections of the Ontario Normal School museum some time after the provincial government began to fund the care of the collections directly. It is unclear whether the title became official in 1896 or 1906. The Museum was closed in 1933 after the death of its second director and its collections were dispersed, most going to the Royal Ontario Museums. The Royal Ontario Museum was established in legislation in 1912 and, over the course of the next few months, five separate museums were incorporated. They opened their doors to the public in 1914. During the late 1940s, the four natural history museums were merged into two museums and, in 1955, the two natural history museums and the archaeological museum became the single Royal Ontario Museum. The British Columbia Provincial Museum, founded in 1886, was constituted as the Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology in 1912. Both prior to and after the passing of the legislation, the staff often chose not to use the phrase 'and Anthropology'. The museum was not officially named the British Columbia Provincial Museum until its reorganization, and the addition of human history to its mandate, in 1968. During its centennial year in 1986, it was given official permission by the Crown to use the designation 'Royal' and became the Royal British Columbia Museum. In the interests of convenience and to differentiate it from the other 'Provincial' museums, I refer to it as the British Columbia, or BC, Provincial Museum.
choice for a study of this sort. Of the institutions chosen for comparison with the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, the Royal Ontario Museum was selected for two reasons. First, it is unique in Canada in that it is the only museum whose collecting and exhibit mandate covers the whole of the world and human history.\(^{44}\) This alone made the ROM a worthwhile contrast to the other institutions, but its relationship to the Ontario Provincial Museum made it doubly intriguing. Although the museum of the Ontario Normal School had earlier been given the title of Ontario Provincial Museum, in 1912 the Ontario legislature created the ROM by passing an act to establish a provincial museum. The ROM was thus in direct competition with the Ontario Provincial Museum for provincial funding and public support until 1933 when the Provincial Museum closed its doors for the last time and the collections were transferred to the ROM. As the only example of such obvious competition, the relationship of the ROM and the Ontario Provincial Museum seemed particularly significant for a study of this sort. The British Columbia Provincial Museum was included as an institution that both differed in collecting mandate from the others and stood between them in terms of size. It also provides an example of a museum established in a relatively young part of Canada.\(^{45}\)

The comparative method has advantages and disadvantages. The primary disadvantage is the unequal evidence available for each of the institutions. Both the quantity and the quality of

\(^{44}\) There are museums which collect from around the world but focus on a narrower time period or on specific academic discipline, such as ethnology. Museums which cover the whole of human history, such as the Canadian Museum of Civilization, narrow their focus by geographic region, such as the nation or a single province. The ROM collects archaeological, anthropological, ethnological, historical and scientific specimens, and has artefacts from around the world representing the entire span of both human history and pre-history (eg. dinosaurs).

\(^{45}\) British Columbia had only been settled by Europeans for about 50 years when the museum was founded. Nova Scotia, by contrast, had experienced over 250 years of European settlement by the time its museum was opened to the public.
the records available differs for the separate time periods within museums, and from museum to
museum. Harry Piers of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia not only wrote extensive annual
reports, he retained all of the museum's records for the years he was director (1899-1940). These
and his personal papers, including thirty years of personal diaries, are all extant. The evidence
for the museum prior to Piers' directorship is contained in the three annual reports written by
David Honeyman, the first director (1868-1889), and a few scattered references to the museum
in journals and newspapers of the time. The few financial records available for the years 1889-
1899 leave that decade almost unknown.

The British Columbia Archives and Records Service (BCARS) houses reasonably good
records of the British Columbia Provincial Museum for the years from 1940 onward, but the
records for the years 1886, when the museum was opened, to 1940, when Clifford Carl was
appointed Acting Director, are sparse. Much of the pre-1940 story must be pieced together
through the records of organizations and individuals who were interested in or related to the
museum in some official or semi-official capacity, or through references in the local newspapers.
The best documented years of the BC Provincial Museum begin at the end of the best
documented years of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia.

The Royal Ontario Museum's records are similar. The Museum of Zoology's records for
the years that J.R. Dymond directed it (1934-49) are voluminous, reasonably well-organized, and
accessible through the ROM's Library and Archives. Records for Zoology prior to and after
Dymond's directorship and for the other museums under the ROM umbrella are sparse. However
minutes from the meetings of the Board of Trustees, the Committee of Directors and the
Education Committee are all available and are immensely valuable in detailing the history of the
museums. Records for the Ontario Provincial Museum are sparse, scattered, not easily accessible, and/or non-existent.

The unevenness of the institutional evidence available makes it difficult to sustain the comparative approach throughout the entire discussion. Thus, for each of the themes, some institutions will be discussed in more detail than others. Nor is the institutional evidence greatly complemented by personal papers of the various directors. Only for Harry Piers were personal papers of any extent located and, despite their obvious value, their focus is his personal and family life, shedding only minimal light on his work with the museum.

The comparative method, however, retains its utility because of the potential it offers for drawing general conclusions. Discussions based on a single example lead to suspect generalizations, while broad sweeping discussions can be too general to be of much value. Studies of individual institutions can pinpoint the ways in which particular museums diverged from the patterns outlined by broader studies. The use of four case studies based on institutions in different regions of the country avoids the worst pitfalls of generalizing from a single example and at the same time allows the drawing of general conclusions which have both evidential support and analytic value.
A Note on Terminology

The Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia during the period under discussion had only one employee at a time. Each person who filled that sole position was officially known as the 'curator'. David Boyle was the 'curator' of the Canadian Institute Museum, and, from 1896, of the archaeological collections of the Ontario Provincial Museum. In 1902, he was made 'Superintendent' of the entire museum. The Royal Ontario Museums had five 'directors' who headed the separate institutions as well as support staff who were variously known as 'curators', 'keepers', and 'technicians'. The head of the British Columbia Provincial Museum was known as the 'curator', until 1915 when he was officially retitled the 'director'. His support staff had a range of ever-changing titles. In the interest of convenience, and to avoid the unwieldy term 'curator/director', I have chosen not to respect this myriad of titles. Rather, I have used the term 'director' for the men who headed their institutions, regardless of what their 'official' title was. Support staff whose jobs entailed scientific or research work with the collections are collectively titled 'curatorial staff' and individually 'curators'. Exceptions to this occur in places where quotations refer to the 'directors' as curators, or where it has been important to use the person's official title. In these cases, I have tried to make clear the relationship of the person to others being discussed and the fact that there has not been a change in the person's status within the organization.46

The other term which needs clarification is 'provincial' as it is used to modify the study museums. For the purposes of this dissertation, 'provincial' refers to the fact that the museum

46. On the difference between the director and the curator, see Coleman, Museum in America, 403-409.
is/was a public institution funded by the provincial government with a service mandate directed primarily at the people of the province. It is not meant to describe the museum's collecting mandate, although all three of the museums which had the word in their official titles largely restricted their collecting to their province. In the sense used here, the term also refers to the Royal Ontario Museum, an institution whose collection mandate spans the globe, which often considers its service mandate to extend well beyond the province (especially given the many tourists who visit each year), and whose origins in the teaching collections of the University of Toronto gave it a general relevance from the beginning. The ROM was established by the provincial legislature as a provincial museum and, thus, does fit into a study which compares provincial institutions.47

PART I –

MUSEUMS, COLLECTIONS, AND IDENTITY:
UNIVERSALITY, EPISTEMOLOGY, SIMILARITY, AND DIFFERENCE
Introduction

Museums are unavoidably linked with their cultural settings. They are a collective self-reflection culminating in the maintenance, sustenance, and presentation of a cultural identity, as well as the embodiment of cultural values and attitudes believed to be important. (Robert Sullivan, in *Gender Perspectives*, 101)

A consideration of the nature of museum collections is, perhaps, the best place to begin a work aimed at particularizing the Canadian museum experience. Many museologists consider the collection to be the heart of a museum and its *raison d'être*, and few would dispute the importance of a collection to a museum. The collection is the reason that a museum is a museum rather than a school or some other institution.¹ Thus, understanding the nature and role of collections is paramount to understanding museums. The ways in which museums differ or are the same, and some of the reasons for that, are here explored through an examination of the nature of collections.

The collections of each of the four museums considered in this study bore some resemblance to the others: all four museums collected natural history specimens; and all four also collected anthropological or archaeological material. In collecting the same or similar items as other museums, the Canadian museums placed themselves firmly into a centuries-old collecting tradition and into the heart of the 'museum movement'. However, the differences between the collections are far greater than the similarities: each collection had a different spatial and/or

temporal scope; the collections varied in size, in terms of sheer numbers of items; each had a different focal point or primary collecting group; and the individual artefacts in each differed in their financial, scientific, and cultural values. Nor is it likely that the aspects of the collection which set the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia apart from the Ontario Provincial Museum and the Royal Ontario Museums, or the Royal Ontario Museums from the British Columbia Provincial Museum could be replicated in such a way as to make these institutions identical to any other museum in the world. In short, although there are many aspects to a museum which differentiate it from its fellows, it was the nature of their collections which made these truly unique.

There are many reasons that the collection of one museum will differ from that of other museums. The availability of funding for acquisition of artefacts, the generosity of donors, and the rarity of objects all impose pragmatic limitations on the size, scope, and value of a collection. As well, every collection is grounded in a specific epistemology which will determine its parameters. Of the many factors determining the nature of a collection, the role the museum plays in creating or maintaining the local self-identity is crucial. The urge to collect may be universal, and collections formed in the same era will bear similarities, but the agendas of local élites will bend those collections to their own ends and create them in their own image. Thus, the

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2. The term 'élite' is here used to designate the upper strata of the middle class and the very wealthy who, while they might technically be middle class, acted in North America as an upper class. Robert Gray, in "Bourgeois Hegemony in Victorian Britain," in John Bloomfield, ed., Class, Hegemony and Party (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1977): 74-75, differentiates between the 'middle strata' of society (shopkeepers, tradesmen, professionals and white-collar employees) and the ruling class or dominant bourgeoisie (the industrial capitalists who were the very wealthy mentioned here) arguing that these two groups diverged in economic status, power, and attitudes. He suggests that the prevalence of the belief that the middle strata were of the ruling class is "a measure of the success with which such strata were subordinated to bourgeois hegemony." (74) See also Sherman, Worthy Monuments, 93-96, on local or municipal élites.
differences between museums, those aspects which separate the parts from the whole, are closely linked to local agendas and self-identity.

Chapter one looks at the collections in the four museums under study in terms of provincial identities as constructed or reflected in the museum. Arguing that it was the collection which made these museums unique, and therefore, that which individuated their experiences, the discussion considers the nature of the collections, the conceptual choices made in founding the institutions, and the factors which influenced each of these. In using their museums to create and reflect identities, Canadians conformed to the larger patterns of the 'museum movement.' But, because every identity and, therefore, the collection reflecting it is unique the pattern slipped into the background as each institution diverged from it and took its own road.

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The history of collecting is a small, but growing, field. Psychologists have considered why people collect; educators have looked at children's collecting habits; and academics in the fields of business and commerce have considered collecting in relation to consumption. But most of this has been in a contemporary sense. Scholars who have studied collecting in an historical sense have tended not to ask questions about who collects and why, but have simply described the creation of collections, both public and private. Much of this has been in the context of art collecting and has often focuscd on the establishment of an 'art market.' In the past twenty years, this has changed as scholars have begun to try to explain why people collect at all, why they collect certain or specific items, and the relationship in this between culture and individual

3. For a good example of the range of work in the field, see "References," in Russell W. Belk, Collecting in a Consumer Society (London: Routledge, 1995): 159-187.

4. Bazin, The Museum Age, is a good example of this sort of study.
psychology.

The debate falls into two basic camps. The first contains those who argue that collecting is an innate, timeless, and universal human characteristic. Werner Muensterberger, whose work on collecting has been done from the perspective of psychology, has argued that head-hunting, the trade in medieval relics, and the collecting of antiquities and natural curiosities all stem from the same psychological impulse. Although his analysis of the psychological impulse to collect seems, at times, naive, his case studies of individual collectors and of separate time periods provides a subtle picture of the interaction between individual psychology and societal influences upon collecting. However, like John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, who claim for the Biblical character, Noah, the status of Ur-collector, and thereby uncritically place the ancient Middle East into a direct line which ends in European society, Muensterberger's study focusses on the European world, ignoring collecting in Asian countries and only briefly discussing the role of head-hunting in the societies of the Pacific islands.

Only Dillon Ripley has attempted to reach beyond the superficial assertion and actually study the collecting of a non-European people. In the opening essay of his book, *The Sacred Grove*, Ripley discusses the gathering of cowrie shells by members of a Stone Age tribe in New Guinea. On observing that these people valued certain shells over others for reasons of colour,

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size, and texture, Ripley equated the cowrie shell collections with stamp or coin collections in our society. Thus, for Ripley, not only was the 'collecting instinct' inherent in all humans, but all collections had, in the end, a similar, cultural function, which was essentially aesthetic.

The argument for the universality of the collecting habit is not, however, universally accepted. Indeed, despite Ripley's contention that the cowrie shell collections resembled the Smithsonian, he concluded his essay with the comment that "culture, then, creates collections; collections create culture."8 It is this relationship between culture and collecting on which many scholars are now focussing. As Russell Belk, in his most recent study on collecting, has stated, "instinct theory does not fare well these days."9 Citing Arthur Danto's observation that not all cultures have what we consider to be "serious collectors" and Beaglehole's 1932 dismissal of "animal analogies and the acquisitive or collecting instinct in favor of a more social and learned model," Belk successfully argues against the concept that collecting is an innate human characteristic showing instead that it is a culturally-constructed and learnt behaviour.10 Similarly, Susan Pearce argues that the European collecting tradition is unique and stems from a particular relationship to material culture embedded in our kinship system and societal organization.11 While separating European collecting from similar behaviour in other cultures, both Belk and Pearce also point to differences within the European tradition which suggest culturally-defined and

culturally-constructed behaviours based on class and, especially, gender.¹²

The work on collecting in twentieth-century European society, exemplified by Belk and Pearce, is mirrored by recent historical studies. Scholars, such as Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Stephen Bann, and Krzysztof Pomian, have also begun to elucidate the relationship to culture which collecting has always had through analyzing past collections and collectors.¹³ Largely ignoring the question of whether the urge to collect is universal or not and simply accepting as a given that Europeans collect and have been collecting for centuries, they are investigating, instead, the influence of culture and society on how, and what, people collect, and on how those collections are used.

The most prominent analytical tool for understanding the interaction between culture and collecting has been Foucault's épisteme. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, in *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, has used Foucault to argue that earlier attempts to trace the history of museums from Ptolemy's library at Alexandria through to today's institutions are flawed.¹⁴ Using as case studies the collections of the Medici in the fifteenth century, cabinets of curiosities in the sixteenth, the collections of the Royal Society in the seventeenth, and the 'disciplinary' museum of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, she argues that the discontinuities between each of these are greater than their similarities. As she follows Foucault's changing épistemes, Hooper-Greenhill notes how new ways of knowing altered the nature of collections: different

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¹³. Although John Elsner and Roger Cardinal argue for the universality of collecting in the introduction to *The Cultures of Collecting*, the better articles in the book are by scholars investigating cultural influences on collecting similar to Hooper-Greenhill, Bann, and Pomian.

types of object were included; different organizational and display schemes were employed; and the ends to which the collections were created differed. Each collection, formed and informed by the current knowledge, and defined as rational only within its own cultural matrix, was irrelevant to earlier and future épistemes. Thus, although we may consider the cabinets of curiosities as quaint gatherings of curious or exotic objects, to the people who created them, they formed a basis for understanding the world around them. It was in the nineteenth century, when public museums "emerged as one of the campaigns of the state to direct the population into activities which would ... transform the population into a useful resource for the state" that these diverse collections became museums as we understand them today, in terms of the nature of their collections, the ways in which they gather, organize, and use knowledge, and the ways in which this knowledge is imparted to the visitor.

Like Hooper-Greenhills' argument that each épisteme required a different type of collection and/or a different organizational structure, Bann has argued that the wunderkammern, or cabinets of curiosity, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were grounded in a specific epistemological field which separated them from previous and subsequent collections. Thus, the collection of John Bargrave, which is the subject of Bann's Under the Sign, can be studied to understand both Bargrave himself, and the world in which he lived and collected.

As useful as Foucault's épisteme has been in coming to understand the changing nature...

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16. Stephen Bann, Under the Sign: John Bargrave as Collector, Traveller, and Witness (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994): especially 8. Other scholars have pointed out that the wunderkammern, given the objects they held and the system of classification used, could not have been a forerunner to the modern museum but were an institution specific to the Renaissance. See Crimp, "This is Not a Museum of Art," 225; and Steven Mullaney, "Strange Things, Gross Terms, Curious Customs: The Rehearsal of Cultures in the Late Renaissance," Representations 3 (Summer 1983): 43.
of European collections throughout the ages, it has not been the only analytical tool. Krzysztof Pomian has traced the history of collections through the concept of the boundary between the 'visible' and the 'invisible'. Arguing that the nature of collections changes when society redraws that boundary or redefines its attitude toward the 'invisible', Pomian has devised a periodization which focuses not on the discontinuities between ages but on an almost evolutionary process. Begun in the fourteenth century, the process of redrawing that boundary brought us, in the late eighteenth or nineteenth century, to a point at which collections became museums, and museums took on the function of churches with 'the nation' as both subject and object of the cult. A more flexible theory than Foucault's épisteme, Pomian's theory of the 'visible' and the 'invisible' notes the differences in collections over time, while at the same time illuminating the links between them. It allows for both continuity and discontinuity in the history of collections, and accepts the existence of collections outside of their 'time' more graciously.

17. Pomian, "The Collection," 7-44 & 276-78. The invisible is anything which is not part of the visible, physical realm. Examples of the invisible would be the past, the dead, a god or saint, or an idea.

18. Pomian, "The Collection," 43-44. Bennett points out that collections can only function as a mediator between the visible and the invisible for those who "possess the appropriate socially-coded ways of seeing." Bennett, Birth of the Museum, 35.

19. Interestingly enough, Pomian's periodization coincides largely with Foucault's épistemes, as interpreted by Hooper-Greenhill. Pomian's interpretation of the final result is also similar to Hooper-Greenhill's. The idea that the 'museum as church' is engaged in forming a "consensus of opinion" differs from Hooper-Greenhill's 'disciplinary' museum mainly in the degree of voluntarism it allows members of the lower classes in participating in the work of these institutions; its actual function is remarkably similar. The concept of the 'disciplinary' museum stems from the Foucauldian idea that each of these new institutions—the school, the clinic, the prison and the museum—were created in order to classify, catalogue, and control people in the same way that knowledge was being classified and controlled. Thus, the museum was a part of a system of discipline for people and knowledge. Bennett, Birth of the Museum, 60-69, Hooper-Greenhill, Shaping of Knowledge, esp. 167-190; and Pomian, "The Collection," 44.
What Pomian's analysis of a continually, if slowly, moving boundary\textsuperscript{20} adds to our understanding of collections is the idea that the function of a collection is to communicate, or act as an intermediary, between the visible and the invisible. Not simply shaped by and shaping the ways in which we know the world, collections are determined by a particular aspect of that knowing. This idea, that the objects in a collection are signs, or \textit{semiophores}, for the invisible, coupled with Pomian's final comments on the nation as the subject and object of the worship for which museums are erected, brings this discussion back to the museums under study and their use in defining identities. If the nation, or the region or province, is the 'invisible' object of collection, then in making that 'invisible' visible to the viewer, the collection, in effect, defines a national identity: the \textit{semiophores} signify what the nation is, what it stands for, who is a part of it, and what being a part of it means.

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Chapter one discusses the collections of each of the four museums under study as \textit{semiophores} for the provincial identities. Where the museums of Nova Scotia and British Columbia gathered collections of the natural history of their areas to create provincial identities based on abundance and the future potential of the provinces, especially an industrial future, the archaeological museums of Ontario used the artefacts of the past to define an ancient and civilized Ontario, worthy of her own place in the world. The Royal Ontario Museum which consisted of both natural history and archaeological museums exhibited both aspects, but the spectacular nature of the archaeological museum's collections overshadowed both the collections

\textsuperscript{20} Although Pomian never actually says so, the suggestion is that the boundary, once it began moving in the fourteenth century, kept moving in the same direction, essentially bringing more and more of the invisible realm into the visible.
of the natural history museums and the potential future they signified. In each case, the differing identities ensured that each of the museums would have a unique collection.
Chapter One —

Creating Regional Identity:
The Museum Collections in Nova Scotia, Ontario, and British Columbia

If nation-states are widely conceded to be 'new' and 'historical', the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past, and, still more important, glide into a limitless future. (Anderson, Imagined Communities, 11-12)

Museums have long played a role in creating or maintaining identities,¹ and Canadian museums are no exception. Indeed, as the institutional manifestations of a new society, this has been a particularly urgent role for Canadian museums. As Benedict Anderson argued in his discussion of the relationship between colonialism and the rise of nationalism, museums are one of the "institutions of power" which "profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion--the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry."² The collections gathered, housed, and exhibited in Canadian museums have created identities which bound regions, provinces, and the nation together,³ while at the same time differentiating one province from the next, and each province from the nation. They have been used to differentiate the new Canadian people from the ethnic groups from which it was formed and also to relate Canadians to those ethnic groups. Whether situated in Nova Scotia, which was first settled by Europeans in 1604, or British Columbia, which did not experience European settlement until well into the nineteenth century, museums have been among


³. Zeller, Inventing Canada.
the tools used by European immigrants as they have created for themselves a separate Canadian identity.

This chapter considers the ways in which four Canadian museums created and reflected provincial identities. Because it is in the nature of collections to define the collectors and for most collectors this is an unconscious effect, it is difficult to argue that Canadian museums were conforming to a pattern. Yet, there was an element of conformity and of deliberation. The simple fact of establishing a museum was, in and of itself, an act of conforming to an international pattern. Museums were being established at a phenomenal rate throughout the European world, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As well, even when Canadian museum people were not deliberate in their collecting to signify the 'invisible' nation, they were making conscious choices about the artefacts and specimens they considered significant. And, in thus exhibiting their priorities, they were, in many ways, conforming to the aims and ambitions of the middle class which were shaping museum collections throughout the European world. Nonetheless, the differences between the various identities created unique collections in each museum which blurred close-up views of the pattern.

The Permanent Exhibition: Rocks, Industry, and the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia

The Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia has its origins in the nineteenth-century celebration of progress, science, and industry. Designed as a "permanent exhibition of the industrial resources of the province,"\(^4\) the collection celebrated the rich mineral wealth of the

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province and was exhibited in such a manner as to convince capitalists of the wisdom of investing in Nova Scotia. Local elites believed that the province was, and attempted to portray it as, a potentially wealthy industrial nation, and the future industrial heartland of Canada. The dream was not unfounded. Nova Scotia had "the only commercially viable coal and iron deposits in the Dominion," and the growing importance of the steel industry in Canada supported the assumption that Nova Scotia would become central to the country's industrial development. The museum reflected this dream and helped to create for the province an identity based on the mineral wealth of the province and on its growing mining industry.

Various attempts were made in the first half of the nineteenth century to establish a provincial museum in Nova Scotia, but none was successful. It was the success of Nova Scotia's exhibit at the 1862 international exhibition in London that finally provided the necessary catalyst by generating wide-spread interest in Nova Scotia's scientific and industrial potential. The province's scientifically-minded men united to form the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science in 1863, and together they began to lobby the government to maintain the high level of interest

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through the formation of a public museum. They argued that, much as the international exhibitions had done in England and Europe, a museum would be a boost to the economy, as a permanent display of the economic minerals of the province would provide capitalists with the necessary information on which to base investments and miners with a better understanding of the nature and importance of their work. It took Nova Scotia's successful participation in the 1865 Dublin Exposition to fully convince the government that a permanent exhibition was a worthwhile recipient of public funds, and in 1866, the Lieutenant-Governor declared that the top floor of the New Provincial Building would be set aside to house a museum. Exhibits destined for the 1867 Paris exposition universelle were marked for inclusion in the museum's collections upon their return to the province, and the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia opened its doors to the public in October 1868.

The core collections of the new museum consisted of a collection of Nova Scotia minerals, a Nova Scotia herbarium, a collection of Nova Scotia birds, a collection of Nova Scotia fossils (all three of which had been gathered for display in Paris), and the remains of the Halifax Mechanics' Institute collections. As the herbarium and the collection of birds suggest, the Nova Scotian displays at the international expositions included a wide range of natural history and raw materials, and a small number of manufactured products were also displayed. But the focus was on the economic minerals, such as coal, with which the province was so well supplied. Certainly, this focus was due in part to the scientific interests of the museum's first director, David Honeyman. As Nova Scotia's Commissioner to the international expositions of the 1860s, Honeyman was the ideal choice for director of the museum. A minister-turned-geologist, he had

published a number of works on Nova Scotian geology and had urged the provincial government to establish a geological survey, of which he would presumably be head. That he imposed his interest in geology on the museum is not surprising. Nor was he the only geologist among the scientific community. The growing number of coal mines in the area naturally gave rise to an interest in that aspect of natural history and a number of the mine owners were also members of the Institute of Science. But the focus on geology and economic minerals also reflected the impetus behind the exhibitions in which the collections had their origins: the international expositions were celebrations of capitalism and industry. Nova Scotia had little industry as yet, so that manufactured products could not provide the focus of exhibitions as they did in Britain. Nor were birds and plants considered economically important, although they did help to portray the province as an agriculturally rich country. Ores and minerals, however, were the fuel of industrial strength and a conspicuous display of such materials would present Nova Scotia as an industrial heartland waiting to be exploited. The retention of this focus in the establishment of the Provincial Museum made clear that this was the image of Nova Scotia which the museum's

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founders wished to pursue.  

When David Honeyman first described his museum to the provincial government in his annual report for the year 1871, he qualified the statement of the museum as permanent exhibition with the clause "combined with a museum of science and art." This secondary aspect of the museum was confirmed in Honeyman's first annual report in which he listed objects and specimens in ten separate departments: mineralogy; geology and palaeontology; botany; zoology; ethnology; antiquities; numismatology; fine arts; naval architecture; and mechanics. Thus, economic minerals were not the only items to which visitors to the museum would be treated. Descriptions of visits to the museum described the array of "birds, coins, animals, reptiles, shells, Indian relics, curiosities from Japan and China, skulls of pirates, [and] ship models" which were available for viewing. Like most nineteenth-century museums, Honeyman's museum was meant to be a well-rounded institution in which visitors could see a wide-range of objects.

Nonetheless, despite its range of objects, the collection was focussed on economic minerals and Nova Scotia's image of industrial potential. Honeyman argued that "our provincial prosperity largely depends on the development of our mineral resources," and he collected and displayed appropriately. In the 1871 description of the museum's departments, the last six-named


departments together took only one page to detail, while the description of the first two, mineralogy and geology/palaentology, ran for nine pages. Honeyman himself admitted their preponderance:

The mineralogical and geological departments...form the larger part of our museum, so that our institution may be regarded as to a large extent a museum of practical geology.\textsuperscript{14} Building stones, granite, sandstones, limestones, gypsum, iron ore, quartz, fossils, and coal, coal, were the main exhibits in the museum. Other authors described the museum's pride and joy, the artefact which is listed in every description of the collections and which Honeyman and his successors took to most international expositions:

The 8 foot pyramid opposite the entrance which represented the 433,754 ounces of gold produced in Nova Scotia until 1889 reminded everyone of the importance of gold mining in the province.\textsuperscript{15}

Regardless of the other attributes of the province of Nova Scotia, the economic minerals and their industrial potential were the foundation for the identity being created and displayed during the years that Honeyman curated the province's museum.

Honeyman died in 1889, however, and without his guidance the museum stagnated. This was exacerbated by the economic depression of the 1890s: during these lean years, Nova Scotia's government had little extra to spend on a museum about which it had always been ambivalent.\textsuperscript{16} The late 1890s, however, brought renewed prosperity and the provincial government found the

\textsuperscript{14} Honeyman, "Report 1871," 52.

\textsuperscript{15} Blakeley, \textit{Glimpses of Halifax}, 65.

resources to embark on an expanded museum and a new library. The museum was relocated, a provincial science library was established at the urging of the Institute of Science and the Mining Society, and Harry Piers, who was appointed as the new director of the museum in 1899, was given the post of Science Librarian.

Under the directorship of Harry Piers, the museum both reached its apogee as the semiaphore for Nova Scotia's industrial potential and became a very different institution. The nature and reasons for the changes in the museum during the later years of Piers' tenure are discussed in chapter five in conjunction with the discussion on the impact of the professionalization of science on museums and museum workers. But Piers did make two small changes in his first year, both of which, in the end, strengthened the image of Nova Scotia as an industrial paradise.

Piers' first act as director of the museum was to pack up the collection and move it to its new home. In the process of doing this, he took the opportunity to turn the museum into a "real Provincial Museum" \footnote{Dr. A.H. MacKay, "President's Address," Transactions 10, 3 (1900-01): lvi. Emphasis mine.} by removing and placing in storage all of the non-Nova Scotia, or foreign specimens, that David Honeyman had gathered. Honeyman's contacts with scientists from throughout the British Isles and Europe had brought to his collections donations and exchanges from around the world. Collections usually contain various threads, subsidiary meanings or even conflicting images, \footnote{See Brigham, Public Culture, 57-64.} and for Honeyman, science, and therefore his museum collection, was much more than an aid to industry and the economy. As the embodiment of the stereotypical nineteenth-century natural historian, ie. a Christian cleric whose pursuit of science was directly
related to his religious beliefs, Honeyman believed that a better understanding of the world God created would bring humankind closer to God. Geology was the most popular of sciences in the first half of the century because it was seen to be the most able to show God's work. Geology, Honeyman and many of his contemporaries believed, could prove the truth of the Christian Scriptures and the geological collection was the *semiophore*, for that truth. Thus, Honeyman's acquisition of specimens from around the world did not detract from the display of Nova Scotia's economic minerals but added another layer of meaning to the exhibits. Piers, however, whose scientific interests and reputation were much more local, and whose religious beliefs were less elemental than Honeyman's, considered the foreign specimens to be simply extraneous to a display of Nova Scotia's industrial potential. In changing the museum to focus solely on Nova Scotia, Piers' effectively tightened the link between the collection and the cultivation of a purely industrial identity for Nova Scotia.

The second change that Piers made early in his administration was to add four new departments to the museum's collecting and display areas: agriculture, horticulture, silviculture and industrial products. Despite Piers' contention that the museum was now a 'commercial' museum, thereby giving it a "wider sphere of usefulness," only the scope of the collections had been altered; the essence of the museum and its primary message remained the same. The


addition of agriculture, horticulture and silviculture highlighted Nova Scotia's potential in areas other than economic minerals, while the addition of industrial products suggested that the province's potential was being realized through the establishment of local industry. Thus, the collections remained the *semiophore* for the industrial identity which Nova Scotians wished to project.

That the cultivation of this identity was not simply the dream of one or two men, or even of the small group of scientists known as the Nova Scotian Institute of Science, is demonstrated by the relationship of the museum to the rest of the government bureaucracy. When it was founded in 1868, the museum was placed under the jurisdiction of the Commission of Public Works and Mines, and both Honeyman and Piers were technically civil servants. The first three annual reports, submitted by David Honeyman between 1871 and 1873, were appended to the Mines Report in the *Journals of the House of Assembly*. Harry Piers' annual reports were addressed to the Commissioner, and later the Minister, of Public Works and Mines, or his deputies. Thus, the shape which the museum took, its collecting mandate, and its service mandate, must be seen as having been accomplished with the assent of the government, even if that assent was, at times, indicated through a lack of dissent.

The industrial identity must also have been part of the government's consideration in hiring directors. Honeyman had been appointed because of his scientific reputation, his knowledge of Nova Scotian geology, and his proven ability at the international exhibitions. Piers, although lacking an international scientific reputation, was hired for his knowledge of museum practices and of geology acquired during his years as Honeyman's volunteer assistant. Proof that their geological knowledge was important to the government comes from the fact that both, in
their capacity as employees of the department of mines, were utilised for tasks beyond the museum. Piers' annual reports always include comments on his capacity as identifier of mineral specimens for mine owners and the public alike. They also often include reports of trips he made throughout the province in order to identify rocks or minerals in situ, to consider the potential of the site, or to ascertain possible problems.\(^{21}\) Arranged for him by the department of mines as a government service provided for the mining companies, these visits were an integral part of his job as director of the museum and keeper of the province's industrial identity.

Piers also continued Honeyman's tradition of exhibiting Nova Scotia outside of the confines of the museum's walls. Once the museum had been established, Honeyman had used the permanent collections to build displays for use at international exhibitions, eliminating the need to gather material separately for each exhibition. Piers was never as keen a traveller as Honeyman had been but he did take an exhibit of economic minerals to the 1907 Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition in Norfolk, Virginia, and to the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto in 1908.\(^{22}\) Even after these duties ceased, he retained his fourth official position as caretaker of the Mining Building at the Provincial Exhibition. Prior to the erection of a separate building for mining on the exhibition grounds, Piers had merely to put up a small display in one of the other buildings. After 1906, he was forced to put his wife or one of his sisters in charge of the museum for six to eight weeks from August to October every year in order to clean up, arrange and oversee the

\(^{21}\) See, for instance, Piers, *Report 1906*, 6-8, for a report on his visit to a tin mine in Lunenburg Co.

\(^{22}\) Piers reported of his exhibit in Toronto that "it did much to advertise the resources of our province in the central section of Canada and to draw attention to our mineral deposits as a field for the investment of capital." Piers, *Report 1908*, 3. See, Piers, *Report 1907*, 1-5, on his trip to Jamestown; and Harry Piers, Diaries, 6 July-21 December 1907, and 10 August-30 September 1908, MG 1, Piers Papers, v. 1046, PANS.
exhibits in the Mining Building, most of which were commercial exhibits. Piers was also required to provide information on how to apply for mineral rights in the province, for which purpose he prepared a pamphlet to hand-out or send to any requestors. Not only was the provincially-funded museum an advertisement for investment possibilities in the province, it was a clearinghouse for government information on how to take advantage of those possibilities. That the government acquiesced in and encouraged the cultivation of an industrial, and particularly mining, identity for the province of Nova Scotia is difficult to dispute.

The Nova Scotian government did all that it could to encourage industry and economic growth in the province. But even the establishment of a Technical College in 1910 did nothing to hide the fact that by 1911 the industrial dream was dead. Not only had it become clear that Nova Scotia would never be the industrial heartland of Canada, the province was already in the throes of what economic historians have called 'deindustrialization'. The 1880s were seen as the 'golden age' as prosperity became a thing of the past. Although Harry Piers continued to employ the Victorian rhetoric of industrialism and progress when speaking of his museum, the museum's collection of economic minerals had become semiophores for a lost dream. In the next few years, it slowly metamorphosed into a different collection and a new institution.

23 Piers complained that the new Mines Building on the exhibition grounds was too small and that a "building the size of that devoted to fisheries, would have been more suited to our requirements, and more in keeping with the importance of mining in Nova Scotia, it being the principal industry of the province." Piers, Report 1906, 2.

24 The Provincial Museum was rehoused in 1910 on the ground floor of the new Technical College.

The stories of the Ontario Provincial Museum and the Royal Ontario Museums, and their roles in defining a provincial identity, are much more complex than that of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia. Products of the same middle-class improving urge, the OPM and the ROM both exhibited the same nineteenth-century belief in the economic, educational, and social utility of viewing objects. However, unlike Nova Scotia's museum, which was created as a single institution backed by a single constituency (the Institute of Science) and run by a single director, both the Ontario Provincial Museum and the ROM were created out of diverse collections which had been built up over time by different people; indeed, the ROM was, for the first 43 years of its existence, a grouping of five separately-directed museums. The subsidiary meanings within the various collections, plus the tensions and contradictions created by the diversity of their origins, made the relationship of these collections to the 'invisible' less clearcut than that of Nova Scotia's collections of rocks and minerals. The identities defined by them wavered, changed shape, and, particularly in the case of the ROM, were never monolithic. Nonetheless, at each point one identity dominated and it was the identity cultivated by Charles T. Currelly's Old World art and archaeology collections which brought the ROM into being despite the province already having a public museum. In fact, despite the middle-class origins of the desire to establish museums, it was the collections which appealed to the cultural aspirations of Toronto's very wealthy, the collections which allowed them to perceive of Toronto as an international metropolitan centre comparable to London, Paris or New York, which ensured the ROM victory in the struggle for the financial and moral support of the province.

The Ontario Provincial Museum had its roots in the Normal School approved by the
Canadian legislature in 1849 and built in 1851.26 The architectural plans for the new school included rooms for a school of art and design to be supported by a museum. In 1853, the legislature voted Egerton Ryerson, the colony’s Superintendent of Education, £500 per annum in order to purchase books and objects for the library and museum. Ryerson promptly acquired a book collection and a number of natural history specimens. The real collecting effort, however, began in 1855, when Ryerson travelled to Europe to study educational methods and to gather "copies of noted paintings and plaster casts of the great works of sculpture."27 Over the next two years, during two trips to Europe, Ryerson collected over 2,000 objets d'art, most of them in reproduction. In 1857, Ryerson had the honour of opening the Normal School Museum as a public museum of fine arts.

As the first public museum in the new colony of Canada,28 the Normal School Museum's role in defining that place and its people was of great importance. The identity which Ryerson sought for Canada, the invisible of which his collections were a semiophore, placed the colony firmly within the British Empire. Unlike the Nova Scotia museum which used its collection to...
identify the province's present and thereby give the province a future, Ryerson's collection was about defining place by laying claim to a past. But that past was not the past of that place. Rather, as Bennett has argued of early attempts to historicize Australia, the colonial past lacked autonomy and instead "refer[red] itself to, and [sought] anchorage and support in, the deeper pasts of Europe." The reproductions of great art formed a collection which supported an imperial nationalism and linked the new place called Canada to a long history of great civilizations through her ties to Britain. Except for the purchase of some works from the newly-formed Ontario Society of Artists, prior to the turn of the century, little effort was made to encourage a local art scene, which might have identified the province as a place apart from Britain. Nor does there seem to have been much work put into the natural history side of the collection, which could have presented both the differences and the similarities between Ontario and Britain.

But Ryerson's museum was not destined to be the final word on the Canadian or Ontario identity. The Canadian Institute, a Toronto-based scientific and literary society formed in 1849, included the formation of a museum in its constitution. A few archaeological specimens had been gathered but they languished, uncatalogued and uncared for, until 1884 when David Boyle, autodidact, ex-school teacher and amateur archaeologist, donated his archaeological collection of over 900 specimens to the Institute and thereby ensured his election to the post of curator.

Despite an infusion of natural history specimens into the collection in 1885, David Boyle focussed his own work and the collection on the archaeology and ethnology of Ontario. Not only did he attract donors of specimens and funds for fieldwork, he established the foundation of archaeology in the province. Arguing that a provincially-funded program of archaeology should be set up and run through the Canadian Institute, he described the work that needed to be done, how it should be done, and what the necessary funding should be. In 1887, the provincial government agreed to provide a grant of one thousand dollars per year for this project and to publish an archaeological report. Although the collections remained in the Canadian Institute's museum for nine more years, from 1887, they belonged to the provincial government. Boyle, nominally an employee of the Institute, became answerable ultimately to the Minister of Education. The archaeological report, which was continued until 1928, described the fieldwork carried out on the grant, and also included lists of new donations to the Institute's museum, articles by amateur archaeologists in the province and the occasional article by archaeologists from elsewhere interested in Ontario.

The merger in 1896 of the remains of the Normal School Museum and Boyle's archaeological collections brought together all of the Ontario government's archaeological, scientific, and art collections in the new third floor of the School as the Ontario Provincial

32. The Natural History Society of Toronto merged with the Canadian Institute in 1885 to form the biological section of the Institute. Not only did the new members add their natural history collections to the Institute's museum, they guaranteed the loan needed to put a third floor on the Institute's building in order to house that museum. Killan, David Boyle, 90-91.

33. Killan, David Boyle, 88-100.
Boyle, who from 1894 had been directly responsible to the Minister of Education, was, in November 1896, appointed curator of the archaeological section of the new museum. This was by no means the ideal situation that Boyle had hoped it would be. He had to put up with the constant interference of George Ross, the Minister of Education, and, without a director to administer the funding or to preside over the allocation of space, the curators of the different departments were left to fight amongst themselves. The varying levels of competency between the curators compounded the situation and the museum soon became a disorganized embarrassment. In 1901, the new Minister of Education, Richard Harcourt, attempted to rectify the situation by appointing Boyle as the Superintendent of the museum. Although this stabilized the institution, it did so at the expense of the art and natural science sections which quickly took second place to Boyle's own interest in archaeology, and set the tone for the remainder of the museum's existence as a museum of Ontario archaeology.


36. Bayer, *The Ontario Collection*, 48-50, claims that a Dr. S. Passmore May succeeded John George Hodgins as Superintendent of Ryerson's Education Museum and did not retire until 1905, at which point Boyle was appointed his successor. Killan makes no mention of May or his retirement as the catalyst for Boyle's appointment, but his evidence makes it clear that Boyle was appointed in 1901 and took up his position in early 1902. Killan, *David Boyle*, 209-211. Ryerson's art collection and the natural science, or biological, collections were both still a part of the museum. William Brodie, who Boyle hired to care for the biological collections was appointed the Provincial Biologist in 1903. Yet these were overshadowed by the archaeological side of the museum, especially because of the publication of the *Archaeological Report*, which was the only published information on the work of the museum. At the same time, the Ontario Historical Society was pressuring the government to establish an historical museum. Gerald Killan, *Preserving Ontario's Heritage: A History of the Ontario Historical Society* (Ottawa: Ontario Historical
Like Ryerson's collection of great art, Boyle's archaeological collection was about defining Ontario's past. But, rather than imposing a European past on the province, Boyle used a European model to create a unique Ontario past. Essentially, Boyle appropriated the native past, turning it into Ontario's, or Canada's, stone age, and the natives into the equivalent of Britain's Celts and Picts. Boyle's wish for a provincial museum stemmed from a desire to halt the expropriation of Ontario's native artefacts to the US and Britain.\(^{37}\) Publicity for the museum would, he hoped, "prevent mercenary transactions in Indian relics for disposal beyond the province."\(^{38}\) In arguing that those artefacts belonged in Ontario rather than elsewhere, Boyle was both staking out a territory and claiming all that was found in that territory, including the past of other cultures, as Ontario's own. Sainte Marie, the Jesuit stronghold in Huronia, became for Boyle Ontario's ancient edifice, the equivalent of Europe's ancient castles, keeps, or feudal mansions, and therefore as worthy of being "kept in repair and jealously guarded from tourist vandals as well as from the ravages of time" as anything on the British islands of Lindisfarne or Iona. Sainte Marie was particularly important to Boyle's chronology because, he argued, it "forms a closely connecting link through the French, between ourselves and the Hurons."\(^{39}\) It was the visible and tangible connector between the 'invisible' native past and the European present.

The collection which Boyle gathered bore out this view of his use of the native past. The focus of the collection was the material remains of the natives of the province: pipe heads and

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stems, pottery, clay cups, war clubs, strings of beads, carved bone, carved stone, bone needles, arrow heads, stone axes, gouges and chisels, iron knives and tomahawks were among the many types of artefacts Boyle gathered from other collectors and from the various archaeological digs for which his provincial funding paid. However, in order to put these artefacts, and thus the people who made them, into a broader context, he collected objects from around the world. The collection contained artefacts from natives groups elsewhere in Canada such as the Blood of the North West Territories, as well as those from those who inhabited, or had inhabited, the land now comprising much of the United States of America. Nor did Boyle stop at the edges of the continent: Lieutenant Frederick Hamilton who was a correspondent for the Toronto Globe during the Boer War collected ethnological artefacts in Africa for the Ontario Provincial Museum. But perhaps the most telling artefacts collected were those of European origin. Not only did Boyle include artefacts of the pioneer days of Ontario; he also accepted for the collection "some fragments of Samian ware and two specimens of Roman stylus (all dug up in the city of London...)". The value of these illustrations of Europe's ancient past were the opportunity they "afforded us to compare equivalents of the two continents." Comparison with objects from Europe would show that Ontario had a similar past, but one which was all her own.

Boyle, like the other men discussed here, did not consciously set out to create an identity for Ontario. He set out to establish an educational and scientific museum. As a serious student of Ontarian archaeology himself, he hoped to interest others in the subject, and comparative material would give greater value to their studies of Ontarian objects. He was also quite honestly

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concerned that the native material be saved, both from foreign exportation and from wilful destruction or negligence. He involved himself in native affairs and was a frequent, and by his account welcome, visitor to the Grand River Reserve near Brantford, Ontario.\footnote{See accounts of the various festivals he was permitted to observe on the reserve, in \textit{Archaeological Report} (1898): 82-135.} But his concern for the welfare of the natives' material culture stemmed primarily from his subscription to the common belief that, as an inferior race, the 'Indian' must necessarily disappear or be 'civilized'.\footnote{See, for instance, David Boyle, "Mixed Blood," and "Disease," in \textit{Archaeological Report} (1898): 167-68 & 189-96; and Boyle, "On the Paganism of the Civilized Iroquois of Ontario," in \textit{Archaeological Report} (1901): 115-125. See also Berger, \textit{Science, God and Nature}, 41.} He was not anxious that the objects be saved in order to maintain a foundation for native culture, but in order to allow European Ontarians to maintain a link with 'their' past.

The past that Boyle's collection gave Ontario, as ancient and venerable as Europe's, might well have served to create an identity for Ontario separate from the Empire by making it a place unto itself. However, like Egerton Ryerson, Boyle was an imperial nationalist. Killan writes of him:

Canada's future as a nation, he believed, lay within the matrix of the Empire, and he generally sympathized with most of the schemes--whether commercial, political, cultural, or military in nature--that promised to bring about closer imperial ties.\footnote{Killan, \textit{David Boyle}, 163. Piers was also an imperial nationalist but that side of his character does not seem to have manifested itself in his museum.}

In his work with the Ontario Historical Society, Boyle emphasized the use of facts to instruct children in their British-Canadian identity and indoctrinate them in imperial patriotism. Defining a past for Ontario which was different from Europe was not meant to sever the province's ties to the Empire. Rather, it was meant to show the rightness of Ontario's place in the Empire.
through drawing out the similarities between Britain's past and Ontario's past.  

The extent to which a museum collection shapes an identity, rather than simply reflecting it, is certainly debatable. The power of a group of objects, seen only by a small fraction of the population, to define a whole people must be limited. Thus, the role that the fate of the Ontario Provincial Museum played in the history of Ontario is impossible to measure. Nonetheless, the identity of Ontarians through much of the twentieth century has less in common with Boyle's paternalistic, imperial nationalism than with the identity represented in the Ontario Provincial Museum's successor, the Royal Ontario Museum. Although Ontarians have shared with Boyle a deep-seated need to differentiate themselves from their neighbour to the south, and have often done so through emphasizing their continued ties to Britain and the Commonwealth, they have also tended to equate the province of Ontario with the whole country of Canada, and have claimed status for Canada, and thereby for Ontario, as a major power in the world in her own right. This was the Ontario for which the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum were a semiophore, and, indeed, it was the creation of a collection which signified Canada's status as a country 'equal' to Britain or the USA which brought the ROM into existence and determined the end of the Ontario Provincial Museum.

It comes as no surprise that a new Ontarian identity would have been created, and

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45. Implicit in imperial ideology and evolutionary theory in museum arrangements was the notion of social order. See Brigham, Public Culture, 122-144; and Coombes, "Museums and the Formation of Identities," 61.


47. This has been particularly true since the Second World War, but already prior to the war Ontarians and Canadians were asserting their independence and separateness from Britain.
supported, at this point in the province's history. The tensions and contradictions between Ryerson's vision and Boyle's, and between the OPM and the ROM, are part of a larger, ongoing debate over Ontario's identity. But, the establishment of the ROM came at a time when the province was being remade. During the late 19th and early twentieth century Ontario was province-building, expanding its borders to include more territory and creating the 'New Ontario'. The cultivation of a more sophisticated provincial identity was commensurate with the larger vision of the province's destiny alive at the time.

Officially constituted in 1912, the ROM, like the OPM, had its origins in a number of disparate collections. The natural history collections were begun in 1853 when William Hincks defeated T.H. Huxley in the race for the newly-created Chair of Natural History at the University of Toronto. He immediately began to purchase specimens of birds, mammals, shells and insects. In 1856, the University Senate voted to assume control of Hincks' collections and they officially became part of the University. Over the years, the collections grew, as professors and students gathered specimens during their research. Individual, and sometimes quite valuable, collections of shells, dried plants, Canadian minerals and fossils were either donated to the university or purchased by it. A fire in University College in 1890 destroyed portions of what had become known as the Biological Museum, but the dedication of a number of interested individuals ensured their speedy renewal. As the university itself grew, and the Chair of Natural History endured to become departments of biology, mineralogy and petrography, and geology, the

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different aspects of the collections became museums in their own right, housed and cared for by their corresponding university departments. However, although there is evidence that the public was admitted to the Biological Museum, at least, the collections were maintained primarily for teaching purposes.

It was Byron Edmund (later Sir Edmund) Walker who saw a greater potential for these collections. An avid collector himself, Walker was a keen advocate of art, education, science and museums. His work with the Toronto Guild of Civic Art and the Toronto Art Gallery, in the 1890s and early 1900s, lead to his appointment, in 1906, to the federal Arts Advisory Council, a body which advised on the National Gallery. He was involved with the Canadian Institute and stood as its president for the year 1899-1900. But his fondest dream, like that of David Boyle, was the establishment of a first-rate provincial museum in Ontario. His visits to the great museums in New York had fueled a dream for Toronto and, despite his reliance on the rhetoric of education in calling for public expenditure on museums, it is clear that his desire for a museum in Ontario stemmed, at least in part, from his cultural nationalism. Toronto, he believed, was capable of providing a museum comparable to anything in New York. Walker's dream was


51. Walker never made the comparison between Toronto and New York directly, but he did make it clear that he felt museums were essential to modern society, that Canada was wealthy enough to bear the cost of establishing museums, and that the Dominion and provincial governments were not doing enough in the way of museums. I accept Dickson's contention that Walker's ideal of a museum was formed during his time in New York and that in establishing a museum in Ontario he was "aiming at a museum that would be comparable with those he had haunted in New York." Dickson, *Museum Makers*, 12. See also, B.E. Walker, *Canadian Surveys and Museums and the Need of Increased Expenditure Thereon*, reprinted
to combine the best of the collections already in existence, both Boyle's archaeological collections and the natural history collections of the University of Toronto, to create that museum.

Walker had made clear his stance on the existing Provincial Museum, in 1901. When Boyle was appointed Superintendent of the Museum, Walker and a number of other prominent citizens were asked to corroborate Boyle's negative assessment of the state of the Museum. All of the men agreed with Boyle that the museum was in a pitiful state, but Walker's assessment was the most radical:

My advice is ... advance and develop as far as possible the one good thing you have, the Archaeological and Ethnological Department, and get rid of the rest. In this Department you can do something which will bring credit to all concerned.52

'Getting rid of' the rest of the Provincial Museum was not a practical solution in 1901. The government had just spent money on it, and, as Killan points out, it did have a place in the cultural life of the province.53 Nor was there any alternative to it at that point. Walker, however, was attempting to provide an alternative. When, in 1904, plans were begun to add a new wing to the University's Mining Building in order to house the Museum of Mineralogy and Geology, Walker managed to convince the interested parties to instead throw their lot in with him and a new provincial museum. He also, as the probable author of the 1906 report of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto, recommended the speedy establishment of a museum at the university, both the costs and privileges of which would be shared with the general public

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52. Quoted in Killan, *David Boyle*, 210. The other reviewers were Charles Caniff James, Dr. William Brodie, a prominent naturalist, and John Ross Robertson of the Toronto *Telegram*.

of the province. This museum would be the provincial museum and could incorporate both the existing university collections and the archaeological collections of the OPM.

The events related to museum building in Ontario in the years 1905-1912 are confusing and often seem contradictory. For instance, having agreed to enact legislation to put into effect all of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto, a promise which ostensibly included the recommendation for a new public museum, the government simultaneously raised the annual appropriation of the existing Provincial Museum, allowing Boyle to hire new staff, upgrade exhibits and generally make the institution "more vital and thoroughly professional." The recommendations for the university were implemented without, apparently, establishing another museum; Walker probably despaired of ever seeing his dream come true. It probably would not have come true had it not been for the introduction of a new player into the game at that time. Charles Trick Currelly and his Old World art and archaeological collections garnered support for a new museum where Walker and the Ontario collections could not: among Toronto's wealthy.

Currelly was a graduate of Victoria College who had travelled to England in 1902 to meet Prince Kropotkin for introductions to the Anarchist party of Europe in hopes of writing his doctorate on the subject. While there, he was introduced to Sir Flinders Petrie who invited him

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54. Dickson, Museum Makers, 11-12. See also Ontario, Royal Commission on the University of Toronto, Report of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto (Toronto: King's Printer, 1906).

55. Dickson, Museum Makers, 12. The legislation was passed in May 1906 and went into effect 15 June 1906.

56. Killan, David Boyle, 217.

57. In his broader vision for a museum, Walker was an atypical member of Toronto's wealthy.
to join the Egyptian Exploration Fund's archaeological digs. He quickly abandoned the anarchist project and began his life's work as an archaeologist. On his brief visit home in 1905, Currelly met Walker and they discussed plans for a museum. This meeting was to be particularly significant for, the following year, friends of Walker visited Currelly on a dig in Egypt. Excited by Currelly's work, Edmund Osler and H.D. Warren agreed, on the spot, to provide the fifteen hundred dollars Currelly needed to add colour to a duplicate cast of a portion of wall-reliefs he was making for the 'Toronto museum'. This was only the first of many donations Osler and Warren were to make to the ROM over the years. An exhibition of his collections in Toronto in 1906 and his growing reputation convinced the university's Board of Governors to give Currelly the title of Curator of Oriental Archaeology and provide him with a salary and an acquisition fund to begin collecting for the university. He resigned from the Egyptian Exploration Fund and began to collect full-time. Walker, sensing that things might finally be underway, began consulting with an architect on museum plans.

Walker's speeches to scientific organizations, his public and private lobbying of influential people in the city, and the lobbying by the curators of the university's natural history collections kept the issue of a museum alive. But it was the exhibition in 1909 of the artefacts collected so far that sealed the fate of Currelly's collections, and hence, of Walker's proposed museum. Osler, a prominent member of the Conservative party, encouraged members of the government to attend, and the exhibition convinced many of Toronto's monied class that here was a collection worth

58. Osler and Warren were more typical members of their class, not having entered the museum debate until the question of funding spectacular Old World art and archaeological collections arose.

59. Maurice Dutton, President pro tempore, University of Toronto, to Charles Currelly, 19 July 1906, SC3, b.1, f.4, ROMLA.
supporting, here was the makings of a museum of which they could be proud. Walker prodded the university's Board of Governors into sending a committee to discuss with the Premier the possibility of jointly funding a museum with the university. Osler, who as a member of the Board of Governors was one of the three committee members, told Whitney to agree to the proposal, assuring him that whatever monies the legislature refused would be paid for out of his own pocket. Faced with that sort of encouragement, Whitney had no choice but to agree to the establishment of a new museum for the province. Currelly was given a ten thousand dollar grant from the province and university to collect, to which Osler added another ten thousand per year for five years and Z.A. Lash, another member of the Board of Governors, added five thousand per year for three years. Sigmund Samuel and Mrs. H.D. Warren also began, at this point, their long histories of donating funds to the ROM.\textsuperscript{60}

The events of 1909 ensured the establishment of the ROM. Huge amounts of money were handed to Currelly and from that point on he was refused almost nothing. Work on the building began in 1910, and the Museum Act was given royal assent on 16 April 1912. The new museums were opened by Canada's Governor General, the Duke of Connaught, on 19 March 1914.\textsuperscript{61} But the events of 1909 also make clear why this museum was established. No amount of lobbying on the part of Walker, Boyle, or the professors in charge of the university's natural history

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{60} The previous two paragraphs are summarised from Dickson, \textit{Museum Makers}, 12-28; and Currelly, \textit{I Brought the Ages Home}, 29-42 & 125-135.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{61} Ontario, "An Act to provide for the Establishment of a Provincial Museum." The five component museums were established through by-laws of the new umbrella institution: the ROM of Archaeology on 12 November 1912; the ROM's of Geology, Mineralogy and Palaeontology on 3 April 1913; and the ROM of Natural History, later renamed the ROM of Zoology, in October 1913. See Minutes, Board of Trustees, Royal Ontario Museums (hereafter Board--ROM), 26 November 1912, 3 April 1913, and 16 October 1913, RG 1A, b.1, v.1, ROMLA.}
collections had swayed the government or the province's wealthy in the way that a viewing of
the collection of Old World art and archaeology did. Currelly's collection, which was quite
literally comparable to anything available in New York, Paris, or London, promised to put
Toronto on the cultural map in ways that Boyle's, A.P. Coleman's, Arthur Parks', T.L. Walker's,
and Ramsay Wright's collections of local archaeological and natural history specimens never
would, regardless of their excellence. Currelly's collection was a return to Ryerson's imposition
of a European past on Ontario, but where Ryerson had focussed on relatively modern European
art, Currelly was collecting the material remains of the ancient cultures. What now went on
display in Toronto was a tangible, visible link to the 'cradle of civilization'. The financial value
of the artefacts and their spectacular nature gave Ontario a sophistication which Ryerson's copies
and casts could not. Ontario was now not simply another place in the Empire, but a place unto
itself, and equal to Britain. This would suggest that the collection was not simply about defining


63. Coleman, Parks, T.L. Walker and Wright were the respective curators of the University of Toronto's Geology, Palaeontology, Mineralogy and Biological museums. Coleman, Parks, and T.L. Walker become the directors of their respective museums within the ROM. Wright died just after the ROM was established and his successor in the Biology Department, B.A. Bensley, became the Director of the Museum of Natural History. T.L. Walker was no relation to Sir Edmund. On the elite preference for art and archaeology, over natural history, see David Elliston Allen, The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History (London: Allen Lane, 1976): 163-64; and Levine, Amateur and Professional, 64.

64. See also Bennett, Birth of the Museum, 76-77, on the extension of historical time--"deeper past"--and the use of history to "nation" the population especially through the annexation of universal history to national history in order to represent the nation as the "outcome and culmination of the universal story of civilization's development."
Ontario's past or present; it was about defining her destiny. The science museums, which, in their collections of natural history, geology and mineralogy, defined a present and a future not unlike that of Nova Scotia's industrial dream, were completely overshadowed by both the spectacular nature of Currelly's collections (and his promises of more and better should the money come available) and by the glorious past which they provided Ontario.

B.E. Walker had played on the excitement generated by Currelly's collections to push the government into establishing a new, first-rate, provincial museum. The result, however, was not exactly as he had planned. Walker had envisioned merging the collections of the University of Toronto with the archaeological and ethnological collections of Boyle's OPM. Indeed, the Museum Act of 1912 provided for the transfer of the OPM's objects under the direction of, and according to the terms and conditions prescribed by, the Lieutenant-Governor. But, when the dust had settled and the ROM was open for business, not only did the OPM still exist as a separate entity, it also had a new director: Dr. Rowland B. Orr had been appointed to the position in 1911, after the death of David Boyle. Not until 1933, when Dr. Orr died, did the Ontario government finally close down the OPM and transfer its collections to the ROM.

The ROM had come into being because of the cultural aspirations of Toronto's monied. The provincial government had given no indication that it shared the dream of Boyle and Walker for a first-rate museum for the province and had Currelly not appeared with his spectacle it is unlikely that the government would have been convinced. However, Toronto had reached a stage

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66. The picture galleries in the Education Museum, or OPM, were closed in 1912 and the collections, which included Ryerson's collections of copies and casts plus the purchases of the Ontario government from the Ontario Society of Artists, were dispersed to the five Normal Schools in the province. Bayer, The Ontario Collection, 2 & 64-65.
in its development at which it could afford a cultural spectacle in its museum and also one at which that was desired. Security and prosperity allowed Toronto’s wealthy to consider the same aspects of their nature which had given rise to the great art museums of the USA in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and in the same manner.

Given this, the real question remains, not "why did the government establish the ROM when a provincial museum already existed?" but "why did the OPM continue to exist after the ROM was established?" To some extent the answer is simply that Toronto, and Ontario, had, by 1912, grown large enough to require a range of institutions in order to serve the many and varied interests of a maturing community. Yet, the OPM also represented a continued disagreement among the province’s middle and upper classes over what was important. The ROM’s supporters may have been dominant, but they did not hold the only viewpoint on what Ontario’s provincial museum should display or on what Ontario was and should be. When the closure of the Provincial Museum and the transfer of its collections to the ROM was imminent in 1933, supporters of the OPM complained vigourously of the ROM’s collections and display methods. ‘Angus’ noted that the ROM was expensive:

If we desire to curtail expenditure—then in Heaven’s name let us cease to send highly paid curators to all the corners of the earth, and for what? To secure at fabulous cost the foreign gods of people to whom we send our missionaries ... to repudiate these same gods! After all their efforts ... we send a collector to buy them ... unscientific:

... [the collections of the Provincial Museum] are to be taken to [the ROM], there to be chose according attractiveness for the cases...

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67. This is an interesting charge given Charles Currelly's comments on the scientific basis for his collections. See chapter two.
and foreign:

... let us found our progress on the studies of the ingenuity of our own past races; the simple arts of their economic existence have a greater fascination in the flashing of one humble arrowhead, than may be found in the silent gaze of any foreign god, regardless of its sponsor.  

Ontario's 'own' past, as David Boyle had defined it at the OPM, continued to have its supporters despite the prominence of the identity shaped by the Old World archaeological collections at the ROM.

Natural History and Natives: Imperialism, Wilderness, and the British Columbia Provincial Museum

If the diversity of their collections make the Ontario museums complex and difficult to read, the British Columbia Provincial Museum is so for other reasons. Although it was, like the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, a single institution, its collections lacked the long-term coherence or consistency which the converging interests of Honeyman and Piers gave to the Nova Scotia collections. The personal interests of the first director, Jack Fannin (1886-1904), were narrower in scope than those of the group men who had successfully petitioned for the establishment of a museum. Therefore, the museum as created differed from the museum as envisioned. The second director, Francis Kermode (1905-1940), was trained by Fannin and basically retained Fannin's style. But a changing society forced the de-emphasis of Fannin's focus, and the intervention of people interested in, but not officially connected to, the museum reintroduced one of the aspects of the original vision for the museum. Analysis of the collections

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68 'Angus' to Editor, Toronto Mail and Empire, 25 March 1933. A number of supporters of his point of view wrote to corroborate in the following weeks. See, for instance, E.J.C. to Editor, 5 April 1933; and E. Kelly to Editor, 29 April 1933.
and, therefore, of the identity being cultivated through them, is further hampered by the lack of extant records for the period. Much of what is stated in this section is, therefore, highly speculative. But notwithstanding the lack of coherence over time, and the lack of evidence, there is much that can be gleaned from the collections of the British Columbia Provincial Museum.  

The museum, as envisioned by the élite of Victoria who originally called for its creation, resembled a combination of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia and David Boyle's Ontario Provincial Museum. In a petition addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor of the province and dated January 1886, thirty gentleman from Victoria called for the establishment of a provincial museum with a mandate

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\text{to preserve specimens of the natural products and Indian Antiquities and Manufactures of the Province and to classify and exhibit the same for the information of the public.} \]

The petitioners agreed that "a museum where classified specimens of ores, etc., may be examined, will prove of practical benefit to the Province at large." Here again was the argument which the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science had used to convince the Nova Scotian government to support a museum of economic minerals. The practical and economic benefits of a museum displaying minerals and ores, in a province where the exploitation of the natural resources was the pre-eminent industry, would far outweigh the costs to the government.  

The second aspect of the proposed museum, the preservation of the material culture of

\[69\text{. On the history of the BC Provincial Museum, see Corley-Smith, White Bears; and Corley-Smith, Ring of Time.} \]

\[70\text{. Quoted in Corley-Smith, White Bears, 142.} \]

\[71\text{. On a less practical note, the petition argued that "a centre for investigation" of natural history would advance the "interests of that science" and gain "the attention and cooperation of naturalists of other countries." Corley-Smith, White Bears, 142.} \]
the province's natives, paralleled both Boyle's objections to the expropriation of native artefacts from Ontario, and his appropriation of native culture for a provincial identity. On the need for a provincial museum to preserve these artefacts, the petition stated:

> It is a source of general regret that objects connected with the ethnology of the country are being yearly taken away in great numbers to the enrichment of other museums and private collections while no adequate means are provided for their retention in the province. Limited as such articles are in quantity their loss is frequently irreparable, and, when once removed from the locality of their production, their scientific value and utility to the country are greatly lessened.\(^2\)

Concern over the loss of these artefacts was genuine, but, as in Boyle's case, there is no indication that it stemmed from a desire to protect or preserve the culture of the native inhabitants. Nor does it seem that the claiming of native artefacts was meant to provide links between the native past and the European present, as Boyle's collection was doing in Ontario. Many scholars have noted the importance of anthropological collections in defining the collectors or viewers through their emphasis on difference. The 'primitive' nature of native peoples as evidenced in their material culture has provided a sense of superiority, of the 'rightness' of European imperialism and domination, and of European civilization as the culmination of

\(^2\) Corley-Smith, *White Bears*, 142. David Boyle wrote to the Premier of BC, James Dunsmuir, to voice his objections to the lack of anthropological collecting being done by the BC government:

> I feel confident that the time is not far distant when the British Columbia student will deplore the lack of specimens of this kind in his own country, and this the more especially, when he bears in mind that every important museum in the world is supplied to a greater or lesser extent with specimens of British Columbian native workmanship... . Having made this statement I may consider my duty as a mentor concluded, but I sincerely trust you will pardon me if in the name of many thousands living, as well as yet to live, I humbly but strongly express the hope that British Columbia will, before it is too late, secure for preservation in the interests of science representative specimens in considerable quantity, of its archaeological and ethnological wealth. David Boyle to Hon. James Dunsmuir, Premier, 13 November 1902 (copy), Add.MSS. 1077, v.19, f.06, BCARS.
evolution. The anthropological collections of the B.C. museum must be seen in this context as well. However, as specimens within a natural history museum, they also served a function similar to that of the flora and fauna of the area in that their collection represented a laying claim to territory in which the natives lived on the part of European settlers.

The petition for a museum was wholeheartedly endorsed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and the new museum opened on 25 October 1886 in a small room in the provincial legislative building. The director was Jack Fannin, a shoemaker, amateur taxidermist, and sometime guide to hunters. "[A] man of action, a competent writer and a gifted speaker and raconteur who could relate to people from all levels of society," Fannin seemed to be, in Corley-Smith's words, an "inspired" choice. Two separate trips in the 1870s surveying for the provincial government, in the lower Fraser valley and on the Stikeen River, had excited Fannin's interest in natural history and greatly enhanced his knowledge of the area. His taxidermy work and his personal collection of mounted specimens would also have recommended him as a reasonable choice for director.

Yet, there is a level at which he may not have been as inspired a choice as Corley-Smith claims. Corley-Smith has noted that in the early years the museum and its director were "virtually synonymous," and Fannin's interests and abilities, as broad-ranging as they were, did not reach as far as did those of the original petitioners. Under Fannin, the anthropological aspects of the original vision were subordinated to his own focus on the natural history of the province. This is born out by the artefact list included with the only report for the museum that Fannin wrote.


Of the 16,577 objects in the collection, only 1,663 fell into the anthropological and ethnological category.\textsuperscript{76} And, even with the practical display of minerals consisting of roughly five thousand specimens, over two-thirds of the collections fell directly into the natural history categories. Although the simple number of artefacts cannot be equated with their value to a collection, it seems nonetheless clear that Fannin's museum placed a heavy emphasis on natural history and thus, as good as it may have been, it remained something less than had been envisioned.

The identity cultivated in this natural history museum is less explicit than either Honeyman's and Piers' industrial Nova Scotia, Boyle's ancient Ontario, or Currelly's European Ontario. The small collection of economic minerals connoted a dependence on resource extraction and a potential industrial future but it was never emphasized, and soon after the 1896 report the collection was removed to the Department of Mineralogy.\textsuperscript{77} Nor is there evidence that Fannin made any attempt to use the museum's collections to create a past for the British in the province. This does not mean that the museum did not play a role in creating an identity for British Columbians. A natural history collection is useful in defining an area as a unique land, the home of new and/or unusual flora and fauna. But a natural history collection has another function: it gives shape to the ideology supporting its accumulation. The collection, classification,

\textsuperscript{76} British Columbia, Provincial Museum, \textit{Report of the Curator of the Provincial Museum [1896]} (Victoria: 1897): 826-827. (Annual reports of the BC museum are hereafter referred to by name of the director responsible and year.)

\textsuperscript{77} Corley-Smith wrote that this happened in 1890, but the inclusion of the specimens in the 1896 list, plus Fannin's comment that it would be advisable for the Department of Mineralogy to take them makes it clear that the removal happened after 1896. As the 1898 published catalogue contains no mention of the mineralogical collection, it must be assumed that the government took Fannin's advice and transferred the collection in 1896 or '97. Corley-Smith, \textit{White Bears}, 19-20; Fannin, "Report 1896," 826-27; and British Columbia, Provincial Museum, \textit{A Preliminary Catalogue of the Collections of Natural History and Ethnology in the Provincial Museum, Victoria, British Columbia} (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1898).
cataloging, preservation, and exhibition of natural history specimens is as much a part of the imperialist drive as are the collections of anthropological and archaeological artefacts. Indeed, in focusing on specimens from the area called British Columbia, Fannin was helping to stake out a territory and lay claim to it in no less important a way than the early explorers. He was contributing to the act of Empire and, simultaneously, that of nation-building in the same way that, according to Owram and Zeller, natural history and science were used to justify the expansion of Ontario and to create a trans-continental nation.\(^78\)

There is, however, another layer of meaning in the British Columbia Provincial Museum as created by Jack Fannin. The collection can also be seen as the beginning of an identification of British Columbia with wilderness, an identity which would later manifest itself in propaganda slogans such as 'Beautiful BC' or 'Supernatural BC', in B.C.'s participation in the 'Evergreen Playground' tourist promotion, and in the promotion of B.C. as "a NEW travel sensation ... cool evergreen forests ... a vast and limitless list of recreational opportunities ... snow capped peaks, canyons, fjords, myriad secluded lakes and streams..."\(^79\) One of the particular attractions of B.C.'s wilderness was the opportunities it afforded for hunting. Part of the "new travel sensation" still available in B.C. was the "fighting steelhead and rainbow trout" and "big game hunting in a thrilling unspoiled hinterland." As late as 1939, the provincial government ran advertisements in

\(^78\) Brigham comments on the collection of natural history specimens on the Lewis and Clark expedition, and other US government-sponsored expeditions, as an act of nation-building, of staking out territory. Brigham, Public Culture, 113, and 122-44. See also Owram, Promise of Eden; and Zeller, Inventing Canada.

large American magazines promoting B.C. as "The Last Frontier of BIG Game!" While the conclusion is speculative at best, there is some evidence to suggest that Fannin was an eager participant in the early creation of this identity for B.C. and used the museum in his efforts to win it publicity.

Fannin's activities as a guide to wealthy, big game hunters were well-known, and, as Corley-Smith notes:

the choice of Jack Fannin as museum curator almost certainly resulted from contacts he made with the wealthy and influential people he guided on hunting trips.

Thus, it is not unlikely that he courted those influential patrons through his work in the museum by using the displays to cater to their interests, thereby justifying the expense of the institution. Of the almost ten thousand natural history specimens in the museum's collection in 1897, only 91 were mammals large enough to be mounted to stand on their own, while another 17 were mammal heads displayed in the nature of hunting trophies. Yet the promotional photographs of the museum, dating from the years of Fannin's directorship and the early Kermode years, focus on these few objects almost to the exclusion of everything else in the displays.

Unlike the few photographs of Boyle's museum, in which the viewer is meant to see the neatness and orderliness of the rows of cases to get a 'feel' for the general layout and arrangement (Figures 1 and 2), photographs of Fannin's museum depict Fannin "measuring the size of a handsome elk" (Figure 3) or display the variety of wildlife native to the province (Figure 4) or demonstrate the taxidermist's art in a series on stuffing a moose (Figure 5).

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Although the photograph in Figure 4 retains some of the meaning of the Boyle photos in showing much of the room and giving a sense of the layout, it nonetheless joins the others in being primarily an illustration of the artefacts themselves, of the wildlife, rather than a representation of the museum or of museum methods. A number of pictures from Kermode's early years make this even more clear: the stuffed game has obviously been moved from its usual resting place in order to be grouped together in a "good" location (Figures 6 and 7). Had this been the normal arrangement of these objects, the doorway, the hall behind it, and the stairway would have been rendered permanently useless. Instead, the objects have been brought to this location and deliberately grouped in such a manner as to display them, and by doing that, to advertise what was available to the hunter in the wilderness of British Columbia.  

The impression left by the photographs is strengthened by the written material on the museum. An 1896 newspaper article, which was quoted both in a 1908 news article, and by Kermode in his 1909 catalogue of the museum, described Fannin as an "intrepid hunter ... competent to guide the lover of rare sport to where he was certain of meeting the game for which he was in search." And, in describing the museum, the first comment on why it should be visited concerned its relationship to hunting:

Do you care for the glories of the chase? Go into the great hallway devoted to British Columbia's big game and learn from the curator the history of the giant walrus, the cariboo and the bear.  

82. These are by no means the only photographs of the museum during these years and some of the others, especially those of the anthropological collections, are similar in form and content to the photographs of the OPM.

The *Times*, in its 1900 description of the museum, also felt the importance of Fannin's role as hunter. It noted that "Mr. Fannin at the time of his appointment was one of the leading hunters and students of natural history in the province."\(^8^4\) Kermode, for his part, noted in the annual report for 1914, that the collection of big game trophies loaned to the Ministry of Agriculture for the B.C. exhibit at the Panama Exposition "will make a very creditable showing of the big game of this province."\(^8^5\) In 1915, he was able to report that work was finally being done on the collections of small mammals:

This latter branch has not been very well represented until recently; it is difficult with a small staff to pay particular attention to all branches of museum-work, and the public does not take as keen an interest in small mammals as in the display of big game.\(^8^6\)

The activity of hunting and the display of British Columbia's big game were important aspects of the work the museum did, and of the identity which it helped to shape.\(^8^7\)

The emphasis on hunting by no means contradicted either the imperialist urge or the impulse behind the museum movement. John M. MacKenzie argues that, in Africa and Asia, hunting, which reached the status of a cult in the nineteenth century, represented the first wave


\(^8^7\) There are hints that some of the people involved with the ROM of Zoology were considering a similar focus on hunting for their institution. Dymond wrote to Robert Fennell, chair of the Board of Trustees, that the museum "should be of interest to tourists in view of the fact that it contains excellently mounted examples of all the larger mammals of Canada including moose, caribou, elk, ... [etc.]." However, in a later letter he responded directly to the encouragement to interest wealthy sportsmen in the museum by pointing out that "we should decide how far we are prepared to depart from what we believe to be the Museum's place in research and education, in order to obtain the support of men of wealth and influence." J.R. Dymond to Robert Fennell, Chair, Board of Trustees, ROM, 26 January 1946 and 24 October 1946, RG 59, b.3, f.2.4 "Board of Trustees, 1945-49", ROMLA.
of imperialism and prepared the way for settlers and colonial administration.\textsuperscript{88} As well, hunters often justified their slaughtering with the claim that they were collecting for scientific and museum purposes.\textsuperscript{89} Thus, the original petitioners in British Columbia would have seen no reason to complain about the museum Fannin was creating. Not only would some of them have been among the influential hunters who Fannin was courting, but the museum itself was consistent with imperial practice. Nor, as the 1897 list of specimens demonstrates, was Fannin ignoring the other aspects of BC's natural history. The only unusual aspect of this promotional role for the museum is that, while, as MacKenzie indicates, big game hunters usually aided museums through donating skins, skeletons, and other animal parts, B.C.'s museum not only acted as repository but also reversed the relationship, making the museum an aid to hunters.

The continuation, well into the twentieth century, of government-sponsored promotions focussed on hunting demonstrates the strength of the wilderness identity created for B.C.. But, as MacKenzie points out, by the turn of the century, sensitivities were changing, the hunting cult began to lose its attraction, and, by the interwar years, conservation of fauna for tourist viewing--"hunting with a camera"--was becoming the preferred mode of exploiting natural history.\textsuperscript{90} These


\textsuperscript{89} MacKenzie, \textit{Empire of Nature}, 162.

\textsuperscript{90} MacKenzie, \textit{Empire of Nature}, 261-294. Mackie places this move later in Canada, noting that in the 1930s, while Mack Laing and his colleagues were killing their natural history specimens in order to study them, a new ecological awareness among some BC naturalists was raising complaints against the hunter-naturalist, especially those who collected for profit. Mackie, \textit{Hamilton Mack Laing}, 137.
sorts of changes in the broader culture were bound to affect cultural institutions and the British Columbia Provincial Museum was no exception. Indeed, under Fannin's successor, Francis Kermode, the museum's focus on hunting opportunities lessened, although it did not cease, and the role of a more general natural history museum grew. But the museum continued, nonetheless, both to support the imperial ideology and nation-building aspirations of the white, European population, and to identify B.C. with nature and wilderness.

This is not to suggest that the museum remained stagnant during Kermode's directorship. As befitted the increasingly populated and industrialized province, Kermode re-iterated the economic argument originally articulated in the 1886 petition:

The economic importance of the knowledge concerning all forms of life is especially valuable in this Province, where the great bulk of our wealth is drawn directly from the hands of Nature...

This suggested a potential move from presenting B.C. as wilderness to depicting it as a place of economic utility, but, in terms of the identity cultivated at the museum, it was an unfulfilled potential, remaining simply a justification for calls for increased expenditure on the museum. The only real change which affected the collections in such a way as actually to alter the nature of the identity which they signified, was the re-introduction of anthropology as a major collecting area.

In 1909, Charles Frederick Newcombe was contracted by the B.C. government to re-

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91. See Charles Guiguet to Editor, Victoria Daily Colonist, 18 September 1952; Guiguet to Mr. Morris Jackson, Fanny Bay, B.C., 26 September 1950 and 5 November 1952; Guiguet to Ian McTaggart Cowan, Professor of Zoology, UBC, 15 November 1950; and Guiguet to McTaggart Cowan, 22 November 1955 and 2 November 1956, GR 111, b.30, f.4; b.7, f.1; b.2, f.11; and b.2, f.10, BCARS.

arrange the existing anthropological and ethnographic collections at the museum and to prepare a catalogue of them which would complement Kermode's catalogue of the natural history collections.\(^93\) The initiative for this project likely originated with Newcombe himself. Newcombe had a good reputation in the field of anthropology and was a well-known member of the intellectual circles of the province. However, its effect was to bring the plight of anthropology in the province and in the government's museum to the attention of people who were not directly involved with the museum, but did take an interest in its work. Among these was E.O.S. Scholefield who had been appointed Provincial Archivist in 1910. Scholefield possessed an uncanny ability to separate the government from its money.\(^94\) Not only did he regularly and drastically overspend his budget, but he also managed to talk the government into providing a budget for the archives which was three times the size of the museum's. In 1911, Scholefield used this ability to convince H.E. Young, Acting Premier, to provide funding for Charles F. Newcombe to take to the field in order to begin serious anthropological collecting for the province's museum.\(^95\)


\(^95\) E.O.S. Scholefield, Provincial Archivist, to C.F. Newcombe, 10 May 1911, Add.MSS. 1077, v.5, f.128, BCARS. Kermode's role in this episode is unclear but existing correspondence suggests that he was only involved at the end in terms of accepting the artefacts into the museum. Certainly, the money with which Newcombe was paid and with which he purchased the artefacts never went through the museum's accounts. See, Add.MSS. 1077, v.4, f.90; v.5, f.143; and v.7, f.2, BCARS; and, "Public Accounts–Expenditure, V, Public Institutions", Province of BC, *Sessional Papers*, for the years 1911, 1912, 1913.
The artefacts gathered between 1911 and 1914 under the auspices of Scholefield and the Provincial Archives were meant to be a part of the museum's collections but initially were stored in the home of C.F. Newcombe. Not until 1914, when the Department of Works vacated the building behind the Museum, was the anthropological collection put on display and made accessible. The collection was "installed, catalogued, numbered, labelled and arranged according to tribes." Newcombe and his colleague, James Teit, were hired to continue their anthropological work, this time both by and for the museum.96

Despite the efforts of Scholefield, C.F. Newcombe and his son, Billy, and other interested parties, anthropology remained a minor aspect of the work of the museum under Francis Kermode. Nonetheless, Newcombe's anthropological collections added another layer to the imperialist ideology presented in the museum. They aided in the staking out of British Columbia's territory, justifying the claim not just to the natural resources of the area but to the people as well. And, by depicting natives in the context of a natural history museum, they presented them as a part of the 'natural' as opposed to the 'civilized' world, thereby reinforcing the cultural superiority of the Europeans and justifying imperial claims.97 As Hannah Arendt noted of black Africans at the turn of the century:

What made them different from other human beings was not at all the color of their skin but the fact that they behaved like a part of nature, that they treated nature as their undisputed master, that they had not created a human world, a human reality, and that therefore nature had remained, in all its majesty, the only overwhelming reality .... They were, as it were, 'natural' human beings...98

97. MacKenzie notes the frequency with which the collecting of natural history specimens and African material culture were linked. MacKenzie, Empire of Nature, 31.
To people gripped by the belief that they could control the natural world and harness its strength to their purposes, and that this was a right and proper ambition, the native failure to do so—the acceptance of nature as "their undisputed master"—was a sign of waste and a proof that Europeans had been given these lands by God to do with them what the natives had not done. Gathering and displaying the material culture of the natives, especially in a natural history museum, sustained and diffused this idea that natives were wild, primitive, and inferior. Only later in the twentieth century, when a growing belief in cultural relativism brought native artefacts under the rubric of 'high' art did these ideas begin to lose their hold on the European imagination. 99

Conclusion

During the nineteenth century, Europeans' relationship to the 'invisible' continued to change, as it had been doing since the fourteenth century. 100 Based on scientific discoveries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, people began to feel that the natural world was not as mysterious as had previously been thought. Even those who continued to believe that this was God's world turned to in-depth studies of nature that would have been unthinkable in the mediaeval era. Rather than assuming that only God could understand the workings of nature, they began to consider that knowledge of nature would bring better understanding of God. The line between the 'visible' and the 'invisible' was moved and the nature of the collections which signified the 'invisible' altered to reflect that move.


The conjunction of economic, political, and social trends which supported these changes carried with it a firm belief that, not only could the natural world be understood, it could be controlled. Whether this lead to the dominance of classificatory science during the nineteenth century or was a product of that science remains a question. However, the impulse to inventory, classify, catalogue, and archive all aspects of the human and natural world resulted in vast collections of natural history specimens, and art, archaeological and ethnological objects. These objects were scientifically arranged to demonstrate their classification and to show each item's place in the 'great chain of being'.

The political and social agenda of the upper and middle classes turned these collections into museums, institutions where all could learn about the way the world was, and thereby come to understand their own place in it.

The museums of Nova Scotia, Ontario, and B.C. were a part of these trends. Grounded in nineteenth-century science, their collections were gathered to aid the researches of the scientific community and placed on display to educate the local people in the results of those researches. David Honeyman and Harry Piers collected local rocks and minerals, arranged according to the mineralogical system of the Yale professor J.D. Dana, and used those collections to educate locals and visitors in the potential mineral wealth of the province of Nova Scotia. David Boyle, a confirmed Darwinist, collected the material remains of native cultures and arranged them to demonstrate the evolution of humankind in the province from stone age to British civilization. The science directors at the ROM collected to demonstrate "the record of nature through countless ages," while Charles Currelly gathered evidence of "the arts of man

101. On the domination of classificatory science in the nineteenth century, see Michel Foucault, The Order of Things (New York: Random House, 1970): 125-165. On the move towards a scientific arrangement of art during the period, see Jenkins, Archaeologists and Aesthetes, 9 & 56-74.
through all the years."  

Jack Fannin and Francis Kermode demonstrated that B.C. was the last great hunting frontier in North America, while the scientific staff under Kermode gathered and displayed proof that British Columbia belonged to the Europeans. The museums conformed, in their collecting habits, their scientific arrangements, and their exhibition agenda, to the patterns of the international museum movement.

Yet, museum collections are complex entities and the similarities between them hide vast differences. No single analytical tool can hope to explain their many and diverse meanings. This is particularly so in the case of institutions such as the Ontario Provincial Museum or the Royal Ontario Museums, where the various collections which made up the whole were never entirely integrated. It also holds true for collections such as those of the Nova Scotia and B.C. museums which were by no means monolithic. Understanding those collections as *semiophores* for the invisible nonetheless provides a way to distinguish between them. If collecting is a universal activity, and the epistemology of a people or a time determines the type of artefacts that will be collected and how they will be displayed or arranged, the 'invisible' which the collection signifies will govern the specific artefacts chosen and the exact nature of the exhibits. Thus, the relationship between the 'visible' and the 'invisible' becomes a useful way in which to differentiate between museum collections. Museum collections grounded in the same epistemology can be distinguished one from the other on the basis of local variances in the relationship to the 'invisible'.

Nor need there be only one 'invisible' to which the collection relates. A collection is a

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102. The phrases are carved on either side of the main doors of the ROM's building.

103. A concept that has not yet been demonstrated conclusively, in my opinion.
text which has multiple layers, each of which may signify a different 'invisible', or the same 'invisible' in a different way. Identity is, therefore, only one of the 'invisibles' a collection can signify, though for museums in a new world it is a particularly cogent one. The local identities cultivated in Nova Scotia, Ontario, and B.C., and reflected in the provincial museums made the individual collections more than simply variations on a general, museum-movement wide theme: they turned those museums into distinct institutions. Although all four of the museums collected in the typical nineteenth-century categories of natural history and anthropology, or archaeology, and all arranged those collections according to accepted scientific standards, each collection, and therefore each museum, was unique.
Figure 3: Jack Fannin measures the size of a handsome elk. (RBCM)

Figure 4: B.C. wildlife in the Provincial Museum. (BCARS, 65742)
Figure 5: The evolution of a stuffed moose. (BCARS, 96354-96358)
PART II –

THE MUSEUM AS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION:
FROM CIVILIZING ADULTS TO TEACHING CHILDREN
Introduction

The School necessarily puts the emphasis upon instruction; the Public Library and [Museums and Art Galleries] put the emphasis upon education. (George H. Locke, "Co-operation Between Libraries and Museums," 261)

That the museum is an educational institution is, perhaps, the most widely asserted truism among museum people. And, indeed, the museum has long been associated with education: the museum and state-supported schooling 'grew up' together. As the middle class grew into the dominant class over the nineteenth century, it made education, education of its own children as well as education of the lower classes, a significant part of its reform platform, and the museum was only one of the many institutions created or appropriated by the middle class to fulfill its vision of society. However, over a century of close ties among the museum, public schooling, and the educational mission of the middle class seems not to have convinced politicians or the general public of the educational status of museums. Ideas of the cabinet of curiosities, of dusty attics full of mouldy objects, and of dreary, dark spaces have remained strong among people who have accepted the state-supported school and library as useful, educational institutions.

In the face of this opposition, museum people have continued to assert the educational value of their institutions, each claiming that theirs is the generation which has finally made museums truly educational. Even today, the same opinion is voiced:

Although museums have traditionally stated education as their primary mission, education has only recently become a major force in determining museum policies and programs.1 For each group this claim reflects an ahistorical perspective and a failure to understand the

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changing nature of education or of the primary audiences of museums. In particular, museum people and museum historians have misunderstood the changes in museums' educational function in the early twentieth century. A new emphasis on educating children and the growth of active educational programming to supplement the passive displays was taken to represent the beginning of an educational role for museums rather than simply a change in primary audience and method. The new generation of curators and directors who began their careers in the late 1930s and the 1940s at the same time as the new educational focus on children took root, and who often specifically initiated that focus, once again articulated the 'myth' that this was a re-creation of the museum, now an educational institution where before there had been only dusty attics and mouldy objects. Trying to carve out their own niche in the museum world, and to convince their respective funding bodies of the importance of maintaining budget levels in years of financial difficulties, their assertions have been accepted blindly as the 'truth' by those historians of museums and by those few museum people who do not consider themselves to be the first.

The three chapters in Part II look at how these ideas played out, and how education developed, in Canadian museums. The international museum movement was not monolithic in its response to changing educational theory. In particular, American museums accepted the new child-centred education of the early twentieth century much sooner than did museums in other countries, which continued to resist until the interwar period. However, during the course of the twentieth century, all museums faced the need to establish a new educational focus in order to continue their existence. In discussing how the Canadian museums have perceived their own educational functions, how they have presented those functions to others, and how those functions have changed over time, these three chapters illustrate the ways in which Canadian museums
conformed to the broader pattern and where they diverged from it.

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One of the earliest manifestations of the educational museum was the Philadelphia Museum of the American painter, Charles Willson Peale, opened on 18 July 1786. Similar collections created at the time, such as that of the New-York Historical Society, also had pedagogic functions, although in many, like P.T. Barnum's American Museum or the Western Museum of Cincinnati, that pedagogy was veiled and they were seen by the upper classes as simply places of entertainment. Peale, however, was the first to emphatically claim his institution as a place of popular education. Nonetheless, other educators, scholars and collectors were reaching similar conclusions on the value of public collections and the educational uses to which they could be put. Indeed, Joel Orosz argues that there is a definite link between the spread of the idea of museums for popular education and the emergence of the middle class in America,

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2. Sellers, Mr. Peale's Museum. Peale's Museum is also generally considered the first public museum in the USA, although there is some debate on that point. See Martin Levy, "The First American Museum of Natural History," *Isis* 42 (1951): 10-12; and Orosz, *Curators and Culture*. Thomas D. Kaufman argues that the Hapsburg painting collection was opened to the public in 1776 in Prince Eugene's Vienna residence, Belvedere, in order to educate the public. This would make it an earlier manifestation of the public educational museum than even Peale's museum. Thomas DaCosta Kaufman, "From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Hapsburgs," in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994): 150-151.

the appearance of which he equates with an egalitarian trend.4

Orosz' view of museum's role in the egalitarian trend in America is a benign interpretation of what Elaine Stokes argues happened in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century.5 In a era of reform and increasing democratization, Stokes argues, museums were but one of the many middle-class solutions to the 'working-class problem', their function being to educate, and thereby civilise, the working classes. In discussing the evidence presented to the Select Committee on Arts and Manufacture of 1835 and 1836, and the debates over the 1850 "Act to Enable Town Councils to establish Public Libraries and Museums," Stokes paints a picture of a dominant middle class fearing the potential power of an 'uncivilised' lower, or working, class.6 Museums, their champions argued, would civilize the working classes through the improvement of taste and morals.7 In essence, Stokes points out, middle-class morality and moral classifications would be filtered through to the working classes and control would be affected through their internalization of the appropriate modes of behaviour.8 Education became a euphemism for

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6. Stokes, "Class and the Civilising Process," 292-306 and 314-327. The calling of the Select Committee was indirectly linked to the 1832 Reform Bill and the erection of a new building for the National Gallery through the growing political power of the middle class and the extension of the 'nation' to include more than only the aristocracy. Duncan, Civilizing Rituals, 43-45.

7. Sherman notes that, in France, the museum as the developer of public taste was a product of the mid-nineteenth century. During the Revolution, and for a generation after, the museum had a "primarily pedagogical purpose" as an adjunct to the art school. Sherman, Worthy Monuments, 109-110.

8. Stokes, "Class and the Civilising Process," 288. Champions of museums also pointed to the money to be saved on courts and prisons when the working classes controlled themselves. Stokes, 322.
inculcation in middle-class attitudes, behaviours, ideals and values.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill takes a broader look at the history of museum education than does Stokes. She points out:

Several disparate forces contributed to the emergence of museums as educational institutions.... These were a belief in educational self-help among both the working and middle classes; a concern on the part of radical reformers to provide leisure opportunities for the working classes in the form of 'rational recreation'; a conviction in the power of art to humanize and civilize; and a desire to provide neutral spaces where all sections of society could meet.9

While not denying the middle class role in the various trends and movements which combined to create public, educational museums, Hooper-Greenhill also acknowledges that the working classes played an active part in developing those institutions designed to civilise them and that some of the institutions designed by the middle classes were meant solely for the middle classes. Essentially, Hooper-Greenhill argues for a more complex relationship between the various players in the early years of the educational museum than does Stokes.

Stokes' argument is useful, however, in understanding the links between Mechanics' Institutes, Working Men's Clubs, museums and state-supported schooling, and the increasing regulation of leisure, entertainment, and work, which, she argues, was all part of the 'civilizing process'.10 Fostering better taste among the working classes was not simply about morals. Better

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10. Stokes, "Class and the Civilizing Process," 38-41. The creation of the public police force in the same time period was the negative part of the process, for constraining those members of the working class who could never be civilized. See also, Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*, 59-69, on the parallel histories of the "carceral archipelago" (the growth of prisons and the development of punishment as a private act worked on the body of the criminal in an effort to rehabilitate, rather than as a public act to display power) and the "exhibitionary complex" (the growth of institutions whose purpose was to broadcast the messages of power through the public exhibition of things and of the people who viewed them).
taste, it was assumed, would to lead to better workmanship, and hence to higher profits. Thus, the museums which were under discussion in the 1830s, although not always identified as such, were specifically museums of industrial art. The use of plaster casts or copies of great art would teach the qualities of good design but would not interfere with the division of labour in the way that the use of high art and the teaching of higher principles might. The idea was, after all, to make better artisans, not to make artists. That the museum of industrial art had its apogee in the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition and the South Kensington Museum helps to make clear the links between industrial capitalism and the concept of museum as educator.

The museum as popular educator, as civilizing institution, or as provider of design examples were the original models of the educational museum. Museum collections attached to Mechanics' Institutes, industrial exhibits (whether in a museum setting or in the form of a world's fair) and collections of industrial art were gathered to provide reference collections for study and research, to help workers improve their productivity by teaching them something about the processes on which they worked or to improve the quality of their work by teaching them good taste, and to civilize the lower classes by inculcating in them bourgeois values. In all of these instances, the focus of education was on adults—adults as students, adults as workers, or adults as manufacturers. Although children were rarely, if ever, directly excluded from the educational


12. The South Kensington Museum, which was established with the profit from the 1851 Exhibition and retained some of its exhibits, was later renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum. Its first director, Sir Henry Cole, was one of the most vocal proponents of the museum of industrial art and design. See Mark Goodwin, "Objects, belief and power in mid-Victorian England: the origins of the Victoria and Albert Museum," in Susan M. Pearce, ed., Objects of Knowledge (London: Athlone Press, 1990): 9-49. On the early introduction of an 'antimuseum discourse' based, in part, on a critique of museums' connections to hegemonic capitalism, see Daniel Sherman, "Quatremeré/Benjamin/Marx: Art Museums, Aura and Commodity Fetishism," in Sherman and Rogoff, Museum Culture, 123-143.
aims of the nineteenth century museum, they were not seen as a specific or separate audience requiring special attention or arrangements. This focus on adults became problematic for museums as the nineteenth century came to a close and a new interest in children and childhood took hold in society. The new interest in childhood took both a popular and an academic form. As Jackson Lears describes it in his study of American antimodernism, the new attitudes towards children in the late nineteenth century formed a "cult of the child," as adults attempted to escape the pressures of bourgeois capitalism by reinventing childhood innocence. Nathan G. Hale, Jr., writes that the child was "worshipped with Wordsworthian enthusiasm." Concomitant with the popular idealisation of children, the child study movement arose in the 1880s as anthropologists and psychologists came to see childhood as a separate developmental stage and a legitimate subject for academic study. Educator and psychologist G. Stanley Hall established graduate programs at Clark University for the study of children, while John Dewey propagandized new educational theory and methods at the University of Chicago. Based in, and building on, the


14. In his periodization for the invention of adolescence, Joseph Kett notes the sentimentalization of childhood beginning as early as the 1840s, seeing it both as a byproduct of the growing cult of domesticity as propounded by Catharine Beecher and Horace Bushnell, and as an assumption underlying the common school reform of the period, much of which was based on Prussian and Swiss educational models. Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present (New York: Basic Books, 1977): 111-143.

educational theory of Johann Pestalozzi, the new education of the late nineteenth century focussed on children, on educating the "whole child," and on providing that education through the "object method."  

Some British museums and museum people responded to the cult of the child and the new educational theory. In 1897, Sir Jonathan Hutchinson established the Haslemere Museum under the curatorship of E.W. Swanton. Based on Hutchinson's conviction that "the objective of an educational museum should be to educate rather than to collect," the Haslemere ran instruction classes for children in natural history in a purpose-built classroom, using specimens from the collection. However, because the cult of the child was largely an American phenomenon, it was primarily American museums which responded to it. In 1899, the Brooklyn Museum in New York opened the world's first children's museum. Already existing museums initiated innovative programs as well.  

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16. The Swiss educator, Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827), introduced the Enlightenment ideals of equality, liberty, and respect for the individual personality into the classroom. As Gerald Killan summarizes his theories: "education was to be shaped for the child, not the child for education." This was to be accomplished in part by the abolition of rote learning and its replacement with object-centred lessons which would teach children how to learn, an educational method admirably suited to the museum. Discussion centring on the presentation of everyday objects was a central tenet of Pestalozzian educational theory. Although widespread use of Pestalozzian ideas was a product of the 1870s and 80s in Canada, Killan notes that some teachers, like David Boyle, were influenced by Egerton Ryerson's propagation of these theories and began to put them into practice in the schools as early as the 1850s. Killan, David Boyle, 24-6. Ross notes that the educational reform of Hall and his colleagues was based on the introduction of romanticism and Pestalozzian theory to American educators during the 1870s. Hall's primary contribution to this educational theory was the authority of modern science. Ross, G. Stanley Hall, 115-119.  


programs directed at schoolchildren. The St. Louis Board of Education used surplus exhibits from the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition to create the St. Louis Educational Museum, probably the first traveling museum, to serve its schoolchildren. Where new institutions could not be established and the resources to create collections for the schools did not exist, children's rooms and/or child-centred educational programming often were added to the list of services the museums provided the community.

Elsewhere within the museum movement, however, the shift to child-centred education was slow and most museums continued to concern themselves primarily with adults until well into the twentieth century. Undisturbed by the cult of the child which had galvanized American museums into refocussing their educational emphases, the strong tradition of adult education in Britain, which had given rise during the nineteenth century to organizations such as the Mechanics' Institutes, continued to dominate museum education. The British were not unaware of the changes taking place in the USA. The Museums Journal often carried news from American museums describing educational schemes, and there was usually someone to express admiration at the educational work being done:

Directors of museums in the United States have indeed much wider views as to the place of museums in education than are possessed by some authorities in England.

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20. As the examples of educational theorists suggests, the cult of the child seems to have initiated in the USA and been strongest there. That the continued focus on adult education in museums seems to have been stronger in Britain and in museums influenced by British trends than in American or American-influenced museums may be an indication of the length of time the new ideas took to move outside of the USA.

Indeed, Laurence Coleman noted that working with children was recognized as America's main contribution to museum practice:

Every student of museums from abroad comments on this development, and carries away the influence of our educational pioneering in the last century and out efforts in recent decades to get at workable methods. 22

Nor did British museums entirely exclude children or consider them as inappropriate objects for educational programmes. The *Museums Journal* noted in November of 1902 that children were visiting the Hull Museum which was arranging lectures for them. 23 However, it was not until the 1930s and 40s that museums in Britain began to establish education divisions and hire staff whose primary, and sometimes sole, function was to work with schoolchildren.

Both Hooper-Greenhill and Gaynor Kavanagh argue that the First World War was the catalyst for the finalization of this shift from adult to child in British museums. As school buildings and teachers were requisitioned for war purposes, many museums stepped in to help fill the gap. With the end of the war, museum curators returned to pre-war concerns, but teachers and educational authorities, who saw potential in the role museums had played during the war, pushed for closer ties between museums and the schools. Many museums were slow to fill this role and some curators actively resisted, but by the end of the 1940s, the lobbyists had been

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23. The *Journal* considered the lecture scheme praiseworthy, but felt that the subjects chosen for the lectures were better suited to an extensive university course than to schoolchildren's visits. "Hull Museum Lectures," *Museums Journal* 2, 5 (November 1902): 155. See also, "Lectures to Children: Leeds Museum," *Museums Journal* 2, 6 (December 1902): 186; or William Hoyle's article in which he argued that time spent in the museum by school classes should be counted as time spent in school. William Hoyle, "The Use of the Museum in Teaching," *Museums Journal* 2, 8 (February 1903): 229-239. These were exceptions to the general trend in British museums.
rewarded.24

This model may be correct as far as it goes. However, as the conjunction of the child study movement and the creation of children's museums in late nineteenth-century USA demonstrates, a failure to consider contemporary educational theories leaves the explanation only half complete. What neither Hooper-Greenhill nor Kavanagh mention is that the interwar period was the height of the progressive education movement. Based on the child study movement and on John Dewey's ideas, in particular, the progressive education movement had been growing since the early years of the century. By the interwar period, its tenets were more or less accepted wisdom. It is safe to assume that there was a relationship between the acceptance of progressive education and museums' establishment of child-centred education divisions in the 1930s, however indirect that relationship may have been.25 By the end of the Second World War, the metamorphosis was complete and 'museum education' was understood "to mean the organization and delivery of specific provision for educational groups." More specifically, Hooper-Greenhill comments that "by the 1960s, museum and gallery education was understood to mean work with schools."26

The final issue of import in the discussion of the educational role of museums is raised


by Gaynor Kavanagh's chapter on the educational uses to which museums were put during the First World War. Orosz and Stokes, among others, have shown that from the late eighteenth century the museum has been justified in terms of its educational potential. Yet Kavanagh, following her sources, discusses the closer ties to schools and boards of education during the war as if they constituted the first move to make museums educational, in much the same way that museum people today continue to proclaim that their museums are now educational. Given the above discussion, what seems to have been in train were changes in the meaning of the term 'educational' rather than shifts in the museums' function from 'uneducational' to 'educational'. In emphasizing the war-time curators' use of the word 'education', Kavanagh misses the new focus on "the rising generation," "the youthful minds," or "the children in school hours," and on the "potential of an integrated relationship between the museum and the school" in the discussion.  

In the first half of the twentieth century, the issue was not that museums had suddenly become educational, but that education had moved from being a matter of passively displaying objects and labels to adults to become a matter of actively providing programmes for children.

Laurence Coleman seems to be one of the few museum people who noticed this shift from passive to active. In his three volume study of American museums, he argued that the idea of active education dated from at least the 1860s and had taken root in America by about 1906, but that it was not until the economic depression of the 1930s forced museum directors to "conjure up means of holding their ground" that they began to exploit these ideas and methods to their fullest potential. However, Coleman noted that in establishing clubs and hobby and study groups,

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27. E.E. Lowe, Elijah Howarth, and Lawrence Haward, quoted in Kavanagh, Museums and the First World War, 83, 85. The "potential of an integrated relationship" is Kavanagh's paraphrase of Haward.
adding more programmes and expanding into the areas of broadcasting and motion pictures, museums of the interwar period left great gaps in their audience coverage, neglecting the very young, high school students, and adults. Essentially, Coleman pointed to educational programming in the museum as an activity focussed on schoolchildren, just as Kavanagh and Hooper-Greenhill have argued.^{28} In reaching the point at which children were the primary focus of active educational programming, museums had recreated themselves for the new century.

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The above discussion of the changing nature of the educational role of museums has focussed on American and British thought and practice. The next three chapters will shift that focus to the Canadian museum. Chapter two is an analysis of the rhetoric of education at Canadian museums, using the writings and radio scripts of Charles Currelly, first director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, as the study example. A close look at Currelly's rhetoric demonstrates that Canadian museum people followed trends in both British and American museums, although the British seem to have been the stronger influence. Currelly used both the traditional rhetoric of the museum of industrial art, claiming the museum as educator of workers and consumers, and the newer, child-centred education rhetoric, but he did not begin to espouse

^{28} Coleman, Museum in America, 304-6. He describes the clubs and other methods on 343-353. The unusual clarity with which Coleman saw the focus on children and the shift from passive to active is undermined by his problematic understanding of adult education in the museum. Arguing that lifelong learning and adult education were recent ideas stemming from increased leisure time, he called upon museums to fulfill a larger role in this area, to offer programmes for adults in the same manner that they were offering children's programming, and to extend adult education outside of the museum library. Coleman, 317-40. Given the early introduction of a focus on children in American museums, it is possible that from Coleman's perspective in 1939 adult education could be seen as never having been a concern of American museums. As the height of the museum movement is said to have been the twenty years prior to the First World War, many American museums would have been established within the child-centred milieu and thus have not been part of the earlier adult-focussed idea of a museum. However, it is clear that adult education was not a new idea in British museums.
the latter until the interwar period, when almost all British and Canadian museums were beginning to move in that direction.

The influence of the broader museum movement on Canadian museums can also be seen in chapter three's description and analysis of the process of creating an education division in the Royal Ontario Museums. The ROM was influenced by the educational trends discussed by Hooper-Greenhill and Kavanagh, and all of the signs of a twentieth-century educational museum were instituted eventually. However, the conceptual choices made in the establishment of the museum in 1912 meant that reaching the educational consensus was a difficult process which took many years and claimed a number of 'casualties'.

Chapter four, finally, considers education at the other three museums and compares their experiences to that of the ROM as well as to the whole museum movement. The similarity of the results in each museum--active educational programming largely for children--demonstrates the strength of the general imperatives at work and the influence of developments in Western society on the institutions. The differing paths by which these ends were reached reflects the specific situation of each museum.
As institutions appropriated to fulfill middle class ambitions in the area of education, museums were early surrounded by the rhetoric of education which the middle class was creating in order to justify public expenditure on its institutions. The introductory comments to this section point out that advocates for museums were declaiming the educational utility of museums as early as the 1780s and specifying their ability to civilise and improve the working classes from the 1830s. Not only could museums teach middle-class morality to the working classes, they could also diffuse middle-class tastes through demonstrating high quality and excellent design, which would, in turn, improve the skill of workers. This would be good for the nation's business. Walter Smith, Inspector of Schools for the State of Massachusetts and an advocate of industrial art, wrote in 1872 regarding the new encouragement of art education in Massachusetts that the failure to promote art had been shown to have "materially affected the commercial prosperity of the nation."¹ Smith's was a sentiment wholly supported by William Ewart, a prominent witness to the British Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures of 1835 and 1836, by the Select Committee itself, and by Prince Albert, Henry Cole and the other producers and promoters of the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition. A properly educated nation would be a prosperous nation, and museums could help to provide the proper education.

These arguments were primarily linked to museums of industrial art, institutions such as

the South Kensington Museum which were established expressly to exhibit examples of high quality and excellent design, both for the benefit of students at art and design schools and for the general public. However, they and similar arguments were also used more broadly, in order to justify any and all institutions that displayed collected natural and cultural specimens. In the 1840s, William Ewart was promoting Parliamentary legislation to enable town councils to establish local museums for the same reasons and with the same rhetoric he had used to advocate museums before the Select Committee ten years earlier. Displays of art, ancient or modern, and ethnography at the National Gallery and the British Museum were also justified with similar arguments. Even natural history museums, although less likely to be considered to have potential in design and production, were advocated for their presumed moral influence. Indeed, this rhetoric of education rarely differentiated among the growing multitudes of types of museums available to the interested public. The purpose of all of these institutions was presumed to be some form of education and improvement.

Canadian museums, as the institutional manifestations of the colonial middle class and a part of the international museum movement, were incorporated in the same rhetoric of education which Ewart, Cole, Smith and others were using for American and British museums.

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There does not seem to have been a Canadian equivalent to Sir Henry Cole of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Sir William Flower of the British Museum, or George Brown Goode of the Smithsonian Institution, all of whom spoke and wrote frequently on the topic of museum work and museum methods, including the educational utility of museums. However, some idea of how Canadian museum people saw education in their institutions can be gleaned from the published work and extant radio scripts of Charles T. Currelly, director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology from 1912 to 1946. Although his works on museums are not extensive and certainly do not represent a formal system of educational theory, Currelly's writings and radio scripts do demonstrate a coherent philosophy concerning the value of his museum's collections to its users, the role of the museum in its community, and the educational utility of museums. In particular, they demonstrate that the strength and staying power of the arguments articulated in the 1830s were such that in interwar Canada, thousands of miles and an hundred years away from William Ewart and the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures, Charles Currelly could still use the same educational rhetoric to justify the existence of his museum and to explain its utility. However, by the 1930s, Currelly was also espousing the new child-centred education originally introduced into American museums in the late nineteenth century. A blend, in Currelly's philosophy, of Matthew Arnold, John Dewey, and the nineteenth-century reform tradition, only slightly modified to suit twentieth-century Canada, these ideas represent as much a critique of modern Canadian society as they do a philosophy for museum education. But they also show that

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6. Canadian museum people published their scientific research but seem not to have felt the need to discuss their museum work *per se*. Harlan I. Smith of the Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa is, perhaps, the sole exception, but he came to Canada from an earlier career at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and was, therefore, influenced by the American tradition of men like G.B. Goode.
Canadian museums and museum people conformed to the patterns established by the international museum movement: rooted in the earlier discourse of industrial design, they also showed the signs of new child-centred museum education.

Teaching Taste and Beauty: The Nineteenth-century Museum of Industrial Art

A full year before the passing of the act which established the Royal Ontario Museums, and three years before the ROM officially opened to the public, the University of Toronto Monthly published an article entitled "The New Museum," in which Currelly discussed the collections of the archaeology museum as they already existed. The article, which was largely an enumeration of the finer pieces in the various collections Currelly was developing for the museum, had two points to make: first, that the ROM of Archaeology was going to be an unique institution, starting out as "a museum of considerable importance," because gradual accumulation of artefacts over the years meant that the new building would already be overcrowded when it opened; and secondly, that this accumulation had not been indiscriminate but had had "a definite scientific aim." The museum would be "a text book of the development of civilisation on its mechanical side." Currelly was determined to make clear that this was not "a dilettante collection of pretty things or an accumulation of 'curios'":

There is not a curiosity in the collection, and practically not an object that is isolated, but each thing fits into a place in a series that has been carefully thought out.

Gaps in the collection would be filled in the future, and students and visitors would have a "continuous picture of the world's civilisation from the rude palaeolithic implement..., right down

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to modern times."8

This concept of a scientific collection of material culture depicting the evolution of civilization owed much to the theory of the British anthropologist Augustus Pitt-Rivers. Based on observations of instruments of warfare, those of both the modern British army and the so-called primitive peoples he came into contact with during his years guarding the Empire, and heavily influenced by the displays of manufactured items at the 1851 Crystal Palace exposition, Pitt-Rivers argued for a classificatory scheme which placed all material culture in an evolutionary chain.9 Pitt-Rivers' theories were quite influential in Victorian anthropological circles and, as William Chapman argues, the stranglehold they acquired on anthropology identified object-oriented, or museum, anthropology with cultural evolution theory long after it was considered outmoded by other academic disciplines.10

Currelly was, therefore, following the precepts of his discipline with the well-thought-out series of artefacts depicting the history of civilization which he collected. However, for Currelly these series had a greater end than simply illuminating the history of civilization. The artefacts, Currelly wrote, were gathered with the "workers both male and female" who could "draw or photograph" those items of relevance to their work, and use them as "models and inspiration"


9. Augustus Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, "Principles of Classification," and "On the Evolution of Culture," in Pitt-Rivers, The Evolution of Culture and Other Essays, J.L. Myers, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906): 1-19 and 20-44, plus Plates I-V, XXI. van Keuren argues that the ideological basis for Pitt-Rivers' theories was anti-revolutionary and that the museums he created were designed to direct social and political evolution, and to stress change as a gradual process. van Keuren, "Museums and Ideology." See also Jenkins, Archaeologists & Aesthetes, on scientific archaeology.

very much in the mind. The new museum, by providing models of good design and showing people the evolution of the particular object they manufactured would turn people into first class workers, and by extension, turn Canada into a first class workshop.

Museums have always had difficulty convincing the general public of their usefulness and of the importance of spending public money on them. They have been forced to expend much effort in rhetoric and propaganda on both their utility and their relevance. Natural history museums and science centres, as the previous chapter's discussion of the Nova Scotian and British Columbian identity shows, have argued for their own utility as partners in the shaping of a bright economic future for the province or the nation. Displaying the artefacts of the natural world and of the scientific culture which was increasingly dominant in the public mind, they could demonstrate their relevance to the nature study and science courses which were being introduced into schools and universities, as well as to the richness of the natural resources only waiting to be exploited. Museums, like Currelly's, which displayed the material remains of ancient cultures and civilizations, or of so-called 'primitive' cultures, could not so easily identify themselves as relevant to a rapidly changing world. Arguments for the 'scientific' use of these collections in order to display the development of material culture or to illustrate the design process and the elements of 'good' design, were, therefore, a way in which to make these collections useful and relevant to the industrial world. The collections of artefacts from the Old World which Currelly gathered for the ROM provided the link to an ancient and 'civilized' past which the élite of Ontario desired. But this was an identity based on the past, at a time when

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many were arguing the need to look to the future. Arguing that the museum was one of industrial art allowed Currelly to extrapolate an industrial future from his artefacts of the past. Thus, archaeology could become a way not only to define a past but also to shape a future, just as were Honeyman's and Piers' economic minerals, and Fannin and Kermode's large mammals.

Currelly, then, was not being disingenuous: he was using an educational rhetoric which, as Ewart's, Cole's and Smith's use of it shows, had a long history in the museum, the economic, and the political communities. Regardless of whether or not museums really could do what the rhetoric claimed, it was an accepted and acceptable argument for the relevancy of museums. Nor was Currelly the only Canadian proponent of museums to argue that museums could improve taste and production. When Edmund Walker approached the Ontario government, in 1909, with his renewed appeal for a museum, he considered the argument so well-known and so accepted as truth that he felt no need to do more than mention it as a justification for the museum:

The value of the education of the people through seeing objects which are interesting archaeologically, artistically, scientifically, for individual or economic reasons, is recognized throughout the whole civilized world and it is not necessary to enlarge upon this.

Currelly, however, did elaborate, for the benefit of those who might not have understood how decidedly the importance of museums to the economy had been proved. In a 1927 article, he noted that it was "the French who first realized the commercial gain that might accrue from regular instruction and study of such collections [of the interesting work of the past]" and who took advantage of this by opening museums of industrial art. The English, shocked at finding in  

12. Many, of course, were also turning to the past. Anti-modernism was a prominent theme running through late nineteenth-century European society. See, for instance, Lears, No Place of Grace.

1851 that their goods "displayed excellent materials and workmanship" but "lacked the attractiveness that causes ready sale" established the Victoria and Albert Museum, the influence of which "has revolutionised English design." The Americans soon entered the race: Pierpont Morgan and others "used the power of their immense wealth to found museums, so that they might keep in America the enormous sums that were going annually to Europe for the finer grade of manufactures." "The influence of institutions like the Metropolitan Museum in New York," Currelly stated, "has retained in the country millions of money [sic] per annum."\(^{14}\) It was toward this same end that the ROM of Archaeology was working.

It was thought, Currelly continued, that when the ROM opened in 1914, Canada had entered the field too late:

[There was] little chance for a museum of industrial art large enough to make Ontario a centre for the study of design and methods of work of the great periods of the various industries.\(^{15}\)

But he and others involved in the museum had been pleasantly surprised when the people of the province gave so generously and so enthusiastically--of both artefacts and money--that, at the time of his writing, the ROM of Archaeology could be ranked third in America; the Chinese collection, in particular, was remarkable in its rapid growth and high quality.

The crux of Currelly's 1927 article, however, lay in its final point that the museum's objects and cases were so tightly packed that the resulting congestion hindered the usefulness of


\(^{15}\) Currelly, "Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology," 348.
the material:

Till the exhibits can be properly seen, there is withheld from the workers in many of the crafts that we are most anxious to develop in Ontario, the full advantage of collections of a size that in 1914 we never supposed would be possible at all.\(^6\)

This congestion was exacerbated by the fact that the museum had to keep on collecting because the number of available objects was rapidly diminishing. Any halt in collecting activities, however short or temporary, could cause great losses to the museum, and by extension to Canada, from which it would never recover. Representing a barely-veiled plea for more space for the museum (which was answered with the 1933 extension to the ROM's building) Currelly's article was careful to point out how useful the museum could be if it had this space. As he had pointed out in 1911, this was not a dilettante collection of 'curios' but a museum of industrial art, an educational institution which could be of consequence to Canada's national prosperity, as well as its pride.

The manner in which the museum would aid workers was in elevating their taste through exposure to first-rate artefacts from the past, examples of masterpieces of art from ancient civilizations. In a 1936 radio interview, Currelly reported that the Duke of Connaught had pointed to the need for such exposure at the official opening of the ROM in 1914:

[He said] there was nothing Canada needed so badly as the pushing of the museum type of education. He felt we were building our country, doing our best, but that the results were poor because of lack of standards of what was fine and was second-rate.\(^7\)

Because, as Currelly put it, "productions are matters of taste,"\(^8\) collections of art and artefacts

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\(^6\) Currelly, "Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology," 350.

\(^7\) "Radio Interview--C.R.T.C. [with C.T. Currelly]," 29 September 1936, 2, RG 55, H., f.4, ROMLA.

\(^8\) "Radio Interview," 2.
would give workers something to strive for by teaching them how beautiful objects could look, and encouraging them to create similarly well-designed and attractive products. In fact, Currelly felt that if a workman knew "what lovely things can be made of wood or with whatever substance he is working," he would be ashamed to do less, "especially if he begins to realize that a great name can be made in almost any craft." The collections at the ROM of Archaeology could show Canadians what could be created and encourage them to produce high-quality work. Alternatively, it might simply appeal to their more base natures: the North American desire for fame and fortune was never far below the surface. Either way, Canada would benefit from enhanced productivity.

Currelly's phrasing of the benefits which would accrue from the display of industrial art was somewhat problematic. In his continued allusions to improving the taste of 'workers', Currelly was following the arguments of Ewart, Cole, Smith and others from the nineteenth century. By the interwar period, however, industrial capitalism was such that workers were quite removed from the design stage of the products on which they laboured. Even in the area of handicrafts, workers were not always the designers of their products; the elevated taste of the industrial workers of Ontario, at whom Currelly was claiming to aim his collection, certainly would not be used to design or develop beautiful products. However, if the use of the word 'workers' was outmoded, the idea itself was not. As Neil Harris has shown, many corporations


were acquiring collections of art during the interwar period, one of the objectives of which was "to influence the ideas of company engineers, sales personnel, and advertisers." 

If the workers were not to use their elevated taste in their production work, they could use it in their roles as consumers. Currelly argued that as well as making better workers, the museum could "make us better buyers," by teaching people not to be satisfied with "gimcrack stuff":

> If we are living with people, for instance, who dress in ugly clothes, have ugly wallpapers on their walls, and use badly designed furniture, we are apt to feel that ugliness is all right. But if we can go to museums where the history of furniture is shown, and where as many pieces as possible of the finest old furniture are displayed, we are apt to come home and say, 'Well, really our home is full of pretty poor stuff, isn't it?' The consequence is that when we buy a new piece of furniture and the enterprising salesman says, 'This is the very latest style,' we are uninterested, and instead want to make up our minds whether it would really satisfy our awakened sense of beauty..."

Reminiscent of William Morris and the arts and crafts movement, Currelly's comment was as much a criticism of the furniture styles current at the time as it was an argument for the benefits of museum education. Indeed, like Morris, Currelly was espousing a turn to the past, to the "history of furniture," from which to draw the inspiration which would save us from bad design and ugliness. However, inasmuch as it was meant to shore up the capitalist industry which Morris attempted to bring down, Currelly's argument lacked the revolutionary nature of Morris'.


Indeed, the failure to follow through on the revolutionary aspects of their theory was the source of the strongest contemporary criticisms against the proponents of the museum of industrial design. Neither John Ruskin, nor Morris, argued against the basic premises that the taste of the workers needed to be elevated, that viewing the art and artefacts of past civilizations would do this, or that improved taste might be able affect the ability to design. Rather, they both chose to point out that this was not enough. Despite his own mediaevalism and harkening to the past, Ruskin recognized that "the real issues were always immediate and contemporary:"

We don't want either the life or the decorations of the thirteenth century back again; and the circumstances with which you must surround your workmen are those simply of happy modern English life.24

Raymond Williams, in writing on Ruskin's criticism of the economic situation, pointed to his "refusal to treat aesthetic questions in isolation:"

good design in industry, [Ruskin] argued, depended on the right organization of industry, and this in turn, through labour and consumption, on the right organization of society.25

Because the value of an object depended not only on its design but on its right use, "the question of the wealth of a society could not be settled by attention to production only, but necessarily involved the whole life of a society."26 In arguing that production could be improved through elevating taste, that increased production would bring increased prosperity, and that the elevation of taste was a simple matter of visiting museums to view old, and, therefore, inherently well-


designed, objects, Ewart, Cole, Smith, Currelly and the other advocates of museums of industrial art exemplified Morris' criticism that the "middle classes cannot or will not change the consequences of industrialism; they will only try to escape them."\textsuperscript{27}

The rhetoric of industrial design and public taste remained strong into the twentieth century. The ROM of Archaeology as originally established in 1912 was not required to relate itself to design or industry. The purposes of the natural history museums was to "aid in a knowledge of what it is able to contribute to science and industry" but the archaeological collections' only purpose was to "illustrate ... the history of man in all ages."\textsuperscript{28} However, when the museum was re-organized under the University of Toronto in 1947, all of the museums were mandated to co-operate "with manufacturing or industry in Ontario for the purpose of improving or expanding industrial design."\textsuperscript{29} The curators of the ROM took this mandate seriously, and, at the organizational meeting of the Canadian Museums Association in 1947, T.F. McIlwraith introduced a resolution asking that the new Association petition the Canadian government to amend the Act governing importation of antique furniture. The elitism and conservatism of his suggestion that "good examples of antique furniture ... must have been made prior to 1837" does not detract from the fact that his aim was to encourage the importation of good antiques for the same reason that Currelly wished to display the "finest old furniture" in 1935: "inasmuch as it

\textsuperscript{27} Williams, \textit{Culture & Society}, 152. Emphasis original.

\textsuperscript{28} Ontario, "Act to provide for the Establishment of a Provincial Museum," #4.

\textsuperscript{29} "The Royal Ontario Museum Act," \textit{Statutes of the Province of Ontario}, 11 Geo. VI, 1947, c.96, #2 (e).
is to the advantage of Canadian life to improve the quality of our home furnishings.\textsuperscript{30} The idea of museums as education for producers and consumers, despite its roots in the nineteenth-century reform tradition, was a common and popular one in the minds of twentieth-century museum people. However, by the turn of the century, a new idea and a new rhetoric was on the rise: the museum as educator of children.

**Teaching Children How to Learn: John Dewey and a New Educational Focus**

Currelly's description of museum education as elevating the taste of workers and consumers placed him firmly within the still acceptable nineteenth-century tradition of museum discourse. But, as the twentieth century progressed, he also incorporated into his philosophy the new child-centred educational theories that had begun to transform American museums at the turn of the century. Strong adult education traditions, undisturbed by the largely American cult of the child, kept industrial design for adults the primary form of education in British and Canadian museums well into the twentieth century. But by the interwar period, and the 1930s especially, both British and Canadian museums had begun to transform themselves.

Education for industrial design had been largely focussed on adult learners, and had been shaped by an idea of the museum as inherently educational. Although the visitors might draw or photograph the objects on view in an effort to better understand them, the museum was not required to do more than place the objects on display. The educational theories which came to

\textsuperscript{30} "Minutes of the Organization Meeting of the Canadian Museums Association," 29 May 1947, 3, RG 59, H. Correspondence, b.4, f. "13.03 Canadian Museums Assoc. 1945-49," ROMLA. McIlwraith's point was to fix a date against which to judge whether furniture could be considered antique, rather than allowing the current, moveable definition of 'more than hundred years old' to remain in force. While the exact nature of his disagreement with the definition in place remains unclear to me, the request was related to the import duties placed on antiques and the desire to have these removed for the purposes of importing museum collections and collectables.

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the fore in the twentieth century not only focussed on children as its primary audience, but also moved away from the idea that viewing objects on display was sufficiently educational.\textsuperscript{31} Instead, its proponents argued for the provision of active programming: lecture series, films and lantern slide shows, childrens' clubs, gallery tours, and pre- or post-visit activities in childrens' discovery rooms. Although both the earlier adult education and the new child education were object-centred, they differed in the way in which they used the objects. The museum of industrial art taught adults about the object which they were viewing: its design, its history or development, and, for unfamiliar objects, its use. The museum as child educator, on the other, used the objects to teach children how to live in society.

The best-known of the new educational theorists was John Dewey, professor at the University of Chicago and founder of the model school at the university, where his ideas were put into practice. Based to a large extent on the educational theory of Johann Pestalozzi, the Swiss educator, Dewey championed the uniqueness of the child and the idea that education should be suited to the child's nature.\textsuperscript{32} But more than just appealing to the child's interest and using objects instead of words, Dewey believed that the school as the primary educator should be connected to all of society. Dewey's primary tenet was that the school should be a miniature community where children learned "directed living," where they were taught how to live in society, how to work together and how to co-operate rather than compete. His ideal school

\textsuperscript{31} Vera Zolberg notes that some museums, especially art museums, continue to eschew educational programming, arguing that "walls, lighting, and labels for pictures is enough education." See Zolberg, "An Elite Experience for Everyone: Art Museums, the Public and Cultural Literacy," in Sherman and Rogoff, Museum Culture, 53.

\textsuperscript{32} This brief outline of Dewey's educational philosophy is based on the essays published as Dewey, The School and Society.
incorporated an industrial museum and he encouraged the teaching of manual arts, but this was not the museum of industrial design as espoused by Ewart, Cole, and Smith. For Dewey, "the aim [was] not the economic value of the products, but the development of social power and insight." Manual arts could be used to teach children the history and development of industrial processes, or to teach them about the raw materials used in the processes; they were not meant to teach children a trade. School should not be used to prepare children for an occupation but to allow them to make connections in their lives. School should be related to the child's whole life, part of a system which included the home, the park, the community, the businesses and the university. What a child experienced in school should be useful outside of it, and what was experienced in the community should be useful in school.

The corollary to this was that education should not be passive, that children should experience things in the school. Learning to read was useless, even harmful, if reading was simply to be used as a substitute for experience. But it was "all-important in interpreting and expanding experience." Children should not simply sit in school and listen to a teacher talk; they should be allowed to "construct, create, and actively inquire." Workshops, laboratories, gardens, and fields were essential ingredients in the ideal school. Given the chance to experiment and to try out different things, children would not just learn 'facts' but actually come to understand what was happening and why. Their learning and their living would become interconnected.

By the 1930s, Dewey's ideas had been appropriated by numerous educators and amended or adapted to suit a variety of situations. Jean Mann, for example, has argued that what was espoused in the interwar period as progressive education, was, in fact, education for the progressive state. Schools were to be used to provide vocational and moral guidance as the children developed in harmony with needs and obligations of society. But not all progressive educators were as much at variance with Dewey's original tenets as those Mann discusses, and the child-centred education which became, over the course of the twentieth century, the primary form of museum education remained rooted in Dewey's theories.

Charles Currelly began to espouse his interpretation of the tenets of Dewey, or of the progressive education movement in the 1930s. He continued to promote the idea of the museum of industrial art throughout his life, and occasionally these older ideas coloured his use and interpretation of the new ones; Pestalozzi's and Dewey's influence was nonetheless present in Currelly's insistence on the power of the observation of everyday objects. Currelly's version of the new child-centred education began with the belief that the museum could teach children how to learn. Not a replica of Dewey's belief that the school and society should be inter-related, Currelly's idea nonetheless had implications for the concept of 'life-long learning', for children who knew how to learn could continue to teach themselves long after they had finished school.

Currelly began his exposition of this idea with the point that children needed to know that books and words were not all that can and should be 'read':

A child that from the start is taught that ink is only one of the things he must learn to read, that he must learn to read a picture, a stone, a tree, is in a very different position. He can be taught to look at objects till he sees a great deal in them, and with the help of

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a little explaining, see and grasp more and more in what he sees. He is then starting on
the path to a real education, a training that is really lasting.37

As a collection of objects and things, a museum was in a unique position to provide these
lessons. Using the exhibits and objects in a museum,

a child can be taught to see an object thoroughly from the standpoint of both form and
material and to know the form and material, and then to know it in its relation, its
evolution and its place in human use and development.

The education available in a museum could put children "on the road to knowledge":

[They] will then consider books only as a part of what [they] may read, and [they] will
be willing to perform that rarer and rarer accomplishment, to listen, as [they] will mix
with those who are also interested, and much will come to [them] from discussion.38

The objects in a museum, Currelly believed, could spark in children a curiosity about the world
in which they live and awaken a sense "that there is a wild romance all about [them]." Children
are more easily interested in concrete than in abstract things, since the chance to see the "original
objects" allows one to "throw one's self into the setting." This opportunity awakened interest or
curiosity which, according to Currelly, "naturally ends in thought and the development of a
trained imagination."39

Currelly's insistence on the observation of 'real' or concrete objects as the key to
knowledge lead him to privilege rural upbringing over urban. Country children, Currelly argued,
had birds, grass, trees--in short, Nature--around them all the time to observe and to learn from.

37. C.T. Currelly, "The Function of the Museum in Modern Life," radio script, June 1938, 1, RG 55,
H, f.4, ROMLA.


Like people of primitive civilizations, country children lived surrounded by the 'real' world. Currelly claimed that so many of Canada's professionals were men who had been raised on farms because their rural upbringing had equipped them to learn: these men's early lives on the farm had been the quintessential education for their adult careers, an education that children of the city did not receive. Surrounded by the 'real' world, primitive peoples and country children had no need of museums. The museum was a necessary institution only in a modern, urban society where "fourth-storey children" were raised in an "entirely artificial condition of life, man-made entirely." Museums were necessary to counteract "the city propaganda that makes out that this stupid, dull and artificial existence is the real life." In fact, Currelly felt that city children should begin their museum training "while they are young enough not to have had all the curiosity knocked out of them."

Currelly himself, if not properly a farmboy, was a product of small-town Ontario. His romanticization of rural life as 'real' life, therefore, is not surprising. But this was more than simply personal nostalgia. The rural myth was a strong component of the nineteenth-century reform tradition. Reformers had early characterized the city as degenerate, decadent, and the source of most of what was wrong with society. In contrast, they romanticized the country as the source and guardian of all that was moral and pure. This city-country dichotomy was directly related to such disparate phenomena as urban reform initiatives, in particular the Garden City and

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City Beautiful movements, the early preservation movement, and the rise of children's camps in the USA and Canada.⁴³ The preservation movement, in particular, came to rely heavily on a nostalgia for an earlier time, and by the twentieth century, was equating this golden past with the rural.⁴⁴ Both Paul Rutherford and Mariana Valverde note that most reformers, despite their analysis of the city as the problem, realized that urbanization was a fact of life and focussed their efforts on making the city a healthier and safer place. But there were many reformers and social conservatives who, with Andrew MacPhail, yearned "for a return to the mythical innocence of rural Canada."⁴⁵ By the interwar years, when Currelly was articulating his version of this utopian myth, anti-urbanization had spread throughout the middle class and the use of anti-industry and anti-urban rhetoric by politicians and intellectuals on both the left and the right of the political spectrum was commonplace. Currelly's use of anti-urban rhetoric gave an anchor to his educational ideas that many of his listeners would have recognized and with which most would

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⁴⁵ Rutherford, Saving the Canadian City, xvi.
have agreed.

Urban life was not, however, the only problem with modern society, according to Currelly. Even country children were not necessarily immune to the gravest ill of modern society: ignorance. "Modern life," said Currelly, was "so dull in spite of the masses of paid amusement that we maintain to the detriment of our pockets and the other sides of our lives." Knowledge could enliven this dull existence because it was not only useful, it was also "joyful". But lack of intellectual interests lead naturally to a desire for "paid amusement and the cheapest of pleasures, and worse, the most animal of pleasures," because the "hopelessly lazy mind craves only amusement and abhors effort." Nor, felt Currelly, was lack of knowledge or of intellectual interests any longer considered bad. Ignorance was becoming an accepted, and acceptable, part of modern life. "Knowledge as something in itself," Currelly claimed, "counts for little or nothing. There is certainly little shame at ignorance today, in fact it is almost a matter of pride." Ignorance and modern life were, for Currelly, inextricably linked.

In a comment surprisingly similar to the oft-quoted Mark Twain witticism, "I never let my schooling get in the way of my education," Currelly laid the blame for this modern ignorance at the feet of the modern educational system:

It seems to me that one of the great difficulties that we have experienced in our education, as it has come to us through schools and our quite expensive educational system, is that we have not linked it sufficiently to our daily life. Education has too often been something taught at school or college, which the sooner we can forget, the better we

He traced the problem to negative changes in the eighteenth century. The seventeenth century, Currelly wrote, showed great promise in adding to human knowledge, but in the eighteenth century, this knowledge became too heavy a burden: instead of continuing to look forward, progress stopped and people looked only backward at older models, older knowledge. Thus, the educational system of the eighteenth century, from which the methods Currelly saw around him came, became one of simply memorizing existing knowledge.

But, as Pestalozzi and Dewey had argued earlier, unthinking memorization was useless: students were usually being forced to memorize things that were not going to be of any use to them in their future lives; indeed, and partly for that reason, after the examination, they did not remember anything they had 'learned'. In fact, what the educational system with its focus on memorization and job- or career-oriented learning had taught students was that they did not actually need to know anything:

The idea of compulsory education on the one hand, and to reach a certain standard of examination that it may get them better jobs, not by superior knowledge but by the possession of certain diplomas, seem to be the rocks on which they mentally shipwreck. Will it be on the examination paper, and have they certain notes that may be looked up the night before the examination, is the important thing.

Memorization of the notes from class would hopefully get one through the examinations; passing examinations would get one a diploma; and having a diploma would get one a position; as Currelly saw it, knowledge itself had become irrelevant in the modern world.

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51. See also, Dewey, "Waste in Education," in School and Society, 59-84, in which he argues that schools used to prepare children for occupations were a waste.
Currelly did not consider rote memorization in order to pass examinations to be a real education: education meant mental growth and the stimulation of curiosity. Indeed, it was the lack of curiosity that Currelly considered the "outstanding thing" on the part of the university students and teacher trainees he was meeting: they had neither "the power to look and take in what they see," nor the desire to do so. The problem as Currelly saw it was that the school was trying to impart knowledge through memorization where it ought to be stimulating interest in learning and teaching children how to learn in order that they can learn for themselves what they need to know:

The school must teach us how to read, how to read a book accurately, so that we know exactly what it means, not as so often happens, so that we get a general, muddled idea of what it is. I think the school ought also to teach us how to read a picture, that we may see everything possible in it. ... This question of accurately learning to read both books and objects must be the basis of all education.

Like Dewey and Pestalozzi, Currelly argued that the educational system was turning out people who, because they lacked the ability and the desire to learn, were essentially ignorant. Whether Currelly thought that the museum should actually replace the school or whether he felt that proper use of the museum could be the supplemental education necessary to complete what schools offered, he did believe that the museum could solve the school's educational problems. In a museum, through the observation of real things, children could be stimulated to once again take an interest in the world around them. Curiosity could be aroused, a desire to learn could be awakened, and the acquisition of knowledge would be the result.

Had this simply been a matter of uneducated high school graduates who gave themselves


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over to cheap, animal pleasures, it would have been, for Currelly, an unpleasant aspect of modern society, but little more. However, Currelly saw broader and more frightening ramifications in the ignorance he claimed was so widespread. The educational system was not simply failing its users, it was failing Canadian society as a whole and, more particularly, threatening democracy:

The demand for easy potted knowledge that can be obtained for a while is the most serious thing that is threatening our democratic countries. ...predigested knowledge makes easily accepted opinions and paves the way for dictatorships that take all responsibility of thought away from the mind and promise a wonderful Utopia of easy life. 54

Written in 1938, these lines clearly suggested that a Stalin, a Hitler, a Mussolini or a Franco could rise in Canada too, if Canadians did not soon do something about the flaws in their educational system. This part of Currelly's critique of modern society may seem to have wandered far from a philosophy of education in the museum, but, in following Dewey's argument that education should be linked to real life, Currelly believed that, in teaching children how to observe and to learn for themselves, the museum could provide the antidote to the "predigested knowledge" and "easily accepted opinions" which "paved the way for dictatorships." Taken to its logical extreme, Currelly's argument was that museums could save Canada, or any democratic country, from the totalitarian governments springing up in Europe in the interwar period.

Arnoldian in its belief that 'high' culture and the material remains of ancient civilizations could save the country from political ruin, 55 Currelly's argument nonetheless followed logically from his educational philosophy. A curious blend of the thought of Ewart, Cole, Smith, and Dewey, of the nineteenth-century reform tradition, of the progressive education movement, and of his own notions, Currelly's ideas served to provide a justification for his museum by


55. Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy (1869).
addressing current issues and concerns. The argument against totalitarianism was but another way to prove to society that his museum was relevant to the real world, a proof which museums continue to offer.

Form and Function: Ruskin, Gilman, and the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology as Agent of Social Reproduction

A study of the rhetoric used to explain and to justify a museum to the general public is incomplete without considering what the museum was actually doing. No matter how sincerely the museum staff believe their rhetoric, and regardless of whether or not they realize anything else is going on, collections and exhibits of natural and cultural artefacts are rarely what they are claimed to be, or what they seem to be at first glance. Neil Harris wrote of American museums that they were "born, in part, from anxiety about the poverty of American design." Like the museums for which Ewart, Cole, and Smith had argued, and like the museum Currelly claimed to have, American exhibits of applied arts were alleged to have been formed in an effort to develop taste and thus to improve design:

The museum was an aid to early industrial design training, and the museum movement can be seen as part of a modernizing impulse toward improving American productive efficiency.

However, Harris also notes that these museums had another function:

[M]useums were also places to display masterpieces whose transcendent aesthetic standards suggested something else, a world where economic competition did not set values, and where the experience of the art encounter substituted, in its own fashion, for an earlier generation's religious passion.56

Not simply places in which to learn about design or the history and development of a

manufactured product, museums which displayed cultural objects, particularly objects which could be placed into the category of 'art', encouraged an experiential relationship to the objects which seemed to transcend the social and economic order of the world.

This aesthetic function became particularly strong in American museums by the turn of the nineteenth century as wealthy patrons put the museums in a position to own original masterpieces and thus to relegate the casts and copies to basement storage. Benjamin Ives Gilman, director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and one of the men advocating the display of original art, argued that this was the proper role of a museum: "the Museum's function was aesthetic and not didactic." He emphasized the intrinsic value of the objects: objects were to be accepted for what they were rather than for what could be learned from them. Rejecting the didacticism asserted by the William Ewarts, Henry Coles and Walter Smiths of an earlier age, Gilman and his colleagues instead followed Ruskin's vision of a museum:

dramatic and didactic art should be universally national, the lustre of our streets, the treasure of our palaces, the pleasure of our homes. ... But the museum is only for what is eternally right, and well done, according to divine law and human skill. The least things are to be there—and the greatest—but all good with the goodness that makes a child cheerful and an old man calm.

These good, non-didactic things should be, Ruskin argued, in a "magnificent" museum building

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57. Harris, "Gilded Age Revisited," 559-61. American museums were not alone in this change from art as enlightening, improving, or useful to art as aesthetic and spiritually uplifting. However, other authors who discuss this phenomenon do so in the context of the new methods and purposes as instruments of social distinction and their ideological usefulness to the emerging bourgeois state. Bennett, Birth of the Museum, 168-171; Duncan, Civilizing Rituals, 16-26; and Sherman, Worthy Monuments, 211-230.

58. Harris, "Gilded Age Revisited," 563.

59. Harris, "Gilded Age Revisited," 563.

for which the expenditure was great, and entrance fees should be high:

That the entrance fee should always be of silver is one of the beginnings of education in
the place--one of the conditions of its 'elegance' on the very threshold.\(^61\)

Gilman's generation carried out as many of Ruskin's precepts as they could, thereby turning
American museums into temples of art.

The aesthetic function of Gilman's museum of fine arts is reasonably easy to see and to
understand. Charles Currelly's Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology had the same aesthetic
function. Notwithstanding the title 'museum of archaeology', the educational rhetoric of the
museum of industrial art, or the claim to the scientific nature of the collections and the exhibits,
the archaeology museum fit into the same category as the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It was
a place that could "make a child cheerful and an old man calm." The kind of education associated
with an extravagant entrance fee was not provided for the ROM's visitors, but the imposing
Romanesque building with its elaborately carved entrance rotunda was calculated to impress the
visitor just as Ruskin had suggested. And, if the building itself failed to impress, the exhibits of
Egyptian mummies, Greek vases, Roman statuary, Chinese enamels and bronzes, European lace,
and Japanese ceramics would more than make up for it.\(^62\)

The aesthetic function becomes clearer when one looks at the way in which Currelly
described many of the individual artefacts in the collections. Often, despite all of his arguments
about the scientific nature of the collections or their educational utility, it was the aesthetic
qualities of the artefacts which Currelly emphasized. In 1938, he described four new acquisitions

\(^61\) Ruskin, "Museum or Picture Gallery," 250.

to the Board of Trustees in his annual report: a French Madonna from 1340 which was "the greatest work of art in the Museum, probably in Canada;" a dancing Siva, the finest of the few fine ones that have survived, would "bring the Museum much kudos;" a twelfth-century wooden Madonna and Christ was "of great importance;" and a French saint from 1500 was said to be "also very outstanding." Together, these four pieces "alone have put the Museum on a new plane in European art." The other acquisitions listed in the report are modified by adjectives such as "marvellous," "extremely fine," and "extremely beautiful."

The illustrations accompanying Currelly's 1927 article in the university's monthly magazine also support the conclusion that Currelly's focus was on the aesthetic qualities of the objects. The photograph of a terracotta medallion of the madonna and child from the late fifteenth century and a seventeenth century French suit of armour were not referred to anywhere in the text and were accompanied by captions which gave only the above information. The reader was left to infer the meaning of these objects: that they objects were particularly fine examples of what the museum had to show; or, perhaps, that they were recent acquisitions which Currelly wished to show off. Mirroring a technique common in art museums, of displaying works with only the title, date, and artist's name, the viewer, or reader, was left to experience and to understand the artefacts without the mediation of text. More extensive labels from which a viewer could actually learn something about the objects themselves might have accompanied them on display in the museum, but the lack of any information in the article suggests that they were on display, primarily if not entirely, for their aesthetic qualities.

The concern with the 'aesthetic' was, of course, itself part of the effort being made to
'educate'. As twentieth-century theorists\(^{63}\) have argued, none of what museums display is value-free: all of it has been selected out from a wide range of choices; it therefore excludes more than it includes and all of it is displayed in a way that privileges the exhibitor's point of view. Thus, Ruskin's and Gilman's argument for the purely aesthetic function of the museum is shown to be a veil behind which lies the museum's pedagogic role. Although emphasis on the aesthetic was a repudiation of the explicitness of the didacticism of Ewart, Cole, and Smith, it did not involve the establishment of a value-free, pseudo-religious experience which the phrase 'aesthetic function' suggested. Rather, it signalled an education in bourgeois artistic tastes and moral values. Its role as an 'agent of social reproduction' is most easily shown of art galleries and museums of 'high' culture, which display the art and material culture of the dominant classes under claims that it represents the universality of 'art', of taste, of morality, even of 'proper' behaviour. But they are not alone in this role. Other types of museums, such as natural history museums which display natural objects under the claim of the objectivity of science, have also been shown to be upholders of the status quo.\(^{64}\) Given that the theory on which this understanding of the museum is based is a product of the later twentieth century, Currelly can not be expected to have understood or explained his museum from this perspective.\(^{65}\) Nonetheless, it is clear that the

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\(^{65}\) It is nonetheless true that some museum people understood, even then that aesthetic exhibits have didactic functions. In 1939, Coleman wrote:

It is customary to speak of exhibits as though there were two distinct kinds—didactic and aesthetic.
didacticism of Currelly's museum, displayed in the rhetoric of improving design, of making better workers and consumers, and of teaching children how to learn, was underlaid by another, perhaps the paramount, pedagogical function of the museum: to uphold and reproduce the social hierarchy through providing an education in bourgeois tastes and values.

Conclusion

What the above discussion demonstrates is that Charles Currelly and the archaeological museum he created at the ROM were completely in step with the contemporary trends of the museum movement. Although the new child-centred education was already a decade old when Currelly first began to collect and almost a quarter century old when he began to use the older, museum of industrial art rhetoric to explain the museum he was creating, the older rhetoric was still common and acceptable in both Britain and Canada, and remained so for many years. He was, therefore, not unusual or out-of-date in his use of it. As society changed during the First World War and the interwar years, and the child-centred education espoused by American educational theorists became common wisdom, museums in Britain and Canada began to incorporate it into their museum's work just as American museums had earlier. Charles Currelly was one of the new converts and, without dispensing with the older educational rhetoric, he began to espouse the theory of the museum as an educational supplement to the school. Currelly had apprenticed as an archaeologist with Sir Flinders Petrie and the Egyptian Exploration Fund, and most of his early museum contacts were in Britain. This changed somewhat after he became

As a matter of fact there is a didactic and an aesthetic element, and these two enter in different proportions into exhibits, whether they be of science or art or history.

Coleman, Museum in America, 257.
director of the ROM of Archaeology and began to spend more time in Canada, but those early
ties were never entirely severed. Thus, his following of the British trends rather than the
American, especially in the early years of the museum, is understandable. But by the post-war
period, the two threads of the pattern had come together and most museums, in Britain and
America alike, were defining their educational roles in terms of providing programmes for
schoolchildren. Currelly was no exception.
Chapter Three —

"The Most Important Aspect of the Work of the Museum": Establishing Educational Programming for Children at the Royal Ontario Museums

A museum, however rich in its contents, and perfect in its arrangements for exhibitions, is but a show, unless it combines with its wealth of art the active educational agencies in the class-room which are to transmute this wealth into currency. (Walter Smith, *Art Education*, 1872, 22)

Charles Currelly's educational philosophy was not simply rhetoric. As a confirmed museum man, he fully believed in the museum as an educational institution and he made every effort to put his ideas into practice. He convinced the Board of Trustees to hire a guide/lecturer for the museum, and, when the nature of the educational function of museums began to change in the interwar years, he supported the establishment of a full educational division. But Currelly's was only one of five museums in the ROM complex, and the others were quite different from Currelly's in both form and function.

As the first chapter indicated, the other four museums were museums of natural history, or science museums. Their collections and displays were of minerals, ores, fossils, and flora and fauna, and their origins were in the teaching collections of science departments at the University of Toronto. Although Edmund Walker and some of the other early advocates of a public museum in Ontario had conceived of these museums as an integral part of the finished product, it had been the rise of Currelly's more spectacular collection which had, in the end, convinced the government to establish the ROM. The inclusion of Currelly's collection in the finally-created institution lead to an imbalance between the museums, as the Board of Trustees favoured the Museum of Archaeology, and the public often mistook it for the whole museum and Currelly for
the sole director. It was these differences between the museum of archaeology and the science museums which became central to the ROM's struggles as it moved into the child-centred education of the twentieth-century educational museum.

While Currelly was extolling the virtues of the archaeological museum as a museum of industrial art, the directors of the science museums continued to see their collections as primarily for the use of the university students, just as they had been prior to their inclusion in a public, provincial museum. In the Guide to the Galleries of the Royal Ontario Museum, published in 1919 as part of an effort to increase public attendance, W.A. Parks wrote of the palaeontology exhibits that although "particular attention has been given to the preparation of descriptive labels for the larger and more important specimens, [t]hese labels are primarily intended for the guidance of students... ." The autonomy afforded each of the five museums meant that this difference of opinion on the primary constituency was not a serious problem: each director ran his own museum and could provide for its constituency in the way he thought proper. But both of these visions of the public educational role of the museum were informed by a model that was rapidly losing ground to a newer one. Education was no longer being seen as a matter of

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1. See, for instance, Ian McTaggart Cowan to Francis Kermode, 11 April 1937, GR 111, b.3, f.4, BCARS. Cowan visited the ROM and wrote back to his director, Kermode, that he found Currelly was "no longer director of the museum as a whole. In fact no one is. The five separate are each completely divorced from one another ... and administered by their own directors."

2. Dickson, Museum Makers, 52-54.


4. I have chosen to use the phrases "popular education" and "public education" interchangeably, in part because the directors of the ROM did so, and in part because I think it helps to illustrate the distinction the directors made between the two educational clients of the museum: the public and the students of the university.
simply providing displays and labels, and the directors of the Royal Ontario Museums were forced to come to the realization that in order to provide an educational experience, a museum needed to do more. Once they had reached that point, answering the questions of what exactly would be provided, who would provide it, to whom, and how, became the challenge.

The journey from the initial acceptance of the new educational function to a full-fledged Division of Education was a turbulent one at the ROM, marked by tensions between the directors themselves, between the directors and the Board of Trustees, and between the directors and the education staff.\(^5\) Although some of the tensions emanated from personality clashes and some of them must be considered in terms of the gendered nature of both scientific and museum culture, the conceptual choice to administer the ROM as five separate museums, rather than the more common model of one museum with a single director overseeing various departments, was the single most important factor in the uneasy development of an education division. The existence of five museums, which were decidedly unequal in their status and their funding levels, lead to considerable tension, and to a concerted effort on the part of the directors of the science museums to retain control of everything in their museums in an effort to raise or maintain the profile of their museums in the face of the much more prominent archaeological museum. Thus, even after all of the directors had been convinced of the necessity of public education, neither the creation of an education division nor the manner in which it would function within the larger structure was a foregone conclusion. All of the other issues were subsumed under the desire to control the education staff and so regulate what happened in the individual museums. Control was an issue

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of constant debate amongst the directors and though it may never have been completely resolved, it seems to have settled down by the 1950s with the gradual unification of the museums and the appearance of a new generation of museum directors.

This chapter looks at the ROM's journey from passive educator of adults to active programmer for children's education, as it followed the pattern of education set by the museum movement. Beginning with a look at how the directors, especially of the science museums, came to understand the need for active educational programming, it then turns to a study of the various aspects of the struggle to develop an education division. It ends with a look at the brief experiment of a division of extension in place of the division of education, a victory for the directors' point of view which quickly went sour.

Providing Guides and Lecturers, 1912-1927

The timing of the opening of the ROM in March 1914 was less than auspicious and the beginning of war in August soon put pressure on the new institution. Public funding was difficult to get for anything not obviously war related, and 'good' men were recruited into the armed forces. Coal shortages in 1917 necessitated occasional closures of the museum and raised the possibility of a complete closure until the end of the war. Rumours flew about that the museum would be turned into a hospital for returned soldiers. And after the war, the Museum of Geology became, without the knowledge or consent of its director, storage space for a surplus aeroplane. The biggest hurdle to be faced, however, was how to increase public attendance at the new institution.\(^6\)

\(^6\) Minutes, Committee of Directors, Royal Ontario Museums (hereafter Directors), 31 January 1917; 16 November 1917; 6 December 1917; 17 January 1918; and 20 December 1918, RG 25A, b.1, v.I,
Efforts to introduce the public to the museums began long before they were ready to open, but took on a new intensity in early in 1914. Statements about the museum were released to the press and, "in view of the desirability of bringing the museum into closer touch with the public," the directors took up with the Board of Trustees the idea of having the street railway put signs on some of the cars that read "To the Museum." Advertising the museum to the staff and students of the university was also deemed necessary, and in January of 1916, Robert Falconer, President of the University, circulated a letter suggesting that people take advantage of a museum "comparable with the best on the continent and ...worthy of your appreciation and support." However, a letter from Sir Edmund Walker in May 1916 asking the Committee of Directors to "consider the causes of falling-off in attendance" suggests that all of the efforts had been inefficacious and, in October 1916, the directors established a Publicity Committee "with the object of increasing the attendance at the museum."

As part of the new campaign begun by the Publicity Committee, which included sending out circulars, putting notices in the press and publishing the guidebook to the museum, the Committee of Directors established an ad hoc sub-committee to look into the attendance of teachers with their classes. The special committee took the matter up with the Chief Inspector of the Toronto Board of Education who was quite willing to help further the aims of the

7. Minutes, Directors, 5 January 1916, and 7 March 1914, RG 25A, b.1, v.I, ROMLA. Efforts to have a street railway stop placed outside the museum and the museum advertised in the cars did not come to fruition until 1924 when Currelly finally talked the TTC into advertising the museum on the street cars. Minutes, Directors, 3 December 1924, RG 25A, b.1, v.II, ROMLA.

directors, but felt that the Board itself should have final approval and that the school principals should be shown round the museum first in order to familiarize them with its contents. His final recommendation was the consideration of loaning material to the schools. In view of this positive reception, the directors drafted a letter to be sent to the teachers in Toronto schools bringing to their attention the "facilities afforded by [the ROM's] collections in relation to general education." Teachers were encouraged to bring their classes to the museum as part of the regular hours of instruction and a folder was enclosed outlining what the museums had to offer. The ROM, the letter claimed:

is already the leading museum of Canada and is destined to play an important part in the development of the City of Toronto as an educational centre.

If this letter exhibits an unusually early (for Canadian museums) appearance of the understanding that schoolchildren were an important constituency for the educational aspect of the museum, it also illustrates the potency of the nineteenth-century model of museum education. The directors of the ROM understood their museum as an educational institution by virtue of its existence. Although, in broadening their educational constituency to the general public, and in this case to schoolchildren, the directors were moving in the direction that would soon become standard, no special programs had been designed or suggested for the school children, no guided tours were offered, nor were any facilities within the museum offered other than those "afforded by the collections." Viewing the collections was thought sufficient to teach the necessary lessons, and any necessary knowledge the students could not bring to the collections themselves could be

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10. Minutes, Directors, 23 November 1916, RG 25A, b.1, v.I, ROMLA. Interestingly, the letter also pointed out that "the collections would be of interest...for variety and diversion apart from the educational features described."
supplied by the teachers. There is no evidence that this early attempt to create ties between the museum and the schools was a move towards the active educational programming which had already become standard in American museums and would soon do so throughout the rest of the western world.\(^\text{11}\)

The events of the next few years were to bring home to the directors the realization that the earlier passive education was inadequate. The process of coming to terms with the idea of active educational programming, however, was neither simple nor straightforward. The process began with accepting the idea of guides and lecturers in the galleries, but the first incident in this process also introduced what would eventually become the central problem in the development of an education division: the directors' control over guides, lecturers, and educators. In July 1918, Professors Walker and Parks wrote to the Board of Trustees complaining that a Miss MacLean was using a card with the caption "Royal Ontario Museum," giving a false impression of her status.\(^\text{12}\) The Chairman of the Board took the necessary steps to clear up the matter, but in November, Margaret MacLean requested "permission to appear before the Committee [of Directors] in order to present her case and to obtain permission to act as guide in the galleries."\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{11}\) What is interesting about this episode is the fact that the overture came from the museum rather than the educational authority. Hooper-Greenhill and Kavanagh both state that, in Britain, the attempts to build ties between the schools and the museums came largely from the schools, not the museums, which were often resistant. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museum and Gallery Education*, 31-35; and Kavanagh, *Museum and the First World War*, 82-90.

\(^{12}\) Minutes, Board--ROM, 15 July 1918, RG 1A, b.1, v.I, ROMLA. The ROM was not the only museum to have to deal with unofficial guides. In the early 1930s, the British Museum decided to officially recognise five of the unofficial guides which it felt had adequate knowledge of the museum and its subjects to provide a reasonable tour. They were given the right to charge for their tours and were distinguished from the guides who were Museum staff members by a red rosette. See "Museums News", *Museums Journal* 33, 6 (September 1933): 233.

\(^{13}\) Minutes, Directors, 19 November 1918, RG 25A, b.1, v.I, ROMLA.
This raised the issue of guides in the museum for the first time and the Committee of Directors discussed it at some length. Their final decision was that anyone should be allowed to guide groups through the museums provided

(a) that such person shall have satisfied the Director of the museum that he or she is possessed of the knowledge of the subject sufficient for the purpose. (b) that he or she shall not, by advertising matter or otherwise, create the impression of being an employee of the museum. (c) that the authorities of the museum be not held responsible for any statement made by such guides. (d) that he or she make no statements that could be construed as adverse criticism, e.g. suggestions of different or better arrangement of specimens, criticism of labels, etc.\(^\text{14}\)

The provisions, although they stipulated that the museum could not be held responsible for the guides, also claimed for each of the directors the right to decide who would guide in their museum. A reasonable right when dealing with unofficial guides, this became a bone of contention when the ROM began actually to hire the guides and, later, educators.

Having accepted the idea of guides in the museum galleries, making those guides part of the museum staff was the next logical move. Ten days after MacLean requested and received permission to act as guide in the museums, Sir Edmund Walker, Chair of the Board, raised, with the Committee of Directors, the issue of licensing guides with particular reference to MacLean. The directors agreed in principle to having a guide for the museums but did not approve a formal motion to that affect. With regards to MacLean, the directors agreed that she should be allowed to guide groups through the museums, but reiterated their proviso that she satisfy the director of the museum in which she was guiding of her "fitness."\(^\text{15}\) The Board accepted this as a

\(^{14}\) Minutes, Directors, 19 November 1918, RG 25A, b.1, v.I, ROMLA.

\(^{15}\) Minutes, Directors, 29 November 1918, RG 25A, b.1, v.I, ROMLA. Heakes describes how very "fit" MacLean was to guide people in the Museum of Archaeology, at least. Heakes, "Education in the ROM," 7-9.
recommendation and decided to include $500.00 in the estimates for the next financial year "to cover the services of MacLean in this connection, she to lecture half time three (3) days each week."16 In the meantime, the museums went on with their university teaching, their research, and their day-to-day work; the matter of guides, and hence of public education, in the museum seemed to have been solved.

It was the report of the publicity committee in October 1919 on the success of the school class visits initiated in late 1916 that put the idea of guides and the hiring of MacLean in a new light. The committee reported that, from January to June of 1919, 167 school classes with a total of 4,892 pupils visited the museum. The directors realized that this was not only a phenomenal success, but also involved more than simply attendance at the museum. The Publicity Committee recommended that:

in view of the results shown,...more adequate arrangements for guiding and teaching in the Museum should now be made, and that the question of instruction in the schools themselves should be discussed."17

As so many other museums were doing at this time, the directors of the Royal Ontario Museums were coming to see a need for active educational programming for schoolchildren and the public.18

16. Minutes, Board–ROM, 18 February 1919, RG 1A, b.1, v.I, ROMLA.


18. They were, however, still afraid of anything that might be construed as 'mere entertainment'. In between discussions on museum guides, the directors adopted a policy on use of the new gramophone which included the proviso that "indiscriminate use of it would be incompatible... with the scientific work of the Museum." Only "restricted use for diversion in the case of school classes" was recommended. They did not make clear how this would "further the educational purpose of the Museum and ... forestall possible criticism that the Museum is being used simply as a place of entertainment," if use of the gramophone was, from the outset, incompatible with "the general outlook" of the museum. Minutes, Directors, 20 December 1918, RG 25A, b.1, v.I, ROMLA.
The directors' recognition of the importance of popular educational programming became clear a few short years later. MacLean was reappointed as guide in 1921, but she resigned in November 1923 for reasons of health. In March 1924, the Committee of Directors appointed Dr. Bensley to discuss with the Chair of the Board "the duty of the Museum to the public in the matter of providing instruction in the galleries."19 His report, presented the following month, was that "every effort should be made to increase the attendance of children at the Museum."20 The timing of the report, just after MacLean's resignation, suggests that the two were closely related and that the sudden lack of an education officer of any sort re-created a void at the museum, the existence of which no one had noticed prior to her appointment.

In the spirit of Bensley's recommendation, the Publicity Committee interviewed members of the Board of Education and communicated with the schools which were attending the museum in order to ascertain what might help to increase the numbers. The information gathered this way, plus the success of summer classes held at the museum by the Board of Education in 1924,21 suggested to the directors that the best way to provide educational services was to have the Board of Education pay teachers to work at the museum instructing visiting school classes. This would provide trained and certified teachers without costing the museum any of its own limited funding. The Board of Education agreed to the proposal and included the expense in its estimates for 1925, but the initiative was turned down by the municipality.22 Left to meet its own education

20. Minutes, Directors, 2 April 1924, RG 25A, b.1, v.II, ROMLA.
21. Minutes, Board--ROM, 16 June 1924 and 20 November 1924, RG 1A, b.1, v.2, ROMLA.
22. Minutes, Directors, 15 September 1924, 24 October 1924, and 7 January 1924, RG 25A, b.1, v.II, ROMLA.
needs, the Board of Trustees hired Dorothy Haines as guide for the museum to replace MacLean.

Having worked with MacLean as a volunteer assistant, Haines was a logical choice. The lack of comment on her in the minutes of the Committee of Directors or of the Board suggests that she did her work well and that everyone was satisfied with the public education being provided at the museum. But at the end of 1927, Haines resigned her position in order to marry.\textsuperscript{23} The need to replace her brought the issue of public education once again to the forefront.

In the almost ten years since MacLean's calling cards had first been an issue, the directors and the trustees had learned the value of public education and the necessity of active education at the museum. Since the resignation of MacLean, they had been lobbying with the Board of Education to hire qualified teachers to carry out instruction for schoolchildren at the museum. The Publicity Committee had continued to encourage school groups to visit the museum and articles were sent to the local papers outlining the importance of the relationship between the museum and the school.\textsuperscript{24} Earlier questions as to "the duty of the Museum to the public in the matter of providing instruction in the galleries"\textsuperscript{25} were no longer raised; it was clear to all that the duty lay in providing the public with some sort of guide, lecturer or educator. The questions that now faced the museum were how this provision was to fit within the existing structure and who would have control over it. When Haines resigned, there was no question as to whether she should be replaced; the issue, rather was how and by whom.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Minutes, Board-ROM, 27 February 1925, and 25 November 1927, RG 1A, b.1, v.2, ROMLA.
\item Minutes, Directors, 30 September 1927, RG 25A, b.1, v.III, ROMLA.
\item Minutes, Directors, 12 March 1924, RG 25A, b.1, v.II, ROMLA.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Working Towards a Division of Public Instruction: 1928-1940

The Board wasted no time in replacing Dorothy Haines. In November 1927, on the recommendation of Charles Currelly, Ruth Home was hired as the museum's guide and lecturer. Her hiring immediately raised the issues that would plague the education division for the next twenty years: what was seen as favouritism towards the archaeological museum instilled in the science directors a fierce desire to maintain control in their museums. These issues had existed prior to Home's hiring, but as is often the case in staff changeover, the circumstances of her appointment were seen by some as an opportunity to address them. They were not, however, addressed, at least not satisfactorily, and the failure to do this meant that they persisted throughout Home's tenure at the museum. Despite the creation of a Division of Public Instruction in 1940, Home's relationship to the directors remained problematic.

The appointment of Ruth Home as museum guide in Dorothy Haines' stead immediately brought to light the inequities between the archaeological museum and the science museum. The science directors, informed of the hiring of Ruth Home at the first Directors' meeting in 1928, were surprised at a hiring in which they had not been consulted. They immediately called a special meeting at which Mr. O'Brian, Chair of the Board of Trustees, explained the appointment and made clear the limitations of Home's position:

It was understood that she would give lectures in the Museum of Archaeology and, upon request, would conduct parties wishing a general tour of the Museum. Mr. O'Brian told the Directors of his earnest desire that a lecturer should be provided for the Natural History Museums, and expressed the hope that funds would be available for this purpose next year.27

26. Minutes, Directors, 5 January 1928, RG 25A, b.l., v.III, ROMLA. The hiring is recorded in Minutes, Board-ROM, 25 November 1927, RG 1A, b.l., v.3, ROMLA.

27. Minutes, Directors, 11 January 1928, RG 25A, b.l., v.III, ROMLA.
Ruth Home was clearly being hired by the Board, not to establish or run a full education division, but to lecture and guide in the archaeological museum. This limitation fit the pattern followed so far: both Margaret MacLean and Dorothy Haines had been hired to guide and lecture primarily in the archaeological museum, rather than in the ROM as a whole. With each of these appointments, the directors well understood that the needs of the science museums were being shunted aside in favour of the more prominent archaeological museum. They pointedly added to their acceptance of Haines that "they hope in the very near future the Board may be in a position to appoint an additional guide to conduct classes through the Natural History Museums." But, despite O'Brian's claims to the contrary in 1928, it was many years before anyone was hired specifically to provide educational programming in the science museums.

Hiring a lecturer only for the archaeological museum may have made sense in 1919 when only Currelly was thinking in terms of popular education. But by 1927, all of the directors had

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28 Minutes, Board–ROM, 22 June 1921, RG 1A, b.1, v.2, ROMLA. Minutes from late 1923 suggest that MacLean may have been ignoring restrictions on her role in the science museums. In October, the directors asked the secretary to "find out from the minutes the relation of Miss MacLean to the scientific museums." The answer, brought to the November meeting, was that "Miss MacLean was appointed lecturer in Archaeology, that as such she had no official relation to the scientific museums." The context does not make it clear whether these comments were in aid of curbing MacLean's activities in the science museum or an amassing of data to support a request for hiring a science lecturer. Minutes, Directors, 16 October and 8 November 1923, RG 25A, b.1, v.II, ROMLA.

29 Minutes, Directors, 10 March 1925, RG 25A, b.1, v.II, ROMLA.

30 Liliane Payne, who was hired by the Toronto Board of Education, in 1928, to be its teacher at the museum had some science, or natural history, background and seems to have gained the acceptance of the science directors. However, not until 1935 did the museum hire a guide/lecturer for the science museums. In 1935, Mrs. Bensley, widow of B.A. Bensley, director from 1913 to 1934, donated $300.00 to pay a student lecturer in the zoology museum for the summer. The position was filled by Frederick A. Urquhart, a graduate student in the Department of Zoology, who was also responsible for the entomological work in the museum. The following year, the Board accepted the necessity of such a position and made it permanent. Urquhart eventually worked his way up to become the first full-time Director of the Museum of Zoology. Dymond, Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology, 1940; Minutes, Directors, 3 April, 5 June and 9 October 1935, RG 25A, b.3, v.V, ROMLA.
come to understand the importance of public education and the need for some sort of active programming. To continue to hire only to fulfill the archaeological museum's needs highlighted the financial inequity between the museums. Not only did Currelly's archaeology museum control more floor space than any of the science museums, its annual budget was usually larger than the four science museums put together. As well, Currelly was often given additional funds to spend on acquisitions. Indeed, in years when there was insufficient monies to properly staff or equip the science museums it was not unusual to see the Board vote thousands of extra dollars for the purchase of archaeological artefacts, or to acquiesce in extreme budget over-spending on Currelly's part.\(^{31}\) Hiring a lecturer whose abilities lay in art and history, without consultation with all of the directors, and without also hiring an expert in science or natural history, was obviously another indication of the archaeological museum's prominence. In the face of this inequity, it is not surprising that the science directors were so concerned with control in their own museums: maintaining their identity separate from the archaeological museum had become a major concern.

The years from 1928 to 1933 were taken up with the building of the new wing of the museum and education temporarily lost its prominence. But it returned to the forefront with the opening of the new wing in 1933, and episodes in 1934 and 1937 were of particular significance.\(^{32}\) Each of these was precipitated by an action on the part of Home which

\(^{31}\) On the budget, see Minutes, Board–ROM, 20 November 1925, RG 1A, b.1, v.2, ROMLA. The government grant of $50,000.00 was divided into $40,000.00 for the Archaeology Museum and $10,000.00 for the four science museums. On Currelly's other spending, see Minutes, Board–ROM, 10 June 1930, RG 1A, b.1, v.3, ROMLA. O'Brian and Joseph Flavelle gave Currelly permission to spend $45,000.00 on artifacts in a year when the science museums had been told there was no money for better salaries or new equipment.

\(^{32}\) Minutes, Directors, 3 January 1934, 3 March 1937, 5 March and 2 April 1941, 1 December 1943 and 16 February 1944, RG 25A, b.3, v.V, VI, and VII, ROMLA. Heakes suggests that the reason education took up so much of the directors' time prior to Home's appointment was that they had no idea
contravened the directors' idea of what she should be doing and each was perceived as taking control out of their hands. Each, moreover, resulted in a renewed insistence that educational work at the museum should be "on the authorization of the Director of a component Museum and should be appropriate to the work of that Museum." And each lead to a temporary calm which was broken by Home's next move to change how things were done, to add another educational program or to raise the profile of the educational division.

The provision of educational programming and the question of who was to control this was made complex by the existence of strong personalities. Ruth Home was an energetic, even brilliant, educator who seems to have had little patience with the petty politics of the directors. Although she was hired to be lecturer in archaeology, she interpreted her mandate as involving public education in the museums and she went about providing this to the best of her ability. During her tenure at the museum, Home ran a Saturday Morning Club, a Summer Museum Club, and lecture and film series for children and adults; established a Children's Room; arranged with the railway companies and the Toronto Transit Commission to bring school groups from out of

what they had gotten themselves into and they did not know what they were doing. After Home's appointment, she argues, the problem lay solely in the lack of clear terms of reference. Heakes, "Education in the ROM," 4-5, 16-17.


34. Former colleagues and staff members at the ROM talk about Home being an "educator of genius," an "inspired teacher" and a woman "full of brilliant ideas." Her fatal quality was impatience: a "constant innovator" who "tended to be a jump ahead" of the directors, she was "constantly challenging her masters and even questioning their right to make decisions about her work". She "saw museum education on a much larger scale than the Directors did" and too often took it upon herself to carry out new plans when the directors were slow to accept her ideas. See excerpts from interviews by Barbara Hill with Ella Martin and Loris Russell, and Dorothea Hecken's notes on an interview with Dorothy Burnham, in "Education", SC 73, f. "Ruth Home," ROMLA. Heakes also claims that Home was ahead of her time, and had knowledge and ideas that occasionally proved "embarrassing to her superiors." Heakes, "Education in the ROM," 15-16. See also Dickson's description of Home as a "disrespectful but invaluable initiator." Dickson, Museum Makers, 63.
town to the museum for the day; attempted to set up extra credit courses for elementary school teachers; and, during the Second World War, arranged for free or inexpensive rail transportation for herself in order to take the museum to schools outside of Toronto when they could not be brought to the museum.  

Home wrote in her report for 1939-40 that the extension work her department was carrying out was

the most important aspect of the work of the Museum and every effort should be made to expand it even at the cost of sacrificing other activities for the visits from out of town have a tremendous value for publicity, removing the accusation of being only of service to Toronto and stimulating a sense of province-wide ownership.

With Home considering her work in public instruction as the most important work of the museum, the constant balking of the directors at new or enlarged plans, and their desire to control those plans they did approve of, only made the situation worse. Home often chose to ignore the directors completely and went directly to the Board for approval and financing for her plans. Her strength, and unwillingness to be controlled, caused tensions that seem not to have developed between the directors and the earlier lecturers, or between the directors and the Board teachers, the first of whom, Liliane Payne, was appointed only a month after Home was hired.

The role that Home’s personality, or strength of will, played in the story was illustrated

35. For descriptions of the programs run by the educational division during Home’s tenure at the museum, see Heakes, “Education in the ROM,” 15-24.


37. Payne was only the first of many teachers throughout the years hired by the Toronto Board of Education to work at the museum with elementary level public school classes. Minutes, Directors, 1 February 1928, RG 25A, b.1, v.III, ROMLA; Minutes, Board–ROM, 13 February 1928, RG 1A, b.1, v.3, ROMLA.
in 1933 when it became clear that none of the directors controlled Ruth Home (not even Currelly who had requested her appointment and for whose museum she had been hired) and that the educational division had taken on an existence of its own. At a meeting in December 1933, Currelly himself raised the point of a problem with Home:

there appears to be no understanding as to the relations between the instruction given by Miss Home and direction or supervision by individual directors or the Committee of Directors.

In light of the fact that the Board of Trustees had given Home permission to hold a course on interior decoration under the umbrella of the Department of Instruction, the Committee of Directors felt the need to review the "arrangements which had been made for the control of lecturers and instructors in the Museum." 38 Bensley, as Chair of the Committee that year, was given the duty of interviewing O'Brian on the status of Home. O'Brian stated that Home was "directly under the Board... and reports to them" and that the Committee of Directors' only role was as a body to report the work of the individual museums to the Board. 39 With these comments in mind, the directors' made a number of recommendations for redefinition of the position of lecturer and guide, and for better co-ordination between the Committee of Directors and the Board.

The redefinition of the position simply involved re-iterating the usual comments about approval from the director of the relevant museum. The recommendations on co-ordination, however, were a thinly disguised attempt to give the directors greater control over lecturers in general, and in particular to stop Home from applying directly to the Board with her plans. The

38. Minutes, Directors, 6 December 1933, RG 25A, b.2, v.IV, ROMLA.

39. O'Brian to B.A. Bensley, Chair, Committee of Directors, 2 January 1934, RG 1B, b.4, ROM.
Board approved all of the recommendations; it rejected, however, the contention that a separate department of public instruction was in conflict with the stipulation that the lecturer consult with the relevant director or, where all the museums were concerned, with the Committee of Directors. The Board felt that "no sufficient reason existed for altering the title of 'Department of Instruction'" which Home had given her work. The public education division had become an entity separate from the component museums but the problem of control was just beginning.

In hopes of resolving some of the tensions between Home and the directors, the Board created an Education Committee in 1934. This committee was to be permanent, with jurisdiction over all public instruction in the museum. Regular university lectures or occasional instruction given by the directors and their assistants to university students would remain in the directors' control. The flaw in the plan was that Home was not included as a member of the committee, despite the fact that it was primarily her work which was the concern of the committee. Not

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40. Minutes, Board--ROM, 19 January 1934, RG 1A, b.1, v.4, ROMLA.

41. The incident also suggests that Home had more support on the Board than she did on the Committee of Directors. Dickson claims that O'Brian was Home's champion. Dickson, The Museum Makers, 63.

42. Minutes, Board--ROM, 19 October 1934, RG 1A, b.1, v.4, ROMLA; Minutes, Education Committee, 22 October, 2 November and 7 November 1934, RG 26, b.1, f.1, ROMLA. The creation of the Education Committee cannot be seen entirely as damage control. In March 1932, anticipating the improved facilities the new wing of the building would provide, for public instruction as well as other aspects of the museum's work, the directors began to recommend a number of changes including additional Board of Education teachers. The creation of the Education Committee must also been seen in light of the assumption of a greater role for public instruction after 1933. Minutes, Directors, 2 March 1932, and 29 May 1933, RG 25A, b.2, v.IV, ROMLA.

43. O'Brian suggested, in 1935, that Home be made part of the Education Committee but was outvoted. Not until 1940 was Home included as a voting member. Minutes, Board--ROM, 13 November 1935, and 18 January 1940, RG 1A, b.1, v.4, & b.2, v.5, ROMLA; Minutes, Education Committee, 3 December 1935, RG 26, b.1, f.1, ROMLA. Heakes claims, and Dickson follows her on this, that the most obvious flaw was that all of the members were Trustees, men who knew nothing about elementary education. However, the minutes of the committee make it clear that there were also directors on the
only was this exclusion evidence of a failure to understand Ruth Home's strength and commitment, it effectively killed any chance the committee might have had to control her. In June of 1936, the Education Committee discussed Home's direct application to the Board for approval and financing for a plan to open the museum one evening a month for clubs and groups unable to attend during the day. The Board had already agreed to try the plan and the Education Committee was left to reassert its position as controller of education:

> in future Miss Home's work should come directly under the supervision of the Education Committee...all recommendations and reports from her should be submitted first to the Education Committee, which, in turn would pass them on to the Board of Trustees.\(^\text{44}\)

Although the question as to why the Board continually subverted its own regulations by accepting Home's direct applications rather than insisting she use the approved channels remains unanswered,\(^\text{45}\) the result remained that Home continued to make decisions regarding educational programming without the help or approval of those bodies.

The directors never came to understand that Home needed to be included in discussions of educational policy and programming, or that such inclusion was the only chance they had of exerting any control over her. Nor did they ever abandon their concern to control education in their museums, despite the existence of an Education Committee. When J.R. Dymond reported that Home had expressed an interest in discussing new ideas with the directors before presenting committee from the very first meeting. Dickson, *Museum Makers*, 63; Heakes, "Education in the ROM," 17; Minutes, Education Committee, 22 October 1934, RG 26, b.1, f.1, ROMLA.

\(^\text{44}\) Minutes, Education Committee, 25 June 1936, RG 26, b.1, f.1, ROMLA.

\(^\text{45}\) Just before the Board established the Education Committee in 1934, W.A. Parks wrote to O'Brian with his comments on the necessity of public instruction and some recommendations for providing it at the ROM. In this letter, he pointed out that had the Board's regulations for Home's guidance been "properly observed, certain unfortunate circumstances would not have arisen." W.A. Parks to J.B. O'Brian, 19 October 1934, RG 1B, b.4, ROMLA.
them to the Education Committee, the directors approved of the idea and left the Chair in charge of deciding "whether it would be advisable to have her appear in person."46 Two months later, the directors meeting was discussing another of Home's programs which was agreed to only because it was too far along to be refused.47 Without being allowed to bring ideas to the meetings as a matter of course, Home went about her work without input from the directors. And when Home and Liliane Payne did come to the March meeting of the Committee of Directors to report on their activities, the directors agreed to the need for a special meeting "to consider what the policy of the Museum should be in regard to its educational work."48 But not only was this issue not turned over to the Education Committee, whose mandate it was; neither Home nor Payne participated in the directors' special meeting.

To point to the directors' failure to understand Ruth Home is not to suggest that they were necessarily unreasonable in their approval or disapproval of her plans or that they were unappreciative of her work. Suggestions of marionette plays and displays of comic strips were considered too frivolous to be allowed, and Currelly objected "strenuously" to using the Children's Room to teach children how to draw or model,49 but most of what Home and Payne did was heartily approved of, especially when it went through what the directors felt was the proper


47. Minutes, Directors, 7 April 1937, RG 25A, b.3, v.V, ROMLA.


49. Minutes, Directors, 5 November 1929 and 5 March 1937, RG 25A, b.1, v.III, & b.3, v.V, ROMLA; and Charles Currelly to Helen Reynar, Secretary to Board of Trustees, 20 May 1939, RG 1B, b.4, f. "Children's Clubs", ROMLA. Currelly felt that children should be taught how to draw in school. They could learn much through sketching objects they saw in the museum galleries but an art school was not the object of the museum. For some reason, he was particularly adverse to the use of plasticine for modelling.
channels. The idea of special lecture courses for school teachers was well-received by the directors and only failed to become a reality because the Board of Education decided against it. In 1939, the directors voted Home "hearty congratulations" for the sheer amount of work she had done that month.\textsuperscript{50} The directors were as keen on increasing the profile and the work of the museum as was Home.

The problem lay, not in the directors understanding of the need for public instruction, as they had grasped that during the MacLean years, but in their insistence that they should have first and final say on what did and what did not happen in the way of such instruction. The constant re-iteration in the multitude of re-definitions of the position of lecturer/guide that the guide must have the approval of the director of the relevant museum, and comments such as that in Report #33 from the science museums that "the natural history exhibits ... will be explained in the museum by those in charge of their preparation and installation,"\textsuperscript{51} did nothing to further the aims of the museum in popular education and only served to alienate the people whose job it was to provide these services. The same can be said for the continual hesitation on the part of the Committee of Directors to fully endorse the work of the Division of Public Instruction. The previous paragraph makes clear that the directors were in favour of the work Home, Payne and their assistants were doing. Yet they often included in their written correspondence and report comments such as that made in the 1937 report on educational policy:

The Committee of Directors favours the continuation of the present educational activities of the museum [but it] feels that they should not be extended until careful consideration

\textsuperscript{50} Minutes, Directors, 6 October, 3 November 1937, and 1 November 1939, RG 25A, b.3, v.V & VI, ROMLA.

\textsuperscript{51} E.S. Moore, A.L. Parsons, Madeleine A. Fritz, and J.R Dymond, "Report #33: Museum Exhibits in Natural History," 5 April 1939, RG 25B, b.1, v.1, ROMLA.
has been given to other types of educational work of possibly greater effectiveness.\textsuperscript{52}

Remarks like these indicate an insecurity in the directors' tenuous hold over Home and public education at the museum, as well as a need to prove that they were, in fact, in control of what was being done at the museum.

The Division of Public Instruction, the Division of Public Extension, and a Division of Education: 1940-1955

In 1940, the directors of the five museums agreed with the Board of Trustees to the official creation of a Division of Public Instruction within the ROM, with Ruth Home as its Supervisor. Having fought a rearguard action against such an eventuality for the past twelve years, they finally accepted their defeat. By 1940, the evidence was overwhelming that active educational programming for children was the wave of the future and that in sufficiently large museums this would be done through educational divisions and not by the directors or curatorial staff of the museums. The directors of the ROM's component museums bowed to what seemed to be inevitable.

The creation of a separate division did not solve the ROM's problems as might have been expected. The reconsideration in 1941 of Home's role illustrated, yet again, the awkwardness of the five museums-five directors structure. Having agreed to the Division of Public Instruction, the directors immediately expressed confusion over the exact nature of Home's relationship, as its Supervisor, to the Committee of Directors and to the Education Committee. It was clear that they could not consider her their equal, and if the role of the Education Committee was to oversee public instruction in the museum, it was uncertain where the Supervisor came into the

\textsuperscript{52} "Report #25: RE: Educational Policy," April 1937, RG 25B, b.1, v.1, ROMLA.

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structure and to whom she was to report. The Committee of Directors recommended a restructuring of the committees such that its representatives on the Education Committee, together with Home, would become a standing subcommittee of the Committee of Directors. This would be able to take control of the details of the educational programme and deal with any emergencies, allowing the full Education Committee to be concerned only with policy. The Board approved of this new structure but its efficacy lasted only until November of 1943 when a sudden increase in the enrollment of the Saturday morning club lead to yet another review of the "organization, policy and programme of the Division of Public Instruction." This review raised, once again, unanswerable questions concerning the relationship between the Division of Public Instruction and the Committee of Directors. As long as each component museum had a separate director with complete control over his museum and as long as each was also related to an education division that embraced all of the museums, there seemed to be no solution to the problem of jurisdiction, control or the nature of the relationships between the various components.

The final major episode in the development of the Division of Public Instruction under Home serves to illustrate both the role in the controversy of traditional ideas on the gendered nature of the division of labour and the fact that what seemed to be obviously about gender

53. Minutes, Directors, 5 March and 2 April 1941, and 3 November and 1 December 1943, RG 25A, b.3, v.VI & VII, ROMLA. The result of this particular review was a constitution for the Division of Public Instruction written by J.R. Dymond and E.S. Moore, director of the Geology Museum. Dymond claimed to have incorporated Home's suggestions into the constitution, but the draft of the constitution which came out of the Division of Public Instruction gave far more authority to the Division and the Supervisor of the Division than the version finally approved by the Committee of Directors, the Education Committee and the Board. Minutes, Directors, 2 February 1944, RG 25A, b.3, v.VII, ROMLA; Minutes, Education Committee, 16 February 1944, RG 26, b.1, f.2, ROMLA; "Report #52," undated, RG 25B, b.1, v.1, ROMLA; "Policy of the Division of Public Instruction," undated, RG 99B, b.1, f.1, ROMLA.
proved to be, in the end, about the directors' desire to control what happened in their museums. The ROM had been growing since its inception in 1912 and the end of the Second World War promised even more growth. A Publicity Committee functioning as a subcommittee of the Committee of Directors with some additional help from other senior staff was no longer sufficient for the task of advertising the museum and its programs. Aware that something more was needed, the directors began to discuss the idea of hiring a 'Chief of Museum Extension' in early 1945. By the time this 'Chief' came on staff in January of 1946, his duties had expanded to being head of a combined publicity-public instruction division where he could be "a chief to whom [Home] can turn for advice at any time." What made this new position look even more as though it had been created to control an unruly woman was the decision to abolish the Education Committee. A man would now supervise Home, and that man would report directly to the Committee of Directors, a courtesy never extended to Home. The situation was not, however, so easily resolved. Controlling their own museums remained the primary concern of the directors, and they decided, after what amounted to a crisis in the museum's affairs, that a Chief of Museum Extension was not what was wanted after all. In the end, the directors chose to return to the imperfect, but easier-to-manage, separate Division of Education, still headed by a woman.

The story is long, complicated, and highly revealing. When the directors first began thinking in terms of hiring "a suitable man...to undertake the duties of Supervisor of Museum Extension," they had made it clear that the new division would be separate from the Division of Public Instruction:

It is the feeling of the Committee of Directors that the activities of this Supervisor of Museum Extension should not overlap or interfere with the educational activities of the Division of Public Instruction, and the educational committee. On the other hand there would on occasion arise opportunities for mutual co-operation, and this the Committee of Directors would strongly approve of.\textsuperscript{55}

The separation, however, would only be "for the present"; "ultimately all these activities should constitute a Department of Museum Extension."\textsuperscript{56} Where the decision to fold the two divisions into one had come from is not clear, but its result was all too evident. At the 4 April 1945 meeting of the directors, T.F. McIlwraith, Associate Director of the ROM of Archaeology and the directors' representative to the Board, reported that Ruth Home had tendered her resignation to the Board.

The next four weeks at the museum saw a flurry of meetings, reports, and interviews aimed at convincing Ruth Home not to leave. McIlwraith was directed by the Board to talk to Home and find out why she had decided to resign. His report, recommending what could and should be done to keep her, initiated a special meeting of the directors on 11 April 1945 at which they voted Home an expression of appreciation for her work and a request to reconsider her resignation. They agreed that Home "be considered the normal person to conduct visitors coming to the Museum who are not particularly concerned with any one museum," and one of their number suggested that Home be invited to attend Committee of Directors' meetings with "voting

\textsuperscript{55} Report #54: Memorandum Concerning the Proposed Appointment of a Supervisor of Museum Extension..., February 1945, RG 25B, b.1, v.1, ROMLA. See also Minutes, Directors, 19 February 1945, RG 25A, b.3, v.VII, ROMLA.

\textsuperscript{56} V.B. Meen, Chair, Committee of Directors, to Robert Fennell, Chair, Board of Trustees, 20 February 1945, RG 20A, b.3, f. "Extension Division, 1944-48," ROMLA.
powers on matters of popular education.\textsuperscript{57} While these measures suggest that the directors might have been willing to be quite flexible in their determination to retain Home in the employ of the museum, all of them, except the motion to request she reconsider, were referred back to McIlwraith and the regular meeting of the directors for revision and reconsideration. Indecision and unwillingness to act were sufficient to suggest that the directors were not as determined or as flexible as they claimed.

The second special meeting held to consider Home’s resignation approved the revised version of Report #56 which, although it recommended including Home on the committee that would govern educational work at the museum, quite clearly subordinated her to the Committee of Directors and to the new Chief of Museum Extension. In fact, the earlier suggestion that Home be invited to attend directors’ meetings and vote on issues of popular education was revised to be in effect only until such time as the Chief of Museum Extension could take over that duty for her. The Board approved the revised report and hired Ewart C. Cross as the Chief of Museum Extension. McIlwraith went over the recommended changes with Home and asked her to reconsider her resignation in light of them. At yet another Special Meeting, on 9 May 1945, the directors heard from McIlwraith that Home had definitely decided to let her resignation stand. The Board agreed not to replace her until Cross was on staff and they could see how the Museum Extension division was working. Cross started at the museum in his new position on the 1st of January 1946.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{57} "Report #56," April 1945, RG 25B, b.1, v.1, ROMLA; and Minutes, Directors, 11 April 1945, RG 25A, b.3, v.VII, ROMLA.

\textsuperscript{58} Minutes, Directors, 17 April, 2 May, 9 May, 6 June 1945 and 9 January 1946, RG 25A, b.3, v.VII, ROMLA; "Report #56", April 1945; and Minutes, Board–ROM, 18 April and 16 May 1945, RG 1A, b.2, v.6, ROMLA. Ruth Home went on to a long and distinguished career in Ontario museums. She worked
In one of its dimensions, this episode concerned the gendered nature of work in museums and the sexual division of labour in general. The assumption that women, because of their maternal instincts and nurturing abilities, made better teachers, especially at the elementary levels, than men, and the role these ideas played in the feminization of teaching during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has been explored by a number of historians. In light of that assumption, the hiring of Payne, Home and their assistants, Vera Clarke and Ella Martin, and their successors, Catherine Steele and Norma Heakes, for the ROM's education division is easily

as the Director of Museum Research Studies at the Ontario College of Art; was the founding director of the Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty; was involved in the establishment of the Museums Section of the Ontario Historical Society and served as its chair in 1956; and did a stint as the president of Architectural Conservancy of Ontario. See Ontario History 45, 2 (Spring 1953): 89; 46, 2 (Spring 1954): 148; 46, 3 (Summer 1954): 195; 48, 4 (Autumn 1956): 181-82; 51, 1 (Winter 1959): 24; and 53, 3 (September 1961): 173. Cross had been Curator of Mammals in the Zoology Museum before he joined the RCAF for the duration of the war and was initially slated for re-appointment to his former position, while other names were put forward for the extension position (see Minutes, Board–ROM, 17 January 1945, RG 1A, b.2, v.6, ROMLA). Presumably the lack of sufficient funds to hire him in his previous capacity combined with the need to re-hire a veteran lead to his appointment as the Chief of Museum Extension.


60. Ella Martin was hired in April 1938 and Vera Clark in October 1943, both as assistants to Ruth Home. Catherine Steele was appointed by, and paid by, the Ontario Department of Education, to be attached to the museum for 1946-48. As she remained with the museum until 1952 and was made supervisor of the Division of Education upon Cross' resignation, she presumably became a museum staff
understood. The scientists at the museum, particularly those who attained positions of influence in the hierarchy, were men, while the educators were women, a common and commonly-accepted division.\textsuperscript{61} The 1945 hiring of a chief of museum extension offered a unique opportunity in the history of the ROM's Division of Public Instruction to break with conventional practice, but the directors were firm and unwavering in their understanding that the position should be filled by a suitable \textit{man}.\textsuperscript{62} This would be consistent with convention and it would allow the museum to control, or at least curb, the current supervisor of the division, a woman who had proved uncontrollable as long as she headed her own division. That Home told a number of people she

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\textsuperscript{61} See, for instance, Anne Higonnet, "A New Center: The National Museum of Women in the Arts," in Sherman and Rogoff, \textit{Museum Culture}, 250-264, who notes that "Virtually all of the American art museum's educational and fund-raising staff are women--unpaid women." (p.257) The story is, of course, not nearly this simple and a proper study of museum culture which utilizes gender theory is long overdue. At the same time that Home was experiencing her worst difficulties with the directors, Madeleine Fritz, Ph.D., was Associate Director of the Museum of Palaeontology. And a year after Home left, Dr. Dorothy Thompson was offered the Acting Directorship of the Museum of Archaeology on the resignation of Charles Currelly. But Thompson turned the offer down to follow her husband, Dr. Homer Thompson, to Princeton. At about the same time, Fritz, who had been with the Museum since the early 1930s, was passed over for the position of Director of the Museum of Palaeontology. It went instead to Loris S. Russell, the man who had been hired to share the associate directorship with her in 1937. Clearly, the equation was not simply "male = scientist = director;" a closer study might illuminate the relationship between science and archaeology/art, and explain why it was that women were more likely to attain recognition in non-science museums and areas of museum work. On women in science, see for instance Margaret W. Rossiter, "'Women's Work' in Science, 1880-1910," \textit{Isis} 71:3, 258 (Fall 1980): 381-398.

\textsuperscript{62} See for instance, Meen to Fennell, 20 February 1945; or "Report #54," February 1945, RG 25B, b.1, v.1, ROMLA. The ROM's decision to put a man in charge of an all-female education division is not unlike similar propensities to hire male headmasters for all-female schools, or male principals in public schools where most teachers were women. F.A. Urquhart was the first male hired for the education division, but he was also overseeing entomological work in the Zoology Museum and, in 1941, he was appointed Curator of the Division of Insects, effectively removing him from the (female) education division and placing him firmly in the (male) scientific hierarchy. The first permanent teacher of natural history at the museum was another man, Mr. E.A. Macdonald, hired by Cross in 1945. See Heakes, "Education in the ROM," 31.
had resigned because she objected to having a man put over her reinforces the suggestion that
gender was the issue at hand.63

Gender as a category for the analysis of the history of the Division of Public Instruction
and for the 1945 hiring of a chief of extension cannot, then, be ignored. But even before Cross
had been hired there were hints that the issue had an altogether different side to it. The question
of personal control that had initially made the development of a Division of Public Instruction
so turbulent remained critical. When the directors initially proposed the position of Chief of
Museum Extension, they asserted that "the work of the appointee should be under the control of
the Committee of Directors."64 Although Home's work was always subject to the director of the
relevant museum, she herself had been hired by the Board and had never officially been within
the directors' jurisdiction. The directors had no desire to repeat that mistake: with the museum
extension division subject to their control, they would also have control over popular education.

When Cross began his employment at the museum in January 1946, the directors
recommended the abolition of the Education Committee and the integration of relevant work in
the individual museums with Cross' work.65 The Division of Museum Extension, which included
public instruction in the museum, extension services such as school visits and loan exhibits,
museum publicity, and sales and rentals, grew quickly from a staff of three, Cross, Liliane Payne
and Ella Martin, in January 1946 to a staff of 23 full-time and more than a dozen part-time

63. See excerpts from interviews with Martin and Russell in "Education", SC 73, f. "Ruth Home,"
ROMLA.

64. At the 7 March 1945 meeting, T.L. McIlwraith pointed out that this clause had been omitted
from the letter sent to the Board describing the proposed position. Minutes, Directors, 7 March 1945, RG
25A, b.3, v.VII, ROMLA.


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employees. The office space that had been allowed to Payne, Home and their assistants prior to 1946 was immediately agreed to be too small for the Division of Extension and Cross was provided with larger space. The work that Home and Martin had done was continued and expanded upon, and it looked like everything was going well. When Cross told the directors, in April 1947, that he would be on loan to the Department of Education for a year to reorganize the provincial adult education programme, they expressed regret, but, at the same time, pleasure at the confidence that the Department placed in him.

In fact, matters were not going well at all. Trouble surfaced in 1948 while Cross was still with the Department of Education. The minutes of the directors' meeting on 3 March 1948 reported that "Mr. Fennell had raised the question as to whether the results obtained [by the Extension Division] had justified the amount of money which had been expended." At the committee meeting, this innocent question swelled into a discussion of Cross' future at the museum. The directors agreed that, although they personally liked Cross, they believed "it would be in the best interests both of Cross and of the Museum that he should remain with the Department of Education." The official reasoning for this decision was:

...that in the opinion of the Committee of Directors the position of Chief of Museum Extension and Business Administrator does not call for a person with as great organizing and administrative ability as possessed by Mr. Cross... .

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68. Minutes, Directors, 2 April 1947, RG 25A, b.3, v.VII, ROMLA. Cross' appointment at the Dept. of Education, which was supposed to last only one year, was arranged in such a way that he could continue his work as Chief of Museum Extension, although without salary. Miss Hutchinson, Miss Mackenzie and Miss Steel together administered the Division of Extension and represented Cross at any meetings he could not attend himself.
The directors ruined this noble stance with their additional comment:

the duties attached to the position in question should be reconsidered and it made clear that hereafter the person in charge should be directly responsible to the Committee of Directors.\(^69\)

All of a sudden, Cross found himself in the same position as Home before him: despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that he was one of them, in terms of both being a man and a scientist, he had still managed to escape the control they so desperately desired to exercise over people working in and for their museums. A man with the authority to control his own department posed the same difficulty as a woman in that position.

In 1949, E.C. Cross resigned from his position at the ROM as Chief of Museum Extension.\(^70\) In keeping with the desires and recommendations of the directors, the Division of Extension was discontinued. Its administrative aspects were handed over to the secretary of the museum board while the lecturers were made directly responsible to the Committee of Directors. The following year, the Board approved a recommendation of the Committee of Directors to call the unit under the supervision of Catherine Steele the 'Division of Education.' T.F. McIlwraith, Loris Russell, Director of the Museum of Palaeontology, and Steele were appointed a subcommittee to work out terms of reference for the re-born division.\(^71\) In 1955, the Division of Education became one of four divisions within the unified Royal Ontario Museum.

\(^69\) Minutes, Directors, 3 March 1948, RG 25A, b.3, v.VIII, ROMLA.

\(^70\) Cross became ill in 1950 while representing Ontario at the International Conference on Adult Education, UNESCO, in Denmark and died seven months later in England. See the resolution of sympathy to his widow and family in Minutes, Directors, 1 March 1950, RG 25A, b.3, v.VIII, ROMLA.

Heakes, who had succeeded Catherine Steele as Supervisor in 1952, remained in the position until 1972.

**Conclusion**

The story of the struggle to establish at the ROM a division of education which would provide the new child-centred educational programming of the twentieth-century museum illustrates three interesting and important points. The first is the early date at which the ROM picked up on the new model of museum education: active programming for schoolchildren. Hooper-Greenhill and Kavanagh have argued that many British museums actively resisted overtures from the local education authorities throughout the 1920s. As early as 1916, however, the ROM recognized the importance of encouraging school visits and of establishing links with the local Board of Education. The fact that active programming was not really on offer until the 1930s and an official division of public instruction was not established until 1940 cannot really detract from this. Some of the ROM's early efforts to link up with the Board of Education can be explained by the museum's desire to have someone else worry about and pay for the educational programming, at least that aimed at schoolchildren, which the directors were beginning to realize was a necessity in a public museum. However, as the subsequent story of the hiring of Margaret MacLean and Dorothy Haines suggests, funding and the amount of work required were not the only issues; the directors were beginning to understand and to accept that the older models of museum education were no longer sufficient.

The second point, which is not considered in detail in this chapter but needs to be emphasized, is that the new model did not replace the old ones, it supplemented them. Throughout the struggles for control over education, it was made clear by all concerned that this
was a question of *public* education. The use of the collections in university teaching was not discontinued; it was simply considered in a separate category and left in the hands of the directors and curators who were also professors and lecturers at the university. As well, under the rubric of public education, the education of adults continued, especially in the form of the industrial design rhetoric. Ruth Home, who was originally hired for Currelly's museum of industrial art, was also an exponent of this form of museum education. Alongside her work with the Saturday Morning Clubs and the rail travel to outlying Ontario, she used the collections of the Museum of Archaeology to enhance film and lecture series for adults, to illustrate short courses on such topics as interior decorating, and to provide examples in summer credit courses elementary school teachers. Just as Currelly and others at the museum continued to espouse the rhetoric of industrial design in the later 1940s, the actual educational programmes of the museum continued to reflect their interest in this form of education.

The third point, which the struggle for a Division of Education at the ROM illustrates, is that, although this Canadian museum was conforming to the pattern of the international museum movement in its educational offerings, the individual situation of the museum had as much to do with how and when events took place as did participation in the broader movement. At the ROM, it was the choices made in the conception of the museum that determined the course of events which eventually culminated in the Division of Education. In the final analysis, maintaining control was the primary concern of the directors of the ROM's component museums. Regardless of their acceptance of public education, active educational programming for children had to be subordinated to the authority of the individual directors in their own museums. The quality of the work done by Home, Payne, Cross, and others in the Division of Public Instruction
was rarely at issue, and, although Home's personality occasionally exacerbated the situation, she cannot be considered the problem. The complexities of the five museum/five directors structure could not allow the development of an education division separate from the component museums and fully integrated into each at the same time. The discussion in chapter six shows that the autonomy afforded each museum by this structure meant that the directors who were unhappy with the Division of Public Instruction could provide parallel or alternative educational programming. But this—and parallel work, in particular—may well have been counterproductive for the museum in that it would have duplicated effort and taken potential constituents away from the official education division.

New directors in each of the museums in the immediate post-war years helped to lessen some of tension between the education division and the component museums. The new directors had shorter histories with the ROM and did not have the vested interests of the original directors in the autonomy of the individual museums. They were also younger and, therefore, more likely to be versed in, and comfortable with, the newer educational functions and forms. Because of this, the whole issue had become less important by 1950. The 1955 unification of the museums and the education division under a single director, who had no history with the ROM, eased those tensions as much as was possible.
Chapter Four —

"For the Benefit of Children":
Education at the Provincial Museums of Nova Scotia,
Ontario, and British Columbia

The continuing importance of the role of education in museums, and the inability of many museum people to grasp that education has been a major concern of museums since at least the end of the eighteenth century, justifies one more chapter focussed on the topic of how Canadian museums have followed international patterns in their provisions for education. Chapters two and three demonstrate that, in both the rhetoric used and the actions taken, the ROM conformed to the practice of British museums in persisting with the older forms of adult-focussed, passive education into the 1930s. However, without actually giving up this educational function, the ROM had also, much sooner than the British, become alive to the changes occurring in educational provisions in American museums. Thus, although a full educational division aimed primarily at providing educational programming for children was a product of the 1930s at the ROM, in the late years of the First World War, the ROM's directors had already begun to court the elementary schools, the school board and schoolchildren.

This chapter, which explores educational practices in the three other museums covered by this study, shows that, while the details of the ROM's experience were unique, the result was a common one. Without trying to argue that all Canadian museums must have developed in the same way simply because four museums in Canada had similar experiences, this chapter does suggest that Canadian museums conformed to the patterns of the museum movement generally. Regional differences, varied collections, and the individual personalities of the directors shaped each museum's response to the broader social and cultural trends, but, in the end, the museums
of Nova Scotia, Ontario, and British Columbia either became new institutions, or, as in the case of the Ontario Provincial Museum, ceased to exist.

None of the three museums considered in this chapter was as large as the ROM, and none of them developed, in this time period, a separate educational division. Education continued to be an integral part of the job of all staff members, regardless of their place in the museum's hierarchy. This allowed the museums to avoid many of the tensions between educators and curators or directors that characterized the experience of the ROM and which continues to plague museums even today. Nonetheless, the move into active educational programming for children was rarely an easy transition. Although David Boyle of the Ontario Provincial Museum embraced child-centred education early in the century, the museum's second director failed to sustain his efforts and the 1933 termination of the museum precluded the opportunity to pick up again where Boyle had left off. At the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, where an industrial education akin to Currelly's education for industrial design was the focus, it was the appointment of a new director in 1940 which brought the museum into line with the rest of the museum movement. The transition was easiest at the British Columbia Provincial Museum where the move had begun in the 1930s, but the real change came in the 1940s, again under a new director.

A Progressive Institution Stagnates: Education at the Ontario Provincial Museum

David Boyle's Ontario Provincial Museum was created in the mould of a true nineteenth-century museum. A collection of archaeological artefacts systematically classified and arranged,
it was meant to "contribute to the general progress of scientific knowledge." It also had an educational function, which, for Boyle, was primary:

if a public museum has no educational value it cannot be said that there is any reason for its existence. The conjunction of these functions marks Boyle's museum as a product of its times. The focus of the educational mission of the museum also pointed to the museum's origins. For, despite Boyle's personal interests in children, his museum was begun with the aim of educating adults. Boyle, however, quickly accepted the new educational theories and emphases of the late nineteenth century and began to transform his museum in accordance with them. His successor seems to have been less in tune with a changing society and continued to focus on the older forms of education.

Initially, Boyle identified two distinct audiences for his museum: "the trained student", and "the untrained and ignorant public." Boyle was always ready to agree that "a museum is a place in which many pleasant hours may be spent merely in sight-seeing." Although the museum was part of the Department of Education and closely allied to the Provincial Normal School, it also had a public service role to fulfill and Boyle took this seriously. Sight-seers, as part of the

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2. The words are those of Mr. F.T. Mott of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Museum Committee, and were originally quoted by Prof. Morse in the annual report of the US National Museum, 1893. Boyle's agreement with them are attested to by his repetition of the quotation in his own report. *Archaeological Report* (1900): 3.


5. Boyle, "Museum, or Musée?," 102.
public towards which the educational mission of the museum was aimed, should never be considered a nuisance or be ignored:

Every possible means should be employed to make visitors feel at ease. ... visitors should be assured by the attendants, and by all concerned, should opportunity offer, that the institution is public property, that strangers are cordially welcomed, and that there need be no hesitancy in asking for information.  

Both the museum and the annual archaeological report, which Boyle edited for the province, were aimed at "educating the public taste in the study and preservation of what relates to pre-historic associations Ontario." Proper attention paid to sight-seers in the museum could inspire a casual visitor to begin thinking seriously about the importance of Ontario's past.

Educating the public was an important task of the museum, because it was the first step towards making of them the "trained students" who were Boyle's preferred audience. In requesting government funds for the museum, Boyle pointed out the value of an archaeological museum to "the Canadian student," and, when money was forthcoming, he noted:

it must be gratifying to know that at least a beginning has been made by way of providing the future student of history, ethnology and archaeology with a store of material and facts relating to our own province...

Time and again, Boyle wrote in the annual archaeological report of the educational and scientific

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7. Archaeological Report (1892-93): 2. Boyle, in Archaeological Report, (1893-4): 5, notes the success he had with educating the public to take an interest in Ontarian archaeology. The use of the word 'taste' seems odd in this sentence but is suggestive of the problems involved in Boyle's success. As people began to acquire a 'taste' for pre-historic Ontario, coming upon a mound, gravesite, or midden that had not been looted became an increasingly infrequent possibility. In 1907, Boyle describes an incident in which he visited an ossuary only to find that the locals who had raided it were proudly displaying human skulls in their windows and on their sitting-room tables. Archaeological Report (1907): 18-19.


value of the museum to archaeological students who could use the collections to "effect comparisons and arrive at conclusions." The students to whom Boyle catered at the Ontario Provincial Museum were not, however, the same group of people we now consider to be students. Where we now generally use the word student to refer to someone who is enrolled in a school, this was not necessarily the case for Boyle. A student, to David Boyle, was someone who studied a subject, regardless of their age, institutional affiliation, or primary occupation. In this, Boyle was not unique, but he was in possession of a particular concern to aim education in his museum primarily at adults, those who consciously had chosen archaeology as a subject they wished to delve into in-depth, rather than schoolchildren.

Boyle never ignored children at his museum. An ex-school teacher himself, he was keenly interested in the education of children. In attempting to convince the government of the need to provide labels in the museum, he wrote in his annual report:

Everything possible should be done to enable young and old, learned and unlearned to examine with pleasure and profit, at the least possible expense of time and trouble.

However, in the early years, Boyle rarely made children the centre of his work at the Provincial Museum, despite the museum's connections to the Department of Education, the Normal School

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10. *Archaeological Report* (1897-98): 1. See also, *Archaeological Report* (1892-3): 2, in which Boyle points to the "inestimable" value of the collections from an educational and scientific point. *Archaeological Report* (1887-8): 10; (1892-3): 1; and (1894-5): 33 and 35, are all spots at which Boyle notes the importance of the collections to the student of archaeology in Ontario.

11. Boyle's interest in the education and welfare of children is a vibrant theme throughout his life. Among the many jobs Boyle held over his lifetime were a stint with the Canada Publishing Company in Toronto, during which he was to help edit a new series of Canadian readers. He also wrote for a number of educational journals, lectured to children's groups and to adult groups about children, and, in 1908, published *Uncle Jim's Canadian Nursery Rhymes for Family and Kindergarten Use*. Killan, *David Boyle*, 70-75, 163, and 221-222.

Boyle began to refocus his ideas on education at the turn of the century. An auto-didact, Boyle believed it was his duty to stay in step with, if not ahead of, the new:

> It is the duty, therefore, of those who are concerned in the maintenance and management of such an institution [a museum] to make it all it ought to be, and endeavor to lead in the adoption of new methods, rather than to lag, or to imitating tardily those of other and more progressive institutions of a similar kind.

Thus, when in 1904 he described the work that a true museum should do, he added to the already long list of duties and services the need for "special arrangements ... for the benefit of children." Noting the existence of children's museums in some "progressive cities", he insisted that besides lecture courses and "familiar talks," the museum should encourage teachers to bring their classes as part of the regular school day. Not only would this make it clear that the museum visit was part of education; it would leave Saturdays free for children to spend "as they please, recreatively." An extraordinary individual on all counts, Boyle made of his museum a progressive institution by following new educational theory and accepting the new need to focus on children, especially as school attendees.

Boyle's early acceptance of the new child-centred education, at least insofar as the

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13. See Carter, "Ryerson, Hodgins, and Boyle," 123-25, on Boyle's work with the Elora School Museum, where children were the main focus, although not the sole audience.


Canadian museum world was concerned, was based on two factors. His introduction to
Pestalozzian educational theory and to Egerton Ryerson's museum in the Normal School, both
of which were prominently displayed in the pages of Ryerson's Journal of Education in the
1850s, had led him to object-centred teaching methods, including class outings in order to collect
specimens for the school museum. Indeed, at his second teaching post in Elora, Boyle made the
School Museum into one of the best museums in the country, the first school museum to ever
receive a collection of specimens from the Geological Survey of Canada and an institution whose
donor lists included such eminent scientists as J.W. Dawson and A.R.C. Selwyn.17 Given this
history, it is hardly surprising that Boyle would introduce education aimed at children into his
museum as soon as the museum world began to awaken to these ideas.

His timing for considering child-centred education at his museum, however, also had to
do with where his contacts were. As Currelly's primary museum contacts had been in Britain,
thus steering him to follow the British traditions more closely, most of Boyle's contacts were with
museum people in the United States. He was a member of the International Congress of
Americanists and, after attending the annual meeting in New York in 1902, he visited a number
of museums in the United States, including the relatively new Brooklyn Children's Museum.18
The contacts he made or renewed during this and other visits to the USA19 would certainly have
affected the ways in which he considered his own museum, and it is not surprising to find him
responding to the changing educational theories at the same time as the American museums did,

17. On this period of Boyle's life, see Killan, David Boyle, 24-69, especially 24-27, on reading


19. He also went to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and to the 1904 St. Louis Fair.

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rather than waiting to follow the British museums.

What the new theories meant for the educational programming actually offered at the museum is not easy to determine. There are very few records extant on the museum, and the annual archaeological report, with its focus on the archaeological work being undertaken around the province, only skimmed the surface of the work carried on in the museum. Boyle did give lectures to groups outside of the museum: he notes, in 1902, lectures he gave to the Young People's Association of Bond Street Congregational Church, the Women's Missionary Society of Metropolitan Methodist Church, and to the city's Kindergarten teachers.  

Certainly, lectures and popular talks were probably offered at the museum from time to time, some of them aimed specifically at children, and it must be assumed that Boyle did encourage school teachers to bring their classes to the museum as part of the regular school-day, as he suggested in 1904 that they should. But, without a separate educational division or an educational officer at the museum, it is unlikely that Boyle could offer much more than this. His archaeological fieldwork had suffered with the increase in his duties when he was appointed Superintendent of the museum in 1901. And a stroke in 1908, from which he never really recovered, hindered what little work he had been able to do since 1901. The promise of a new educational focus, to which the 1904 article pointed, probably was never fully realized.

When Boyle died in 1911, he was replaced as director by Dr. Rowland B. Orr. A political appointee who had been a friend of the museum since his first donation in 1887, Orr was not a bad choice but neither was he the "museum man" and innovator that Boyle had been.  

\[20. \textit{Archaeological Report} (1902): 3.\]

by Killan as an "adequate" curator, Orr continued what Boyle had begun, but seems not to have made any significant changes to the museum. The museum continued to grow as friends of the institution donated their collections, and as Orr and his assistants gathered artefacts in the field. The archaeological report was also continued in much the same manner as it had been produced under Boyle. Articles by Orr and his assistants were augmented with articles by the amateur archaeologists who continued to work with and for the museum, and with the occasional article by an archaeologist from another institution, such as T.F. McIlwraith of the University of Toronto and the ROM, or Arthur Parker, State Archaeologist of New York.\(^22\) Other than the use of different paper stock and new heading styles, the only changes that Orr made to the report consisted of the inclusion of pictures and a list of new accessions to the biological collections in 1912 and 1928 respectively. There was even less comment on the work done at the museum itself than Boyle had included in his reports.\(^23\)

Given that he simply maintained the *status quo* for these aspects of the museum, and with little or no evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that Orr also continued the educational goals and programs which Boyle had instituted. Certainly, we know that the museum continued to be an attraction for casual visitors and sightseers. The spate of articles and letters to the editor in the Toronto newspapers in 1918 and again in 1933 attests to the level of public interest, with the *Star* claiming in 1933 that the museum had been a "mecca for sightseers for


generations." This suggests that the early focus of Boyle's educational objectives was maintained between 1911 and 1933.

Whether Orr also maintained Boyle's innovative turn to special programmes for children is unknown. The only evidence available regarding educational programming for children at the museum comes from the 1932 report on Canadian museums produced under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation and the Museums Association. In the accompanying directory of Canadian museums, the Ontario Provincial Museum's educational activities are listed as "Material supplied for lectures in the Normal Model School and other schools." Since the museum was housed in the Normal School and had its roots in Egerton Ryerson's Normal School Museum, the provision of materials for the Model School is probably an educational activity that predates even David Boyle. It is, thus, not proof that Orr maintained or furthered Boyle's early switch to child-centred education. There is, in fact, no evidence to suggest one way or the other whether the Ontario Provincial Museum under Rowland Orr offered "special arrangements ... for the benefit of children."

The Ontario Provincial Museum was closed in 1933. The government had just spent $1.8 million dollars on renovations and a new wing for the Royal Ontario Museum which was to

24. "Museum at School will be Dismantled," Toronto Star, 3 April 1933. See also, 'Outis' to Editor, Toronto Mail and Empire, 10 October 1918; W.R.H. to Editor, Toronto Mail and Empire, 13 October 1918; 'Angus' to Editor, Toronto Mail and Empire, 25 March 1933; A.J. Clark to Editor, Toronto Mail and Empire, 1 April 1933; E.J.C. to Editor, Toronto Mail and Empire, 4 April 1933; and Edward Kelly to Editor, Toronto Mail and Empire, 29 April 1933.

25. Sir Henry A. Miers and S.F. Markham, Directory of Museums and Art Galleries in Canada, Newfoundland, etc. (London: The Museums Association, 1932): 68. See also, Miers and Markham, The Museums of Canada (London: The Museums Association, 1932). This statement is corroborated by a claim in the Toronto Globe a year later but the wording of the Globe article and its timing suggest that the information may simply have been taken from Miers and Markham. "Begun 80 Years Ago," Toronto Globe, 22 June 1933. See chapter seven on the Museums Association and the Miers report.
reopen in October of that year. In the midst of an economic depression, it could not justify supporting two public museums, even if one was first an university museum. Thus, taking advantage of the clause in the 1912 museum act which provided for the transfer of the collections of the Provincial Museum to the ROM, the government set up a committee mandated to decide on the fate of the Provincial Museum's collections. The committee submitted reports on the 4th of March and the 6th of April. On May 12, 1933, the Lieutenant-Governor approved an order-in-council accepting the reports of the committee and authorizing it to carry out its recommendations. The bulk of the collections were transferred to the ROM, while art collections, the primarily historic artefacts, and a small number of artefacts of lesser value were transferred to the Ontario Art College, the Public Records and Archives of Ontario, and the Normal School, respectively. Whatever Orr had managed to do in terms of education at the museum became irrelevant when the museum was closed and thus lost the chance to prove whether or not it could re-create itself as a twentieth-century educational museum.


27. Ontario, "Act to Establish a Provincial Museum," #13. A typescript, probably by Dr. Tushingham of the Division of Archaeology, written to Dorothea Hecken in 1961 speculates that this clause was very carefully worded because the government wished to amalgamate the museums but did not have the political strength to force the issue in 1912. [Tushingham] to D. Hecken, "Re: Normal School," 1 May 1961, SC73, f. "Normal School-History," ROMLA.

28. "Report of Committee as to Distribution of Specimens in the Provincial Museum, Toronto," 4 March 1933; "Supplementary Report of Committee as to Distribution of Specimens in the Provincial Museum," 6 April 1933; and order-in-council, 12 May 1933. Photocopies of each of these available in SC73, f. "Normal School-History," ROMLA. The Supplementary Report dealt with the fate of the collections of A.F. Hunter and George Laidlaw, both specifically donated to the OPM with conditions of retention. Hunter's collection was retained by the Normal School because of Hunter's hostility to the idea of transfer to the ROM. The committee worked out with the brother of the late George Laidlaw to transfer his collection to the ROM with the condition that it not be broken up.
Practical Geology, Resource Information, Tourists, and School Children: Education at the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia

Despite its different collecting mandate, and its signification of a different invisible, the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia was cut from the same cloth as the Ontario Provincial Museum. Like David Boyle, David Honeyman created a museum that was everything a nineteenth century institution should be. His insistence on the economic value of the display of local ores and minerals, and the continued use of the analogy of the museum as a permanent exhibition which would be useful to capitalists, did not eliminate the scientific and educational objectives of the museum. Indeed, like Currelly's education for industrial design, they were an integral part of Honeyman's educational aims. And, just as at Boyle's museum, those objectives were aimed primarily at the adult population of the province. Harry Piers retained this focus on adult education. It was under the new director, Donald K. Crowdis, appointed in 1940, that the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia took up the new child-centred education.

The need to contribute to scientific knowledge which was one aspect of any museum's public duty, as David Boyle had noted in his quote from Mr. Mott, was certainly being taken care of at the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia. The museum had been closely allied to the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science from its inception and the Institute's practice of meeting in the museum was, according Honeyman, "of mutual benefit to both Institutions and to the cause of Physical Science in Nova Scotia."[29] The "original investigation into the Natural History and resources of the province" being done by the Institute of Science was "much appreciated" and "valued by scientific societies in America, England, and the continent of Europe."[30]

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relationship to the museum allowed this good reputation to extend to it as well. But the scientific value of the museum was not dependent on the work of the Institute. Indeed, the Institute's success could be directly related to the scientific value of the museum's collections. The collection of auriferous quartz displayed in the museum had received a silver medal at the Exposition Universelle de Paris in 1867 "on account of its scientific value" and Dr. How's collection of minerals, which had also been displayed in Paris, contained "choice specimens of all the minerals found in the province, whether of scientific or economic value." All of the zoological specimens were also "of scientific value." There was no doubt that the museum was contributing to general scientific knowledge, as any museum should.

The contribution to science made by the museum, however, was not simply an academic exercise in knowledge for its own sake. The scientific collections had an educational function, which, like that emphasized by Boyle, was directed at adults as students of the subject in question. Honeyman described the educational value of his mineral collections in the three annual reports he wrote during his tenure as director:

The mineralogist can thus easily see that while there are some minerals wanting our combined collection is extensive and valuable, and well adapted for the purpose of instruction in the science of mineralogy, and especially the mineralogy of Nova Scotia.

In extolling the richness of the zoological collections, he wrote:

The student of zoology can have no difficulty in finding illustrations in the museum. The student of comparative anatomy can find in it skeletons and characteristic parts of the various classes of \textit{vertebrata} and \textit{invertebrata}, and the student of botany can derive a

\begin{footnotes}
\item HONEYMAN, "REPORT 1871," 45, 50, AND 53.
\item HONEYMAN, "REPORT 1871," 50.
\end{footnotes}
good amount of instruction from the herbarium and other specimens.\textsuperscript{33}

Honeyman never ignored the visitors who came "to be amused."\textsuperscript{34} Described as a "genial curator," Honeyman is said to have welcomed casual visitors enthusiastically:

[He] was always delighted to show visitors all the treasures of the Museum and to lavish his valuable time in explaining the origin, nature and purpose of each specimen.\textsuperscript{35}

However, as he wrote to the provincial legislature in 1874, "]the design of the Museum is industrial and educational," and it was to its educational purposes that he directed much of his efforts.\textsuperscript{36}

Honeyman's greatest efforts for education were put into an attempt to establish a school of mines, or of Practical Geology, as an adjunct to the museum. Modelling his idea on the Royal School of Mines attached to the Museum of Practical Geology in London, England, Honeyman initially proposed such a school in 1871 because of the importance geology to the prosperity of the province.\textsuperscript{37} "The collections in the Museum are," he argued, "admirably adapted for this purpose."\textsuperscript{38} As an experiment to test the viability of such a school, the Commissioner of Mines suggested Honeyman begin a class in geology and palaeontology at the museum. Writing in 1872, Honeyman reported that the class was in its second session with eleven students, having had eight

\textsuperscript{33} Honeyman, "Report 1871," 56. See also, Honeyman, \textit{Report 1873}, 3, 7 and 9, where he again reports the value of the collections to students.

\textsuperscript{34} Honeyman, "Report 1871," 57.


\textsuperscript{36} Honeyman, \textit{Report 1873}, 1.

\textsuperscript{37} Honeyman, "Report 1871," 52. On the Royal School of Mines, see Stafford, "Annexing the landscapes of the past," 72.

\textsuperscript{38} Honeyman, "Report 1872," 91.
the first session. Although he considered this a respectable number, he felt that publicity regarding the class would increase enrollment.\textsuperscript{39} In 1873, Honeyman reported that the classes had been extended to include zoology, and that some of his students had helped in his fieldwork during the year.\textsuperscript{40} The fourth session of the class in practical geology was held in 1873, but the government showed no signs of establishing a school of mines at the museum.\textsuperscript{41}

The strength of Honeyman's convictions regarding the utility of an education in practical geology was born out in his involvement with the Technological Institute.\textsuperscript{42} Begun in 1878 by members of the Institute of Science, the Technological Institute offered courses in agriculture, mining, assaying, mechanical engineering, freehand drawing, and civil engineering and surveying, as well as the course in geology and mineralogy which Honeyman taught.\textsuperscript{43} Local newspapers praised the new school: finally, the mechanics and youth of the province had a place where they could learn what they needed to know, a "practical education in the science of earning a livelihood." The continuation of a purely literary education would be ruinous to the province.\textsuperscript{44}

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\item \textsuperscript{39} Honeyman, "Report 1871," 52-3.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Honeyman, "Report 1872," 91. The fact that he described these students as "gentlemen who attended my lectures" reinforces the point that these students were adults.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Honeyman, \textit{Report 1873}, 10.
\item \textsuperscript{42} The relationship between the Technological Institute and the establishment of a faculty of science at Dalhousie College is unclear and contradictory. See Naftel, "Honeyman, David," \textit{DCB}, v.11, 421; Minutes of the Board of Governors, 10 February and 7 December 1881, MS 1, 1, A-3, Dalhousie University Archives; Honeyman to Board of Governors, Dalhousie University, 2 November 1881, Board of Governors Correspondence 1881, Dalhousie University Archives; and Janet Guildford, "Technical Education in Nova Scotia, 1880-1930," M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1983: 19-27.
\item \textsuperscript{43} \textit{Acadian Recorder} (Halifax), 4 March 1878, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Halifax \textit{Morning Chronicle}, 14 March 1878, 1; and \textit{Nova Scotian} (Halifax), 16 November 1878, 3.
\end{itemize}
The Institute, however, was short-lived. With insufficient support from the province's industrial entrepreneurs and with the Superintendent of Schools unsympathetic to practical education, the Institute closed in 1880 for lack of funds.45

The dream of a school of mines attached to the museum never materialized and the broad range of educational uses Honeyman saw for the museum diminished after his death. Aside from providing amusement for visitors and illustrating lectures, Honeyman had seen one other use for the museum:

The Museum is the place of ready resort for those who desire information regarding our mineral resources and the natural history of our province. We have therefore frequent visits from capitalists, mining engineers and savans [sic].46

This was the primary 'educational' use defined for the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia during the first ten years of Harry Piers' tenure as director. Joined to a Provincial Library established at the request of the Institute of Science and the Mining Society, the museum was perceived by Piers and his superiors as a provider of practical information. In introducing Piers' first annual report to the Commissioner of Public Works and Mines, Edward Gilpin, Deputy Commissioner wrote:

it may be anticipated that in a short time the museum and library will become a source of information, practical and useful, to the miner, the farmer, the manufacturer and all others interested in our natural resources.47

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45. Pushed by mine owners, managers and workers, the government did begin to establish mining schools in 1883, but they were run by the mines department of the Commission of Public Works and Mines, and supervised by Edward Gilpin, Inspector of Mines. They were not integrated into the provincial school system, nor was there official connection between them and the museum. Guildford, "Technical Education," 32-33.


Harry Piers reiterated the point in his report, stating that the museum was "of practical importance ... from an industrial and economic as well as scientific standpoint," and claiming that the new Science Library would "be of much assistance to mining, agricultural, scientific, engineering and industrial men throughout the province," a valuable adjunct to the museum.48

The annual reports of the museum continue in this vein, stressing such things as the fact that the collection of Nova Scotia rocks would be of practical use in showing prospectors "the character of the rocks in which certain minerals are liable to occur" or that Mr. Faribault's sectional model of the Goldenville Gold District would prove of "great interest to gold miners."49 The Library continued to be of use to mechanics and men engaged in technical work, and each year Piers reported a sizeable amount of his time spent in answering inquiries regarding mines, minerals, and other resources of the province.50 Perhaps the most telling example of Piers' informational focus at the museum is the relationship between the exhibition of economic minerals displayed at the Dominion Exhibition held in Halifax, 1906, and the accompanying catalogue. The catalogue itself included information on "various deposits, the condition of this occurrence, amount of development, analyses, the plant at the various working, name of owners, tables of production, etc." The intriguing point is that "the entire exhibit was arranged in accordance with this catalogue, each specimen being labelled with name and locality, and numbered so as to agree with the numbers in the catalogue."51 The whole point of the exhibit was


49. Piers, Report 1904, 3-4.

50. See for instance, Piers, Report 1904, 5, and 7; and Piers, Report 1906, 11.

51. Piers, Report 1906, 2-3. Normally, the exhibit catalogue is created in accordance with the exhibit, not vice versa.
not to display Nova Scotia's rocks and minerals but to use those rocks and minerals to provide visual accompaniment to the written information on Nova Scotia's industrial activity and potential.\(^{52}\)

The end of Piers' first decade as director saw a change in the educational function of the museum. Until 1910, the only evidence of an educational use similar to what Honeyman had envisioned in the school of mines was the loan of mineral specimens to the government-sponsored Mining School of Halifax in 1902. Claimed by Piers as "one of the ways in which our collections may prove of assistance in the work of that institution," this was the only instance in which Piers reported supplying this assistance.\(^{53}\) The educational focus began to change in 1910, when the museum was rehoused on the main floor of the new Technical College. The years 1910 and 1911 were spent moving the collections and exhibits, and re-arranging them in the new space, allowing little time for other activities. These years were followed by a nine-year hiatus in Piers' annual reports. But when they resumed in 1922, both Honeyman's idea of using the collections to illustrate education in geology and the attraction of the museum for visitors, or tourists, had been resurrected.

The first instance of a renewed educational focus is the 1922 report that Professor McIntosh of Dalhousie College was bringing his students of palaeontology and geology to study the specimens at the museum. Under the new heading of "Visits of Educational Classes" in the annual report, Dalhousie College, the Institute for the Blind, Victoria School of Art and Design, the School for the Deaf and Dumb, the Halifax Ladies College, and the Halifax Summer School

\(^{52}\) This was what George Brown Goode, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, is commonly said to have argued a good museum should be.

were listed as annual visitors to the museum. In the report for 1931-32, Piers began to include the Technical College in his list of those using the museum for educational purposes, although it is unlikely that this was the first time that classes or students from the college used the museum. Use of the collections by these groups, especially by the students from Dalhousie, the Technical College and the Summer School, was the closest the museum under Harry Piers came to Honeyman's dream of having an attached school of mines.

The other aspect of Honeyman's museum work that re-emerged in Piers' reports after 1921 was the presence of casual visitors, generally in the guise of tourists. Each year from 1922 onward, Piers noted the rising number of visitors to the museum and pointed out that much of the increase was due to the higher levels of tourist traffic, especially during the summer. However, rather than accepting, as Honeyman and David Boyle both did, that casual visitors were primarily there for amusement, Piers perceived the increasing numbers of tourists as people to whom information could be provided, just as he had viewed the capitalists, industrial men and farmers in that light in his early years. In first noting the many tourists in the summer of 1922, he pronounced them "the means of generally disseminating much knowledge of an accurate

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54. The new section appears for the first time in 1924 and changes its name a number of times until Piers settles on "Special use of the Museum by students and others" in 1928.

55. Piers, Report 1932-33, 8-9. There is no indication that housing the museum in the Technical College created close ties between the two institutions, but it is reasonable to assume that some of the students and faculty at the College were using the museum's collections in their work.

56. It is important to remember here that the majority of these students would have been adults. Only students at the institutions for the blind and for the deaf and dumb might have been children.

57. Piers began to keep attendance records in March 1923. The first year, he averaged 17 visitors per day, but this total rose steadily each year. By 1937-38, attendance averaged 33.32 people per day. Piers, Report 1923, 6; and Piers, Report 1937-38, 8.
For Harry Piers, the provision of information regarding the province's resources remained the primary function of the museum, educational or otherwise.

Piers never envisioned the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia as an educational institution catering to school children. His first mention of a school class at his museum came in 1923 when he noted that the highest single daily attendance occurred on the 26th of November "when a school class attended." The fact that a single school class could bring the figure up from an average of 17 to a one-day total of 55, and that Piers noted this, suggests that school visits were still a relatively rare occurrence. The number of school classes visiting the museum rose each year, but Piers' report for 1936-7 made it very clear that public school visits were an incidental element in running the museum, not its primary function. "Apparently," Piers wrote:

the Museum was less used in this way during the past year. ... Although public-school pupils came independently in very large numbers, I am not aware that any came in classes or special groups, as a number had last year.

Not only was Piers not encouraging or focussing on public school visits, he was not even fully

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59. Piers, *Report 1923*, 6. See also, Piers, *Report 1926*, 7, for a similar occurrence. It is also telling that visits of the various school classes were noted under "Attendance". In 1924, Piers began to list school visits under the heading of "Visits of educational classes", but he never included an "educational activities" section in the report.

60. In 1932-3, Piers recorded which schools visited and under which teachers, although he was never consistent in this practice. Piers, *Report 1932-3*, 8-9. The museum was also used by a number of art teachers for drawing and sketching classes. Students from Victoria School of Art and Design visited individually and in class groups, and Miss L. Crist held weekly sketching classes in the museum on Saturday mornings. Crist's class is first noted in the report in 1931-32, but seems to have been going on for a year or two, at least. The use of museum collections as models for sketching, drawing, and sculpture has a long history. See, for instance, Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes*, 30-40, on the use of the British Museum by the Royal Academy.

aware of those that might or might not be taking place. Piers never objected to the museum being used by public school teachers or by children; he simply never perceived it as the proper focus of his work. Throughout his tenure as director, Piers remained focused on the economic and industrial utility of the museum's collections, occasionally perceiving this in terms of the education of adult students.

If Piers retained the mid-nineteenth century focus for his museum's educational functions, others began, in the 1930s, to see the museum in terms of the new theories on child education. In his parting address to the Institute of Science, president George H. Henderson demonstrated both an ahistorical understanding of museums' educational status and a realization that the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia was no longer relevant to a 'modernizing' society. After carefully noting the fine work done by Piers, Henderson pointed to the need for change:

The idea of a Museum has undergone a complete change in the last few years, at least in the mind of the general public. It formerly meant a storehouse for the accumulated (and sometimes unwanted) treasures of the past. The very name implied something dead -- a place for the elderly rather than for youth. To-day it is regarded as one of the most effective forms of education, both youthful and adult. It is alive to the needs of our present day civilization.62

Noting that the ROM, the Provincial Museum in Quebec and the Provincial Museum of New Brunswick had all "risen anew in the past ten years," Henderson called for greater support for Nova Scotia's museum, and for a renewal of the museum's exhibits and mandate. The Institute of Science did not have long to wait for changes at the museum. Harry Piers died in February 1940, and was soon replaced by Donald K. Crowdis.

Under the direction of Donald Crowdis, the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia was

transformed, recreated in the image of a twentieth-century educational museum. Ignoring the need to add to the collection, Crowdis spent the first few years of his directorship working with the collection and exhibits already in existence.\textsuperscript{63} He began with a general re-arranging of the exhibits, placing duplicate specimens in storage in order to relieve some of the overcrowding, and transferring historical artefacts to the archives. A grade-school science teacher, Crowdis followed the Institute of Science's belief that the existence of the archives relieved the museum from the burden of attending to historical exhibits, leaving it free to become the "scientific center of the Province."\textsuperscript{64}

Crowdis' aim was to return to the original intention of the museum and make it a scientific and educational institution. However, because the nature of both science and education had changed over the years since Honeyman had opened the museum, Crowdis' institution became very different than Honeyman's or Piers'. Although geology remained an important part of the collections, zoology and botany came to the forefront of the museum's collecting and educational mandate. Crowdis began to encourage young boys to start zoological collecting both

\textsuperscript{63}. For the eight months from January to September 1940, there were no accessions at all, a state of affairs which Crowdis justified by the pressure of other needs:

- the most pressing need of the Museum has seemed to be the arrangement of the material on hand, so as to present more interesting cases to the public, to preserve materials that are perishable, to store surplus, duplicate, and valuable materials in such a way that they may be available to students and other interest in special fields. ... The efforts of the staff have accordingly been expended principally on these concerns...


\textsuperscript{64}. Harold S. King, "Memorandum of Suggestions by the Nova Scotian Institute of Science Relative to the Provincial Museum," 11 December 1939, 5, MG 1, b.1789, f.2/3, PANS. This was printed in \textit{Transactions} 20, 3 (1940-41): 141-148.
for their education and in hopes that they would donate their collected specimens to the museum. This switch to zoology was probably in part because of Crowdis' own interests, but was also a function of the diminished stature of geology itself in the natural sciences.

Along with an altered scientific focus, the museum received a new educational focus. Despite the pressing need to re-arrange the exhibits which diverted him from active collecting, Crowdis immediately began to encourage schoolchildren to use the museum, both individually and in groups. He reported the success of this venture in 1943-44 when he noted not only that many school classes had visited during the year but also that many children returned again and again to the museum:

The most faithful visitors are the children who return frequently to follow the fortunes of the snakes, turtles and bees and other live exhibits.

Crowdis' obvious delight in encouraging young people to visit the museum made it a very different place than it had been under Harry Piers, whose emphasis had been in providing information to adults on natural resources.

The lack of detail in Crowdis' reports, especially in comparison to the extensive reports submitted by Harry Piers, makes it impossible to determine whether or not the museum was actually receiving more school visits under Crowdis than under Piers. Nor did Crowdis include any specific information regarding active educational programming that the museum may or may not have offered. However, aside from his encouraging school classes to use the museum and his


66. Crowdis, *Report 1943-44*, 5. The live exhibits were begun the first year Crowdis was director and seem to have been a popular trend in museums at the time; the BC Provincial Museum was also doing this. One of Crowdis' live exhibits, Gus the Turtle, continues to live in the lobby of the Nova Scotia Museum of Natural History.
attempts to excite youngsters to collect, two comments suggest that Crowdis was implementing child-centred education in the museum. In 1943-44, Crowdis announced that collecting work was beginning again at the museum after the initial hiatus to work on the existing collections. The objective of the renewed active collecting was support for educational programming:

...it is hoped to build up the natural history collections to where they will be representative of Nova Scotian occurrences, and will provide material for active educational services beyond display...  

Two years later, in pointing to the need for more space for the museum, Crowdis included not only the need for exhibit space, but also space for lectures and for club activities for children. Although he never specified the exact nature of the educational programming, it is clear that Crowdis envisioned something along the lines of what Ruth Home and her colleagues in the Division of Education were providing at the ROM, and much more than the passive education that Harry Piers offered his young visitors.

Tourists and casual visitors, who had been an important aspect of the museum’s work under both Piers and Honeyman, remained within the scope of Crowdis' concerns, but providing educational opportunities for children seems to have been the primary emphasis at the renewed Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia. The re-creation of the museum from provider of information on the natural resources of the province into educator of children was completed in the year 1951 when the museum was moved in the provincial bureaucracy from the ministry of mines to the department of education.


The Natural Audience of the Museum: Education at the British Columbia Provincial Museum

The British Columbia Provincial Museum fell in between the extremes of the educational pattern in museums as epitomized by the Ontario Provincial Museum and the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia: not on the cutting edge of educational theory, neither did it hold onto nineteenth century ideals of education until a new director forced a directional change in the 1940s. Although early moves into education for children were quite unreflective and perhaps even unconscious, the British Columbia Provincial Museum began to consider its role in the education of school children as early as 1915 and had, by 1950, fully embraced the new education. The ceaseless promotion of the museum and its educational services by the new director after 1940, although not the first articulation of the claim that "museums are now educational," is an excellent example of the ahistorical argument each successive generation of museum people has used to establish itself.

Once again, the lack of records makes analysis of the museum's early years difficult. However, some records do exist and the museum did figure in occasional newspaper articles which attempted to outline the work being done and what the museum offered visitors. In terms of the educational value of the museum, the most interesting point is the lack of discussion on the issue. Where in the writings of Honeyman, Piers, and Boyle, the museum was constantly justified by its 'scientific and educational value', the use of the word 'educational' figures very little, if at all, in early writing on the BC museum. Not until the year 1913, when Francis Kermode, second director of the museum, submitted his first annual report for the museum, did
education become a conscious issue.\textsuperscript{69}

Kermode's first intimation that the museum had a role beyond its economic potential and its use by adult students of natural history was his report that school-teachers had been asking for copies of the natural history bulletins for use in nature studies in the classroom.\textsuperscript{70} But it is his comment regarding ideas he had acquired outside the province that suggests how little he reflected on the educational role of the museum. In reporting on his visit to museums in Great Britain, Europe and eastern Canada and the US, Kermode wrote:

I hope that when the new Museum is built I shall be able to carry out some of the ideas that I have formed of what an educational museum should be, and also what it means to the community at large.\textsuperscript{71}

Never having discussed the idea of an educational museum or even mentioned education in the museum, Kermode simply assumed that his museum was already an educational museum and that it would be made all that it should be when a new building was provided.

The tendency to avoid explicit thinking about what education in the museum should be continued throughout most of Kermode's directorship, yet the annual reports paint a picture of a growing use of the museum by schools and children in general. Kermode's 1915 report noted this increased interest and called for an increase in staff in order to carry on the educational work as well as the scientific.\textsuperscript{72} In 1917, in noting that teachers were bringing classes to the museum,

\textsuperscript{69} The first museum act was probably the catalyst for the new annual reports which first appear for the year 1912. "An Act Respecting the Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology," Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, 3 Geo. 5, 1913, c.50.

\textsuperscript{70} Kermode, Report 1912, 5.

\textsuperscript{71} Kermode, Report 1912, 7.

\textsuperscript{72} Kermode, Report 1915, 7.
Kermode reported that "The Director or one of the staff is always on hand to give the young folk all the information possible."\textsuperscript{73} And, in 1926, Kermode reported the first instance of the museum loaning specimens to schools "for educational purposes."\textsuperscript{74} Regardless of the fact that Kermode seems not to have defined education or reflected in writing on what he should be doing, he does seem to have moved his institution into the new child-centred education earlier than other Canadian museums.

It is easy enough to speculate that this early educational work for children was initiated by the city's school teachers and only reacted to by Kermode and the museum.\textsuperscript{75} However, if the impulse was a reactive one, it changed in the mid-1930s when the museum began to offer "special arrangements ... for the benefit of children." The first active educational programming at the BC museum, in 1934, was funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, on the advice of the Carnegie Canadian Museums Committee, an advisory body established on the recommendation of a Carnegie-funded survey of Canadian museums prepared by the British Museums Association.\textsuperscript{76} The grant allowed the museum to set up a series of 16 lectures for children on Saturday mornings and 12 lectures for adults on Friday evenings. The children's

\textsuperscript{73} Kermode, \textit{Report 1917}, 6. In 1919, Kermode made it clear that he was not recording school attendance in any careful way. It is, therefore, difficult to know whether there really was any increase. Kermode, \textit{Report 1919}, 8.

\textsuperscript{74} Kermode, \textit{Report 1926}, 8.

\textsuperscript{75} See Hooper-Greenhill who argues that it was teachers and educational authorities who, after the First World War, were calling for increased ties between the museum and the school, not the curators, many of whom actively and ardently resisted this trend. Hooper-Greenhill, \textit{Museum and Gallery Education}, 33-35.

\textsuperscript{76} On the Museums Association, the involvement of the Carnegie Corporation, the Canadian survey, and the Canadian Museums Committee, see chapter seven.
series, which was predominantly on natural history but also included two lectures on BC natives and one on "Museums of the World," was wildly popular and attendance ranged from 190 children to 450.\textsuperscript{77} The lecture series, illustrated through the use of museum specimens, lantern slides and motion pictures where possible, was run again in 1935 and 1936 and only gained in popularity. Kermode reported a crowd of 710 children at one of the lectures in 1935.\textsuperscript{78} Clearly, this was the wave of the future, and a great way to boost visitor statistics.

The hordes of children visiting the museum because of the Carnegie-funded lectures put terrific strain on the minimal staffing levels at the museum and Kermode made a point of letting the government know he needed more staff. In 1936, when the staff was increased by two, Kermode remarked that this was a good thing, especially if the museum was to live up to its own standards and to continue to assist "the scientists, students, school-children and numerous other visitors who pass through the building in the course of a year."\textsuperscript{79} More blatantly, in 1939, he pointed to the lack of funds which meant that the lecture series, which had been suspended in 1937 because of a lack of Carnegie funding, still had not been reinstated. Schools continued to visit the museum "but lack of an organized docent system precludes the further expansion of this type of educational service at present."\textsuperscript{80} Kermode may not have reflected much on what

\textsuperscript{77} Kermode does not say which lecture attracted the highest or the lowest audience, nor whether there may have been external factors such as bad weather. The adult lectures were not as successful with a low attendance of 49 and a high of 125. Kermode, \textit{Report 1934}, 6-7.

\textsuperscript{78} Kermode, \textit{Report 1935}, 8-9. Corley-Smith quotes McTaggart Cowan as saying that, by the 1930s, Kermode had lost interest in his job and had not kept up with the changes occurring in museums. Kermode's involvement in the Carnegie committee and the lecture series suggest that this was not entirely true. Corley-Smith, \textit{White Bears}, 88.


\textsuperscript{80} Kermode, \textit{Report 1939}, 10.
education was, but he was certainly aware of the idea that it involved actively providing a service rather than simply expecting people to view the exhibits. And he was not hesitant to lay the blame for the museum's inability to provide sufficient educational programming squarely on a parsimonious government.

The amount of funding grew slowly during these years but Kermode's successor, Clifford Carl, who was appointed in 1940, nonetheless managed not only to extend the programmes and services already provided but also began to move the museum into new ventures. From his arrival at the museum, and particularly after the end of the war, Carl embarked on an extensive lecture and promotion campaign in which he encouraged his whole staff to participate. Carl and his staff were kept busy during museum hours, and on evenings and weekends, delivering lectures, demonstrations, and talks, or showing films and lantern slides to all manner of interested groups. Schools throughout Vancouver Island and the Lower Mainland were visited on a regular basis; Carl made appearances at Boy Scout troop meetings and at the YMCA boys' camp; George Hardy spent a week, two years running, leading a sea shore study at a summer playground programme; and radio broadcasts became a matter of course. In 1942, the Saturday morning talks for children were revived, paid for out of the museum's regular budget rather than funded by an outside agency, and, in 1945, a Junior Naturalist Club began meeting at the museum.

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81. See the "Education" section in any of Carl's reports. Variations of this work were regular occurrences and appear in the annual reports each year from 1940 to 1970. See also, Corley-Smith, White Bears, 109-110, 125, and 129.

82. The BC Electric Railway offered free fares to children in possession of a ticket stub to the Saturday morning programme at the museum. Tickets were free and were distributed through the schools. This programme ran until 1959 when, Carl reports, the production problems became insurmountable. He does not elaborate on what the problems were. Carl, Report 1942, 11-12; Carl, Report 1945, 10; and, Clifford Carl, "75 Years of Progress," Victoria Daily Colonist 18 November 1962, magazine section, 2. Coleman claimed that clubs were not really educational but were management devices: "their purpose is
programme of loan exhibits to the schools was extended, and more were created, particularly in answer to the growing interest in the anthropology and archaeology of the province. But, the most innovative project Carl undertook was the production of motion pictures on natural history. Initially a joint project with the provincial Travel Bureau, the motion pictures were meant to be used in the museum's lecture series and for distribution to schools and other museums. Although Kermode had begun to move the museum in the direction of the new educational emphases and methods, the museum's educational programming blossomed under Cliff Carl.

Carl, naturally proud of his accomplishments, was a tireless promoter of the museum. His numerous newspaper and journal articles give a strong sense of how he understood what he was doing at the museum. He was particularly aware that the nature of what museums offered their audiences was changing. Museums could no longer arrange displays and assume that people would visit and learn. Instead they had actively to provide programming for their audiences. After many years of "devoting its time and facilities" to collecting, Carl wrote to the Provincial Librarian in 1946, the museum was concentrating on the third of its mandated objectives, the

to hold the individual through childhood's natural inclination to gang up." Coleman, *Museum in America*, 352-3.


84. The first motion picture, done by Mr. C.R.D. Ferris of the Travel Bureau in 1941, was on nesting seabirds. In 1942-44, Ferris made a film on frogs, toads and salamanders. In 1946, Carl reported the completion of a film on BC wildflowers and the production of one on fur seals in the Pribilof Islands, of which he was busy making a shorter version for distribution. Each year the annual report noted another film completed or in production. Carl, *Report 1941*, 7; Carl, *Report 1942*, 11; Carl, *Report 1944*, 9; Carl, *Report 1946*, 9; and Corley-Smith, *White Bears*, 115-117. See also, Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain*, 234-5, on the early use of photography and film in the pursuit of natural history.
diffusion of knowledge.\textsuperscript{85} The BC museum never abandoned its research functions. Staff members continued to do both field and laboratory work, and the lists of staff publications which appear in the annual reports attest to the activity in this area. However, under Carl, the diffusion of knowledge, particularly in the form of the provision of services, became the central focus of the museum's work. In 1950, he wrote that "museums are reaching out to the general public in many ways, providing services not thought of a few years ago," and went on to describe the various services including the identification of objects, provision of general information, publications, films, loan exhibits, and instruction in natural history.\textsuperscript{86} In a 1962 enumeration of the services museums were "nowadays expected to provide," Carl included an auditorium, a classroom, a sales counter, and a cafeteria.\textsuperscript{87}

Like Kermode before him and Donald K. Crowdis in Nova Scotia, Cliff Carl understood that the twentieth-century museum had to be pro-active in its work. When describing the museum's work to the Provincial Librarian, Carl concluded with the comment that "like other similar institutions the Provincial Museum is passing from a passive, collecting phase to an active, distributing life."\textsuperscript{88} However, as George Henderson of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science had done in his 1938 presidential address, Carl saw the change to active programming

\textsuperscript{85} Clifford Carl, "The Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology," 2, typescript enclosure in Carl to C.K. Morison, Provincial Librarian, 2 October 1946, GR 111, b.13, f.18, BCARS.


\textsuperscript{87} Carl, "75 Years of Progress," 10. The problem with this enumeration is that, with the possible exception of the provision of a cafeteria and of the production of films—which was a new technology generally and not simply new to museums—much of this was not new. Auditoria, lecture and classrooms, the selling of souvenirs, identification of objects, provision of information, publications, and the loan of specimens and exhibits all date back to, at least, the nineteenth century, if not the eighteenth.

\textsuperscript{88} Carl, "Provincial Museum," 2-3.
as the beginning of something, rather than viewing it as involving a new approach to an activity long underway. Time and again, in his written work, Carl noted that "no longer is the Museum merely a collection of stuffed animals and birds or other curios placed on display to amuse the public." In 1950, he claimed:

Not so long ago a museum was thought of as a place to go on a rainy day where one could see a lot of old relics of bygone days and perhaps a stuffed animal or two. Happily the picture has changed in recent years and in fact is still changing. Museums are rapidly taking their rightful places as educational institutions. No longer do people come to them solely for entertainment.

And in 1962, he prefaced his list of the services the museum was expected to provide with a comment on the changes in museums:

... within the last decade or so, the museum idea had changed radically. No longer is a museum merely a storehouse of relics.

Even in 1942, when the museum was moved in the provincial bureaucracy from the department of the Provincial Secretary to the Department of Education, Carl praised the move because of a perceived change in what the museum was doing:

we wish to express our pleasure at being associated with the Department of Education, particularly at this time, when the work of the Museum is being directed more and more along educational lines. We feel that under the new administration the Museum's services to the public will continue to flourish.

Attempting to establish himself and to convince the people of BC of the utility of the museum

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89. [Clifford Carl], "The Provincial Museum--Past and Present," [typescript, no date], 8, GR 111, b.30, f.4, BCARS. This was published as Clifford Carl, "Provincial Museum...Past and Present," Victoria Times, 13 March 1943, but without page 8 of the original.


91. Carl, "75 Years of Progress", 10.

and of the value of its services, Carl became a vocal proponent of the myth that museum education had not existed in the past, but was a creation of the present.

In establishing child-centred educational programming, the BC museum did not suddenly begin to exclude adults. Its publications, which were usually of a fairly technical nature, seem to have been directed primarily at adults; adult lectures series, and lectures for adult education classes were common events; and many work training courses, such as the BC Police Academy, sent classes to visit the museum. However, the annual reports make it clear that the bulk of the lectures, loan exhibits, and demonstration work which fell under the rubric of education, was directed at children, and schoolchildren in particular. And Carl's enjoyment of his work with children is evidenced by his description of "Life in the Museum" which concluded with a comment on what happens to the peacefulness of the museum when children enter:

The place really comes to life, however, when hordes of school children storm the doors and take over the main floor during the illustrated lectures which are given each Spring. Then the stuffed, pickled, carved and modelled specimens have their peace shattered by recorded music, the babble of young voices and the learned tones of the lecturer or sound film. But this is as it should be.

Although it is somewhat difficult to convey the enjoyment that Carl, and Donald Crowdis in Nova Scotia, experienced in their work with children, as it comes through mainly in the tone of the annual reports and articles, the above quote does demonstrate that Carl felt that children, despite their propensity for noise, were a proper and natural audience for the museum.

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Conclusion

The small size of the sample limits the ability to generalize, but it does suggest a possible pattern for the manner and time in which Canadian museums made the change to child-focussed educational programming. The Ontario Provincial Museum was run by a man whose personal interests in children and educational theory ensured that he kept up with the new in these areas regardless of the educational mission of his museum. He was also in contact with more museum people from the USA than from elsewhere. Thus, when children became the focus of educational theory and museum education in American museums, he would have been alerted to this change and would naturally have turned to considering his own museum in these terms.

The Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia's divergence from the pattern, manifest in its slower response to change, is most likely explained by the fact that Harry Piers was not only the director but also the only employee of the museum. As such, his word was supreme.\textsuperscript{95} The benefit of this was that he did not have to please people who knew little about the operation of a museum or who simply disagreed with him. The disadvantage was that he was isolated, with no one to bring new ideas to his attention or to stimulate him intellectually or creatively. This isolation was exacerbated by the fact that most of his contacts, in both America and Britain, were among scientists rather than museum people. Nor was he a member of either of the professional organizations. Thus, it is possible that he was not even really aware that museum education was changing. Although the continuation of adult education at all of the museums, and that of education for industrial design at the ROM in particular, demonstrates that Piers was not alone

\textsuperscript{95} Nor did he have a Board of Directors or Trustees to whom he was responsible. The government department to which he answered was uninterested in his work, especially after the First World War, and left him alone to do as he saw fit.
in his educational preferences, his failure to add the new child-centred education made him look like a hold-over from the nineteenth century. Donald K. Crowdis, who began with an eight-month course at the Buffalo Museum of Science and was a member of the American Association of Museums, was not only attuned to the new education through his own teaching experience but through his many contacts at American museums. Without suggesting that all single-employee museums would naturally be out-of-date, it is possible to speculate that, because of a Piers-like isolation, they might be slower to become aware of new ideas or to respond to them than would a larger institution.

Francis Kermode avoided the problem of isolation which Harry Piers experienced. He benefitted from working with colleagues and corresponding with other museum people who were aware of and implementing the new educational theories. Because of the awkwardness of transcontinental travel and communication, Kermode's ties tended to be with American institutions also situated on the west coast and his very early work with the local schools and the introduction of the Carnegie-funded lecture series in the 1930s illustrate these connections. The explosion of educational programming at the museum under Cliff Carl would have been in part due to his relative youth, but must also have been influenced by the fact that museums everywhere were making these changes. As well, having done his Ph.D. at the University of Toronto under the supervision of J.R. Dymond, director of the ROM's Museum of Zoology, it is quite possible that Carl knew of what was being done at the ROM and brought some of that to his position in BC.

96. Crowdis himself made the point that he was so tied into American institutions, he had no idea what was going on in Canada. Crowdis in "Founding Members Discuss CMA's Evolution: Conversation," Muse 5, 3 (Autumn 1987): 26. On museum training and professional organizations, see chapter seven.
As the experiences of these institutions demonstrate, Canadian museums largely conformed to the British trend within the general museum movement's pattern of educational programming: initially eschewing, or unaware of, the idea of actively providing programmes directed primarily towards children, during the 1930s and 40s, when progressive education had become accepted wisdom, they embraced the new education and recreated themselves in the image of a twentieth-century educational museum. Those whose contacts were primarily in the USA show the effects of that influence in their earlier introduction of active educational programming for children. But by 1945, all had reached roughly the same point in their educational offerings.
PART III –

"THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF EVERYONE": THE SCIENTIST, THE MUSEUM WORKER, AND THE CANADIAN MUSEUM
Introduction

Many occupations engage in heroic struggles for professional identification; few make the grade. (Harold Wilensky, "Professionalization of Everyone," 137)

Education was a primary tenet in the nineteenth-century, middle-class reform platform. However, education went hand-in-hand with the drive to professionalize which gripped late nineteenth-century society. As Burton Bledstein has argued, professionalization was the "cultural process by which the middle class ... matured and defined itself."¹ Over the course of the nineteenth century, in attempting to restructure society according to its own vision, the middle class created a culture of professionalism which legitimated its attempts to control all aspects of life. In particular, the growing number of public spaces, such as schools, museums and parks, which the middle class established as places in which to transmit its ideals and values to other classes required the creation of professional people and professional organizations dedicated to maintaining these spaces and to ensuring their controlled use.² The manner in which this culture was created and sustained was through the standardization of knowledge and the conferring on the new and growing universities of the right to control that knowledge. Thus, the attainment of an university degree became the measurable standard by which the right to the status of

¹. Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1976): ix. Other scholars whose focus is the middle class note the importance of professionalization for the development of the middle class in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See for instance, Axelrod, Making a Middle Class; Blumin, Emergence of the Middle Class; Mills, White Collar; and, Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class.

². Bledstein notes, for instance, the need to create a professional forestry service through which to care for and control the use of the new national parks in the USA, and to make them accessible and useful to the general population. Bledstein, Culture of Professionalism, 56-57.
professional came to be judged. In the society which resulted from this process, those who practised an occupation or studied a subject but who did not have university degrees became, by definition, 'amateurs'. Museums, as one of the places created by the middle class, were also a site for the process of professionalization.

Today's museum workers vary in their opinions regarding their professional status. While some bandy the phrase 'museum profession' about as an obvious truth, others go as far as to question even the possibility of such a thing, given the variety of tasks performed within a single museum. Although they agree that there may be a curatorial profession, a conservation profession, or a museum education profession, these doubters argue that a unified 'museum profession' cannot exist. Between these two extremes lies a full range of opinions on the professional status of the museum worker. However, the current debate is only a small part of professionalization and its impact on museums. Complex institutions with mandates for both the creation and the diffusion of knowledge, both research and education, museums could not help but be influenced by the professionalization society. But they were affected by it in two overlapping stages: by the professionalization of science through the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century; and, from the turn of the nineteenth century and increasingly as the twentieth


century progressed, the professionalization of the museum worker.⁵

The following three chapters discuss professionalization in the context of Canadian museums. The lack of a literature in the English language on the subject makes it impossible to demonstrate a pattern for the professionalization of museums in the way that one was described for the change in educational emphases and methods in the previous section. This lack of an obvious pattern means that conformity to or divergence from a pattern on the part of Canadian museums becomes very difficult to demonstrate. However, what little literature does exist, when supported by the descriptions and analysis of the experiences of the museums in this study, allows the work of establishing such a pattern to begin. Indeed, the stories of the sample museums suggest that the pattern in the first stage, the professionalization of science, was almost a lack of pattern, a series of unique experiences related more to the broad professionalizing trend and to the individual circumstances of each museum than to the museum movement itself. Curiously, the one constant in each museum's professionalization experience was the continued belief in the role of the amateur in the production of knowledge. In the second stage, that of establishing a museum profession, the international museum movement had a more obvious impact. Ideas about curator training began to appear as early as the 1890s, but, much like the change in museum education, serious attempts to professionalize did not become common until the late interwar period.

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The literature on professionalization is vast: sociologists have debated the meaning of the

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⁵ The broader category of museum worker includes both scientists and non-scientists working in museums. The professionalization of the museum worker began at the turn of the century with the beginning of the establishment of museology, the body of formal knowledge on the workings of a museum now taught in museums studies courses.
term and the attributes of a 'true' profession; and historians have studied the timing, the nature, and the impact of professionalization on various occupations and academic disciplines, as well as the relationship between professionalization and the middle class. But, although museum workers and critics alike have debated the current status of professionalization in museums, museum historians, with few exceptions, have not yet considered its impact.

Much of the work on the history and professionalization of the natural sciences bears on the history of museums because of the sheer number of scientists, whether amateur or professional.

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professional, working in or for museums. Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, for instance, has done much of her work on natural history in the nineteenth century in the context of natural history museums.\footnote{Kohlstedt, "Curiosities and Cabinets," Kohlstedt, "History in a Natural History Museum," and Kohlstedt, "Australian Museums of Natural History."} And Debra Lindsay, whose Ph.D. dissertation focussed on the rationalization of science, the systemization of specimen collections, and the resulting need to train field workers to properly document, catalogue, pack, and preserve specimens in order that they be of use to the professional scientists, placed her study in the context of the Smithsonian Institution's collecting activities in the sub-arctic.\footnote{Debra J. Lindsay, "Science in the Sub-Arctic: Traders, Trappers and the Smithsonian Institution, 1859-1870," Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 1989.} There also has been work done on the history of anthropology which, because of its ties to the museum, has a bearing on the history of museums. For instance, Douglas Cole's study of early Canadian anthropologists and Hélène Bernier's discussion of the influence of Edward Sapir on the professionalization of anthropology in Canada both point to the influence of Franz Boas on Canadian anthropology and to the fact that, in Canada at least, the professionalization of anthropology came from the museums rather than from the universities.\footnote{Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910," \textit{Journal of Canadian Studies} 8, 1 (February 1973): 33-45; and Bernier, "Edward Sapir et la Recherche Anthropologique." Edward Sapir was head of the Division of Anthropology in the Geological Survey of Canada from 1910 to 1925. During this period, the national museum, housed in the Victoria Memorial Museum, was still under the jurisdiction of the Survey. Sapir, by virtue of his position at the head of the Survey's anthropology division, was also in control of the anthropology section of the museum.} However, none of these authors have provided sustained arguments on the impact of professionalization on the museum or on the relationship between specific museums and the museum movement as a whole.

Two museum historians who have written on developments in the nineteenth century have
touched on the early manifestations of professionalization within the museum. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill points to the establishment of new subject positions and new specialist activities which created a division between the expert and the layman, the producers of knowledge and the consumers of knowledge, and thereby aided the disciplinary nature of the institutions.\textsuperscript{11} Ian Jenkins, in \textit{Archaeologists and Aesthetes}, traces the impact of the rise of 'scientific' archaeology on the sculpture galleries in the British Museum, showing how the idea of a 'chain of art' shifted arrangement and display techniques away from a focus on the aesthetic toward a consideration of the objects as referents for a history of art. But, although professionalization is about specialization,\textsuperscript{12} and the rise of scientific archaeology is a direct cause of the professionalization of archaeology,\textsuperscript{13} neither author is concerned primarily with the question of professionalization and, therefore, neither delves deeply into its impact.

Only Joel Orosz and Mary Winsor have written at length on the impact of professionalization in nineteenth-century museums. Orosz' study \textit{Curators and Culture} periodizes the history of American museums from 1740 to 1870 according to changes he sees occurring in the American 'democratic culture'. In particular, he argues that during the 1840s the professional ideal took hold in America and professional scientists managed to dominate society for a brief period. However, during the 1850s and 60s a fear of elitism and resurgence of the belief in popular education pushed professionals aside. The result was the birth of the 'American Compromise', a synthesis of scholarly research and popular education which had become the

\textsuperscript{11} Hooper-Greenhill, \textit{Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge}, 176-185 and 190.

\textsuperscript{12} "The history of the professions is the history of specialization..." Lewis and Maude, \textit{Professional People}, 14.

\textsuperscript{13} See Levine, \textit{Amateur and Professional}, 34, and 88-90.
norm by 1870 and has provided the model for American museums ever since. Orosz' work, however, is flawed by a simplistic and ahistorical definition of 'amateur' and 'professional', a failure to differentiate between the professional scientist working in a museum and the professional museum worker, a simplistic class analysis, an uncritical approach to the assumed egalitarianism of American society, and a blindness to events occurring, and trends emanating from, anywhere other than the United States of America. These flaws call into question his conclusion regarding both the existence and the timing of the 'American Compromise'. Nonetheless, his work remains important as an attempt to consider the question of the professionalization of science within the context of the museum.

Mary Winsor has provided the best study of the professionalization of science and museums to date. Using as a case study the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard University directed by Louis Agassiz and his son, Alexander, Winsor discusses the changing approaches to science during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and shows their impact on natural history museums. Specifically, Winsor argues that the professionalization of science had the effect of marginalizing the scientific work done in the museum. Although Agassiz attempted to distance the museum from ideas about collections of curiosities and even from the phrase 'natural history' by claiming that its collections were the tools of a zoologist, ie. a

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14. Orosz defines an amateur as a hobbyist whose career and museum work are two separate spheres, and a professional as one who worked in a museum, imposed more rigorous standards, and looked down upon amateurs as inferiors. Orosz, Curators and Culture, 4.

15. Winsor, Reading the Shape of Nature, especially, chapter 7, "The Slender Thread is Practically Severed," 164-197.

16. By the 1870s, natural history was seen by biologists as too general and superficial a field for study. Winsor, Reading the Shape of Nature, 187-97.
professional, it came more and more to be seen as simply an archives for zoological specimens. The real scientific work was seen to be done in the laboratory or in the biological and zoological field stations being set up by universities. Because Winsor's study focusses on an university museum, her conclusions have only limited applicability to museums without links to academies. However, they indicate some themes which provide a beginning from which to consider the issue of the impact of the professionalization of science on museums in general.

Jenkins, Orosz, and Winsor have focussed on the first stage of professionalization in museums, the professionalization of science. Hooper-Greenhill's brief consideration of the rise of specialist positions within the museum hints at the second stage, the professionalization of museum work. Thomas Kaufman suggests that a professional curatorial staff was growing at the Gemäldegalerie in Vienna in the period after the Napoleonic Wars. But only Geoffrey Lewis has written substantially on the topic of the second stage from an historical perspective. His history of the Museums Association provides a wealth of information on the questions, debates, ideas, and events which lead to the creation of the Museums Diploma offered by the Association from 1930 and, eventually, to the establishment of university courses in museum studies. Lewis has not, however, attempted to question the notion of professionalization or to theorize the impact

17. Orosz seems to be considering the professionalization of curatorial work but has actually merged the two stages. Where he claims that these men considered themselves professional curators, I would argue that they saw themselves as professional scientists who worked as curators.

18. Kaufman, "From Treasury to Museum," 151-52. Unfortunately, he does not explain what he means by the word 'professional' in this context.

19. Though he has not identified his work as being about the second stage of professionalization in museums, nor even about professionalization per se.

20. Lewis, For Instruction and Recreation.
of professionalization on museums generally. Nonetheless, Lewis' work, like Winsor's for the first stage, provides the basis from which a pattern may eventually emerge.

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The final three chapters in this work consider the issue of professionalization in the context of the four study museums. In particular, they begin the task of describing a pattern within the museum movement. Chapter five looks at the impact of the professionalization of science in the four sample museums. The variety of experiences among the four museums demonstrates that despite the fact that professionalization was a process which all the museums experienced in some way, local circumstances had greater influence on the timing and the nature of that impact than did the museum movement at large. In suggesting that this may be attributable to the fact that professionalization was a broad societal trend, we return to the realization that these were middle-class institutions and that, as such, they were inextricably linked to the ambitions and the fortunes of that class.

Chapter six is a consideration of the continuing role of the amateur in the professionalizing museum. Each of the museums under study maintained an active support network with and for amateurs, reaffirming the belief that amateurs could contribute to the creation of knowledge and need not be mere recipients of the diffusion of knowledge created by professionals. The third section of this chapter looks back to the discussion on the changes in education at the museum in that it shows these amateur networks functioning to maintain an adult education programme in the face of a growing pressure to equate 'education' with children's programmes. The confidence that the work of amateurs at and for the museum constituted the important continuation of adult education at the museums points yet again to the museum's roots.
in the nineteenth century reform tradition.

Chapter seven describes the history of curator training as it developed within the professionalization organizations of Britain and America, and thereby demonstrates the strength of the ties which bind together the two ideas of education and professionalization. Within the context of the four sample museums, the move on the part of the scientists to acquire knowledge of museum practices, as well as the early provision of museum studies courses for that purpose, are both considered. The patterns of the British and American museums were somewhat dissimilar, as they were in the change to child-centred education, and Canadian museums were influenced by both traditions to varying degrees. In the final analysis, this chapter suggests, neither tradition has managed to secure the status of `profession' for museum work.
'Professional' and 'professionalization' are nebulous terms which have defied any and all attempts at definition. Sociologists, in particular, have tried to define a profession by listing the characteristics of a 'true' profession, or to describe the events in the process of professionalization.\textsuperscript{1} The taxonomic approach despite its staying power, has not managed to answer the question of what a profession is, because of an inability on the part of its proponents to agree on the criteria with which to judge. Klegon argues, however, that the disagreement over criteria is "symbolic of a more critical problem...the inability to apply the lists of criteria to concrete situations."\textsuperscript{2} On the other hand, models based on the process followed by occupations which have successfully professionalized have tended not to recognize that professionalization is both historically and geographically specific.\textsuperscript{3} Thus, in neither case have sociologists been successful in differentiating professions from non-professions on a theoretical basis. There have also been problems with historians' use of these terms. Some, as evidenced by Orosz' work, have been as ahistorical as sociologists in their definitions. Others have used obscure language: Harold Perkin, for instance, described the professional class as the non-capitalist segment of the middle class and a group with a social structure "based on human capital and special expertise."\textsuperscript{4} Still

\textsuperscript{1} See introduction to this section, "The Professionalization of Everyone," footnote 6.

\textsuperscript{2} Klegon, "Sociology of Professions," 262.


\textsuperscript{4} Perkin, Rise of Professional Society, xii.
others have tried to avoid a definition altogether. Philippa Levine, for instance, argued that rather than try to define a professional "[i]t is perhaps more accurate ... to concentrate attention on the dynamic of professionalization as characteristic of events" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵

This study attempts to address some of these problems by offering a model for professionalization of its own. Although it claims that professionalization was, as Levine has noted, a dynamic of the period, local circumstances were the predominant factor in the manner in which it occurred. Once under way, moreover, it became a force which, in the end, few could withstand.

The organizing concepts of the argument are three: first, that, as Nathan Reingold has argued, the amateur/professional dichotomy of the twentieth century is too simplistic a model with which to understand the nineteenth century;⁶ second, that professionalization stemmed from a desire for status and control;⁷ and third, that the primary characteristic of all professions and of the process of professionalization is the standardization and institutionalization of knowledge.⁸

Prior to the complete acceptance of the amateur/professional dichotomy, the pursuit or practice

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⁸. Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*; Friedson, *Professional Powers*, 21-26; and Mendelsohn, "Emergence of Science as a Profession."
of an occupation for a livelihood did not necessarily place one in a category separate from those who pursued the same occupation for leisure. For many members of the middle class, an independent income allowed an occupation without the need for remuneration. For others, the Protestant work ethic and the middle-class concept of rational recreation ensured that hours away from one's paid position were filled with 'work' of a different nature. In neither case was the practitioner necessarily any less learned, knowledgeable, or skilled than in instances where he or she held a paid position. This was true because, in most cases, members of all three of these categories had acquired their knowledge and expertise in the same manner: they were self-taught, or, at best, mentored by an elder. However, over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the paid practitioners gradually excluded those who practiced in their leisure time, came to control both access to and the use of knowledge, and acquired for themselves the special status of 'professional'. This was facilitated by, but also to some extent the cause of, the growth of universities in the same period, as universities were fashioned as both the creators and the controllers of the bodies of formal, standardized knowledge which became the necessary prerequisites to the attainment of professional status. In this way, the holding of an university degree became the standard against which one's right to professional status was judged, and those without a degree became, by definition, amateurs, regardless of their levels of knowledge and expertise.

Using this model, this study considers the manner in which the scientific positions at Canadian museums became professionalized and the impact which the process had on the

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9. Reingold, "Definitions and Speculations," argues that professionalization grew from the status aspirations of the paid practitioners of science.
museums. The museum's relationship to its primary constituency, its position within the government bureaucracy, and the discipline which defined its primary collecting area all played a role in the manner in which positions in it were professionalized, in the timing of that process, and in its impact. The ROM, as a university museum, experienced professionalization in a manner more akin to that described by Winsor as taking place at Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology than to what occurred at the other museums examined in this study. Because of this, the ROM is only discussed briefly—though, it should be noted, similar themes of marginalization and disciplinary difference run through its story.

**Marginalization by a Professional Constituency: The Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia**

For the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, the predominant factor in its professionalization experience was its relationship to its primary constituency, the local scientific community as organized in the Nova Scotian Institute of Science. A prominent voice in the establishment of the museum, the Institute maintained a close relationship with the museum throughout its first 40 years. In 1901, praising the government's selection of a new director for the museum, Dr. A.H. MacKay, the Institute's president, commented that the museum "although always the ward of the Government has always been considered to be the child of the Institute of Science."  


11 Henry Poole, Superintendent of the Albion Mines, Nova Scotia, donated his geological collection to the museum when he left the province in order that it "would be available for the use of the Institute." *Transactions* 3, 3 (1872-73): 189. Other examples of use of museum objects by Institute members are the December 1879 discussion supported by 27 items of "supposed ancient pottery" from the collection; the March 1886 display and examination of "an interesting collection of specimens from a battle-field in B.C.,
on behalf of the museum. This relationship endured as long as the views and aims of the two organizations remained parallel. With the appointment of David Honeyman to the position of museum director, the Institute could sit back, enjoy its museum, and pursue its other objectives.

Honeyman's status in the scientific community was high. A university graduate in divinity, he was a self-taught geologist who had acquired an international reputation through his publications and his work with the Nova Scotia government's exhibits to international expositions. He had done geological survey work for both the provincial and the dominion government, and had contacts among scientific men throughout North America, Britain and Europe. He was elected to associate membership in the Nova Scotian Institute of Science in 1866, attaining full membership when he moved to Halifax in 1869 in conjunction with his new position as museum director. Certainly, Honeyman's 'amateur' status caused him no difficulties within the Institute. Throughout his directorship, the only comment from the Institute on the museum was in J.G. MacGregor's presidential address of 1888, in which he noted that "an intelligent Legislature ...

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12 Honeyman had dabbled in natural history during his spare time at the University of St. Andrew's but it was upon reading Dawson's 1855 _Acadian Geology_ that he quit the ministry and took up geology as an occupation. He was elected to the Société géologique de France, the Society of Arts and Letters, the Horticultural Society, the Geologists' Association of London, and the Geological Society of London. He was also a founding member of both the Geological Society of America and the Royal Society of Canada. Naftel, "Honeyman, David," DCB, v.11, 420-21; and J.G. MacGregor, "Opening Address," Transactions 7, 4 (1889-90): 320-323. On his work at international expositions, see Nova Scotia, _Journals of the House of Assembly_, 1864, Appendix 35--International Exhibition 1862; _Journals_, 1865, Appendix 20--Dublin International Exhibition; and _Journals_, 1866, Appendix 36--Dublin Exhibition, Report of the Nova Scotia Department of the Dublin International Exhibition. On his survey work, see _Journals_, 1866, Appendix 38--Geological Survey; and Zaslow, _Reading the Rocks_, 116-118.
has provided the public with a museum and has put an experienced scientific man at its head."

The death of Honeyman in October 1889 presented an occasion for the Institute to once more lobby on behalf of the museum. In his presidential address of November 1889, MacGregor called for more government expenditure on the museum. Praising the work that Honeyman had managed to accomplish during his years at the museum, MacGregor nonetheless noted that, because of lack of assistance, lack of funds, and lack of space, there was much he could not do. The museum was at a crossroads at which the government could step in and correct the flaws, making of the museum all that it could and should be.

The government did not heed the call of the Institute. Appointing Mrs. Isabella Goudge, the widowed daughter of Honeyman, to the position of curator, the government actually decreased the museum's budget. When Goudge left the position in 1896 to remarry, Miss Emma Powers, a stenographer in the Department of Mines and Public Works, was appointed to succeed her. The Institute spent the decade pleading with the government to improve the museum and put a scientist at its head. Four of the five men who held the presidency of the Institute between 1889

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15. In the year 1890, the government spent $10.00 on the museum exclusive of Isabella Goudge's monthly salary of $33.33, one-third of what Honeyman had been receiving, and the remainder of David Honeyman's salary which was sent to his widow. In 1890-91, the government spent $39.75 on the museum exclusive of Goudge's salary. This covered such miscellaneous items as locks and keys for some of the cases, a broom, camphor, and repair of the window shades, plus $12.00 for cleaning the museum. 1892 was one of the best years; the museum's budget was $62.87 above the cost of Goudge's salary. In 1898, Emma Power had a budget of $1.80 after her salary. On the budget of the museum, see the relevant years of Nova Scotia, *Journals of the House of Assembly*, Appendix 1–Financial Returns.
and 1900 made the museum the subject of their presidential addresses. All four of them called for greater expenditure on the museum, and three of them called for the appointment of an "efficient curator," a "man of the broadest scientific culture, a man of business capacity, and a thorough teacher." Keenly involved in the museum, the scientific community believed it could only become worthy with one of their own at its head.

The ten years following David Honeyman's death provided a curious interlude in the history of the museum and the discussion of professionalization. Mary Winsor has argued that six years earlier, at the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard, the professionalization of science had begun to marginalize museum scientists. The curator's role came to be seen, in some eyes, as that of a housekeeper: the scientific work had already been done on the specimens; now they only needed to be kept dust-free. Alexander Agassiz, director of the museum, therefore suggested the possibility of replacing the museum's student assistants, "reasoning that the 'work of preservation of collections could in future be perfectly well done ... by cheaper assistance—Women—'." In Nova Scotia, by contrast, the scientific community was still adamant regarding the need for a research scientist to head the museum, while it was the government which perceived the curator's job as nothing more than a housekeeping function. Although, then, the

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17. The phrase "efficient curator" is from MacGregor, "Opening Address," (1889-90): 331; the description of that curator is from Alexander Mackay, "President's Address," xl.


19. Winsor, *Reading the Shape of Nature*, 200. See also, Rossiter, "'Women's Work' in Science."
positions that Agassiz and the Institute of Science took are similar in that they each contain a gendered view of scientific culture, they differ with respect to the role each saw the curator playing, a difference that points to a growing division of labour in museums.20

The Nova Scotia government's dismissal of the museum as an unnecessary expense in a time of economic hardship is a familiar theme,21 and, because women were routinely paid less than men, the appointment of Goudge and Powers must be seen as a way of easing the financial burden. But those appointments also point to the opinion, popular among both politicians and the general public, that anyone, regardless of training or educational background, could manage a collection. This perception of curatorial work as unskilled was the extreme version of the view on the division of labour which would eventually lead, in larger institutions, to the creation of the position of 'collection manager' or 'registrar', as separate from curator or researcher.22 Already in 1884, when Agassiz made his comment on hiring women, the Museum of Comparative Zoology was an institution large enough to employ a number of assistants and support staff. The idea that the physical care of the collection might be in the hands of a person not undertaking research into the specimens was not farfetched. The Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, however, had a staff of one—the director/curator. In this situation, where care of the collection, research, exhibit design (including lighting and design of cabinets), label-writing, and art work all fell

20. See the discussion of the growing complexity of the museum organization in the conclusion to chapter seven of this study.


22. I am not implying here that collections managers or registrars do not require training, expertise, or educational background. Their needs, however, are different than those of curators or researchers in institutions where these functions are divided.
within a single job description, it is clear why the Institute of Science desired a director capable of the scientific research associated with the job. An organization whose sole objective was the promotion of scientific research would naturally perceive that function as the primary consideration in hiring a curator. That the women who held the position of curator during the 1890s were also not researchers only added to the Institute's frustration and enhanced its desire to have the situation rectified with the hiring of a scientific man.

In the last years of the decade, the economic situation of the Nova Scotian government improved, and in 1899 the government resumed its interest in scientific research and education, particularly in the museum. The Provincial Science Library was created and the whole organization rehoused in larger, although still inadequate, quarters in the new government office building. The government also appointed a new director for the museum, Harry Piers.

Piers was the pre-eminent generalist, the Victorian 'man of letters'. Mentored in the scientific disciplines by David Honeyman and Andrew Downs after completing his high school education and a member of the Institute since 1888, Piers also read and studied in a wide variety of other subjects and disciplines and became quite proficient in a number of them. As such, Piers was everything the Institute could have wanted for the director of its museum in 1899. A researcher contributing to the increase of knowledge, he also had the library and cataloguing

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23. The legislation which incorporated the Institute listed its sole object as "the promotion of scientific research." "An Act to incorporate The Nova Scotian Institute of Science," *Statutes of the Province of Nova Scotia*, 53 Vic., 1890, c.123.

experience which would stand him in good stead both with the Science Library and in managing the museum's collections. His background in, and knowledge of, the arts and social sciences gave him insight into those specimens in the collection which did not fall into the natural history categories, and he was also skilled enough in art and design to create his own labels and design exhibit cabinets when necessary. A.H. MacKay, speaking on behalf of the Institute, praised the government for its choice of Piers as museum director and commented on the excellent work Piers had already accomplished in his first few months.25 After a decade of frustration, the Institute was once again satisfied with the state of the museum, and, turning its attention elsewhere, left Piers to carry on.

At this point, however, the views and aims of the Institute and the museum began to diverge. Even before Piers was appointed, science and the scientific community in Nova Scotia had begun to experience the changes taking place all over the European world. Just as it had at Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology, science was slowly becoming the preserve of the expert and the university graduate. As the twentieth century progressed, the Institute of Science began to register these changes. In 1890, when the Institute was officially incorporated by an act of the legislature, only four of its members had graduate and two others undergraduate degrees. Even in the 1899-1900 session, Piers' first year as director of the museum, there were only three members with graduate degrees and three with undergraduate. However, by the 1918-1919 season, fully 50% of the ordinary members held university degrees, most of them graduate degrees. In 1934, the university graduates outnumbered the non-graduates by more than two to

The Institute of Science never became a professional organization, but, by mid-century, most of its members were professional scientists.

So long as the Institute was dominated by the gentlemen of science who were Piers' contemporaries and elders, the growing number of degree-holding members remained a non-issue. But as the degree-holders came to dominate, they began to desire change in the policies and aims of the Institute. They also marginalized the non-professional members of the Institute by ignoring them when requesting papers for presentation. When Piers presented a paper on man-eating sharks in Nova Scotia waters in April 1933, it was the first paper he had presented since February 1920. That evening in his diary, he noted that "the Dalhousie College men have been merely soliciting papers from their own number." In the process of professionalization which the Institute was experiencing, Piers became a member of the minority within the Institute.

Piers' diaries, which he kept from 1907 to 1938, support the argument that he was being marginalized in the Institute. Largely a record of his personal life, they nonetheless include notations regarding his activities with the Institute of Science. These make it clear that, from about 1913, the Institute of Science became less and less prominent in his life. As the 'Dalhousie faction' took control over the Institute, Piers became increasingly dissatisfied with it. Although he never stopped attending meetings altogether, the diary entries on his Institute activities came

26. See the membership lists in *Transactions* 8, 1 (1890-91): xii-xiii; 10, 2 (1899-1900): Appendix II; 15, 1 (1918-19): Appendix 1; and 18 (1930-34): Appendix. These counts do not include men with the M.D. or with honorary degrees. 1934 was the last year that the Institute published its membership lists.

27. In the 1960s and 70s, when most of its members were professional engineers, it had something of the feel of a professional organization, but this was never formalized.

28. Piers, Diaries, 10 April 1933, MG 1, Piers Papers, vol. 1050, PANS.

29. Piers, Diaries, 25 January 1930, MG 1, Piers Papers, v. 1049, PANS.
to consist solely of a mention that he went to a meeting, or that he presented a paper. Only in October 1934, when he was suddenly and surprisingly elected president of the Institute, did he again write at length on Institute events or his feelings about them.\textsuperscript{30}

As the Institute of Science slowly disappeared from his diaries, Piers began to comment at greater length on his involvement with the Historical Society. A member of the Society from 1897, Piers not only attended meetings into the 1910s and 20s; he also acted as corresponding secretary, sat on delegations to the government, hotly debated the question of the proper repository for the province's archival documents,\textsuperscript{31} and served as vice-president from 1921-23 and president from 1924-27.\textsuperscript{32} Piers was a member of many cultural, social and educational organizations, and he attempted to be active in all of them, but his diaries make it clear that, by 1920, it was the Historical Society which had taken the prominent place in his life earlier filled

\textsuperscript{30} The manner in which Piers was elected makes it very clear that this was an honour bestowed upon a longstanding member and not a position given to a worthy scientist. Piers had opened the AGM by reading the minutes, digressing to point out that this general meeting marked the fortieth anniversary of his holding the position of Recording Secretary. The nominating committee was chosen after this and Harry Piers was the only person nominated for president. Henderson, who would normally have been elected president at this point, was instead re-elected to an unprecedented third term as vice-president. Piers himself was so shocked by this unexpected turn of events that he went home and drank two shots of rum. Piers, Diaries, 10 October 1934, MG 1, Piers Papers, vol. 1050, PANS.

\textsuperscript{31} The question was whether the records should be left in Nova Scotia where they belonged or be taken to Ottawa where they could be cared for. Piers was passionate about their remaining in the province. See, Carman V. Carroll, "Developing 'an Historical Laboratory': The Genesis of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia," in Barbara L. Craig, ed., \textit{The Archival Imagination} (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992): esp. 184-188; Donald MacLeod, "Our Man in the Maritimes: 'Down East' with the Public Archives of Canada, 1872-1932," \textit{Archivaria} 17 (Winter 1983-84): 86-105; and W.C. Milner, "Condition of Public Records in the Maritime Provinces," Canadian Historical Association \textit{Report of Annual Meeting} (1929): 41-46. Milner was Piers' opposition in these debates.

\textsuperscript{32} During his years as vice- and president, he spent most of his energies in erecting memorial plaques to historical personages and places. See, for instance, "Memorial to the Late George Brown," \textit{Halifax Echo}, 13 July 1925, 5; "At Unveiling of Shannon Memorial," \textit{Halifax Daily Star}, 17 October 1927, 2; and "Tragic French Naval Episode is Marked by Unveiling of Tablet," \textit{Halifax Herald}, 5 September 1929, 1, 4.
by the Institute of Science.

The increased role that the Historical Society and historical research had in Piers' life from 1910 onward was reflected in the museum's collections. The geological collection, which had been the focus of Honeyman's activities, remained the single largest group of artefacts in the museum. However, during the period between 1909 and 1935 when Piers was reacting to the professionalization of the Institute by turning to the Historical Society, the geological section grew by only 1,612 items. During this same period, the holdings of the history section went from virtually nothing to 4,451 artefacts. The increase in historical artefacts not only added to the overcrowding, which Piers and the Institute presidents complained of constantly, but also transformed the museum into an eclectic mix of collections, something of a 'cabinet of curiosities'.

This transformation changed the museum's constituencies. Having marginalized Piers as a member, the Institute extended this to his museum position and made clear his unacceptability as director by ignoring the museum as a source for research and discussion topics. This became a self-perpetuating circle as the change in focus which was a result of the marginalization served only to alienate the Institute even further. But, if the Historical Society filled the space in Piers' private and intellectual life formerly occupied by 'scientific' pursuits, it did not play a similar role in the museum. The Historical Society took no more than a very general interest in the museum, and never became the museum's primary constituency. Rather, that position came to be filled during the interwar period by the general public. Attracted by the museum's increasingly eclectic and curious collections, the public took to visiting the museum in much greater numbers than

33. Throughout the 1910s and 20s, fewer and fewer papers or discussions at Institute meetings were based on museum specimens. By the 1930s, they were non-existent.
ever before, and attendance reached an all-time high of over 10,000 people in the 1937-38 fiscal year. Another self-perpetuating cycle, the increased public interest in the museum lead to greater publicity through newspaper articles as editors came to believe that the museum was a topic of interest. This, in turn, lead to greater interest on the part of the public.

The support of this new constituency gave to Piers' museum what the support of the Institute had never really managed. During the 1930s, the government not only took out insurance on the museum's collection; it also hired commissionaires to work as security guards on the weekends so that Piers could have time off and still keep the museum open. Although the government was also being affected by the worldwide change in attitude towards museums and cultural institutions, the broadening of the Nova Scotia museum's constituency seems to have

34. Increased tourism during the 1930s accounts for some of the rise in attendance figures. However, an incident recorded in Piers' diary in 1914, in which the display of an mummified body from Chile attracted a crowd of over 1,000 people in a single Wednesday evening, illustrates the attraction of the curious and the exotic. During the full two-week run of the mummy display, visitor totals reached 6,000, more than the usual annual total during those years. This suggests that an increase in the curiosity aspect of the museum's might have influenced visitor statistics. Piers, Diaries, 26 January-10 February 1914, MG 1, Piers Papers, v. 1047, PANS. On the attraction of the curious, see chapter 18, "Collecting the Other, Within and Without," and chapter 19, "The Other Beyond and Before," in Pearce, On Collecting, 308-26 & 327-51; and Susan Stewart, On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).


helped convince it of the museum's value—something the scientific community alone had not been able to do.

The museum's new situation was not affected by the renewed interest the Institute took in it upon the death of Harry Piers. G.H. Henderson, president of the Institute, had spoken briefly of the need for expenditure on the museum in his 1938 address, the first time Institute discussion of the museum had been recorded in the *Transactions* since 1901.37 With Piers in the audience, however, Henderson was careful to lay the blame for any museum shortcomings on the government and to call generally for more emphasis on education in a changing society. Piers seems to have dropped out of public life after the death of his wife in early 1939, and he himself died in early 1940. The Institute seized the opportunity to renew its relationship with what it hoped would be a transformed museum. A sub-committee prepared a memorandum to the government outlining the perceived purposes of the museum, the desirable qualifications in a curator, the proper housing of a museum, and the relation between the museum and the Institute. Calling for a museum that was "alive, modern, scientific and interesting," and for the strengthening of the relationship between it and the museum, the Institute argued that the curator should be "a university graduate trained in science and with experience in research and instruction."38 The natural historians, gentlemen of science, and 'men of letters' who had suited the museum so well in the nineteenth century were no longer wanted. A professional scientist was what the Institute felt 'its' museum needed.

Whether the Institute's lobbying had any influence on the choice of the new director is


38. King, "Memorandum of Suggestions by the Nova Scotian Institute of Science Relative to the Provincial Museum."
difficult to know. Professionalization was a growing trend in Western society and government bureaucracies were not immune.\(^{39}\) It is possible that the government chose a university graduate without reference to the Institute's desires and suggestions. Nonetheless, Donald K. Crowdis was the scientist for which the Institute was looking. A graduate of Dalhousie College and a science teacher, he had both research and instructional experience. He was elected to the Institute in October 1940, shortly after he was appointed director, and he served on Council intermittently throughout the decade. It seemed that the Institute was back to the position of satisfaction with the museum and its director that it had been at in 1868 and 1899.

It was, however, too late for a stronger relationship between the museum and the Institute. The new world which emerged from the years of depression and war left no space for a museum whose primary purpose was to serve as a private collection for the scientific community, however professional it might be. Crowdis' own interests in museum education, coupled with the new attitudes towards museums, served only to strengthen the ties between the museum and the new, public, constituency which had arisen during the Piers' years. Crowdis' relationship to the scientific community as represented by the Institute of Science was becoming irrelevant to the museum's existence, and, after 1951, he ceased to be active in the Institute.\(^{40}\) The Institute's wish for a museum act and a museum commission was finally granted in 1947,\(^ {41}\) but by then Crowdis'  

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\(^{39}\) On the hiring of experts and professionals in government bureaucracies in this period, see Douglas Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

\(^{40}\) Without membership lists, it is impossible to say whether Crowdis was still a member of the Institute, but he no longer sat on Council after 1951, nor does he seem to have presented any papers.

relationship to the educational community was of far greater importance to the museum than was his connection with the Institute. By 1951, when the museum was moved to the Department of Education, the general public and, especially, the children who were the focus of most of the educational programming had become the museum's constituency.

**Professionalized by the Bureaucracy: The British Columbia Provincial Museum**

In contrast to the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, the British Columbia Provincial Museum's relationship to its constituencies was a negligible factor in its professionalization experience. Instead of being marginalized by a professionalizing scientific community which was forced to wait until the death of an 'amateur' director in order to see a 'professional' placed at the head of the museum, the BC museum experienced professionalization as an aspect of its integration into the provincial government's bureaucracy. This had the dual impact of professionalizing the museum's scientific and high administrative positions more quickly and more fully than was done in Nova Scotia, and of doing so with little negative effect on the staff and almost no effect on the museum itself.42

As was argued in chapter one, the establishment of the British Columbia Provincial Museum owed much to the political power of the local big game hunters, who remained a constituency of the museum until well into the twentieth century. However, as a informal grouping of individuals with similar interests, their relationship to, and influence on, the museum is difficult to establish. Easier to identify is the relationship to the museum of the Natural History

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42. The personal impact is difficult to measure. Kermode seems to have been insecure in his position as director and feared the hiring of McTaggart Cowan, who had a Ph.D., but he was not replaced and remained director until his retirement at age 65. Corley-Smith, *White Bears*, 87-88.
The Society of British Columbia, a group of the province's natural historians who organized in 1890 "as an association of friends eager to help Mr. Fannin, the then curator of the Museum." The Society's constitution set out its objectives:

The Society is instituted for the advancement of natural and scientific research and the collection of data, especially in their relation to this Province, and to act as an independent auxiliary to the Provincial Museum.

Unlike the Nova Scotian Institute of Science, which saw itself as the father of the museum, the Natural History Society's relationship to the BC museum was that of a friend or a servant.

As an unofficial auxiliary to the museum, Society members did volunteer work in and for the museum, museum artefacts were used to illustrate talks given to the Society, and specimens collected by members often found their way into the museum's collections. The Society also supported Jack Fannin as director. Himself a founding member of the Society, Fannin was perceived as the right man for the job of director of the museum. His scientific skills had been proven in his survey work for the government in the 1870s, his shoemaking skills had proved an excellent base from which to become a taxidermist, and his own collection provided a core for the museum's collections. His knowledge of British Columbia and its wildlife had been gleaned firsthand from his own travels, his survey work, and his work as guide to hunters. Happy with his knowledge and abilities, as the Institute of Science in Nova Scotia had been with

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44. Natural History Society of BC, Revised Constitution, 2 April 1900, Add.MSS. 284, v.1, BCARS. Later versions of the constitution added the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Mines and the Library of the Legislative Assembly to the list of institutions for which the Society would be an auxiliary. See, Revised Constitution, 1909, amended 1922, Add.MSS. 1077, v.19, f.2, BCARS.

45. On use of the collections by members, see Minutes of the Natural History Society of BC, 1895-1901 & 1901-1909, Add.MSS. 284, v.1 & 2, BCARS.
Honeyman's, the Natural History Society gladly supported Fannin.

The Society's ties to the museum, however, were not very strong and its existence was not of great importance to the museum. Where David Honeyman and Harry Piers were both prominent members of the Institute of Science most of their lives, actively participating in meetings and in the administration of the organization as well as contributing papers on their research, Fannin was active in the Natural History Society for only four years, attending sporadically after 1894. His successor, Francis Kermode, was only elected a member of the Society upon his appointment as Fannin's replacement in 1904, and, despite being elected president in 1916, was never very active, falling into arrears in his dues payments during the later 1910s.\(^{46}\) Fannin's and Kermode's lack of interest in the Society was reciprocated in the Society's lack of interest in the museum, especially after Kermode's appointment to director. Having passed, at the meeting at which Kermode was elected a member, a resolution to regret the government's decision to not appoint C.F. Newcombe to the position of director, the Natural History Society washed its hands of the museum.\(^{47}\) Indeed, in 1914, the Society discussed opening its own museum in order to obtain a government grant for its expenses.\(^{48}\)

Fannin could afford to ignore the Society, and potentially lose its support, because he also

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\(^{46}\) Minutes, Natural History Society, 1895-901, Add.MSS. 284, v.1, BCARS. Fannin attended 5 meeting from 1895-1898, 8 in 1899, 7 in 1900, and only 1 in 1901, the last time he attended at all. Kermode was elected to the Society at the Annual General Meeting, 5 April 1904. Minutes, Natural History Society, AGM, 5 April 1904, Add.MSS. 284, v.4, BCARS. For Kermode's attendance record, see Minutes, 1914-25, v.4; and v.14 for his dues payment record.

\(^{47}\) Minutes, Natural History Society, AGM, 5 April 1904.

\(^{48}\) E.L. Robinson to Arthur Barton, President, 27 March 1914, Add.MSS. 1077, v.235, f.1, BCARS. A review of the Society's minutes and correspondence shows a surprising dearth of discussion on the museum after 1904. See Add.MSS. 284, BCARS.
had the backing of the big game hunters, a group that was generally wealthier and therefore more politically useful, than the scientific community.\textsuperscript{49} He also had a broad public support, related in part to his previous jobs and in part to his social status. Although as a shoemaker/taxidermist and having been a schoolteacher in Ontario before migrating west, Fannin was probably lower middle class, he was a pre-railroad settler and an 'Overlander', having hiked to British Columbia from Winnipeg. This gave him the special status of 'pioneer' and placed him in a higher social category than his class would normally have allowed. Thus, although not a member of the upper strata of society in terms of economic class, he could use his special status to claim favour among them and seems to have moved in their circles part of the time.\textsuperscript{50} Because of this support, he was not forced to seek a new constituency when he stopped being active in the Natural History Society, nor did he need to alter his intellectual pursuits to follow a new crowd. His collecting habits, and thus the museum, remained unaltered as well.\textsuperscript{51} Kermode, the son of an immigrant shipwright, had little formal education, and joined the staff of the museum at the age of 16 as an apprenticeship to Fannin in taxidermy.\textsuperscript{52} He had neither the social status nor the

\textsuperscript{49}. The groups were, of course, not necessarily distinct and separate. Nonetheless, as Phillipa Levine has shown for nineteenth century England, natural historians were rarely the very wealthy or of the upper classes. Levine, The Amateur and the Professional, 7-39.


\textsuperscript{51}. The fact that the museum already displayed the effects of Fannin's ties to the hunters in the focus on large mammals serves to make clear just how much he depended on that group in contrast to the Natural History Society.

scientific experience of Fannin, and was rejected by a Society which wished to see someone in
the position it considered more fit. The effect of the Society's actions on Kermode personally
will never be known. It is, however, clear that, unlike the Institute of Science's alienation of
Piers, those actions had little effect on the museum. Only briefly the supportive constituency for
the museum that the Institute of Science was in Nova Scotia, the Natural History Society's
rejection of Kermode and its eventual demise in the 1920s neither caused a refocussing of the
collection nor created a void to be filled by a new constituency.

There are three reasons which help to explain this negligible effect. The first is simply
that Kermode retained support from some of the Society's individual members. They continued
to do research in the museum, to collect on behalf of the museum or donate from their own
collections, and to generally remain active in the museum's work. Thus, although Kermode did
not have the organized support which Harry Piers enjoyed from the Institute of Science and the
Historical Society, he had both a local circle of friends and colleagues, and a network of contacts
with professional scientists in academies, museums and government departments.

53. On Kermode's precarious position within the local scientific community, see Peter Corley-Smith
and Robin Patterson, "Finding Aid: History of the Provincial Museum of Natural History and

54. Peter Corley-Smith, author of the official history of the museum, has suggested that the demise
of the Society can be linked to Kermode's rejection of it. However, given that Fannin had withdrawn from
the Society well before Kermode even joined, that the Society passed a resolution to regret Kermode's
appointment to the position of curator of the museum the same day they elected him to membership, and
the fact that Kermode never seems to have had much status in the Society, it is difficult to see where his
withdrawal could have so drastic an effect. It is much more likely that the Society collapsed because the
founders were growing older and dying, but the younger men, who in Nova Scotia had turned the Institute
of Science into a quasi-professional body, were in B.C. joining professional organizations or more
specialized organizations. See v.10-14, Add.MSS. 284, v.1, BCARS, for the membership lists of the
Society.

55. C.F. Newcombe, despite being passed over for the director's positon, is one of the people who
remained active.
The second reason Kermode did not have to regret the loss of the Society is that the hunters remained a supportive community, as they had been for Fannin. The nature of this group changed over the years from the wealthy American hunters and the local industrial capitalists who had originally supported the museum's work because of its emphasis on the province's game to a more middle-class network of correspondents whose interest in hunting merged with their pursuit of natural history and/or conservation. It remained, however, a strong constituency for the museum under both Kermode and, later, Clifford Carl.\textsuperscript{56}

The third, and most significant, reason has to do with the museum's relationship to the provincial government. Fannin, Kermode, and Carl had to worry less than Honeyman or Piers did about their constituency's ability or desire to provide support for the museum because the B.C. museum was much more integrated into the bureaucracy than the Nova Scotia museum had been. It was, therefore, less susceptible to the vagaries of fashion. Even before the legislature passed a museum act in 1913,\textsuperscript{57} the museum seems to have been an accepted part of the government's business. Its annual appropriations were never extravagant, but Fannin's salary was the same as Honeyman's had been and, from 1889 onward, he was also able to hire assistants, something Honeyman and Piers were never able to do. Kermode began at a lower salary than Fannin had ended at, but with annual raises, he was, by 1913, making almost double what Harry Piers was paid per year.\textsuperscript{58} After the museum act was passed, the museum was pulled more tightly

\textsuperscript{56} The bulk of provincial museum collection at BCARS consists of the correspondence noted in this and the previous paragraph. GR 111, BCARS.

\textsuperscript{57} British Columbia, "An Act Respecting the Provincial Museum ..."

\textsuperscript{58} Fannin was being paid $120.00 per month in his last years. Kermode started the job of director at $85.00 per month, but, by 1913, was being paid $151.33 per month. By contrast, Honeyman made $100.00 per month and Piers began at $62.50, which was almost immediately raised to $75.00 per month.
into the bureaucracy and the museum staff became civil servants.\(^9\) Hirings were done through the civil service commission, and pay scales were related as closely as possible to similar jobs elsewhere in the government. The support of H.E. Young, the Provincial Secretary, was definitely a factor in the museum's relative good fortune during the early years of the century, but its position within the bureaucracy meant, in general, that the museum's fortunes were not tied to a powerful or wealthy ally with access to the minister's ear. Like Fannin, Kermode could continue collecting, researching, and displaying the artefacts and specimens that the museum had always worked with, regardless of the support he received from the local scientific community.\(^{60}\)

It was this integration into the provincial bureaucracy which, in the end, brought the full impact of professionalization to the museum. Relatively unaffected by the growing number of professional scientists in the scientific community and in the province, the museum was, instead,

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60. Two brief anecdotes illustrate the Nova Scotia museum's and the B.C. museum's relationships to their respective governments. When the Nova Scotia government moved to a 9-5 working day from 10-4, Harry Piers complained and was assured by his minister that the curator was "master of his own office" and that his hours would not be "interfered with." In contrast, Francis Kermode received a memorandum from the Deputy Provincial Secretary bringing to his attention a letter from the Premier asking that he ensure that all civil servants stick rigidly to the 9-5 office hours except for necessary absences for luncheon and for duties requiring absence from the building. Piers, Diaries, 12 July 1915, MG 1, Piers Papers, v.1046, PANS; and, Deputy Provincial Secretary White to Director of Museum, 15 July 1918, GR 111, b.21, f.12, BCARS.
brought into the process of professionalization through the professionalization of the civil service. This began in the 1930s under the Liberal government of Duff Patullo which placed its hopes for economic recovery in the hands of experts and technocrats.61 Social scientists with graduate degrees in their areas of expertise, ie. professionals, such as Dr. W.A. Carrothers, a UBC economics professor, and Dr. George M. Weir, previously head of UBC's Department of Education, were placed in prominent positions: Carrothers as head of the new Economic Council; and Weir as Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education. Weir, in his turn, set out to "improve the calibre of junior civil servants entering the government"62 by hiring university graduates. As Provincial Secretary, Weir had the museum in his portfolio and among the group of 'bright young men' whom he hired was Dr. Ian McTaggart Cowan, the new assistant biologist for the museum.

With a Ph.D. in zoology from the University of California at Berkeley, Cowan was the first university graduate to be hired as a full-time permanent staff member for the museum.63 Some of the staff, like George Hardy who had held the positions of Assistant Biologist, Botanist,


63. There had been short-term contract positions filled by university graduates, but no permanent staff. See H.O. McCurry to Kermode, 28 April 1935; and Kermode to McCurry, 4 September 1935; RW Brock, Dean, UBC, to Kermode, 5 November 1934; Brock to G. Van Wilby, 20 November 1934; and Wilby, curriculum vitae, GR 111, b.10, f.37 & 38, BCARS.
and later Entomologist, had taken university courses or studied under eminent professors.\footnote{64} But none of the staff who worked at the various natural history jobs within the museum had university degrees.\footnote{65} W.A. Newcombe, the son of C.F. Newcombe and assistant biologist at the museum from 1928 to 1932, had impressive amateur credentials and a good reputation as an anthropologist throughout North America, but had quit school at the age of 16 and been tutored by his father.\footnote{66} Cowan's graduate degree made him an unique creature in the museum in 1935, but by the end of the next decade university degrees were essential requirements for scientific positions at the museum.

Weir hired Cowan with a view to making him director upon Kermode's retirement and to beginning the process of professionalizing the museum's staff. Indeed, when Cowan resigned from the museum in 1940 to take up a professorship in the Department of Zoology at UBC, Weir

\footnote{64} "George A. Hardy: A Botanist and an Entomologist," \textit{Victoria Daily Colonist}, Magazine Section, 28 September 1952; and Clifford Carl, "George Austin Hardy, 1888-1966," undated typescript, GR 111, b.5, f.6, BCARS. C.F. Newcombe was a graduate of the University of Aberdeen, but had never been permanent or full-time staff. Low, "Dr. Charles Frederick Newcombe."

\footnote{65} Frequent staff turnover at the museum prior to 1940 makes it difficult to track who worked for the museum when, but E.M. Anderson, E.H. Blackmore, W.R. Carter, E.A. Cooke, George Hardy, Winnifred Redfern, and Nancy Stark were the most persistent among those who held positions in which their scientific credentials counted. Their titles did not, however, always reflect the research nature of their work. Redfern, who was listed as the 'Recorder', seems to have worked primarily as the botanist, as did Nancy Stark who held the same position. 'Botanist' was added to the title during Stark's tenure and, in 1940, when Redfern (by then Mrs. George Hardy) held the position again, she was titled simply 'Botanist'. She was replaced in the position in 1941 by her husband, George Hardy, who remained until 1953 when he retired and came back part-time as the entomologist, his real area of expertise. Anderson, Carter, and Hardy were the Assistant Biologist in succession from 1896 to 1928. Blackmore worked as the museum's entomologist in the 1920s, and Cooke was the 'Lab. Assistant and Attendant' from 1938 to 1943. Some of the attendants, janitors, and stenographers were also employed for considerable periods of time but their jobs never required university degrees. Margaret Crummy, however, who was hired as a stenographer in 1938, did hold a B.A.

used the directorship as a lure to entice him to stay. He refused but suggested as his replacement Dr. Clifford Carl, a British Columbian with a Ph.D. in marine biology from the University of Toronto, who was "woefully underemployed at the hatchery at Cowichan Lake." Carl accepted the position and entered the museum's employ in August 1940. Starting as the assistant director, he was almost immediately promoted to Acting Director of the museum upon Kermode's forced retirement in September.

From the hiring of Carl onward, a university training became a requirement for a research, curatorial or high administrative position at the museum, and graduate degrees became increasingly preferred. A typescript in the museum's files, dating from the mid-1940s, lists the necessary qualifications of the Director as university training with a Ph.D. in biology preferred; the Assistant in Biology was also to have as university training with a B.A. in biology recommended. A.E. Pickford's brief stint as anthropologist from 1944 to 1948 was the last time a non-university graduate was hired to hold a scientific or high administrative position in the museum. The next two major hirings at the museum, those of Charles Guiguet as Assistant Biologist in 1948 and Wilson Duff as Assistant Anthropologist in 1949, were of men with


68. Corley-Smith says that Carl was hired as the Acting Director, but Carl himself claims he was hired as the Biologist and Assistant Director, to replace Cowan, and that he was only made Acting Director after his actual hiring. Corley-Smith, *White Bears*, 108; Carl, *Report 1940*, 9.

69. GR 111, b.25, f.9, BCARS.

70. Pickford had horticultural training at Swanley Horticultural College in England and had done postgraduate work in France. It is not clear whether he held any degrees in botany or horticulture, but he certainly did not hold a degree in anthropology, a subject he 'picked up' during his work for the B.C. forest service and through his interest in ethnobotany. His hiring as the museum's anthropologist seems to have been a patronage appointment. *A.E. Pickford: Notes on his Career*, unsigned and undated typescript, GR 111, b.15, f.16, BCARS.
undergraduate degrees. Both of them received Master's degrees soon after starting at the museum.\textsuperscript{71}

The gradual hiring of professional scientists to replace the 'amateurs' did affect the museum. Cowan, young and full of enthusiasm for his first job, instilled new energy into the museum's work, reviewing the collections, initiating new cataloguing procedures, and working with some of the more fragile material in an attempt to conserve and preserve it.\textsuperscript{72} He applied for a Carnegie grant to travel to major museums in eastern Canada and the USA, and returned ready and eager to implement new ideas.\textsuperscript{73} Cliff Carl maintained the high energy-level. Exhibits were added to, changed, and renewed. Research field trips began again and a lively publication

\textsuperscript{71} On the hiring of Guiguet and his seven month's leave of absence to take his Master's degree in zoology at UBC, see Cowan to Carl, 8 September 1947, and Carl to Cowan, 25 Septembre 1947, GR 111, b.2, f.13; and "Report of the Assistant in Biology," in Carl, Report, 1949, 15-16. Guiguet was a student of Cowan's. On hiring a university-trained anthropologist, see Carl to Ian McTaggart Cowan, 11 October 1946, GR 111, b.2, f.14; Carl to Dr. Marian Smith, Dept. of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York, 27 May 1947, GR 111, b.19, f.13; J. Blakiston-Gray, Constable, BC Police, Lytton, to Carl, 7 July 1947; and Carl to Blakiston-Gray, 10 July 1947, GR 111, b.1, f.8, BCARS. On the hiring of Duff, and his graduate training, see Carl to Dr. Erna Gunther, 30 December 1946, and Gunther to Carl, 10 January 1947, GR 111, b.4, f.14, BCARS; Carl, Report, 1949, 5, and Report, 1950, 5; and Michael M. Ames, "A Note on the Contributions of Wilson Duff to North West Coast Ethnology and Art," in Donald N. Abbott, ed., The World is as Sharp as a Knife: An Anthology in Honour of Wilson Duff (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1981): 17-21. Duff is actually a good example of someone who fell between the amateur and the professional categories which have become the standard in the twentieth century. Like the old amateurs, he was steeped in the knowledge and tradition of the local natives and thus was both a valuable member of the museum staff and added much to the anthropological discussions on natives of the Pacific northwest. Yet, despite his university degrees which conferred on him the status of 'professional', he displayed no interest in anthropological theory or in the broader issues of the anthropological discipline which are the hallmarks of the professional anthropologist. Michael Ames has suggested a third category, that of 'local professional', in which to place people like Wilson Duff. Personal communication with Michael Ames, 3 May 1996.

\textsuperscript{72} Corley-Smith, White Bears, 87-93.

\textsuperscript{73} Ian McTaggart Cowan, "Report on Study-Trip to Eastern Museums," in Kermode, Report, 1937, 14-18; and Cowan to Kermode, 4 & 11 May, 4, 11, 22 & 28 April 1937, GR 111, b.3, f.4. See chapter seven for a more detailed discussion of Cowan's study tour.
program was initiated.\textsuperscript{74} New techniques were introduced and new educational programs were implemented. But professionalization of the staff did not affect the collecting and exhibiting focus of the museum which remained the natural history and anthropology of British Columbia. New collecting areas were not made part of the museum's mandate until 1968 when, with the building of a new museum, human history was added in a planned and deliberate manner.

A Professionalizing Discipline: The Ontario Provincial Museum

The experience of the Ontario Provincial Museum differed yet again. Unlike the B.C. and Nova Scotia provincial museums' which were professionalized in the 1940s and then recreated by their new professional staff to suit the new educational emphases of the twentieth century, the Ontario Provincial Museum remained dominated by the research activities of the gentlemen of science who had played such significant roles in the establishment and early life of all of these museums. The use of the Ontario Provincial Museum in a comparative study of professionalization is complicated by the fact that the Ontario Provincial Museum ceased to exist in 1933; the question of whether its activities would have been refocussed in the 1940s is unanswerable. However, the OPM's existence as an archaeological museum provides an important point of comparison to the other museums. The much later time period in which archaeology and anthropology were professionalized in Canada, as compared to the natural sciences, serves to support the argument for the prominent role of local circumstances in the timing and manner of professionalization and for the claim that, in the end, professionalization had to happen if a discipline wished to retain dignity and status in society.

\textsuperscript{74} Some of this had, of course, to do with the fact that money was once again available after the dry years of the Depression. See Carl, \textit{Report}, 1940-1950.
Natural history, or the natural sciences, began professionalizing as early as the 1830s. Universities began offering courses and degrees in the sciences, and eventually the older gentlemen of science who first taught these courses were replaced by their graduates. By the early twentieth century, the amateur/professional dichotomy was securely in place, and only the university graduates were considered scientists; everyone else was an 'amateur'. This was not the case in anthropology. Although it was possible by the late nineteenth century to attain a graduate degree in anthropology, most anthropologists and archaeologists were still the kinds of gentlemen who were beginning to disappear from the natural sciences. This was especially true in Canada where the dearth of university programs kept anthropology a museum discipline until well into the twentieth century. Because anthropology remained primarily a museum discipline

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75. This is geographically specific, but in Britain, which seems to have been the first country in which this development took place, the beginning of professionalization is marked by the establishment of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1831. The professionalization of science began somewhat later in the century in Canada. See Morrell and Thackery, Gentlemen of Science; and A.D. Orange, "The Beginning of the British Association, 1831-1851," in MacLeod and Collins, Parliament of Science, 43-64.

76. Even in Canada it was possible to do a graduate degree on an anthropological topic, although not to attain an anthropology degree. A.F. Chamberlain, who studied under Daniel Wilson, Professor of History and English Literature at the University of Toronto, did his M.A. on the Mississauga. He went on to do a Ph.D. in anthropology at Clark University under Franz Boas. Cole, "Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 40.

77. Darnell, Edward Sapir, 42.

78. The first chair in anthropology in Canada was created in 1919 at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, but not until T.F. McIlwraith took up his position at Toronto in 1925 was anthropology taught by a university-trained anthropologist. Université Laval, the University of British Columbia, and McMaster University all offered courses in anthropology, but more full-time lectureships had to wait until 1947 when they were established at UBC and McGill. John Barker, "T.F. McIlwraith and Anthropology at the University of Toronto 1925-63," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 24, 2 (1987): 253 and n2. For the British comparison, see Levine, Amateur and Professional, 170-71. In the USA, universities were taking over from museums already by the turn of the century. See, for instance, Terry Zeller, "Arthur C. Parker: A Pioneer in American Museums," Curator 30, 1 (1987): 92. See also, Darnell, Edward Sapir, 191.
for so long, it was the museum practitioners themselves who began the drive to professionalize.

The differing history of professionalization which anthropology experienced had implications for the Ontario Provincial Museum in two areas. First, because universities were not producing professional anthropologists as they were professional scientists, the fact that Boyle was not university-trained never became an issue in his relationship with his constituency. Unlike Harry Piers' constituency, which marginalized him as it became increasingly professionalized, Boyle's non-professional constituency maintained its supportive relationship with him, and, after his death in 1911, with his museum. Indeed, Boyle's replacement, Rowland B. Orr, had been one of the constituents. Unhindered by a split forced from without, the work of the museum could continue as Boyle had envisioned it in the 1880s.

Secondly, Boyle was not a passive observer or victim of the process but an active participant in it. Boyle dominated the classificatory-descriptive phase of archaeology in Ontario. He created in the OPM the first major museum collection of Ontarian archaeology; he established, with the *Archaeological Report*, the first journal dedicated to the study of archaeology in Ontario; and, using the annual funds from the Ontario government, he stimulated fieldwork and initiated a programme of study and excavation in Ontario. Presiding over an incipient professionalism in archaeology, Boyle insisted on orderly, scientific excavation methods in which both the artefact and its stratigraphic position could provide information. He also published as much of the excavation and research results as possible in the *Archaeological Report*.

The role of industry in the professionalization process needs more consideration. The fact that industry could see a use for the research that natural and applied scientists were doing where it might not have seen utility in anthropological research may well have been a factor in the differing rates of professionalization.

The work of Boyle, summarized briefly here, is described at length in Killan, *David Boyle*. 242
in order to diffuse the knowledge that he and his constituents were creating. Not unlike Pitt-Rivers in England and Flinders Petrie in Egypt, and probably influenced by them, Boyle was helping to define a scientific archaeology which would eventually be the base of the professional discipline.\textsuperscript{81}

With the death of Boyle in 1911, the OPM ceased to be a centre for the professionalizing of anthropology and archaeology. Orr was an adequate curator but seems to have lacked the capacity for innovation which made Boyle such an important figure in the history of Ontario archaeology. The museum continued its work until Orr's death in 1933, but the "centre of gravity in Canadian archaeology" moved to Ottawa, where Boas' student, Edward Sapir, had just been appointed to head the new anthropology division in the Geological Survey of Canada.\textsuperscript{82} Himself a professional anthropologist, Sapir continued the work that Boyle had begun of professionalizing Canadian anthropology by training Canadian anthropologists in scientific theories and methods, and by bringing to Canada university-trained anthropologists.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{81}. On the infusion of scientific principles into archaeological practice, especially that provided by Pitt-Rivers and Petrie, see Levine, \textit{Amateur and Professional}, 34, 88-90 & 170. See also, Jenkins, \textit{Archaeologists and Aesthetes}.

\textsuperscript{82}. Killan, \textit{David Boyle}, 230.

The shift into the universities began with the appointment of T.F. McIlwraith at the University of Toronto in 1925, but the process was slow and even now anthropology maintains a much stronger professional presence in museums than the sciences seem to have. The gentlemen practitioners who in the sciences had become the 'amateurs' by the 1910s also retained a prominent position within the discipline of anthropology for much longer and, indeed, many attained a measure of professionalism in the mould of Boyle. That 'amateurs' remained important explains the appointment of Rowland Orr to the position of director in 1911; it also makes intelligible the continuation of an harmonious relationship between him and the museum's constituency throughout the rest of the museum's life.

The one point at which the culture of professionalism probably did have an effect on the OPM was at the moment of its closing. When the imminent retirement of Orr in 1933 provided the government the opportunity, it shut down the museum. Events in Ontario thus not only caught up to those in BC and Nova Scotia; they moved ahead of what was happening there. The Nova Scotia and BC governments did not reach a similar position until 1940, when their museums' directors were at the end of their careers, choosing at that point to introduce professionalism into the museums. But with an already professionalized museum in the ROM, hiring a professional anthropologist to head the OPM probably seemed to the Ontario government to be an unjustifiable expense in a difficult economic period. To a government in need of ways to reduce spending, merging the collections of an amateur-run institution into that of a professionally-run anthropology. However, because most of her work is on the career of Edward Sapir, she actually repeats Cole's flaw, ignoring the work of men like Boyle in attempting to bring professionalism to the discipline, and focusing on Sapir's influence. Cole, "Origins of Canadian Anthroplogy;" and Regna Darnell, "The Uniqueness of Canadian Anthropology: Issues and Problems," Proceedings of the Second Congress, Canadian Ethnology Service, v.2 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975): 401-416.

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museum was a reasonable course of action.

**Status and Academic Disciplines: The Royal Ontario Museums**

The ROM's experience was both simpler and more complex. As an university museum established at a time when science was already well along the road of professionalization, the ROM began its existence as a professionalized institution: all of the directors had graduate degrees and were professors at the University of Toronto.\(^{84}\) However, as a group of four science museums and one archaeological museum, the ROM illustrates the disciplinary differences seen in the Ontario Provincial Museum. Whereas in the science museums professionalization manifested itself as an issue of equal status for the museum scientists, within the archaeological museum it remained, as at the OPM, essentially a 'non-issue'.

The directorships at the ROM were unpaid positions designed to be filled by the heads of their respective university departments, or a senior member of the faculty. This meant that, although most of the directors put a fair bit of time and effort into their museum duties, much of the day-to-day work fell to the rest of the staff. These technicians were generally 'gentlemen of science', knowledgeable and skilled in their disciplines, but, initially at least, were not necessarily university graduates.\(^{85}\) Doing the work, and sometimes given the title, of curators, their lack of university education did not become an issue until the 1930s, probably because they

\(^{84}\) Although Currelly had abandoned his graduate work in London in order to work with Petrie, he did have an M.A. from Victoria University, University of Toronto, (1902). He was appointed to a non-teaching professorship at the University of Toronto, when he was given the position of director of the ROM of Archaeology. The other directors all had Ph.D.s and were professors first, appointed directors second.

\(^{85}\) On the museum technicians at the ROM of Zoology, see Dickson, *Museum Makers*, 51-52, 90-91, & 96-98.
were working for professional scientists. But in 1938, J.R. Dymond wrote to the chair of the Board of Trustees pointing out the inequity in the salaries received by F.E.J. Fry of the university's department of biology and Mr. Oughton at the Museum of Zoology. Although willing to admit that Fry's extra $800.00 per year was due, in part, to his having attained the Ph.D., Dymond expressed the belief that the amount of work required from the museum men left little time to obtain a Ph.D.:

In an academic department a man's time after his teaching hours are ended is his to devote to research. In the Museum there is no end to cataloguing, gallery work and other duties, and the more zealously a man devotes himself to strictly museum duties, the less favourably he shows up in comparison with a similar man in academic work. 

Dymond felt that rather than discriminating against "men who devote themselves so faithfully to their museums," the museum should do everything it could to encourage the staff to pursue their educations and obtain Ph.D.s.

However, both Dymond's plea for higher salaries for Oughton and his colleague F.A. Urquhart in 1938, and a 1950 request by the curators at the ROM of Zoology for salaries equal to those of professors at the university made clear that the real issue was not so much money as status within the scientific community. Dymond's justification for asking that the museum support the curators in their pursuit of the Ph.D. was "so that museum scientists will not suffer in the estimation of their scientific brethren," while the zoology curators felt that equating curatorial

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86. J.R. Dymond to O'Brian, 24 January 1938, RG 59, H., b.1, f.3, ROMLA.
87. Dymond to O'Brian, January 1938.
88. Urquhart eventually did obtain a Ph.D. and, in 1949, replaced Dymond as Director of the ROM of Zoology, the first ROM director to not hold a joint appointment at the university.
89. Dymond to O'Brian, January 1938.
salaries with those of the university professors was "imperative to maintain curatorial status." The professionalization of those around one lead to one's own loss of status, a problem to be solved either through taking a degree or more simply through a raise in pay.

The parallel this situation provides to what Winsor describes as having happened at the Museum of Comparative Zoology is not perfect: the ROM was not simply experiencing the marginalization of professional scientists in a museum by professionals in the university. Neither, however, was the issue simply amateurs versus professionals, as was the case in Nova Scotia. F.A. Urquhart and Mr. Oughton both had university degrees and eventually attained Ph.D.s, but as late as the early 1950s there were still curatorial staff, such as L.L. Snyder, who had no university degrees, graduate or undergraduate. That the situation involved both types of struggle may reflect the fact that the ROM acted not only as a public museum but also as a university museum. It certainly supports the contention that local, even individual, circumstances affected the process and impact of professionalization.

The loss of status experienced by Urquhart, Oughton, and Snyder in the zoological domain did not befall those working in the ROM of Archaeology at this time. Later staff at the museum noted in interviews that the situation in the archaeology museum was in fact quite different. In noting the rise of museum men who "also had the credentials to allow them to teach in the University," and the falling of "twilight on the first generation of Museum men who had no such credentials but who were, nevertheless, remarkable men," Dorothea Hecken suggested that the

90. L.L. Snyder, W.B. Scott, R.L. Peterson, and F.A. Urquhart, Director, memorandum [195?], RG 59, H., b.3, f. "1.5--Committee of Curators, 1950-54", ROMLA. Scott and Peterson both had Ph.D.'s; Snyder had only four years of study at the Liberal Arts and Fine Arts Colleges of the State University of Iowa. See, "Biographical Notes re: Mr. L.L. Snyder," RG 59, G., f.6, ROMLA.

91. See the discussion of the relationship between salary and status in chapter seven.
requirement of a Ph.D. was not nearly so rigid in the art and archaeology side of the museum. Naming three prominent members of the staff at the ROM of Archaeology who had little or no academic background, she suggested that the reason they managed to attain and maintain the status of curators was the fact that their areas of expertise were not university disciplines. In essence, she recognized that the areas of knowledge with which museums of art, archaeology and anthropology were concerned had not yet been professionalized to the same point as the natural sciences.

Conclusion

In their day-to-day work, in the many memoranda which they wrote on the subject, and in the articles they wrote or presentations they made to their respective constituencies, none of the men involved in these four stories ever actually used the words 'professional' or 'professionalization'. J.G. MacGregor of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science described his ideal curator in 1889 as a man with a "wide knowledge of natural science;" Alexander MacKay of the Institute talked in 1899 of someone with the "broadest scientific culture;" and even Harold King's 1938 memorandum to the government only recommended a university graduate for curator, not a 'professional' scientist. In British Columbia, Duff Patullo's 'little new deal', of which the new university graduates hired for the museum were a part, was staffed not by 'professionals' but by 'experts'. Nor do the participants in the issue at the ROM or the OPM seem to have discussed the question of the university-trained scientist versus the self-taught 'gentleman of science' in

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92. Dorothea Hecken to Rache, [unknown recipient], undated typescript, SC 73, f. "Early Staff Members," ROMLA.

terms of the professional versus the amateur. From the point of view of the participants, then, the trend toward requiring a university degree from candidates for the job of curator or director was seen as an issue of education and training, status and competence, not of professionalization. Yet, in hindsight we can see that this new and growing insistence on a university degree for candidates stemmed from the influence of the dynamic of the period which we now consider to be the professionalization of the middle class. As the middle class established itself through the creation of a culture of professionalism, as society professionalized, the universities became the creators and controllers of the knowledge necessary to undertake work in many, if not most, fields. The holding of a university degree became, thus, almost synonymous with professional status. It becomes clear, therefore, that although the participants never used the word, it was indeed the professionalization of their disciplines which they were talking about when they began to insist on the need for university degrees.

In terms of the patterns of the professionalization of scientific positions at Canadian museums, if these narratives allow us to discern such, that pattern seems, paradoxically, to be a lack of pattern; no two of the museums experienced professionalization in exactly the same way. Yet, two main themes run through each of the narratives: marginalization by peers and colleagues outside of the museum; and the differing rates at which different disciplines professionalized. There are, too, indications that a third might have been present as well: further study would probably show that the gendered nature of both scientific and museum culture, noted in the narrative of the Nova Scotia museum, had repercussions in the other institutions.

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94. The "culture of professionalism" is Bledstein's phrase; Perkin described the rise of "professional society."
For all, however, that there might have been similarities, it remains the differences which impress. Not only was each of the museums unique, as described in chapter one; each had different constituencies, different relationships to their governments, and different organizing principles. As well, the differences between regions in Canada played a role: the larger population of Ontario, and the expanding economies and bureaucracies of both Ontario and British Columbia, put these provinces in a much better position to require professional credentials from their museum scientists than that occupied by the smaller and poorer Nova Scotia. Additionally, Nova Scotia retained a nineteenth-century political culture until after the Second World War.\textsuperscript{95} The bureaucracy remained small and patronage continued to be the basis for civil service appointments despite the introduction of a Civil Service Act in 1935.\textsuperscript{96} This, of course, militated against professionalization in either the museum or the bureaucracy in Nova Scotia for many years.

If there is an explanation as to why museums conformed to a pattern of educational change but not to one of professionalization, it must be sought in the nature of the museum as educational institution. Because museums considered themselves to be educational institutions, they interested themselves in the changing emphases and methods in education and followed what was being done elsewhere. The late entry into the process on the part of British and Canadian museums stemmed not from a resistance to education but from a desire to continue their roles


\textsuperscript{96} In 1918, there were still only three departments within the government, the Provincial Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Commissioner of Public Works and Mines. J. Murray Beck, \textit{The Government of Nova Scotia} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957): 189, 208-230, & 354.
in adult education. When it became obvious that child-centred education was the prevailing trend, they followed it and found other ways to continue to involve adults in the museums. The self-imposed nature of these changes is most evident in the museums in Nova Scotia and BC where newly-appointed directors recreated the museums in the 1940s. But throughout the 1930s and 40s, museums in general were transforming themselves to suit the image of the twentieth-century educational institution in order to conform to what it was they felt museums should be doing and what the best museums were, in fact, doing. The constant re-iteration that "museums are now educational" was as often a plea to make of one's institution what others had become as it was a way to establish a new generation of museum workers.

Professionalization, like the new educational theories, reflected changes in the way the middle classes were organizing their world. But where education was taken up for reasons internal to the life of the museum as an institution, professionalization was imposed from without. Even the museum archaeologists, who began to professionalize their discipline, did so because they saw it as a dynamic in the society around them, not because they were influenced by trends in a 'museum movement'. And because professionalization came from outside of the museum, the society in which the museum existed determined the timing and manner of the process and the nature of its impact. The broad pattern was, therefore, one of a society experiencing a re-organization of knowledge, status, power, and control. But within that broad pattern there existed a multitude of miniature patterns as each country, region, city, and occupation went through the process on its own.
Chapter Six —

Labourers, Correspondents, and Adult Education: The Continuing Role of the Amateur

In a world increasingly dominated by experts and professionals, there seemed to be little room in the twentieth century for the contributions made by knowledgeable amateurs of the sort who had presided over the sciences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet, amateur naturalists did continue to play a role in most museums in both the creation and the diffusion of knowledge. Even for those who worked 'full-time' hours and/or were given a title to honour their work, this role was usually in a volunteer capacity. Nonetheless, the work of amateurs constituted a significant contribution and was usually valued highly. Even the most fully-professionalized directors and curators, the sort running most large museums by the 1950s, courted the amateurs, encouraging their work, establishing networks of communication among them, and attending meetings of local and provincial amateur organizations.

In institutions that were, and are, chronically underfunded, the voluntary contributions of amateurs, in any discipline, can present the opportunity to take on more or larger research projects, to increase or enhance public programmes, and generally to expand a museum's profile. Museum directors' eagerness to court amateurs and to establish or support "Friends" organizations must certainly be seen as ways to stretch a meagre budget. But to look no further than this would be to see only the superficial. Beginning in the early part of the century, but especially during the interwar period, when the nature of scientific research on flora and fauna was changing from

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1. J.H. Fleming, a prominent Ontario amateur ornithologist, was made Honorary Curator of Ornithology at the ROM in 1927. See Helen Reynar, Secretary to Board of Trustees, to B.A. Bensley, Director, ROM of Zoology, 16 March 1927, RG 59, H, b.1, f.3, ROMLA.

2. Those with Ph.D.'s in their subject, not just university degrees.
the taxonomic study of physical collections to studies of population, geographic distribution, and migratory patterns, information provided by amateurs across the country or the continent became vital to the work of professional scientists. The relationship of the amateurs to the professionals changed from that of equals carrying out their own research projects to that of subordinates in a professionally-administered project, but the value of their contribution remained high, particularly in the museum community.

The first two sections of this chapter consider the changing nature of the relationship between the museum directors and the scientific community. In the era before the professional/amateur dichotomy emerged, all were contributors to the field of scientific knowledge and equal in their opportunities to be so. When the directors became professionals and the local scientific community fell into the amateur category, the relationship became hierarchical with the amateurs gathering data for large research projects run by the professionals. An example of this sort of phenomenon is provided by the "killer whale project" run by Clifford Carl at the British Columbia Provincial Museum. Indeed, looking at that project has a double utility, for it shows that the new relationship between professional and amateur which developed in the interwar period was not limited to the amateur's making a contribution to the professional's project. With the right director or co-ordinator, it could be a mutually beneficial relationship which created loyal constituencies for the museum.

This new relationship could also, however, represent an opportunity to reach out to the adult portion of the museum's public. As chapters three and four demonstrate, museum education during the interwar period came to focus more and more on schoolchildren. Yet, many museums continued to perceive their role in terms of adult education. Even after child-centered education
had become the primary educational function of the museums, adult education was rarely abandoned. In providing opportunity for amateurs to contribute to the creation of new knowledge, and in diffusing that knowledge through them, the networks of correspondence that the museums operated can be seen as a form of adult education. The work of J.R. Dymond, director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology from 1935 to 1949, provides an excellent example of how the amateur could be used in more complex ways than simply as a data-gatherer for the professional scientist. Involving his constituents in a collective research enterprise was, for Dymond, both a research and an educational enterprise. The third section of this chapter discusses this aspect of the relationship between the professional scientist and the amateur naturalist in the twentieth-century museum.

All Labourers in the Field: Gentlemen of Science at the Provincial Museums of Nova Scotia, Ontario, and British Columbia

Despite the obvious differences between them, the provincial museums of Nova Scotia, British Columbia and Ontario shared several basic characteristics. All established in the second half of the nineteenth century, their directors were gentlemen of science and, because of their small staffs, they relied heavily on the support, and voluntary labour, of their constituencies. The role of the constituencies in the scientific work of the provinces and of the museums in their early years illustrates the essential equality of the members of the scientific community. Because they were neither professionals nor amateurs, there was no 'obvious' hierarchy of knowledge or ability. The scientists each worked in their own way and on their own research projects, adding to the general store of knowledge. When collaboration occurred, it was usually either in the form of equals working together or of helping out a friend. Rarely did collaboration take the form of
a large research project directed by a single scientist and worked on by a group of subordinates.³

The relationship of the members of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science to the director of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, and the work they each did, is, perhaps, the best example of the essential equality within the pre-professional scientific community.⁴ Formed prior to the establishment of the museum, the Institute maintained a paternal stance towards the museum until the mid-twentieth century. Although impossible to prove, it is logical to assume that the Institute had some influence both on the establishment of the museum and on the shape which the museum as a permanent exhibit of the province's resources took. From the start, members used the museum's collections for their research, and, as the museum grew, Institute spokespersons often lobbied on behalf of the museum. This perception of the museum as its 'child' meant that the Institute desired a director, a 'foster parent', to whom it could relate. The Institute's preference for director was one of its own, a gentleman of science who would not only understand the scientific work being, and needing to be, done, but who could also participate in this work as an active research scientist. Thus, the Institute wholeheartedly supported David Honeyman, whose international scientific reputation brought instant recognition and status to the

³ I make this statement with caution. The example of the Museum of Comparative Zoology suggests that in large institutions groups of workers, especially students, were employed to perform the data collection portion of large research projects. It may be that the model of one naturalist (or one scientist)/one research project was already dying out and only persisted in the scientific communities of slightly-populated areas or of colonies which were still dominated by the scientific communities of the mother country. On the concept of colonial, or imperial, science, see Roy MacLeod, "On Visiting the 'Moving Metropolis': Reflections on the Architecture of Imperial Science," Historical Records of Australian Science 5, 3 (1982): 1-16.

⁴ I am not suggesting here some scientific golden age nor advocating a relativist belief in the equal abilities of all scientists. By equality, I mean that each had an equal chance to contribute, that there was no 'professional' or master scientist directing a corps of lesser, 'amateur' workers. My point is that there was a group of colleagues each contributing their best.
museum and, possibly, to the Institute. It also, initially, supported Harry Piers, whose reputation was less broad than Honeyman's but whose abilities and strengths in the job were obvious.

But 'support for' the museum or its director did not mean 'control of' it on the part of the Institute or its members. Indeed, the desire for a director who was one of them stemmed, at least in part, from a wish to leave the museum in good hands and not have to worry about its state or growth. The Institute of Science had been formed to promote original scientific research in the province, an endeavour which, its founders felt, would be best aided by the establishment of a communication network for researchers and the provision of a venue for the presentation and publication of research results. This aim was admirably expressed by the first president of the Institute, Philip C. Hill:

Communication with each other; every laborer in the field casting his contribution into a common receptacle whence all can freely draw, can alone give these results of individual effort their highest value, and convert that which formed the recreation of a single mind into the component portions of one mighty whole. It is then, to aid in this important work and to afford a well constituted and organized channel for the contributions to the general stock of knowledge of those among ourselves who are interested in the fascinating fields of knowledge embraced in the term 'Natural Science' that the 'Nova Scotian Institute' has been established.5

The Institute was meant to encourage research but it never directed its members in their work nor did it attempt to co-ordinate large research projects. Indeed, as Hill's speech suggested, the Institute seems to have valued quite highly the efforts and contributions of the individual labourer. The fact that the Institute published as many of the papers of these 'labourers' as it did is, in itself, evidence for the value it assigned each person's contribution to the whole enterprise.

This respect for, and encouragement of, the contributions of each gentleman of science

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was a part of the Institute's early relationship with the museum and its directors. Once a director acceptable to the Institute had been appointed, the Institute left him alone to do his work whether it be the basic museum work or his own scientific research. Since both Honeyman and Piers were longstanding members of the Institute, they both periodically presented research results to the Institute, but the work that they did was their own both in terms of what was chosen as a topic of study and of who did the actual research. Interestingly, there is little evidence that members of the Institute did volunteer work for the museum. And, while some of them used the museum as a base for their own projects, they do not seem to have done work for Honeyman or Piers.

The relationship worked both ways. Just as the Institute did not interfere in the research work of the museum, neither did Honeyman nor Piers attempt to direct or control the work of the Institute, its members, or the scientific community in general. Piers was at the centre of a data collection project on birds in the early years of the twentieth century. The project, which ran from 1901-1907, involved a total of nine men throughout the province sending to Piers a standardized set of data on birds observed in their area. Data collected included the name of the species, the date on which it was first sighted in the spring and how many were sighted, when it was next seen and when it became common, whether it bred in that locality and how abundant it was. The initial participants were E.C. Allen of Yarmouth, Harold and Robie Tufts of Wolfville, Charles Rufus Harte of Sydney, Francis H. Allen of Chester, and L.E. Allen of Salem (Nova Scotia). They were later joined by Frank H. Reid of Nictaux, John Crowett of Seal Island, and F.C. Bell of Sydney. Piers Papers, V. Science, E. Ornithology, b) Notes, NSM.

7. The form consisted of a piece of foolscap on which Piers had ruled columns and written headings in by hand.
interwar period. However, the difference of degree in Piers' much smaller-scale project created a difference of kind as well.

Although Piers was the recipient of the completed forms and can be said to have been co-ordinating the project, this remained a group of colleagues working together on a project of mutual interest. Unlike the hundreds of respondents who would sometimes participate in later projects, Piers' nine men were or became friends. Their names grace many, if not most, of the letters extant in the science correspondence of the Piers Papers at the Nova Scotia Museum, not only in the files on ornithology, but in those of other subjects as well.\(^8\) Nor are the letters all of a business or scientific nature; many of them, either before or after the main matter at hand is discussed, include remarks or queries as to the health of the family, the status of current hobbies, or the nature of a weekend's activities. Although the familiar and friendly nature of this project must be attributed in part to regionalism and the small size of the Nova Scotia scientific community, especially in the pre-war era, some of it stems from the nature of the scientific enterprise in a time before the professional/amateur dichotomy had taken root in the province. A group of colleagues pursuing a mutual interest, they were equal in their opportunities to contribute to the stock of scientific knowledge, and this was the model of most of the scientific work being undertaken in Nova Scotia at the time.

The character of the archaeological work of the men who supported, and worked in conjunction, with David Boyle at the Ontario Provincial Museum was similar to what took place within the Nova Scotia framework. Although Boyle essentially established a programme for

\(^8\) The research-related correspondence in the Nova Scotia Museum's Piers Papers Collection is organized according to the primary subject of the letter, i.e. ornithology, entomology, botany. Piers Papers, V. Science, A-K, NSM.
archaeological work in the province, the men who carried out that work were not simply gathering data or artefacts for Boyle's research. Killan writes of these men (George E. Laidlaw, Andrew F. Hunter, and, later, William J. Wintemburg, were the most prominent) as amateurs whose work was encouraged by Boyle. Boyle clearly encouraged their work, but this did not mean that these men were simply subordinate to him, under his direction in his grand archaeological scheme to uncover all of Ontario. Indeed, Killan himself writes of Laidlaw as Boyle's "co-worker."

George Laidlaw and Andrew Hunter were among the first group of people who donated both specimens and information when Boyle mailed the Canadian Institute's circular asking about archaeological sites in the province in 1885. Both had been avid relic hunters from their youths, and both went on to become prominent figures in Ontario archaeology. While many of Boyle's 'amateurs' or 'co-workers' participated by joining Boyle on his excavations, Laidlaw and Hunter


10. See, Killan, David Boyle, 192, for names of some of the other men who worked with and for Boyle.

11. The most obvious indication of his encouragement was his willingness to publish their written results in the Archaeological Report, one of the "most valuable contributions [he made] to Ontario archaeology." Killan, David Boyle, 121.

12. Killan, David Boyle, 128. Some of the inequality stems from Boyle himself who considered Laidlaw, Hunter, Dr. T.W. Beeman of Perth, Ontario, and Wintemburg as his protégés. However, Killan considers Boyle a professional and writes of him as "the sole professional archaeologist in the province." Boyle's professional status is a contention that both Douglas Cole and I disagree with, if for somewhat different reasons. Killan, David Boyle, 135 & 228; Cole, "Origins of Canadian Anthropology," 40.


14. For instance, when, in 1889, Boyle examined the site at Maple Village and opened an ossuary in York township, north of Toronto, Dr. Rowland B. Orr and a number of others were with him. Killan, David Boyle, 121.
both pursued their own work primarily in their own localities maintaining private collections as well as sending artefacts to the Canadian Institute and later the Ontario Provincial Museum. In most years, the *Archaeological Report* carried accounts of one or both of their summer's work. Their research results were always published under their own names, and Boyle never attempted to censor their work, even when he categorically disagreed with their analysis.\(^\text{15}\) As the most prominent and most prolific of the men who worked with and for Boyle in the field of Ontario archaeology, Laidlaw and Hunter are the best, but far from the only, examples of the essential equality between the 'gentlemen archaeologists' and Boyle. And if their status was not really 'below' his, his, in an important sense, did not rise 'above' theirs. Despite his position as director of the museum, his acceptance by many of the more famous archaeologists in the US and Europe, and his later reputation as the initiator of professionalism in archaeology, he remained an auto-didact, a kind of 'amateur' and so the scientific 'equal' of Laidlaw, Hunter and their colleagues.

After Boyle's death, Rowland Orr continued the practice of publishing the work of the 'amateurs' in the *Archaeological Report*. Although Hunter's name had ceased to grace the pages of the *Report* even while Boyle was living,\(^\text{16}\) Laidlaw remained a regular contributor until his

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\(^\text{15}\) Laidlaw occasionally took greater risks in his analysis than Boyle did, but Hunter was wont to submit analyses that were bizarre and unsubstantiated by the evidence. Boyle published them anyway. Killan, *David Boyle*, 127-28 & 174.

\(^\text{16}\) Boyle's disagreement with Hunter's assessment of a site began the deterioration of their friendship. Killan describes it in terms of Hunter's becoming increasingly irrational in his attitude towards Boyle, and attempting to make his own place in the archaeological community through discrediting the work and reputation of Boyle. Hunter eventually, in 1904, received permanent employment with the Geological Survey of Canada which got him out of Boyle's hair, but also took him away from Ontario archaeology, a field he had done much to enhance. Wintemburg also went to work for the GSC, in 1911, and became one of Canada's outstanding archaeologists. Killan, *David Boyle*, 174, 193-96 & 205-6.
death in 1928. Nor was Laidlaw the only non-professional to be published in the Report between 1911 and 1928. Although archaeology was becoming professionalized during these years under the work of Edward Sapir in Ottawa and T.F. McIlwraith in Toronto, the work of the self-taught and the 'antiquarians' remained substantial and significant during the interwar years.

The relationship of the Natural History Society of British Columbia to the BC museum offers relatively little evidence of an equal partnership between scientists. Formed after the establishment of the BC museum, and as an auxiliary to it, the Natural History Society appeared from the beginning as a servant to the museum. The original aim was to aid Fannin in accomplishing the museum's work and so a number of members laboured free of charge in the museum. The possibility of 'equality' among the different types of researcher was compromised as the volunteers working in the museum were subject to the needs of the museum and the supervision of its director. While Society members might have had a choice between working on the bugs or the bears, they would have had to do one or the other, and to have done the research in the manner desired by Fannin.

Nonetheless, there are traces of the sort of approach which the Institute of Science was following in Nova Scotia. Society members themselves argued that the Society had been founded as "an association of friends to help Mr. Fannin." The importance of the scientific work Fannin


18. Bernier, "Edward Sapir et la Recherche Anthropologique," and Barker, "T.F. McIlwraith and Anthropology at the University of Toronto."

19. See Levine, The Amateur and the Professional, 164-176, on the change from the idea of antiquarians as equals of the archaeologist and historian to the idea that they were amateurs.


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was doing at the museum, and, probably, the sheer amount of it that still required attention, suggested the need for an organized collaboration which, in the end, was not all that different from what was being done on the other side of the country. With the promotion of the study of the natural sciences as one of its two objectives, the Society provided a communication network and a forum for the presentation of results for those 'labourers in the field' who chose to work alone or on their own projects while at the same time supporting the museum through providing workers who were in need of project, who preferred museum work to field work, or who simply felt that giving aid to Fannin was the right thing to do. Made up of a group of colleagues who collectively added to the general stock of knowledge by combining the fruits of their individual labour, the Natural History Society, like the Institute of Science, was converting "the recreation of a single mind into the component portions of one mighty whole."

During Kermode's directorship, the Society no longer offered its support to the museum, although some of its members continued to labour on the museum's behalf. Other naturalists, who were neither Society members nor museum staff, did, however, occasionally collect data and specimens for the museum or submit articles for publication in the museum's annual report. Again, they, and the collectors especially, would have been subject to the needs, requests, rules,

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and regulations set out by Kermode and the museum. Yet, there remains a sense that these were friends of the museum who conceived of scientific work as a single 'mighty whole', a project to which all of their individual efforts were adding, in however small a way. However much Kermode may have been in charge because it was his museum's work and his museum's budget that was paying for that work, equals were in real measure working together, carrying out common tasks in ways that resembled what was being done at the Institute of Science and at Boyle's Ontario Provincial Museum.

All three of these museums also participated in extensive correspondence with the general public. Piers and Kermode both frequently commented, in their annual reports, on the vast numbers of letters requesting identification of specimens or information on the province's natural history which were received each year from the general public. Since the Archaeological Report was not actually an annual report for the museum, it does not contain any information regarding similar correspondence at the Ontario Provincial Museum. However, it is probable that Boyle also spent time answering queries from the general public. As well, all three of the museums corresponded with scientists in other museums, in universities, and in government departments. Both these kinds of correspondence aided in the museums' creation and diffusion of scientific knowledge. But only that with the general public carried any suggestion of an intellectual hierarchy, of a scientist answering a layperson, and even in these cases many of the correspondents were as knowledgeable in their chosen field as were the museum directors and


24. The only hint that Boyle did have a public correspondence is statements such as that in the report for 1899 in which he notes that a particular article was included "in accordance with many requests from students in Europe and America." Boyle, Archaeological Report (1899): 1.
The correspondence with scientists in other institutions involved, like that of the work of the local scientific communities, a sharing of knowledge between equals, and this remained the case as the museums' staff came to hold university degrees in science and to be respected as professional scientists. The sharing of work and knowledge with the local scientific community, however, altered as the professional/amateur dichotomy strengthened and most members of the local community fell into the latter category. The professional scientist, trained in research and analysis, became the person for whom the amateur's data-gathering work was accomplished.

Assisting in the Professional Research Project: The 'Killer Whale Project' at the British Columbia Provincial Museum

In his history of the naturalist in Britain, David Allen noted that there remained ways in the interwar and post-war years in which amateurs could make contributions, "some of them ways that for a long time to come professionals are likely to find unappealing." As early as the 1890s the arrival of preservation, and later conservation, movements in Britain had coincided with a decline in the collecting of specimens. "Gunless study" slowly became the preferred form of natural history field work, and binoculars became the standard equipment of the naturalist. Standards of identification changed as the specimens could no longer be studied up close, and portable field guides became a necessity. These changes lead to a transformation in the nature, and size, of research projects. Where before the individual roamed the countryside shooting the

25. Allen, Naturalist in Britain, 270.

birds and animals sighted or pulling up the plants spotted, and then studying each specimen individually for inclusion in a list of types, now the naturalist simply made note of a ‘sighting’. In order to make this useful to science, scientists began to organize large projects wherein sightings from around the country or continent were recorded in standardized form in order to provide data for population, distribution, and migration studies. Bird-banding projects were the earliest of these, but in the 1920s and 30s, the Oxford Ornithological Society organized a number of highly successful bird census projects.27 The success of these and other, similar, endeavours lead to a realization that amateurs could contribute something useful to the advance of science:

the amateurs now had in their gift a new scientific tool capable of procuring certain types of information which the professional, working on his own, unaided, could not hope to come by. Suddenly the Amateur had become scientifically indispensable.28 Collectors of data, spread throughout the region, country, or even continent, could provide the professional scientist with types and amounts of information that would have been impossible for the single researcher to acquire.

Museums, with their province-wide public mandates and their existing amateur-correspondent networks, were in a unique position to take advantage of this new form of scientific research. The extant records of the study-museums show that the bulk of the museums' correspondence was with the general public: letters requesting information on aspects of natural history, bird and animal behaviour, where species might be found, and how to get involved in collecting. Many of the correspondents sent specimens to the museum for identification, some

27. In 1928, 400 people assisted in taking a census of herons, and in the 1931 the Great Crested Grebe was counted. See also the description of the entomological project administered by Captain T. Dannreuther for Dr. C.B. Williams of the Rothamsted Experimental Station. Allen, Naturalist in Britain, 256-57 & 263-64.

intended as donations, others meant to be returned. And many of these correspondences were long-term, covering years of sharing information between the museum and the amateur naturalist.29 Not only, then, was it relatively easy for museums to begin asking their correspondents for certain types or specific pieces of information; experience with vast amounts of correspondence with the general public also gave the museums the administrative ability to initiate projects of this nature and to maintain them over a long period of time. The British Columbia Provincial Museum's "killer whale project", although only a small part of the work the museum did with amateur naturalists, provides a nice example of this type of scientific research.

Dr. Clifford Carl, who took over the position of director of the museum upon the retirement of Francis Kermode in 1940, was an ichthyologist. He had taken his Ph.D. at the University of Toronto, studying under J.R. Dymond of the ROM, and had returned to the west coast in 1937 to work for the Fisheries Research Board at the Cowichan Lake Hatchery on Vancouver Island. When he started work at the BC museum, Carl began immediately to enhance the marine collections. Corley-Smith writes that a request to the Provincial Game Commissioner for permission to collect fresh-water specimens from the lakes in the Victoria area is the earliest surviving museum memorandum written by Carl.30 It was this kind of concern to gather both specimens and information on the west coast's marine life which led Cliff Carl to create the 'killer whale project'.

The project began in December 1945 when a circular was sent to all of the lighthouse

29. See, for instance, the correspondence of Ken Racey (1922-1959), or Dan and Emily Leavens (1935-1962 and 1926-1952), with the museum. GR 111, b.16, f.14, and b.9, f.36, BCARS. There are many files of this sort in the Provincial Museum collection at BCARS.

keepers on the BC coast. Entitled "A Request to Lightkeepers," the circular asked for help in gathering information on the numbers and movements of killer whales in the coastal waters. Keepers whose lightstations were in a location that killer whales passed were asked if they could record any sightings, noting the date, time, number of whales, and their direction, and pass this information on to the museum at regular intervals of two or three months. The museum provided stamped and addressed envelopes and promised to report to all contributors on the information amassed. A final paragraph requested that any information on other whales or porpoises seen also be sent to the museum, especially if they had grounded or been washed up.31

The idea of recruiting the lightkeepers to track whale movements seems to have come from an earlier correspondence between Ian McTaggart Cowan and Oliver Maisonville, keeper of the Pulteney Point Light at Sointula, B.C. Cowan had written to Maisonville at the suggestion of a mutual acquaintance who had said that Maisonville was a naturalist who might be interested in sending bird and mammal specimens to the museum. Maisonville agreed to help where he could and a long mail relationship developed between Maisonville and the museum.32 Among the information which Maisonville sent on to the museum was a listing of his killer whale sightings, sent to Carl in November 1945.33 Whether he had been asked to record these or began to do so on his own, his action seems to have given Carl the idea of the larger project which he began with the circular sent out the following month.

31. "A Request to LightKeepers," December 1945, GR 111, b.30, f.3, BCARS. Files 2 and 3 are the originals created by Carl for this project and include both the responses from the lightkeepers and Carl's own notes from when people called with sightings or talked to him directly.

32. Cowan to Oliver Maisonville, Pulteney Point Light, Sointula, B.C., 20 November 1935; Maisonville to Cowan, 11 December 1935, GR 111, b.11, f.34, BCARS.

33. Maisonville to Carl, 14 November 1945, GR 111, b.30, f.3, BCARS.
The circular produced immediate results: Art Tolputt, keeper at Sisters Lightstation, Lasqueti Island, returned a list of recorded sightings on the 27th of December 1945. In response, Carl mailed him forms printed by the museum on which to keep the records. Other keepers followed suit and from 1946 through to 1960, the museum received completed report forms on a regular basis from a number of keepers. Some of them, such as N.E. Rendell of Winter Harbour or A. Ritchie of Saturna Island, reported regularly throughout the period. Others, such as George L. Smith of Nootka and D.H. Franklin of Cape Beale, seem to have returned records only once or twice. Some keepers, such as H.C. Pearce of the Scarlett Point light station, joined the effort midway through. Appointed to the position in 1953, Pearce found letters from Carl regarding the project in the station's old correspondence and wrote to Carl promising to "keep you posted in this regard." Pearce remained a faithful reporter throughout the 1950s. Others took their responsibility with them when they were transferred to new positions. Fred Mountain, who was keeper at Scarlett Point from the late 1940s to 1952, continued to report on whale sightings from his new position at Entrance Island Light, as did Gordon Odlum who was transferred from Triple Island to Race Rocks Lighthouse in Victoria.

In order to ensure the lightkeepers' loyalty to the project, the museum made every effort

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34. Art Tolputt, Sisters Lightstation, Lasqueti Island, B.C., to Carl, 27 December 1945; and Carl to Tolputt, 18 January 1946, GR 111, b.30, f.3, BCARS.

35. H. Pearce, Light Keeper, Scarlett Point, to Carl, 14 July 1953, GR 111, b.30, f.2, BCARS. All three of Pearce's predecessors at Scarlett Point--D.C. Milne, Fred Mountain, and Ray Stockard--reported to Carl regularly from 1946 onward.

36. F. Mountain, Entrance Island, Gabriola Island, to Carl, 2 January 1953; and Gordon C. Odlum, Race Rocks, Victoria, to Carl, 1 June and 2 June 1953, GR 111, b.30, f.2. Mountain was at the Carmanah Point Lightstation in 1946, but it is unclear when, he was transferred to Scarlett Point. The Odlum letter of 2 June 1953 was the last of his reports from his old position at Triple Island; the one of 1 June was the first from his new spot.
to encourage them and keep them informed of their utility. Almost every letter or form returned was acknowledged with a personal note of thanks from Cliff Carl, at least in the early years of the project. All keepers, regardless of whether they returned reports, were sent a copy of the museum's annual report for the year 1945. As well, any compilation of the gathered information done by the museum was also passed on to the contributors, as promised in the original circular. Allowing the keepers to see the use their information was being put to seemed the best way to ensure that they kept sending it.

In 1947, the project both became more specific and grew larger. A white killer whale was spotted in the vicinity of Vancouver Island and Carl decided to use this unusual animal to attempt more accurate tracking of whale movements. Sightings of what was probably the only albino killer whale in the area would allow the museum to track not just where whales went, but the paths a specific group took. Thus, in April 1947, Carl sent out another circular asking that information on the white killer whale sightings be sent to the museum. This circular seems to have gone out to a broader group than just the lighthouse keepers. An early response came from F. Warne, Acting Chief Supervisor of Fisheries in Vancouver who was passing on a report from

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37. A typed note, dated 19 June 1946 and signed by Margaret Crummy, saying "Lighthouse keepers were all sent 1945 Museum Reports" is included in the 'killer whale file'. A number of the keepers wrote to say thank you for the report. GR 111, b.30, f.3, BCARS.

38. Carl wrote to C.R. Weatherell of the Porlier Pass Lightstation, "When our printing job is completed you will be receiving a short paper on killer whales which may be of interest to you." Carl to Weatherell, 5 June 1946, GR 111, b.30, f.3, BCARS.

39. Two (October 1950 and March 1952) of the 74 recorded sightings noted two white killer whales in the pod. In both cases they were assumed to be mother and child. Cliff Carl, "Albinistic Killer Whales in British Columbia," in Carl, Report 1959, 29-36.

40. "White Killer Whale," copy of typescript, April 1947, GR 111, b.30, f.3, BCARS.
his subordinate in Nanaimo of a sighting of a white killer whale, and R.M. Wilson, with the Fisheries Research Board of Canada, also began passing on to Carl records of albino killer whale sightings. In 1948, Carl recruited the CPR Steamship Service to watch for the white whale, and, in the late 1950s, reports began coming in from masters of the Coast Guard and Merchant Marine ships regarding whale sightings. Members of the general public also involved themselves in this project after a resident of Galiano saw the albino whale. The Vancouver Sun reported this sighting of the whale, now known as 'Alice', and quoted Carl as requesting any information on sightings. At least one private citizen reported to the museum on sighting the albino whale.

The 'killer whale project' involved a large part of the community in the province. Beginning with the information provided by a single amateur naturalist whose regular occupation was lighthouse keeper, Cliff Carl turned whale-sighting in B.C. into an undertaking which netted hundreds of responses from people of many walks of life over the course of 15 years. The pleasure with which the light keepers, and others, participated in the project, regularly mailing to the museum the records of their whale sightings, and the enthusiasm which some of them

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41. F. Warne, Department of Fisheries, Vancouver, to Carl, 3 June 1947; and R.M. Wilson, Assistant Technician, Fisheries Research Board, to Carl, 8 February 1949, GR 111, b.30, f.3, BCARS.

42. Carl to A. Ritchie, Saturna Island Lightstation, 16 February, 1948, GR 111, b.17, f.27, BCARS; James A. Sleight, Master, CGS "St. Catherines," to Carl, 11 July 1958, and J. Linggard, Master, CMS "Stonetown," to Carl, 25 August 1958, GR 111, b.30, f.2, BCARS. It is not clear whether Carl recruited the Coast Guard and Merchant Marine, or whether they volunteered based on the public requests.

43. "'Alice the Albino' Sighted by Galiano Island Resident," Vancouver Sun, 9 September 1948; and V.L. Jackson, Salt Spring Island, to Carl, 3 December 1950, GR 111, b.30, f.3, BCARS. The curiosity factor of an albino killer whale must be taken into account when considering the enthusiasm of the general public to help out in recording the whale's movements.

44. Aside from the approximately 200 responses in the 'killer whale files' in box 30, the responses of a number of the more frequent reporters were filed separately under the light keepers' name, providing another 14 files of killer whale records, at least.
displayed for it point to a fascinating level of public spiritedness and goodwill towards the museum, and may also suggest a desire to be a part of something larger than themselves. Particularly for the light keepers, who were often quite isolated, participation in the killer whale project provided a link to the outside world, and added significance to an existence which could be quite dull.

Quite different from the research pursued by the men of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, the archaeologists at the Ontario Provincial Museum, and the members of the Natural History Society of British Columbia, the killer whale project also stood apart from projects like that of gathering data on birds in which Piers and his colleagues participated in the early part of the century. Despite Carl's attempts to personalize the relationship of the museum to each contributor through the acknowledgements he sent, the project remained an example of a professional scientist using the interests and abilities of amateur naturalists to gather data for his own purposes. It also, however, demonstrates the indispensable nature of those amateurs. The vast amount of information gathered by lighthouse keepers, fishermen, and ships' masters, up and down the BC coast, could never have been obtained by a single professional scientist, or even by a small group of researchers.

The 'killer whale project', sheds light on another dimension of the character of the

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45 A number of the keepers expressed pleasure at being able to be of assistance to the museum. Most were regular and frequent reporters, often writing quite long letters to describe curious incidents or creating their own forms when they ran out of the ones produced by the museum. N.E. Rendell and F.A. Mountain both expressed their interest in the annual report for 1945 which they were sent, and Carl's occasional assurance, in his thank you letters, of sending completed papers when they were finished suggests that the contributors were interested in the use to which their information was being put. N.E. Rendell, Winter Harbour, to Carl, 1 July 1946; F.A. Mountain, Carmanah Point Lightstation, to Carl, 15 July 1946; Carl to C.R. Weatherell, Porlier Pass, 5 June 1946; Carl to R.G. McIndoe, Office of the District Supervisor, Dept. of Fisheries, 11 January 1960; and Carl to Gordon Odlum, Race Rocks, Victoria, 16 February 1960, GR 111, b.30, f.2 & 3, BCARS.
'amateur' in the post-war period. Aside from Oliver Maisonville, who was the original contact, most of the lighthouse keepers do not seem to have been amateur naturalists prior to their involvement in the project. Arguably, they were not even naturalists while participating, for the knowledge of general marine life necessary to participate was nowhere near that which men like Honeyman, Piers, Boyle, Orr, Fannin and Kermode had to have in order to do their work. The museum provided information in the original circular on how to identify a killer whale, and any questions keepers had about these animals or the other whales they spotted were answered as readily as possible. But most of the keepers, and later the ships' masters and fishermen who were recruited, were simply men whose occupations made them ideal candidates for recording whale sightings. Although they were quite happy to be of service to the museum in this way, they were, in general, not people who spent their leisure hours collecting specimens, watching birds and animals, and undertaking all of the various activities related to the pursuit of natural history. The private citizens and, probably, the Fisheries people who responded were most likely interested and knowledgeable amateur naturalists, but large data-gathering projects like the killer whale project did not require great amounts of detailed knowledge on the subject. As with the Oxford Ornithological Society's bird census' described by David Allen, an ability to recognize the animal being studied was the extent of the 'knowledge' required from the amateurs. Unlike the earlier years, when the 'amateur' was, necessarily, as knowledgeable as his or her colleagues in the scientific community, in the new hierarchy it was the professional whose university-acquired theoretical knowledge was important in to the useful completion of the project at hand.  

46. In 1959, Carl published the information gathered on the albino killer whales. He concluded that the "observations tell us very little about killer whales, beyond the fact that they are relatively common in Coastal areas and that among them there are two or more albinistic individuals." This failure to generate a significant conclusion would suggest a problem in the methodology of the project, which may or may
An Education Alternative: J.R. Dymond and the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology

As a museum run by professional scientists from its inception, the Royal Ontario Museum had, in the interwar period, a relationship with the local scientific community similar to that between the BC Provincial Museum and its local community in the post-war period. J.R. Dymond of the Museum of Zoology, in particular, encouraged the participation of amateur naturalists in the museum's work and administered a network of correspondents for that purpose. But the museum's network of correspondents centred around an annual natural history questionnaire was much more, and more complicated, than simply a professional's use of amateur data-gathering ability. Paralleling the work done by Carl and the British Columbia Provincial Museum, and by other museums, the encouragement given to amateurs through the participation of the staff of the ROM of Zoology in naturalist and sportsmen's organizations also functioned as an educational programme. Firmly rooted in Dymond's theories on museum education, that activity provided a way for the museum to continue its involvement in adult education. It thus became an alternative to the increasing focus on schoolchildren within the ROM's Division of Public Instruction and, in Dymond's eyes, an improvement to the Division's flawed theoretical basis.

Dymond's commitment to the public education function of the museum was obvious. Most of his reports discuss, to some extent, the educational potential and uses of the museum, and his participation in the ROM's Education Committee from 1936 to 1945 added weight to his written comments. But much of his work with the Division of Public Instruction also makes it not have been related to the use of amateurs for data-collection. That use of amateurs was not necessarily a problem is indicated by the fact that the bird census projects in England in the 1930s, described by David Allen, did use them successfully. Clifford Carl, "Albinistic Killer Whales in British Columbia," in Carl, Report 1959, 29-36; and Allen, Naturalist in Britain, 256-7 & 263-4.

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clear that Dymond did not always consider the educational programming being offered through it as the best possible. Dymond considered the most important aspect of the museum's educational work to be what he termed 'visual education': it was sufficient to visit the galleries, see the objects on display, and read the labels.\(^{47}\) Essentially, his approach was founded on the old idea of the museum as inherently educational. He believed, nonetheless, that this type of education had a broader purpose: to open a new world of learning, not just to teach what was on the walls. When he took exception to Ruth Home's plan to establish a Children's Room, his objection was based on the fear that the room would replace the public galleries in childrens' visits:

> I conceive the purpose of bringing children to the Museum to be to open up to them the vast vistas of interest afforded by the exhibits in the various galleries. ... This is a totally different thing from illustrating a limited number of school lessons by taking them into a 'hole in the corner', containing a few objects about which they are to learn facts.\(^{48}\)

In an earlier complaint regarding lecturing to out-of-town groups, Dymond suggested that "our method of handling these larger groups is not only very expensive but wrong pedagogically."\(^{49}\) Museum education was not about cramming visitors full of facts, as Dymond felt was being done, but about opening the door to a 'museum habit' and to a life-long enjoyment of learning. If this was not what the Division of Public Instruction was offering, the Museum of Zoology would make it available through its correspondence with its constituency, its natural history

\(^{47}\) "Report of the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology," 1 May-30 September 1942, 6. RG 59, B., b. 1, f. 3, ROMLA. ‘Visual education’ was a phrase commonly used in educational theory, but I do not know whether it was always meant as Dymond used it.

\(^{48}\) Dymond to Ruth Home, 9 March 1938. See also Dymond to Home, 19 February 1940, and Home to Dymond, 20 February 1940. RG 99B, b. 1, f. 1, ROMLA.

\(^{49}\) Dymond to Helen Reynar, Board Secretary, 18 March 1937. RG 99B, b. 1, f. 1, ROMLA.
survey, and its work with amateur naturalist organizations.

Dymond initiated the Museum's natural history survey in 1931, just months after his appointment as Assistant Director of the Museum.\textsuperscript{50} The survey consisted of an annual questionnaire regarding wildlife numbers in the recipient's area and any changes to those numbers.\textsuperscript{51} Unlike Cliff Carl's 'killer whale project' which was centred on recording the same information year after year in order to track and establish patterns, the natural history survey requested different types of information on different animals in different years. Indeed, the survey was not a single project but a correspondence system designed to aid the staff in their specific research projects, and the nature of the questions asked depended on what the various staff members were working on at that time. Questionnaires were sent to naturalists throughout Ontario and to some in neighbouring provinces and states. Correspondents who returned completed questionnaires were sent a copy of the report derived from all of the completed returns. Like the annual reports for 1945 and the completed articles on killer whales sent by the B.C. Provincial Museum to the lighthouse keepers, this reciprocal arrangement ensured continued participation, gave correspondents a sense of accomplishment and of a stake in the research, and had the added benefit of educating them about the broader program of the museum.

The survey, however, was only the latest and most visible form of contact with amateur naturalists. Long before 1931, Dymond and the museum staff had been working with amateur naturalists, expanding their contacts and widening their network. In 1921, Dymond had helped

\textsuperscript{50} B.A. Bensley suggested a survey in 1918, but Dymond actually got it going. It was discontinued by Dymond's successor. B.A. Bensley to Board Secretary, 25 May 1918; and F.A. Urquhart to Dymond, 9 November 1954. RG 59, G., b.1, f.3 & b.3, f.3.2, ROMLA.

\textsuperscript{51} See first questionnaire, appended to "Report of the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology," December 1931, RG 59, B., b. 1, f. 1, ROMLA.
to found the Brodie Club, a group of professional and amateur naturalists loosely connected to
the ROM and named after William Brodie, Provincial Biologist for Ontario from 1903 to 1909.
Dymond also participated in founding the Toronto Naturalists Field Club in 1923 and the
meetings of these and other organizations, helping out wherever necessary and possible. They
also kept up with a large network of naturalists through daily correspondence at the museum.
Questions were answered; specimens identified; and suggestions for further study made. Not only
did the museum staff make an effort to maintain its links with the amateur scientific community,
they integrated the amateur naturalists into the work of the museum. This gave the naturalists a
broader understanding both of the museum's work and of natural history, and gave them a reason
to remain loyal constituents. Like the natural history survey, the museum's relationships with
these organizations and the day-to-day correspondence were reciprocal, providing a two-way
communication which benefitted both parties.

The survey and general correspondence were both a quantitative and a qualitative success.
In 1935, 590 questionnaires were sent out, most of which were returned completed. By 1940, the
number of completed returns had risen to 729.\textsuperscript{53} The number of personal letters answered by the museum staff on an annual basis is harder to judge but Dymond considered it a major portion of the museum's work.\textsuperscript{54} The sheer number of people who participated in gathering information for the museum in this way speaks volumes for the success of the museum's efforts. The willingness with which correspondents took part, as measured by their continued participation, confirms that, like the pleasure that the lighthouse keepers took in assisting Carl at the BC museum, the museum's program was successful. But the correspondents were also receiving a measure of personal contact, which, while not as close as the contact that Harry Piers had with his birding colleagues in Nova Scotia in the early 1900s, was sufficient to lead them to take "a keen personal interest in the museum."\textsuperscript{55} Where Carl's 'killer whale project' involved working with men who were living lives quite isolated from Carl and the museum staff as well as from society in general, Dymond and his staff had direct contact with many of their amateur colleagues at the meetings of the organizations with which they were involved. It is unlikely that they knew personally all seven or eight hundred of the questionnaire recipients, but the contact was sufficient to instill a measure of personal interest in the museum on the part of the correspondents.

It was the constituency's personal interest in the museum that, for Dymond, marked the achievement of the museum's goals:

Many other museums, of course, are more successful in securing the support of more


\textsuperscript{54} Dymond claimed that, in the seven months from 1 October 1938 to 30 April 1939, 1,865 letters were sent in answer to personal enquiries. "Report of the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology," 1 October 1938 to 30 April 1939, 6, RG 59, B., b. 1, f. 2, ROMLA.

\textsuperscript{55} "Report ROM-Zoology," November 1935, 2.
wealthy patrons, especially for foreign surveys and exotic material, but we believe that our duty is primarily to interest our own people in the zoology of our own area. We believe that the Museum of Zoology has been as successful as could reasonably be expected...  

The Museum of Zoology may not have been rich in funding, but it had a loyal constituency which actively participated in both the museum's services and in its work.

Dymond's interpretation of the museum's success can be seen in the description of the incident which precipitated the above comment. In October 1935, an unusual flight of Blue Geese from James Bay over Southern Ontario attracted a fair bit of public and press attention, and produced a flood of information into the museum from around the province, as well as the donation of some specimens. The Museum received from interested spectators more information about this flight than it could ever have gathered on its own, thereby allowing the ornithologists to understand the strange occurrence. Dymond's final comment on the event made clear what he thought it meant to the museum:

The fact that specimens and such complete information came to the Museum so spontaneously is a proof of the extent to which the institution is known and its work understood and appreciated.  

For Dymond, the fact that people would automatically and immediately send to his museum information regarding an odd event in the natural world was proof that the maintenance of the link between the professional scientists and the amateur naturalists, even the general public, at which Dymond and his staff worked so hard, had paid off in an understanding and appreciative audience.

That the museum's contact with amateur naturalists was successful, however, does not


mean it constituted an education program. Even the fact that the correspondence was a two-way relationship in which the knowledge created by and with the data gathered by the amateur was re-distributed to respondents through the completed reports sent to them only allowed the museum to claim fulfillment of the common museum objective of the diffusion of knowledge. Given the changes in educational theory over this period, it would be difficult to argue that the diffusion of knowledge could be by definition an education program. However, Dymond's own ideas on museum education allow one to argue that, for him, the natural history survey, the daily correspondence, and the work with amateur naturalists in general did constitute a form of educational programming.

Dymond maintained an holistic view of natural history and education which meant that for him the study of natural history, at any level, was inherently educational. "The purpose of natural history education," Dymond stated:

would seem to be: (1) To give useful knowledge. (2) To develop in those with a natural bent for the subject such an ability in observing and such an interest in nature that natural history will be a life-long joy.  

This description was primarily meant to explain why natural history education was worth providing for school children, but Dymond's claim that natural history would be a "life-long joy," capable of delighting "those who have left school" as well as those still there suggests that he was as concerned about keeping adults interested in continued learning. Indeed, in another report, Dymond included a section entitled "Aesthetic Value of Museum Work," in which he justified the collection of information with little or no practical value. That justification is worth quoting

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Few activities are more worthwhile than the promotion of an interest in and a knowledge of natural history among the public at large. There are few happier people than those who have an active outdoor interest in some branch of natural history. As a hobby it combines several desirable features—it is educational, healthful and inexpensive. With the increase of leisure time and especially with the increase of urbanization, a great increase in the number of people who can take an active and intelligent interest in natural history is a most desirable development.  

The pursuit of natural history during one's adult life was for Dymond the best sort of 'continuing education'. Thus, the museum's encouragement of amateur naturalists became a legitimate part of the educational work of the museum, a way for the Museum of Zoology to focus on adult education while the Division of Public Instruction focussed on children.

Dymond's participation in naturalist and sportsmen's organizations and his work on advisory committees to government stemmed both from his belief that as a professional biologist he had an obligation to serve the public and from his commitment to wildlife research and wildlife conservation. In an unpublished description of Dymond's career, F.E.J. Fry of the Department of Biology at the University of Toronto argued that all of Dymond's scientific work can be placed in one of two collateral fields: Dymond was "interested in the taxonomy and application of every living thing that lives in the province of Ontario". Dymond's work was "interested in the taxonomy and application of every living thing that lives in the province of Ontario". 


60. There were probably many children or adolescents who participated in Dymond's survey and correspondence network, but the programme was never intended to be especially for them.

61. Dymond sat on the Sub-committee on Natural Resources of the federal Committee on Reconstruction during the war, was chair of the Advisory Committee on Fisheries and Wildlife Research of the Ontario Research Commission from 1947 to 1954, chaired the Fish and Wildlife Committee of the Conservation Council of Ontario in the 1950s, acted as a consultant to the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, and was Ontario's representative to the Great Lakes Fisheries Commission in the 1960s. See Fry, typescript on Dymond.
bionomics of fishes on the one hand and in the conservation of fish and wildlife through public education on the other."\textsuperscript{62} The public education he engaged in throughout his life included the work he did with, and for, the ROM's Division of Public Instruction. But the Museum of Zoology's extension programs, especially the natural history survey, the day-to-day correspondence with its large constituency, and the participation in organizations in which that constituency also participated must be seen as an alternative to the formal education programming provided by the DPI. It did not replace that programming, but it did help to fulfill Dymond's vision of proper museum education when the programs offered through the Division of Public Instruction fell short of his ideals.

Conclusion

Obviously, this discussion has relied on some broad and sweeping generalizations. For each of the cases described above, there are as many exceptions as there are rules. True equality was never a characteristic of the scientific community any more than it is of any other community, professional or pre-professional. There were always better and worse scientists; there were always those who took charge and those who followed orders. Nor did all professionals begin to run large research projects using amateurs to gather data after it became clear who was the professional and who the amateur. The preponderance of laboratory work in biology and zoology after the turn of the century meant that even the large research projects often required the expertise of professionally-trained scientists, or, at least, ones in training, i.e. graduate students. And, as the work the staff at the ROM of Zoology undertook with the various amateur

\textsuperscript{62} Fry, typescript on Dymond, 3. On Dymond's sense of duty see, for instance, Dymond to Dr. Gertrude Wright, Secretary, Society of Biologists, 30 September 1941, RG 59, G., b. 1, f. 6, ROMLA.
organizations suggests, amateurs continued to do scientific work for themselves regardless of the professionals' needs and programmes. However, what the discussion does demonstrate is that as the professional/amateur dichotomy took hold in science and the nature of scientific work was transformed, amateurs were not simply pushed out, as the previous chapter's discussion of the experiences of Piers and Kermode might suggest. Rather, the amateurs' role in the scientific endeavour was altered to fit the new order.

The professionals and the amateurs separated into two different groups, and, as the professionals came to dominate in such paid scientific positions as that of museum director or curator, the amateurs pursued their interests in science and natural history in their leisure time through amateur organizations not unlike the Nova Scotian Institute of Science or the Natural History Society of British Columbia, or through participation in the work of museums. Nor was the amateur category monolithic, as the analysis of the 'killer whale project' shows. There were 'serious' amateurs, those who continued to contribute original research and who, fifty years before, might well have applied for the positions of museum curator. These were the people who actively participated in the organizations which Dymond and his staff worked with, who returned their natural history surveys year after year, and who corresponded regularly with the Museum of Zoology on a vast array of natural history subjects. But there were also those analagous to Nathan Reingold's 'cultivators' of science who simply had an interest in natural history of the sort which fifty years before would have led them to join the Institute of Science without contributing much of significance. Some, indeed, had an interest only in a particular project. Most of the lighthouse keepers who participated so eagerly in Carl's 'killer whale project' never corresponded with the museum on any other topic, never sent in specimens of plants or small animals, and
ceased to write at all after the project had wound down in the 1960s. Yet they all played a valuable role in the scientific work of the museums.

The descriptions of the 'killer whale project' and the work of the Museum of Zoology suggest differences between the two museums which did not really exist. In describing only the one project run by the BC museum, all of the other work that the staff did to maintain its ties to the amateurs has been ignored. The staff at the BC museum did most of the same work that Dymond's staff was doing, if perhaps on a somewhat smaller scale, and, given the enthusiasm with which the lighthouse keepers and the general public participated in this project, it is probable that other work was done with a similar level of success. Whether Cliff Carl saw his work with the amateur scientific community, and in particular his use of the lighthouse keepers to record killer whale movements, as a form of educational programming is impossible to say. Yet, the similarities between the programmes, and Carl's desire to reciprocate through sending published work to the contributors, suggest that, however unconscious it might have been, Carl, like Dymond, saw integrating the amateur scientific community into the work of the museum as much a part of the educational mandate of the museum as it was of the research work. Amateurs may have become indispensable to professional scientists, but they also continued to be the target of that unique middle-class urge to educate which had created the museum in the first place.
Chapter Seven —

Towards a Museums Profession: Professional Organizations and Curator Training

The first essential of a museum ... is the service of a qualified curator. (Miers and Markham, The Museums of Canada, 1932, 52)

The establishment of a professional/amateur dichotomy in science, combined with the general trend toward the use of 'experts' in government, ensured that, by the 1950s, most museum directors and curatorial staff were professionals in the sense that they held university degrees in their chosen subjects. However, from long before then, a movement was afoot to turn directors and curators not just into professional scientists, but into 'professional' museum workers trained in museum methods. The first hint of this movement was the 1889 founding in Britain of the Museums Association, an organization intended to improve communication between the curators, museum workers, and management committees of Britain's provincial museums. Through sharing information on administrative strategies, on new arrangement and exhibit methods, and on the use of new technologies, the Museums Association hoped to raise the level of competency among the people who worked in Britain's growing number of museums, and thereby, perhaps,

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1. Exceptions to this professionalizing trend occurred more frequently than the statement suggests. Many smaller museums, run by municipalities or local societies, could not afford professionals and were, and are, still run by 'amateurs'.

2. Lewis, For Instruction and Recreation. Lewis, 8-11, notes the early changes to the basic idea which included the extension of membership to the staff at the national museums, the establishment of an associate membership for those interested in museums but not working in one, and the attempts to rectify the initial natural history bias in the membership. He fails to recognize, however, that by opening membership to non-museum staff the organization undermined its search for professional status.

3. For instance, in 1898, the delegate from the Manchester Museum delivered a paper to the annual meeting on the problems and benefits of installing electric lights in the museum. Lewis, For Instruction and Recreation, 13.

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to professionalize them. The British Museums Association was soon followed by similar organizations in other countries,\(^4\) and, with the early introduction of discussion on curator training, the museum world was on the road to professionalization that so many other occupations were following.

The following chapter is a study of the attempt to professionalize museum work and of Canadian museums' participation in it. It begins by tracing the early history of the idea of curator training and the attempt to create a standardized education in museum methods. From there, it moves on to discuss the nature of Canadian participation in this aspect of the museum movement, using the study museums' experiences as examples. As with the impact of the professionalization of science, this is a first attempt to draw together information from individual institutions and place it within a broader context in order to determine patterns of experience. The information remains incomplete, leaving the picture sketchy.\(^5\) It does, however, seem clear that, despite the problems inherent in being in a small and new society, Canadian museums conformed to the pattern established by the British and American museums. The most significant point of divergence was the late timing of the establishment of independent national and provincial

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\(^4\) For instance, the American Association of Museums and the Swedish museums association were both founded in 1906. The same year, a German museums journal, *Museumskunde*, was inaugurated.

\(^5\) Lewis' history of the Museums Association is the only full-length study of one of these organizations. The American Association of Museums has occasionally considered its past in articles published in its journal and the Canadian Museums Association published an interview with some founding members for its fortieth anniversary. As well, occasional internal documents deal with the organizations' past and students in museum studies programmes have written on professionalization within the museum community. But most of this work remains unpublished and, therefore, highly inaccessible. Ellen C. Hicks, "The AAM after 72 Years," *Museum News* 56, 5 (May/June 1978):44-48; "Founding Members Discuss CMA's Evolution." For a brief contemporary look at the work of the museums' associations, see Coleman, *Museum in America*, 38-44.
organizations. Owing in part to the small size of the Canadian museum community, continued Canadian participation in other national organizations was also a product of the colonial mentality which kept Canada tied to British institutions throughout this period.

The History of an Idea: The Museums Association and Early Curatorial Training Programs

The early years of the Museums Association introduced most of the issues which would hold the attention of, or plague, the museum world for the next century. Cataloguing, museum legislation, technology, museum administration, museum directories, specimen exchanges, and proper labelling were all considered in papers presented to the annual meetings and scrutinized in the follow-up discussions. One of the most important of these was the question of curator training, raised by James Paton, Curator of Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, in 1894. Paton argued that curators had the unique privilege of "belonging to a new profession ... without a history, without traditions, almost without experience." As such, they were in a position to define their profession as they wished. The Museums Association should, therefore, begin to "frame regulations for the admission of members within its ranks," in anticipation of the day when it would be able to "demand a certain standard of education and a certain quality of character in those ... who aspire to full membership ... who aspire to the important function of directing

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6. The British Columbia museum, in particular, tended to have more contact with museums and universities on the west coast of the United States than with any of its counterparts in the rest of Canada, simply because of the difficulties of communication and transportation posed by the size and geography of the country.

7. Paton had raised training as an issue in the decade-long discussions which lead up to the establishment of the association. Lewis, For Instruction and Recreation, 3-4.

educational museums." Paton heartily agreed with by those whose comments in the succeeding discussion were recorded, but no follow-up was decided upon and the idea seemed almost to die.

Not until 1906 did the issue of curator training again make an appearance in the Association's publications, this time in the new Museums Journal as a printed version of the presidential address to the annual conference.\textsuperscript{10} Lamenting the fact that there were, as yet, no guards at "the portals of our craft," William Hoyle went on to describe the qualifications of the ideal curator and the general and professional education that a curator should acquire, distinguishing between the professional training necessary to be a curator of an art museum and that required for a science museum.\textsuperscript{11} Once again, the idea was applauded and immediately forgotten by most of the attendees.

It was the Americans and the Europeans who finally did something practical towards the need for adequately trained curators and directors. In 1908, the Museums Journal carried a note from abroad announcing the establishment of a school for curators at the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art in Philadelphia. The advertisement noted that only by "educating students for the particular purpose" could the increasing demand for "competent" museum workers be met. "A knowledge of `Museum Science'," it claimed, was "essential to the high

\textsuperscript{9} Paton, "Education of a Curator," 102-103.

\textsuperscript{10} The Museums Journal, the official organ of the Museums Association, was begun in 1901. See, Sherman, Worthy Monuments, 87-88, on the attempt to institute state qualifying examinations for local curators in France in 1905.

\textsuperscript{11} His definition of a museum of science was deliberately broad and allowed for museums of both natural and manufactured products, as long as the object was "to exhibit the state of human knowledge on one or more subjects." W.E. Hoyle, "Presidential Address: The Education of a Curator," Museums Journal 6, 1 (July 1906): 4-24.
professional standing of a curator."\textsuperscript{12} Presumably the first of its kind in the world, the Pennsylvania museum school was quickly followed by the announcement in 1909 of a two-year examinable course under the supervision of the director of the royal collections in Berlin.\textsuperscript{13} Other museums followed suit in setting up training courses, but most of what was made available consisted of short, day-long or week-long workshops, rather than degree or diploma oriented programs.

The establishment of the first two programs at recognized museums introduced a theme in the provision of curator training which can be seen most clearly in the report of the Committee of the American Association of Museums on Training for Museum Workers submitted in 1917. The report, which was reprinted in the \emph{Museums Journal}, pointed out that colleges were not in a position to offer the described specialist education, and recommended, instead, that museums be canvassed to "ascertain which would be willing to undertake instruction in museum work."\textsuperscript{14} Rather than recommending that museums work towards the establishment of museum schools controlled by universities in the manner of schools of law and medicine,\textsuperscript{15} the committee accepted

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} "A School for Curators," \textit{Museums Journal} 7, 11 (May 1908): 408.
\item \textsuperscript{13} "Education of the Curator," \textit{Museums Journal} 8, 9 (March 1909): 331. Since all of the information from this section comes from the \textit{Museums Journal} and from histories of the British and American organizations, courses and schools in other countries may well have been missed.
\item \textsuperscript{14} "Report of the Committee of the American Association of Museums on Training for Museum Workers," \textit{Museums Journal} 17, 1 (July 1917): 10. Interestingly, the committee outlined three distinct areas of museum work which required specific qualifications. This distinction is at the crux of the argument of those who claim that museum work still has not become, and probably will never be, a profession. The variety of jobs necessary to run a successful museum militates against the emergence of a single body of requisite knowledge, which is one of the hallmarks of a profession.
\end{itemize}
the situation and suggested instead schools attached to specific museums. Although this had the practical benefit of providing students with an "hands-on' education, in the long run it endangered the museum movement's drive towards professionalization as university-based education became the standard for professional status.  

The First World War slowed the activities of both the Museums Association and museums in general, but a return to peace reopened the discussion of training curators. Hoyle gave another paper at the annual conference on the topic, in which he expressly argued for the establishment of a diploma programme. Herbert Bolton raised the issue in his Presidential Address of 1924, and, glad to see that someone was doing something even if it was not happening in Britain, the editor of the Journal praised the American Association of Museums in 1925 for establishing a committee to consider university courses in museology. Perhaps the most practical move towards curator training in the United Kingdom was the annual summer school established by the National Museum of Wales in 1925 for its own staff members. Yet, as training remained *ad hoc* and focussed on those who already had curatorial positions, rather

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18. W. Evans Hoyle, "Training and Diplomas for Museum Curators," *Museums Journal* 20, 8 (February 1921): 173-180. The need for systematic training for curators was also the conclusion of the report of the BAAS's Committee on Museums in Relation to Education which reported in 1920. Like the American committee in 1917, the BAAS committee suggested the need for universities and colleges to take some of the training responsibility. Lewis, *For Instruction and Recreation*, 30-31.


than on ensuring that new applicants be required to hold the proper qualifications and credentials, its ability to establish museum work as a recognized profession remained elusive.

The status which professional training would bestow upon museum work, and its attendant affect on salaries, became part of the issue during the interwar period. At the 1920 conference, W.E. Hoyle described the benefits of a diploma programme for would-be curators:

There can be no doubt that the existence of a diploma would do much to give our calling a definite position in public estimation. It would come to be looked for in the case of those seeking museum appointments and in time it would have a favourable influence on the scale of remuneration for such work.\textsuperscript{21}

Salaries and rates of pay were noted or discussed on a number of occasions in the \textit{Museums Journal}. In February 1911, a raise in pay for the curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford was announced in the \textit{Journal}, and a month later, the announcement of a new curator at the Liverpool Museum included a notation on his salary. Usually, these notes included or hinted at criticism of the low salaries provided. In 1912, the editor of the \textit{Journal} berated the municipal authorities at Worcester for offering £150 per annum for a full-time curator, a "grossly underestimated remuneration."\textsuperscript{22} Strategies for solving the problem of low salaries were rarely forthcoming, although the Council prepared a recommended salary scale for local government curators in 1920.\textsuperscript{23} Paton had noted in 1894 that museum curators had "a rather undefined social position and public recognition." As moulders of their own experience and history, they would

\begin{footnotes}
\item[22] "Notes and News," \textit{Museums Journal} 10, 8 (February 1911): 240; 10, 9 (March 1911): 266-67; and 12, 1 (July 1912): 25.
\item[23] "Scale of Salaries for Chief Officer of a Museum or Art Gallery," \textit{Museums Journal} 21, 12 (June 1922): 245-46; and Lewis, \textit{For Instruction and Recreation}, 32. The "Chief Officer" was defined as a curator, keeper, superintendent or director.
\end{footnotes}
also be able to mould the "status of our profession". But Hoyle seems to have been the first person to directly and baldly relate higher salaries to the status which would derive from a standardized training programme.

This discussion of salaries, status, and the need for training had its effect, finally paying off in the 1930s with the creation of a museums diploma programme run by the Museums Association. The two events which had the most influence on the eventual establishment of the diploma programme were the 1926 decision of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust to fund a report on the country's public museums (this became known as the Miers Report after its principal author) and the 1927 Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries. Both reports recommended the introduction of museum training for staff, with the Miers report paying particular attention to the lack of adequate staff in most museums and the "disgracefully low

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25 Coleman made clear the links between reputation and salary in his discussion of museum workers. Coleman, Museum in America, 400-403.

The Royal Commission suggested that the national museums might take some responsibility for the training of curators, and on that recommendation the Museums Association worked with the national museums to offer a short course in October 1930. Its success lead to the offering of two more in 1931, and the Carnegie Trust, which had been awarding grants for museum workers to attend courses and conferences or to take study tours, agreed to help with the expenses of this particular programme. As a result of the success of these courses, the Association appointed a sub-committee on training (which renamed itself the Education Committee) and in 1932 the regulations for the award of the Diploma of the Museums Association were published in the *Journal*.\(^{28}\)

Over the years, the nature of the diploma programme was changed, tests and examinations added or deleted, and subject areas increased or decreased, but the essence of the programme as training under the control of the Association remained. Indeed, the Association seems to have deliberately eschewed the route of the university-controlled formal knowledge which had given other occupations the status of 'profession'. Both the Courtauld Institute and the Institute of Archaeology at the University of London took up the issue of curator training, and, in 1932 and 1937 respectively, began to train art and archaeology curators. Not until 1966, however, was a Department of Museum Studies created at the University of Leicester to offer university courses

\(^{27}\) Quoted in Lewis, *For Instruction and Recreation*, 45.

The American curator training situation was somewhat different. Despite its 1917 Committee on Training Museum Workers, the American Association of Museums seems to have placed much less emphasis on training during the interwar years than did the British. Indeed, Ellen Hicks does not even mention the 1917 committee; the 1945 recommendation of the Committee on Association Policies that effort be concentrated on training professionals marks the point at which she introduces the idea of curator training in American museums. However, although the AAM may not have been involving itself with training, many of the American museums were. By the 1930s, a number of programmes were in place around the country. Most of them were based on some form of a combined post-graduate university course/museum apprenticeship, a model which S.F. Markham, secretary to the Museums Association, felt the British might want to follow. Markham was also quick to point out the need for more refresher and travel courses in Britain. The greater number of organizations in America willing to fund curators' attendance at short courses in the way the Carnegie Corporation was doing meant that

29. The best short overview is Lewis, "The Training of Museum Personnel in the United Kingdom."


31. S.F. Markham, "Impressions of American Museums," Museums Journal 31, 10 (January 1932): 439-441. Coleman gives a brief history of museum course work claiming a course begun in 1908 at the University of Iowa as the first. He advocated a combination of university education and museum training which should take place within university museum schools (like law schools). He also felt that universities with art museums in the USA were doing a reasonably good job of this sort of training already, but that science museums were not doing so, despite a few good training programs run through such public museums as the Buffalo Museum of Science. Coleman, Museum in America, 419-428.

32. On the role of the Carnegie Corporation of New York in the arts, museums, and cultural philanthropy, see Lagemann, Politics of Knowledge, 99-122. Lagemann argues that the Carnegie Corporation’s policy centred on its desire to "increase popular access to culture while also transferring responsibility for cultural conservation from the old-line patricians, who had once served as guardians of the genteel, to organizations and groups associated with the new professional scientific and engineering
such attendance was more common in the States than in Britain. Much of this gap in the practice between the US and Britain was filled during the 1930s by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust grants, which also helped to fund enrollment in the new diploma programme. But in neither the US nor in Britain did the path chosen lead to the secure professional status of occupations such as law, medicine, dentistry, engineering, or architecture.

The Canadian Context: The Study Tour and Early Museum Courses

Canadian museum workers were well aware of what was happening in the greater museum world. As members of an international museum movement, they corresponded with their colleagues and counterparts in museums and research institutions throughout Britain and North America, exchanging both scientific information and advice on museum techniques. The first Canadian member joined the Museums Association in 1901, and, although the number of Canadian members was never great, other Canadian institutions and individuals also joined in later years. It is, therefore, easy to see that Canadians were aware of the rising issues of elites." This focus on high culture and élites, she argues, was the limiting factor in the policy's success. She also argues that this "professionalization of culture" was a 'masculinization', taking culture out of the hands of the 'amateur' women and putting it in the control of 'professional' men. Lagemann, Politics of Knowledge, 100, 104, & 119-122.

33 J. Millar, the Deputy Minister of the Department of Education, Ontario, is listed as the first Canadian to have joined, in 1901. The Vancouver Museum joined in 1914, J.R. Dymond in 1920, and the ROM as an institutional member in 1922. The National Gallery and the National Museum joined in 1929, and both the Ontario Provincial Museum and the British Columbia Provincial Museum joined in 1931. Harlan I. Smith of the National Museum was listed as an ordinary member in 1931, and Dalhousie University and the Nova Scotia Public Archives both joined in 1932. Neither Harry Piers, nor the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia were members during the pre- or interwar years. Museums Journal 4, 2 (August 1904): 53; Museums Journal 15, 2 (August 1915): 66; Museums Journal 21, 3 (September 1921): 53; Museums Journal 22, 3 (September 1922): 74; Museums Journal 31, 6 (September 1931): 255-264; and Museums Journal 32, 8 (August 1932): 191. Despite the few Canadian members, the Museums Journal did report quite regularly on goings-on in the Canadian museum world, even before 1901.

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professionalization and curator training. Canadian response to the needs of curator training took
the form of following the British and American precedents, but only to a point. In part because
they were a small community in a geographically-large country, and in part because of the
continuance of a colonial mentality in Canada, Canadian museum workers remained dependent
on the museums and professional organizations of Britain and the United States. With no
professional organization of their own to provide contacts and training, and with no innovators
devising training initiatives which addressed the difficulties of transportation and communication
all Canadians experienced or adapting existing programmes to the peculiar Canadian situation,
Canadian museums relied for many years on the study tour as the primary type of formal training
for curators.

    Comparison of one's own institution with others, particularly with the larger and better-
known museums in the world, was common practice among curators and directors. It was a
pleasant way to affirm one's own abilities and the quality of one's own museum. It was also an
obvious way to provide information not easily put into the letters so many of the curators
exchanged. Picking up new ideas and learning alternative uses for old ones often proved easier
to do through actual contact, however brief, with what an institution was doing. James Paton, in
describing how he saw the training that future curators should receive, suggested a two-stage
program which would consist of a Lehrejahre and a Wander-jahre. An apprenticeship, during
which "all the details of museum work" would be learned, would be followed by a period of time
during which the young curator travelled to other museums to see how things were done
elsewhere. Paton's description of the Wander-jahre is worth quoting at length:

    [The young museum official] must above all see things, must learn by looking, and be
able to appreciate the external forms, comparative importance and value of all manner of
objects; must see what is done and shown in other museums; learn how the work is done, and how the objects are exhibited. He must absorb ideas; wherever he goes he must appropriate knowledge, the experience and the ingenuity of other men in the most unblushing manner. He is not called on to possess any original ideas himself, although it is desirable that he should contribute something to the common stock of information; but he must suck the brains of others without hesitation, and use the product for his own purposes as if it were his own conception and device. The man who has seen most, who has most sympathetically extracted information from others, and who has got others willingly to do work for him, is the most successful provincial curator.34

Although Paton was describing a process which was already a common practice, as curator training became a more pressing issue, this form of training became formalized as the 'study tour'.35

Canadians picked up on the idea of the study tour quickly. Often isolated, and heavily reliant on their correspondence with British and American institutions, Canadian museum workers found travel to those institutions a particularly apt way in which to strengthen ties, supplement letter-writing, and keep up on new developments. The easiest way to convince the museum's governing body to finance these visits was to organize a study tour of museums in Britain, Europe, the eastern US, or, for museums in western Canada, simply "the East", in conjunction with a visit to a world's fair or attendance at a major conference.

David Honeyman was probably the most travelled of the early curator/directors of the museums under study. Born in Scotland, he maintained contacts in the U.K. and Europe throughout his lifetime and travelled to Britain a number of times under the auspices of the Nova Scotia government. Honeyman never took an official museum study tour as his government-funded trips to Britain were as commissioner for the Nova Scotia exhibits to international


35. The study tour remains one of the easiest and most popular forms of training for museums and small archives, just as apprenticeships continue to be a major route into museum careers.
expositions, but it is probable that he spent at least some of his time while in Britain visiting the local and national museums and conferring with his museum colleagues, and that he returned to Nova Scotia with information on new developments in museum method or with new ideas to implement in his own museum.

Jack Fannin was the first of the curators from the study museums to take an official 'study tour'. Suggested, arranged, and paid for by the British Columbia government, Fannin's tour consisted of three months of travelling in Britain, the USA and eastern Canada. He visited fifteen museums, including the British Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, the American Museum of Natural History, and the museum of the Geological Survey of Canada. The government's justification for sending Fannin on tour was the benefits of learning new methods from the 'great' museums:

a study of the systems in vogue in the most important museums of the new and old worlds would prove most advantageous in the conduct of that of which British Columbia is rightly proud... It was thought, too, by the government that an insight into the management and arrangement of specimens elsewhere would prove especially valuable to Mr. Fannin when the time arrives for the transfer of the museum's treasures to the new building.

Preparing to spend a reasonably large sum of money on the museum in order to rehouse it, the government was desirous of ensuring that the director of its museum was trained and up-to-date on modern museum methods.

Although keen to learn all of the "most modern and improved methods," Fannin was said to have been most interested in the "modern and very effective method of grouping animals and


birds correctly in their natural surroundings." The local newspaper reported the BC museum as being "a little behind the times at present" in the "labelling of specimens and making of collection cases," but this was soon to change, "Mr. Fannin's observations elsewhere enabling him to promptly correct all defects in this direction." Fannin's tour demonstrated to him the quality of work he had already done in the BC museum and he returned convinced "that in the variety, rarity and value of certain classes of exhibits it [was] second to none." The trip also served its purpose as a form of curator training in that he returned with "many new and valuable ideas for the benefit of British Columbia's museum."38

Like David Honeyman, David Boyle occasionally accompanied the Ontario government's exhibit at international expositions. In 1893, he went to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and, in 1904, he attended the World's Fair at St. Louis. During both of these visits, he certainly had the chance to confer with other archaeologists and probably took the opportunity to visit any museums in the neighbourhood. His 1902 trip was, however, almost certainly one of the most important he made. After attending the meeting of the International Congress of Americanists in New York, he accompanied a "large number of the principal European and American ethnologists" on a visit to "all the most important museums in the United States." He summed up this trip in the Archaeological Report:

To see so many large cabinets of this kind, and to observe the methods employed in cataloguing, installing, arranging, labelling, and general management, enabled one to make comparisons not otherwise possible, and the result of these comparisons will, it is hoped, tend in time to the effecting of improvements in our own institution.39

A visit to the institutions he often corresponded with allowed Boyle to compare techniques at his

38. "British Columbia's Museum."

museum to those of the larger, better-known, and better-endowed institutions in ways that simply writing letters could not do; its importance in enabling him to learn things which he could use to improve his own and his museum's performance could hardly be exaggerated.

Both Harry Piers and Francis Kermode took similar tours during their directorships. Piers, at the direction of the Commissioner of Mines, stopped in at the major museums along the US eastern seaboard on his return from the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition in 1907.\textsuperscript{40} In Washington, D.C., he visited the Smithsonian Institution and talked to Dr. Dyer and Fred Knob about the insect collection, to R. Rathburn about standardization of new equipment, to Dr. Merrill about installation methods, and to Mr. Tremblay about exhibit cases. In New York, he visited the American Museum of Natural History, proclaiming it to have the "finest museum installations I have yet seen (much better than the National Museum of Washington)."\textsuperscript{41} Having visited these museums in order to study installation methods in particular "with the view of applying, as far as possible, the knowledge so gained to our own museum," Piers discussed installation with Professor Baum of the American Museum of Natural History and came to the conclusion that "there was evidently but slight unanimity of opinion in the matter of installment, etc., although all agreed on a few points."\textsuperscript{42}

Francis Kermode went 'east' and to Europe in 1912 allegedly in order to study other museums in preparation for the new museum to be built in Victoria. Visiting the Field Museum in Chicago, the Smithsonian in Washington, the American Museum of Natural History in New

\textsuperscript{40} Piers, \textit{Report 1907}, 7-8. He described his visits in detail in his diary. Piers, Diaries, 5 September-15 September 1907, MG 1, Piers Papers, v.1046, PANS.

\textsuperscript{41} Piers, Diaries, 11 September 1907.

\textsuperscript{42} Piers, Diaries, 11 September 1907.
York, the British Museum (Natural History) in London, the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff, and the Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa, among others, Kermode came home "ready to carry out some of the ideas that I have formed of what an educational museum should be" as soon as the new museum was built.\textsuperscript{43} That the British Columbia Provincial Museum did not get a new building until the 1960s when the Canadian centennial placed federal funds at the disposal of the provincial legislature does not detract from the point that Kermode's study tour is evidence, as was Fannin's sixteen years earlier, that the government was thinking in terms of a trained, and perhaps even professional, curator as the head of its museum.

Although all four of these study tours were arranged ahead of time, and both Fannin and Piers had specific topics of interest, there was still an aura of the \textit{ad hoc} to them. Both Boyle and Piers were, essentially, just visiting since they were 'in the neighbourhood'. Although Piers went to learn about installation methods for natural history museums, he also talked about insect and rock collections with people he met, and he spent the better part of a day in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a museum he found very instructive.\textsuperscript{44} Boyle simply compared all aspects of the museums visited to what he was doing in Ontario. Fannin and Kermode were specifically sent to tour museums, and Kermode took the opportunity provided by his being in the east to attend the annual conference of the American Association of Museums. Neither of them, however, saw the tour as more than a one time experience. Boyle, Piers, and Kermode all mentioned their travel in their annual reports, and Fannin wrote a short note to his superior claiming the advantageous nature of his trip; none of them, however, seems to have been required

\textsuperscript{43} Kermode, \textit{Report 1912}, 6-7.

\textsuperscript{44} Piers, Diaries, 12 September 1907. It is unclear whether Piers found the art or its installation instructive.
to submit specific accounts of what they saw and learned. In no case was there any follow-up of the sort we have come to equate with professional development. Indeed, although these men would surely have considered their tours enlightening and even educational, it is questionable whether they would have regarded them as curator 'training' or a step on the road to professionalization. Not unlike the early years of scientific work discussed in chapter six, these visits would most likely have been seen as meetings of equals in order to exchange information.

Study tours never became a standardized part of career development for curators in the manner which Paton had envisioned, but they did become more regularized, or perhaps, more regulated. In 1937, Ian McTaggart Cowan, Assistant Biologist at the BC Provincial Museum, went on a study tour. He explained his plan to McCurry:

[to visit] the larger museums in Eastern Canada and Eastern US to study there the methods of display in their Zoological and Ethnological collections and also to study the various types of adult and child educational work, undertaken by them.45

These were the things he needed to know in his new position at the B.C. museum. Although he had done some summer work for the National Museum and for the Dominion Entomological Branch, and had spent much time in museums while doing his Ph.D. in California, this had all been in the context of research collections. He had no experience with public displays or public education, and needed to learn this.46 In order to obtain from the Canadian Museums Committee of the Carnegie Corporation the scholarship for the tour, Cowan was required to formally apply to the Committee and to explain his training needs and plans. The inclusion of a *curriculum vitae* was necessary, and, although the committee readily approved Cowan's application, no

45. Cowan to McCurry, 28 August 1936, GR 111, b.10, f.37, BCARS.

46. Cowan to McCurry, 28 August 1936.
funding was forthcoming until he had supplied the committee with a full, if tentative, programme. At the end of his successful tour, Cowan was required to submit to the Committee a full report on his activities, including comment on what he felt he had learned on his tour.

Cowan's experience suggests a number of changes to the study tour as curator training. Funded by an outside agency, the whole experience was less personal than the previous tours. The Carnegie Corporation could not simply take Cowan's word or the word of a friend that he was the right candidate for the experience; he had to prove himself through a formal cataloguing of his attributes and qualifications. The report he was required to submit at the end of the trip was part of the growing 'value for money' ethos of the twentieth-century European world, but it also demonstrates increasing bureaucratization. Exhibiting the influence of the new social sciences, it shows the need to document experience and assess progress. It could no longer be assumed that the candidate would learn: learning had to be 'proved'. In essence, the study tour had gone from being the curator's version of the 'grand tour' with travel itself as education to a focussed, measurable, and measured training exercise. Cowan's study-tour experience better fits the later twentieth-century understanding of a training exercise, or even of professional development, than did the tours of the earlier curator/directors, however instructional they may have been. Not only did Cowan himself consider it as necessary training to successfully carry out his museum duties; but at both its beginning and its end, Cowan's tour exhibited the marks of the "professionalizing campaign" of the Carnegie Corporation with its focus on educational

47. Ian McTaggart Cowan to H.O. McCurry, Secretary, Canadian Museums Committee of the Carnegie Corporation, 28 August 1936; McCurry to Kermode, 8 September 1936; McCurry to Cowan, 12 November 1936; and McCurry to Kermode, 3 December 1936, GR 111, b.10, f.37, BCARS. Other letters in the same file cover the business and arrangement aspects of Cowan's tour.

credentials and its concern for limiting access to qualified candidates.\(^{49}\)

Donald Crowdis' experience was not unlike Cowan's. Appointed to the position of director of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia in 1940, he had his obligatory university degree and also had experience teaching but had no museum experience. In order to correct this, he was given a nine-month leave of absence to take training at the Buffalo Museum of Science. Unlike most of the curator training offered, which tended to be in the nature of workshops or short seminars and to last one to two weeks at most, the Buffalo Museum offered an eight-month program which consisted of four months of courses followed by four months of apprenticeship. Crowdis extended this training by adding on a study tour of forty-four museums in the US and Canada, some of which he visited on his way to Buffalo, some after his course was completed. He also attended the annual meeting of the AAM. Crowdis' experience came the closest to Paton's idea of *Lehrejahre* and *Wander-jahre* but it was also, like Cowan's, the model of twentieth-century professional development. Not only did Crowdis do a full year of course work and apprenticeship, not unlike a college diploma programme; he also took voluminous notes which could later be used to show what he had learned. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Crowdis' training required the same formal application and final report which Cowan had submitted five years earlier, and was just as focussed, measurable and measured.\(^ {50}\)

The study tour, however, was not the only form of curatorial training practiced by Canadian museum workers. The curators and directors at the Royal Ontario Museum lived in a

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\(^{49}\) Lagemann, *Private Power*, 59. Although Lagemann makes these aspects of the work of the Carnegie particularly clear in her discussion of the CFAT's involvement with educational testing, it is also a theme which runs through the history of the Corporation. Lagemann, *Private Power*, 94-121; and Lagemann, *Politics of Knowledge*.

relatively large metropolitan area, had each other to talk to, and were not too distant from the large museum centres of the United States. Not as needful of the contact with others provided by a study tour, they instead attempted to focus on training courses for curators similar to those which had been offered in American museums since 1908 and were also beginning to be offered in British museums. The first intimation that the ROM might be able to, and might wish to, offer museum training courses was in 1932 when Currelly wrote to the Board of Trustees suggesting that the ROM consider becoming a "Mother House" for Canada for the training of accredited persons desiring training as museum workers. Although Currelly suggested the project at this point in part because the ROM was undergoing changes and this seemed a logical moment at which to add any new responsibilities, the Committee of Directors, to whom the Board referred the question, felt that the current upheavals were sufficient and new projects would have to wait until the museum was back in order.

It was not long, however, before the idea was brought forward again, this time from outside the ROM. In 1933, Ruth Home wrote to J.B. O'Brian explaining that H.O. McCurry, Assistant Director of the National Gallery and Secretary to the Canadian Museums Committee of the Carnegie Corporation, had asked whether she would be willing to organize and direct training courses for museum curators:

McCurry felt that the Royal Ontario Museum was the only place possible for such a

51. The ROM was also a much better funded institution and its curators and directors could afford to travel occasionally in order to attend scientific and museum conferences. ROM staff may well have also taken study tours but I found no evidence for these in the papers I looked through.

52. Minutes, Board–ROM, 18 November 1932, RG 1A, b.1, v.3, ROMLA.

53. Minutes, Directors, 7 December 1932, RG 25A, b.2, v.IV, ROMLA. The current upheavals referred to were the additions to the ROM's building being undertaken at the time.
course, both because of our collections in the five museums, and because of the happy combination of Museum, Art Gallery, and University.\(^{54}\)

Home felt that it would be wise to take up this opportunity: it would extend the ROM's educational work across the country, result in increased prestige for the museum, and also justify the museum "by service to others not quite so fortunately situated."\(^{55}\)

McCurry's suggestion of establishing a museum training course at the ROM was precipitated by the Canadian Museums Committee of the Carnegie Corporation's attempts to establish a scholarship program for training museum workers in Canada. Using funds provided by the Carnegie Corporation, the Committee offered two scholarship options: students could take training either at the National Gallery or "museums of approved standing" in Canada or at recognized museums schools or courses abroad, the latter option including a study tour.\(^{56}\) This program required that Canadian museums be ready and willing to provide training. The ROM was well-suited to offer it and by 1934 was doing so. That year, the Carnegie Committee approved the application of Donald Taylor, a graduate student at the University of Alberta, to study museum methods at the ROM.\(^{57}\) He spent a number of weeks examining museum techniques in palaeontology, anthropology, mineralogy and geology under the directors and their assistants, "general museum practice and educational work" under Ruth Home, and business

\(^{54}\) Ruth Home to J.B. O'Brien, Chair, Board of Trustees, ROM, 14 November 1933, RG 99B, b.1, f.1, ROMLA.

\(^{55}\) Home to O'Brien, 14 November 1933.

\(^{56}\) "Proposed Scholarships," draft of program by H.O. McCurry, GR 111, b.10, f.38, BCARS.

\(^{57}\) R.C Wallace, President, University of Alberta, to H.O. McCurry, 18 January 1934; Donald A. Taylor to McCurry, 24 January 1934; McCurry to Francis Kermode, 9 March 1934; and Kermode to McCurry, 16 March 1934, GR 111, b.10, f.38, BCARS.
methods under Helen Reynar, the museum's secretary. Taylor's course seems to have been the only one of its kind that the Carnegie Committee funded and that the ROM offered during this period. It was not, however, the ROM's last attempt to address the needs of curator training. Future initiatives, however, focussed on the needs within the province.

The directors of the ROM's museums had been offering training in museum methods to their interested university students, but this had been on an ad hoc basis. In 1932, Harlan I. Smith of the Victoria Memorial Museum in Ottawa, in response to the Carnegie Corporation-funded report on Canadian museums, suggested that the provincial museums involve themselves in advising and aiding small, or local, museums in their provinces. This had no immediate effect, but during the 1940s, the ROM did try to take on this role. It loaned its staff out on a number of occasions to small museums as inspectors, advisors and educational officers and, in

58. Minutes, Education Committee, 22 October & 2 November 1934, RG 26, b.1, f.1, ROMLA.
59. Minutes, Directors, 7 December 1932, RG 25A, b.2, v.IV, ROMLA.
60. Minutes, Directors, 7 December 1932, RG 25A, b.2, v.IV, ROMLA; and Harlan I. Smith to "Director", undated, and attached typescript, copy of "The Museums Policy of the Carnegie Trustees," Museums Journal (February 1932), GR 111, b.10, f.38, BCARS.
61. The role of the 1930s economic depression in stalling this and other initiatives in the museum world must have been great. The Royal Ontario Museum got a new wing during the 30s, the basement of which was dug by hand in order to create as many jobs as possible, but there was certainly no extra money for operating expenses or for increasing the daily work of the museum, and most Canadian museums had their budgets cut to the bare minimum.
62. See, for instance, J.N. Bourrie, Chair, Huron Institute Committee, to Gerard Brett, Director, ROM of Archaeology, 12 October 1949; F.A. Urquhart, Director, ROM of Zoology, to Bourrie, 1 November 1949; Urquhart to Bourrie, 15 November 1949; and "Report of Dr. F.A. Urquhart, Director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Zoology [on the Museum of the Huron Institute, Collingwood, Ontario]", RG 59, H. b.5, f. "Hu-Hz 50", ROMLA. In 1955, the president of the Ontario Historical Society wrote to the ROM asking for clarification regarding the Museum's assistance for small museums in the province. The Chair of the Committee of Directors was directed to write back stating that "there was no legal obligation for the Museum to undertake assistance to the small museums and no grant provided for this purpose. However, the Museum does feel a moral obligation to give advice, assistance, the loan of objects or cases,
September 1946, it hosted a meeting of museum workers in the province in order to create a provincial museums association. The Committee of Directors, earlier that year, had discussed the ROM's involvement in local museums and had recommended the passing of a municipal museums act, the creation of a Museums Branch of the provincial Department of Education to be headed by the ROM's Chief of Museum Extension, the organization of a museum conference, and the creation of a museum training course to be organized and directed by the ROM. As with the initiatives of the 1930s, however, these plans and recommendations came to nought. Not until 1953, when a Museums Committee was set up within the Ontario Historical Society, did curator training become a regular and regularized activity in Ontario.

It is possible that the other provincial institutions were also involving themselves to some extent in the local museums and in some sort of curator training, particularly the sort of ad hoc apprenticeship-style which the ROM's directors were offering their university students. However, as in Ontario, it was the eventual creation of national and provincial museums associations which brought curator training in Canada to the same level which it had reached in Britain during the 1930s with the creation of the diploma program.

Establishing a Canadian Museums Organization

Some Canadian museums and individual museum workers had joined the Museums Association early in the century, and, when the American Association of Museums was founded...
in 1906, even more of them joined that organization.\(^6\) As a community too small and too spread out to justify a national organization of its own, the Canadian museum world had to be content with membership in other organizations for contact with other scientists and museum workers. Whether membership in these associations really served Canadian members to any degree is questionable: most Canadian curators and directors were already in touch via letter-writing with the researchers and museum workers of Britain and the USA whose work coincided with their own. Only the direct, face-to-face contact provided by attendance at conferences could have added very much to these relationships. Yet, the Museums Association always met in Britain, a trip far too expensive for most Canadian museum workers to make on any regular basis, and even the American Association, which did meet occasionally in Canada, tended to do so in the eastern portion of the country, effectively cutting the western museums off.\(^6\) However, membership in the organizations did include subscription to the journals and newsletters which provided access to reasonably up-to-date news on 'goings-on' in museums around the world, and the sense of belonging that membership gave may have been worth the dues paid, regardless of whether or not one ever actually met one's colleagues.

The situation was not simply one of the Canadians having to be content with membership in other nation's organizations, however. The Museums Association saw itself as something more

\(^6\) The American Association of Museum's publication *Museum Work*, and its successor *Museum News*, never included membership lists as did the British *Museums Journal*. Canadian membership, therefore, is measured through information in the files of the museums studied, much of it anecdotal.

\(^6\) The AAM met in Toronto, at the ROM, in 1934, and in Ottawa in 1947. Whether American museums in the west felt isolated is unknown, but Kermode, who was a member of the AAM seems to have attended the Association's annual conference only in 1912 and 1934. In both cases, he was in the eastern part of the continent for other reasons and took in the conference while he was there. Kermode, *Report 1912*, and *Report 1934*.  

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than just a British organization and it took its duty to its overseas members, especially those in the Empire, quite seriously. Even when there were no Canadian members, the Journal had reported regularly on happenings in Canadian institutions and occasionally papers on what British museums could do for colonial museums appeared in the Journal. The 1911 directory of museums published by the Association even included a section for Indian and Colonial Museums. Thus, when it became clear that the Carnegie Corporation had money it was willing to spend on museum surveys, the Museums Association applied for a grant to survey the museums of the Empire as British museums had been surveyed in 1928. The application was approved and Sir Henry Miers and Frank Markham were again appointed as surveyors. Miers and Markham began in Canada and then went on to Africa and the rest of the Empire. The entire survey was completed in 1933; separate reports and directories were published for each of the areas as the survey progressed.

The report on Canadian museums was highly critical. Miers and Markham saw some bright spots in the Canadian museum scene, but overall the situation was not good:

> From this brief survey, it will be understood that there is nothing in the way of organised service, that collections of varying types are distributed in a somewhat haphazard way throughout the Dominion, that there is practically no co-operation between them, that few of them were instituted with any clear conception of the educational value of such collections, and that they are not regarded by the educational authorities as in any sense

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equivalent to public libraries.  

The authors made numerous suggestions and recommendations on how this situation could be improved, including the training of young men to provide qualified curators for all of the museums, but they noted that "the present lack of co-operation is one of the severest drawbacks." Recognizing that the distances and cultural differences which existed between the various museums had much to do with this, Miers and Markham felt that, if an outside funding agency could be persuaded to provide financial assistance, some form of regional federation should be established, preferably with the larger provincial museums leading the way. The national museums could undertake, at the least, to provide some assistance and advice to smaller museums, and perhaps organize short courses, lectures, and demonstrations, which could be taken to other museums. 

The Carnegie Corporation, having funded the survey, also undertook to solve some of the problems identified. Almost three hundred thousand dollars were set aside for museum development in the Empire and the Museums Association was given extra funds to establish an Empire Grants Committee to provide administrative backup for awarding the grants. The result in Canada was the establishment of the Canadian Museums Committee of the Carnegie

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68. Miers and Markham, Museums of Canada, 47-8. Among the bright spots Miers and Markham found in Canadian museums were the ROM (p.4) and the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia (p.6). The British Columbia Provincial Museum was described as having a "rich" collection, but no comment was made on its care, administration, or educational quality (p.2). The Ontario Provincial Museum was passed over as an institution used largely by teachers and scholars connected to the Normal School (p.4).

69. Miers and Markham, Museums of Canada, 59.

70. Miers and Markham, Museums of Canada, 59-63.

71. Lewis, For Instruction and Recreation, 53.
Corporation in 1933, the first move towards a national museums organization.

The Canadian Museums Committee of the Carnegie Corporation consisted of Eric Brown, Director of the National Gallery, J.C. Webster, Director of the New Brunswick Museum, E.L. Judah, Director of the McGill University Museum, Francis Kermode, Director of the British Columbia Provincial Museum, R.W. Brock, President of the University of British Columbia, Robert C. Wallace, President of the University of Alberta, and H.O. McCurry, Assistant Director of the National Gallery and Secretary to the Committee. How the choices for membership on the committee were made is unknown. The Committee displayed a curious lack of representation from the ROM\(^{72}\) and the Victoria Memorial Museum, which was the national museum. It also contained a pleasing but uncharacteristically high number of representatives from western Canada. The content of Francis Kermode's letter of invitation to sit on the committee suggests that Miers made the suggestions for representatives to Frederick Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.\(^{73}\) The university presidents were late additions to the committee at the suggestion of Frank Markham who discussed the committee's membership with Keppel in June of 1933.\(^{74}\) The Committee never operated successfully as a national organization and the manner

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\(^{72}\) When Vincent Massey suggested adding Currelly and Dymond to the Committee, McCurry canvassed committee members for opinions. Kermode's answer was that Currelly would be the better choice of the two but that the committee really was large enough already and that Toronto was represented by Massey himself. The opinions of the others is unknown, but, since Massey declined the invitation to sit on the committee, Toronto was, in fact, not represented. However, McCurry included in his letter a somewhat cryptic note to Kermode on the subject, suggesting that "it may be wise to exercise some caution here. There are many phases of the situation to be considered." A few months later McCurry wrote Kermode to say that "Massey has agreed that it is wiser not to press the matter," and the matter was dropped. It is not at all clear from the records of the B.C. museum what was at issue. McCurry to Kermode, 23 August 1934; Kermode to McCurry, 10 September 1934; and McCurry to Kermode, 19 October 1934, GR 111, b.10, f.38, BCARS.

\(^{73}\) Frederick Keppel to Kermode, 4 January 1933, GR 111, b.8, f.24, BCARS.

\(^{74}\) H.O. McCurry to Kermode, 7 June 1933, GR 111, b.10, f.38, BCARS.
in which its members was chosen may well have been the root of the problem. Nonetheless, the Committee did have the effect of galvanizing some Canadian museum workers.

Created as an advisory body to "study and to recommend the best means to place the Museums of Canada abreast of the times," the Committee seems to have functionned largely as a body to administer Carnegie grants to Canadian museums.\(^75\) It was quite active in the first two years of its existence, but by 1935 the funding was drying up. In 1936, McCurry was told that the latest appropriation of $30,000.00 should be made to last as it was unlikely to be repeated. In 1937, McCurry had to inform Committee members that Keppel had let him know there would be no more money for the Canadian Committee.\(^76\) However, the contact between Canadian museum workers which the Committee represented did pave the way for the establishment of a true national museums association.

The establishment of a Canadian museums association was brought up at the first meeting of the Carnegie Committee. The minutes of the first meeting contain a draft constitution for such

\(^75\) "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Canadian Committee on Museums, Carnegie Corporation," 4 September 1933, GR 111, b.10, f.38, BCARS.

\(^76\) McCurry to Kermode, 2 October 1935; McCurry to Kermode, 3 December 1936; and McCurry to Kermode, 3 July 1937, GR 111, b.10, f.37, BCARS. The exact reasons for the Carnegie Corporations's pulling out of the Canadian Committee so soon are unknown. Money was supplied to the Empire Grants Committee in Britain throughout the 1930s, and, in 1945, the Carnegie Corporation offered to revive the scheme. The correspondence between Francis Kermode and H.O. McCurry available in the BC museum's files suggests that there may have been some problems with the handling of the Committee's funds. Kermode and J.C. Webster both received substantial grants for their museums, Kermode for three years running; E.L. Judah received money to run courses; and Robert Wallace's student, Donald Taylor, received a scholarship for training, as did Kermode's assistant, Ian McTaggart Cowan. However, the Vancouver Museum, no representative of which sat on the committee, applied for grant money unsuccessfully a number of times. McCurry's letters to Kermode in the years during which the money was drying up note that Keppel was stressing careful distribution of funds and, in 1936, Keppel wished to inspect the work accomplished before agreeing to provide more funding. Although not proof of wrongdoing, these letters do suggest that the Committee may have been more willing to give money to its members than to spread it out over the whole museum community as it was supposed to be doing. The correspondence of McCurry and Kermode is available in GR 111, b.10, f.37 & 38, BCARS.
a body. But although the members continued to talk about an association occasionally, the project essentially stalled at this point. However, McCurry was persistent and, in 1937, when the Carnegie pull-out was imminent, he raised it again, this time with the directors at the ROM, as well as with the Committee members. The reaction of the ROM people, especially Currelly, to the idea, and McCurry's response to that reaction, hint at the difficulties to be overcome in establishing an association. Currelly, apparently, was "strongly opposed" to a Canadian association, ostensibly because he felt that no one in Canada would be able to afford attending an annual meeting. Although this was probably true, it was also true of membership in the British and American associations. The fact that Currelly and the ROM were not represented on the Carnegie Committee and were not at the centre of this initiative must be considered as a possible source of Currelly's objections to a CMA. However, McCurry's decision not to pursue the issue until Currelly's attitude "became more favourable" suggests that, however arrogant Currelly's attitude may have been, a CMA did need the ROM in order to succeed. The Canadian museum community was small enough without alienating the largest and best-funded museum in the country.

Despite Currelly's objections, the movement towards establishing a Canadian museums organization received a boost the next year. Canadian members of the American Association of Museums met during the American conference in June 1938 "to consider the possibility of forming a Canadian Association of Museums within the American Association of Museums, to

77. "The Canadian Museums Association," 14 September 1933, GR 111, b.10, f.38, BCARS.

78. McCurry to Kermode, 30 April 1937, GR 111, b.10, f.37, BCARS.

79. McCurry to Kermode, 30 April 1937, GR 111, b.10, f.37, BCARS.
meet at the same time." Paul Rainville of the Musée de la Province de Québec was elected as temporary secretary of this new organization, and he and Currelly agreed to canvas the museums of Canada for opinions on the idea. Meeting at the same time as the American association may well have been Currelly's proposal for avoiding the problem of the expense of attending annual meetings, but the idea of affiliating with another organization was not new. The draft constitution which McCurry had drawn up in 1933 had listed affiliation with the Museums Association of Great Britain as item #8. Clearly, the Canadian museum community did not feel itself large enough or mature enough to strike out on its own.

Once again, owing largely to Canada's participation in the Second World War and the fact that each of the museums had bigger problems to deal with, the movement towards a CMA went no further for a few years. But with the return to peace, McCurry proposed to revive the idea yet again, this time successfully. Having broached the subject with a number of museum people in late 1946, McCurry met with the ROM's Committee of Directors in April 1947 to discuss plans in greater detail. In May 1947, at the meeting of the American Association of Museums in Quebec City, fourteen Canadian museum people, representing 19 museums, met and formed the Canadian Museums Association. The first official meeting of the CMA was held in September 1947 in Ottawa, at which time terms of a charter were decided upon and member museums were

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80. Minutes, Directors, 1 June 1938, RG 25A, b.3, v.6, ROMLA.

81. Minutes, Directors, 2 April 1947, RG 25A, b.3, v.7, ROMLA.

82. "Minutes of the Organizational Meeting of the Canadian Museums Association," 29 May 1947, RG 59, H., b.4, f. "13.03 Canadian Museums Association 1945-49", ROMLA. A number of institutions, including the BC Provincial Museum, were represented by proxy.
invited to make contributions to the funding of the organization through founding gifts. The CMA was not at this point a professional organization. Membership in the association was held by institutions, not individuals, and attendance at meetings was as a representative of the museum for which one worked. Not until the 1960s did the CMA begin to focus on training and professional development for Canadian museum workers.

The reasons for this late move into professionalization are directly related to the problems which plagued all of the attempts to establish an organization: the size of the population relative to the size of the country and the continued colonial mentality which had Canadian museum people thinking in terms of affiliation to British and American organizations until the Second World War. Peter Bowler has argued that the Royal Society of Canada as originally created was a nationalist organization formed to give Canadian scientists a national identity. For their professional requirements, Canadian scientists continued to look to their membership in such organizations as the British or the American Associations for the Advancement of Science. The creation of the Canadian Museums Association was not unlike this. Since many of the Canadian museum people were getting professional contact through the British and the American museums associations, there seemed to be little reason to put in the effort to establish a Canadian association. However, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the cultural landscape of Canada changed. Not only was there the new acceptance of government involvement in cultural matters which would soon result in the Massey Commission, but Canada was also participating in international cultural and social organizations such as the United Nations Educational,

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83. Minutes, Directors, 1 October 1947, RG 25A, b.3, v.7, ROMLA.

Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council of Museums (ICOM), both established in 1946. This international involvement required that the Canadian government be able to deal with the country's museums as a collective unit, rather than with each museum individually. While, then, Donald Crowdis' remembrance of government pressure as the only reason the CMA came into being ignores the years of effort on the part of H.O. McCurry and others, government pressure and Canadian involvement in ICOM was certainly the catalyst for the reaction which finally brought the CMA into existence. Like the early members of the Royal Society, Canadian museums joined the CMA to be part of the Canadian group, but none of them let their membership in the AAM or the Museums Association lapse: "God forbid, that was where you learned things."

Conclusion

The separation of professionalizing scientists and professionalizing museum workers is, on one level, quite artificial. As the early speakers at the Museums Association's annual conferences pointed out, a qualified curator required proper training in art and science, depending on the nature of the museum, as well as training in museum methods. The regulations guiding the awarding of the Museums Association's diploma emphasized this by requiring matriculation


86. "Founding Members Discuss CMA's Evolution," 27. Because Crowdis did his training and apprenticeship in the US, and was a member of the AAM, all of his contacts were in the US, as he readily admitted. He also did not join the museum world until 1940. It is, therefore, understandable that he was not aware of the earlier attempts at forming a Canadian organization.

87. Crowdis, in "Founding Members Discuss CMA's Evolution," 27. Johannsen re-iterated the sentiment in the same interview.
in an university course to enroll in the programme and graduation from the university to actually receive the diploma. Thus, the professional curator was first a professional scientist. Nonetheless, despite the overlap and inter-relationship between the two, they were separate domains. As the scientific community professionalized around them, museum scientists lost status either because they did not have the university degrees required to hold the title 'scientist' or because their research was not considered to be as important as that of the 'real scientists' in university and industry. Insisting on salaries equal to university scientists was one way to try to cling to status, but defining their work as curators and directors as that of a separate profession was another, and perhaps more satisfactory, strategy for achieving their goal.

The movement to professionalize museum work began in Britain, and quickly spread to other countries, especially to the United States where practical measures were instituted early. Canadian museums experienced unique problems, based primarily on the size of the country and the small population, in organizing their own professional organization, but an age-old habit of relying on British and American organizations minimized the negative impact of this. Canadian museums followed quickly in the footsteps of British and American museums in attempting to provide curatorial training and professional development for their staffs, even if they did it primarily through use of British and American institutions. Early attempts at providing curator training within Canada proved impossible to sustain. Not until the post-war world made a national organization a necessity did the Canadian museum community begin to look to itself for curatorial training and professional development, although this proved to be a long process. In short, Canadian museums followed the pattern established by the international museum movement in its attempts to professionalize museum work.
It would require at least another chapter, if not another thesis, to do justice to the history of the CMA and the question of whether museum work has successfully professionalized. The fact that most curator or museum training is still not done within the confines of accredited, university-controlled museum schools, and that many museum workers, especially in the curatorial and higher administrative positions are hired for their expertise in their science or art rather than in museum methods per se, suggests that museum work has not been professionalized in the manner of occupations such as engineering, law, or architecture. Thus, the route that the various museums associations chose to take in establishing themselves and their curatorial training programs are, in part, to blame for the inability to attain true professional status. Certainly Canada's models in Britain and the United States did little to support the sort of university-controlled professional programme which successfully conferred professional status on so many other fields. The fact that all of these organizations opened membership to anyone interested in museums, rather than limiting it to members of a 'profession', also militated against professional standing. The salaries offered by many museums' governing bodies make it clear that the public has not been entirely convinced of the professional status of museum workers.\[88\]

The final point which needs to be made on this subject, however, belongs to A.E. Parr, director of the American Museum of Natural History. During the late 1950s and the 1960s, Parr considered the question of professionalization in a number of published articles, including a discussion of curator salaries, and a study covering twenty years of staff members of the American Museum who were deemed to be 'professionals', ie. teachers, exhibit designers, and

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88. On public perception as necessary to attaining professional status, see Forsyth and Danisiewicz, "Toward a Theory of Professionalization."
curators. He concluded that, in fact, their professional ties were not to each other as members of a unified museums profession, but to the teaching profession, to the design profession, and to academia. It is, however, from a subsequent article that a possible explanation for this split comes. In a 1964 article, Parr explains why he discusses the place of exhibit designers in museums, at length:

it is the situation and prospects of these relative newcomers in the traditional museum organization that best illustrate the extreme difficulties of attempting to insist on the recognition of a single museum profession on the horizontal pattern of customary professional associations.

What this statement suggests is that, in the early years of the century, when curator training and the professionalization of museum workers first became an issue, it may well have been a real possibility. But, as museums changed and the "traditional museum organization" began to include much more than curators, directors (who usually had risen from the ranks of the curators), and technicians (who, as they were at the ROM, tended to be those whose work was curatorial but who did not have the educational background to warrant the full title), the new range of specialties (especially the teachers and exhibit designers who became essential staff at the middle-size and larger museums) militated against any possibility of single profession. Thus, as at the

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91. Parr's belief in the relative newness of designers in the museum organization must be tempered by Coleman's claim that the "museum's vocational complex" dates from the 1870s and that by the 1880s "the modern form of organization was clearly in view." Coleman's discussion of professionalization in the museum is somewhat confused and occasionally contradictory but his argument seems to be that although museum work was not a profession in 1939 it was moving in that direction and the variety of tasks, specialties and disciplines was not a barrier to a single profession. Coleman, *Museum in America*, 395, 416-18.
American Museum, museum workers derived their professional status from being members of the curatorial profession, the educational profession, the conservation profession, or the design profession, but not from a 'museum profession'. For Parr, this "federation of professions" was a good thing:

The best way to promote the welfare and progress of museums, and of all who work for them, is not by attempting to homogenize our careers and force us all into the mold of a single profession. In that direction lies stagnation. Our common interests do not spring from our highly diversified tasks and qualifications, but from the cause and the goals we work for. If we frankly recognize that many different professions, and sometimes conflicting professional interests, are represented among us, we should be able to achieve a far more effective and mutually beneficial solidarity... than we are ever likely to attain by trying to pretend that we are all fellow members of a single professional guild.

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CONCLUSION:

THE MUSEUM AS A MODERN INSTITUTION

Marshall Berman has argued that the essence of modernity is change: all 'modern' people, books, environments, and institutions share the "thrill and the dread of a world in which 'all that is solid melts into air'." In order to continue to exist in that modern world, institutions, people, and environments must constantly recreate themselves:

It has turned out--and Goethe could have predicted it--that under the pressures of the modern world economy the process of development must itself go through perpetual development. Where it does, all people, things, institutions and environments that are innovative and avant-garde at one historical moment will become backward and obsolescent in the next. Even in the most highly developed parts of the world, all individuals, groups and communities are under constant relentless pressure to reconstruct themselves; if they stop to rest, to be what they are, they will be swept away.

If this is the case, if change is the essence of modernity and constant reconstruction the only mode of survival, then the museum is the quintessential modern institution. Although critics have pointed out that museums continue, even today, to exhibit many characteristics of the nineteenth-century 'disciplinary' museum, as described by Tony Bennett, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Elaine Stokes, and others, change and re-creation have, nonetheless, been the hallmark of the museum's story. Each of the museums considered here--created by, for, and in the image of the local élite--re-oriented their educational emphases and altered their notions of the ideal curator/director over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In doing this they were conforming to patterns established by an international museum movement as it responded to changes in


2. Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, 78.
society. They also essentially recreated themselves.

Neil Harris has argued that in the early interwar years, museums, which had been close competitors with their related institutions, the international exposition and the department store, two other quintessentially middle-class institutions, in the race to influence popular taste, fell behind. Failing to innovate or to implement innovations originating elsewhere, they lost the ability to reach a broad audience. It was only in the late 1930s, and especially in the post-1945 period, that they once again began to successfully "merchandise taste" through the exploitation of new display techniques pioneered by the exposition and the department store. Although Harris' focus is on display technique and the museums' attempt to influence consumption, his argument resonates in the discussions of museums' educational functions. Although some institutions began to accept and implement the new child-centred education, which had originated in the late nineteenth century 'cult of the child' and child-study movement, as soon as it was defined, others, especially in Britain and Canada, resisted the change, preferring to continue in the traditional adult-oriented modes which suited the needs of the adult education movement. It was during the interwar years, as the progressive education movement popularized child-centred ideas and a new generation of curators and directors infiltrated the museums, that museums everywhere moved to alter their educational focus. This transformation, which is evident in both the rhetoric espoused and the actions taken or events occurring, became particularly clear during and after the Second World War as museums recreated themselves in the image of the twentieth-century educational institution: a place where, as Hooper-Greenhill noted, education meant programming for schoolchildren.

3. Harris, "Museums, Merchandising, and Popular Taste."
Museums' attitudes towards and experiences with professionalization and the credentialling of staff are more complex. There are indications—as both Berman's and Harris' arguments suggest there should be—that they did change over time, eventually coming to reflect the general societal belief that a university degree must be the primary requirement for professional status. That change was, however, often slow: Nova Scotia's story is a case in point, but it is by no means alone in demonstrating this. And, as both Nova Scotia's and British Columbia's museum stories show, when change did come, it was the result, not so much of the museums recreating themselves, as of a general trend in society forcing a transformation. It was also less complete than was the change in educational emphases, as museums continue to struggle for professional recognition of their staff, especially as museum workers, but also, occasionally, as practitioners of their separate academic disciplines, something true of large as well as small museums.

The question of regional or provincial identity and the museum's role in shaping, defining, or reflecting it a particularly difficult issue. The multiplicity of layers of meaning available in a museum collection make it difficult to isolate a primary signification. Nor is it possible to be sure that visitors are taking from an exhibit the meanings that its creators thought they were privileging. Because of this, the identities described and the ability of the museums to shape, define, or reflect them in any real way must be considered tentative. Matters are complicated, too, because of the problem with determining whether museums have a place in society which allows them to play an active role in shaping or defining identities, or whether they are limited to the passive role of reflection. Troublesome as well is the fact that the section of the study that dealt with collections did not attempt to trace change either in the collections or in the identities over the years. There is, however, one clear example of a significant alteration

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in play: the changes associated with education and professionalization had a major effect on the collecting mandate of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, and this yields one example of a *semiophore* altered to signify a different 'invisible'. The phenomenon of 'de-industrialization' in Nova Scotia, which lead to economic under-development early in the century and eventually to dependence on federal government transfer payments, made problematic the original identification in the museum. Nova Scotia as industrial heartland clearly was not to be, and a museum reflecting this identity had no choice but to recreate itself entirely. This was done unconsciously during the interwar years as the 'amateur' director was marginalized by a professionalizing scientific community, which was also attempting to distance itself from an outmoded and unpopular idea. But under the auspices of the new director during the Second World War and after, the museum was deliberately altered and became simply a natural history museum. This reflected a more generic sense of identity: Nova Scotia as a part of the modern, scientific world. Whether the change in the museum was causally related to de-industrialization or not, it certainly had the effect of giving Nova Scotia a kind of modernity and of placing it firmly in the context of one kind of progressive middle-class society of the 1950s and 60s. Nonetheless, it robbed Nova Scotia of some of its uniqueness.

At the same time, however, that Nova Scotia's museum was moving to identify the province with modernity and progress, others in the province were creating an anti-modern identity for it. Folklorists and entrepeneurs were collecting examples of 'traditional' tales, songs, and handicrafts, and selling them to tourists in the form of souvenirs of an ancient Nova Scotia: a land rooted in simpler times and peopled by simple fisher-folk.\(^4\) Not unlike the struggle

\(^4\) McKay, *Quest of the Folk.*
between the Ontario Provincial Museum and the Royal Ontario Museum over which 'past' would dominate and be presented as truth, the juxtaposition of the two Nova Scotian identities being created in the post-war period—the museum's modernity and the folklorist's anti-modernity—reflected a basic disagreement over how middle-class Nova Scotians wished to see themselves and their province, and, perhaps more importantly, how they wished to represent what they saw to others.

In the case of Ontario and British Columbia, the lack of any significant alteration in the museum collections, despite the effects of professionalization and the move to a new form of and audience for education, indeed, despite major changes in society over the first half of the twentieth century, raises a number of questions. While it is possible that this lack reflected a continuity in the provincial identities of Ontario and B.C. from the early years of the century, it is also possible that it reflects a failure on the part of the people who built and ran the museums to articulate through their collections an identity which reflected a realistic or a popular image of the province. Alternatively, if it is assumed that the identity described was, in fact, the primary signification of the museum collection and that it did reflect the province and its people when the collection was originally formed, a failure to signify changes in that identity may reflect a distancing of the institutions from the broader society over time.5

If this study can make no conclusive statements regarding any possible transformation in provincial identities as created in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries and reflected in the provincial museums, it does, however, allow speculation on the nature of the nation of Canada.

5. I have elsewhere argued that museums, as most cultural institutions, may well be inherently obsolete, reflecting current ideas and ideologies, perhaps even being harbingers of the new, when first conceived or established, but becoming redundant as society discards those ideas for yet newer ones. Mak, "Ward of the Government," 31-32.
The introduction to this study and to chapter one have argued that museums have been used in Canada as Benedict Anderson's "institutions of power" to forge a new nation and to shape or reflect a Canadian identity. If collections gathered in museums have, indeed, been used to claim a past for the nation, illustrate its present, and map out a future for it, then the analysis of the collections of the provincial museums in this study leads toward the possibility that each province created for itself an unique identity, and that museum collections were more likely to separate the provinces from each other and from the nation as a whole than to bind them together. Any 'national' identity thus created by these museums' collections would actually be one of Canada as a nation of regions, and would tend to reinforce J.M.S. Careless' classic notion of Canada as a country of "limited identities."\(^6\)

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Developments in all four museums examined here reflected their ties to the middle class. As the "moving spirits behind the major public collections," the middle class drew "upon the idea of classification inherited from the previous century and link[ed] this with [its own] applied intellectual rationale" centred on the increase of a kind of knowledge which would "underpin their own position."\(^7\) Collections, classifications, and displays were all designed to portray the present as a natural progression from the past, the end point of which would see the middle class, and specifically, the male of that class, dominant. The museum would also have the effect of civilizing the working classes by simultaneously instructing them in art and design, impressing


\(^7\) Pearce, *On Collecting*, 126, 138.
spiritual values on them, and enforcing decorous behaviour. The point of this was, in Pearce's words, to "wean them equally from gin and from revolution," thereby making them more useful citizens and more productive labourers in the new bourgeois order. Honeyman's and Piers' arguments for the utility of an industrial museum and Currelly's use of the rhetoric of the museum of industrial art both show these connections between museums and the capitalism of the middle class.

Museums exhibited their continued relationship to the middle class throughout the course of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Indeed, they exhibited the middle class itself. As a part of the modern world, the middle class was required to constantly recreate itself just as were the other institutions, environments, and individuals as described by Berman. In so doing, it affected all of society and especially the institutions and environments which it had created and now attempted to control. Tracing these changes through their impact on museums provides a view of a middle class intent on maintaining its position in society through its own reconstruction.

In re-focussing its educational emphasis away from the adult worker toward the child (who would be a worker one day), the middle class altered both the institutions which provided education, and the very nature of education itself. In the context of the museum, no longer would viewing an object, perhaps drawing its shape or design, and reading a label noting its history and development be considered sufficient. Education would instead be contained in a range of activities which would allow children to interact with an object in order that they could integrate

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8. Bennet, especially, talks about the effect of the exhibitionary complex on behaviour within the museums, the museum as a reformatory of manners. Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*, 48-58.


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knowledge of that object itself with an awareness of its use, its operation, its function or role in society, and its relationship to other objects. While the final aim of education, creating decorously-behaved, productive workers, may have remained the same, the museum as institution, rather than as collection or exhibition, was recreated in order to properly function in its new role as educator of schoolchildren. Education departments became an essential part of the larger institutions and staff, usually women, were hired to run them. In smaller institutions, the new education placed a greater burden on staff whose primary function was the care and exhibition of the collections. Most nonetheless attempted to institute the new methods and emphases of education and make of themselves twentieth-century educational institutions, primarily in order to sustain their public support, and thereby their own existence.

If educational change demonstrated middle class ambitions, the increasing emphasis on the professional status of museum scientists and administrators did so even more clearly: it showed the middle class not simply wanting to educate others to its values but wanting to formalize and specify those values in the most rigorous of ways. Through state-supported schooling and the increasing accessibility of post-secondary school education, movement into the ranks of the middle class became increasingly possible over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the concomitant standardization of knowledge and the establishment of the university degree as the standard against which to judge professional status meant that entry into the professional middle class was also increasingly controlled. By the late 1930s, this trend was clearly evident in the hiring practises of Canadian museums where the

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10. See Harold Perkin on the professional society as one with vertical barriers rather than the horizontal barriers of class society. Perkin, *Rise of Professional Society*, xiii & 1-26. See also, for instance, Widdowson, *Going Up into the Next Class*, in which she argues that the provision of teacher education for lower and working class girls allowed them to reach for, and occasionally, attain middle class status.
generalists, 'gentlemen of science' and 'men of letters' were being replaced by men with specialized knowledge and university educations.

This study is only an opening argument. Because there is little literature which deals specifically with the Canadian museum in an historical context, it has necessarily taken a broad view. Each of its three themes could easily serve as a thesis topic in its own right; but, without a context into which discussion of them could be placed, that would have been premature. This thesis, then, has begun to create such a context. There remain, to be sure, many themes other than those of identity, education, and professionalization which could be and need to be examined from a Canadian perspective and many threads which need to be followed further and points which need to be examined more closely. There also remains a need for micro-studies of more Canadian institutions, in order to ascertain whether the trends and patterns identified in this study do, in fact, represent a generalized experience or whether they are peculiar to the four museums considered here. This study, therefore, represents both an extension into the Canadian context of ideas and theories based on the study of American, British, and European museums, and the opening volley in what will hopefully be a long and fruitful debate on the Canadian museum.

The literature on museums is not the only place this study makes a contribution. In combining the argument of the historian, Nathan Reingold, to that of the sociologist, Elliot Friedson, it provides a new model for professionalization which avoids the pitfalls of the current literature. And in using this model, it demonstrates that professionalization had a major, and sometimes painful, impact on Canadian cultural institutions and the people who worked in them. More than that, it has shown that even in the the twentieth century, the amateur/professional dichotomy may be too simplistic a model. Marginalization in or by a growing profession could
lead to the creation, or the desire to create, a new profession through which to gain, or regain, status. And, although amateurs may have been pushed to the margins of many disciplines, margins are not useless entities. The continued importance of amateurs in museums illustrates this clearly.

Finally, this study adds to our understanding of the Canadian middle class. In demonstrating that Canadian museums were conforming to the patterns of the international museum movement, it shows that the Canadian middle class participated in an international bourgeois culture and that they shared many of the ambitions and desires that historians have identified in the British and American middle class. At the same time, the study makes clear that the local and the personal were not irrelevant.

If this study has implications beyond what it can tell us about Canadian museums, their place in the international museum movement, and the nature of the middle class itself, they lie in what it says about the museum today and tomorrow. No less than their predecessors, museum people today are claiming the museum finally to have reached the status of educational institution. Yet, as this study, and many others have shown, the museum has always been considered an educational institution by its advocates. What this study adds is evidence that the question is not one of having claimed educational status in the past and only having reached it now; the question rather centres on the nature of changing definitions of education and a changing focus for that education. This suggests that today's museums would do well to analyze critically their educational rhetoric and consider whether they have become 'educational' in some 'final' way, or whether, instead, they have simply altered the nature of the education they have in some sense always offered. A better understanding of what it is they do, and how and why
they do it, should have ramifications for the manner in which they function, and may well have implications for their role in society.

This study also has implications for museums in the area of professionalization. Both the chapter on the professionalization of science and that on the professionalization of museum work demonstrate the increasing importance of credentials to attaining scientific positions in museums, and the importance of the establishment of professionalism to sustaining public support for the institution. However, this study has suggested that museums and museum people have not accomplished the establishment of a museums profession largely because of the failure to establish 'gate keepers' for such a profession. Without a standard body of formalized, museum-based knowledge, the acquisition of which can be judged through the attainment of an university degree, and without a professional organization which can enforce possession of that degree as a requirement for appointment to a museum position, museums with minimal funding and resources can and will continue to hire whomever they wish. And governing bodies and funding sources will continue to allow these institutions to exist without sufficient funding. If, therefore, museums wish to remain a part of the middle-class programme which has directed their development to this point, it is critical that they convince the general public that museum work is, in fact, a profession.

As we move into the twenty-first century, the middle class is again changing, reconstructing itself, and, perhaps, as some believe, even on the way to disappearing altogether. Museums are experiencing the effects of these changes and only a clear understanding of the impact of similar developments in a previous age will allow museums to respond to them now in an intelligent manner. If knowledge is power, then the knowledge of museums' origins in, and
continued relationship to, the middle class will help to provide museums with the necessary power to face successfully the struggles which lie ahead.
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APPENDIX A: Director/Curators of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia

1868-89    David Honeyman
1889-96    Isabella Goudge (née Honeyman)
1896-99    Emma Power
1899-1940    Harry Piers
1940-65    Donald K. Crowdis

APPENDIX B: Superintendent/Curators of the Ontario Provincial Museum

1896-1902    David Boyle (Curator of Archaeology)
1902-11    David Boyle (Superintendent)
1911-33    Rowland B. Orr

APPENDIX C: Directors of the Royal Ontario Museums

Archaeology

1913-46    Charles T. Currelly (appointed 3 April 1913)
1946    Dorothy Burr Thompson (Acting)
1947-55    Gerard Brett

Geology

1913-22    A.P. Coleman (appointed 3 April 1913)
1922-45    E.S. Moore

Mineralogy

1913-37    T.L. Walker (appointed 3 April 1913)
1937-44    A.L. Parsons
1944-45    V.B. Meen

Geology and Mineralogy

1945-49    E.S. Moore
1949-55    V.B. Meen

Palaeontology

1913-36    W.A. Parks (appointed 3 April 1913)
1936-37    M. Fritz (Acting)
1937-45  M. Fritz (Asst. Director, Invertebrate Palaeontology)
1937-45  L.S. Russell (Asst. Director, Vertebrate Palaeontology)
1945-50  L.S. Russell (Director) (M. Fritz is Assoc. Dir., 1945-51)

Zoology (originally Natural History - name changed 24 April 1914)

1913-34  B.A. Bensley (appointed 16 Oct. 1913)
1934-49  J.R. Dymond
1949-51  F.A. Urquhart (first full-time paid director)

Palaeontology and Zoology

1951-55  F.A. Urquhart (M. Fritz is Assoc. Dir., 1951-56)

Royal Ontario Museum of the University of Toronto

1955-62  Theodore A. Heinrich

APPENDIX D: Director/Curators of the Provincial Museum of Natural History, Victoria, B.C.

1886-1904  John "Jack" Fannin
1904-40    Francis Kermode
1940-42    Clifford Carl (Acting)
1942-69    Clifford Carl