

Toward a New Collective Biography: The University of British Columbia Professoriate, 1915–1945

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Collective biography traditionally relies on quantitative evidence to explain social and economic characteristics of a group of persons. A recent and continuing study of the professoriate at the University of British Columbia between 1915 and 1945 shows that this historical method could and should take into account the intellectual and emotional circumstances of its subjects, rather than rely exclusively on socio-economic data. The UBC study uses several techniques that connect quantitative and circumstantial data in a single, integrated historical argument.

La biographie collective repose généralement sur des données quantitatives pour expliquer les caractéristiques sociales et économiques d'un groupe de personnes. Une étude récente, et toujours en cours, du corps professoral à l'University of British Columbia entre 1915 et 1945 indique que cette méthode historique pourrait et devrait prendre en compte le contexte intellectuel et affectif dans lequel se trouvent les sujets, plutôt que de s'en tenir exclusivement aux données socio-économiques. L'étude de l'UBC fait appel à plusieurs techniques qui établissent des liens entre les données quantitatives et contextuelles dans une interprétation historique intégrée.

COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHY AND THE HISTORY OF UNIVERSITIES IN CANADA

In Hindu-Buddhist lore the story is told of blind men who come upon an elephant, never before having known one. One man touches the elephant's ear and concludes that elephants are thin and velvet creatures. Another leans against the elephant's leg and argues that elephants resemble moving tree-trunks. Analogously, historians writing about universities may say these institutions transmit high culture, educate for the intellectual life, provide for social control, or cause economic growth. Since the mid-1980s, however, the practice of university history has moved on, and we may at last construct an historically more complete picture of the "elephant" than we have had.

In this article I suggest revision of a now-traditional historical technique that would contribute to such a picture. The technique, collective biography—or "prosopography"—has over the past quarter-century yielded useful results in the social study of students, professors, and university bureaucrats. These results have not, however, been integrated with the findings of intellectual, political, administrative, and other "histories" of the university. In a self-fulfilling

prophecy, social historians have noticed the divide between these two methods and have declined the often-difficult, labour-intensive task of constructing prosopographical databases.

I here offer the example of a Canadian study already under way, a new history of the University of British Columbia, to illustrate a revised prosopographical method. I show how the method and its products may be linked with older forms of university history, arguing its utility and feasibility not just for British Columbia but everywhere.

PLEASURES AND PERILS OF PROSOPOGRAPHY

One reason the University of British Columbia (UBC), as most universities in Canada, has attracted little systematic historical attention,¹ is the absence of organized databases for its professoriate and its students. The importance of data “banks” is easier to see if we think of recent large-scale university histories in western Europe. Since the early 1970s, historians of European higher education have taken to asking who went to school, who taught, and who governed. These are, of course, deceptively simple questions. As one learns the social, cultural, geographic, and intellectual roots of students, not just their names and later careers, one acquires a detailed and explanatory vision of the surrounding society. These data, taken together, point to students’ and professors’ interests and motives, and to power relations between and among them, and with outsiders.

To take one example, extensive work on Oxford and Cambridge students between 1400 and 1900 has begun to answer large questions: what have been and are the causes of industrial growth and decay? What are the roots of imperialist political ambition? What may have been the links between vigorous art, music, and literature on one hand, and universities on the other? Similar work on professors in 19th- and 20th-century Germany, France, and England has helped to answer these questions, and also to explain such various phenomena as literary and scientific invention, the practice of governance in large and fractious institutions, and the role of intellectual leaders in popular and elitist politics.²

These European studies were in some cases the fruits of historiographical and methodological advances, but in others of industrious research on huge databases. Catto’s and McConica’s work on Oxford, for example, was based on computerized cataloguing and analysis of 8,000 medieval student records. The records were erratic in form, but reliable enough to yield significant generalizations about 13th- to 16th-century English society and polity.³

Canadian evidence has yet to be exploited on this scale. John Reid’s sketches of the geographical and professional origins of Mount Allison students are an important, but not-yet-replicated example of large-scale collective biography in Canada.⁴

One might justifiably wonder if this is merely a physical and administrative matter. Perhaps the manuscript sources for prosopographical studies of Canadian

universities are, for whatever reason, wanting. But as a recent collection of historical essays has shown, the sources are plentiful.⁵

The difficulty is not so much to find records as it is to make defensible links among them. Strictly speaking, a full prosopography or collective biography requires similar records for the entire population under study. Such records will in some degree be quantifiable, and the prosopographer will consider raw percentages, medians, and variances, later comparing these to analogous statistics for the larger outside society. A fortunate researcher may be able to calculate correlations between employment and highest degree earned, not just the overall *proportion* of persons who were employed or who had doctorates.

Where records are exactly similar, but anecdotal or for some other reason not wholly quantifiable, the prosopographer may (and usually does) argue for conceptual features that recur across records. The result may be an inferentially suggestive conceptual “catalogue,” on which basis it is usually possible to make generalizations and inferences about people’s preferences, reasons, motives, and *Weltanschauung*. In sum, a collective biography should go far beyond the atomic facts that make it feasible in the first place.

The interest of a complete prosopography lies partly in linking quantifiable and non-quantifiable aspects of records, and thus of people’s lives. These links are hard to detect and to prove. The main difficulty is the linkage of records collected about whole populations, but by different institutions for different purposes. In studying the UBC professoriate, for example, I found evidence collected by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, by the City of Vancouver (including its police department!), and by the provincial departments of health and of education. These were reduced—regrettably from a prosopographical standpoint—to statistical tables in which contributing individuals cannot be discerned. Record linkage depends on the identification of at least some of the individuals who constitute groups. And since Dominion, City, and provincial departments had different *reasons* for keeping records, the selection principles guiding their report-writers were also different.

Faced with these impedimenta, collective biographers must be satisfied with partial record sets, partial linkages, and statistically modest generalizations.⁶ The statistical modesty of those conclusions does not deny their historical value. The example of UBC tells much about both the modesty and the value of collective biography.

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Teaching at the University of British Columbia began in 1915, a little later than at the sister universities of Alberta and of Saskatchewan (both 1907). In the nearly eighty years since, only one complete historical study of UBC’s development has been published, Harry Logan’s celebratory narrative of 1956, *Tuum*

*est.*⁷ Like many Canadian and American universities, UBC has not yet benefited from late developments in the field of education history — and university history in particular.⁸

Between 1915 and 1945, UBC's Board of Governors appointed 214 persons to academic teaching posts.⁹ All have appointment record cards,¹⁰ which I have supplemented by newspaper accounts, necrologies (including University Senate tributes and the like), cumulative files of *curricula vitarum*, and, in a few cases, complete archival collections of personal and family documents in the Department of Special Collections, University of British Columbia Library. This work is still underway, along with various approaches to record linkage, and is among the first steps in writing a new history of the University.

Of the 214, 13 were women, of whom 2 were in nursing, 3 in modern languages and literature, and 3 in home economics.¹¹ About 60 percent of the appointees were Canadian-born, and nearly 90 percent of these came from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Ontario.¹² Fewer than 45 percent of all appointees held doctoral degrees. Of those degrees, nearly 85 percent had been granted, in order of frequency, by the universities of Harvard, California, Chicago, and Iowa (the latter especially important for agricultural studies). Masters of Arts from the University of Toronto were thrice as numerous as those from the University of Oxford.

By comparison to the professoriate of 1993/94 (1,854 persons), UBC was tiny even in 1945, when it had reached just 95 appointees. Although the low proportion of women on staff might be expected, the number of Canadian-born professors is at least noteworthy, as is the fact that most took graduate work in only a half-dozen American universities, Iowa and California particularly. All of this invites the inference that there may have been networks both of influence and of intellectual tradition in the professoriate, and it suggests the further possibility of linkages with social and business interests in the city.

COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHY AND CONTEXT: AN EXAMPLE FROM INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

The great reformer-bureaucrats of the last century (and their biographers¹³) wrote indefatigably about the rising curve of intellectual production in their universities, often after the passage of some piece of reforming legislation, or after the grant of increased public or private financial support.¹⁴ Scholars since 1945 have been less and less content with this administrative approach to the history of intellectual life. For Joseph ben David, the first step in making needed changes was to do some straightforward page-counting; for Pierre Bourdieu, it was much more a question of the links between intellectual production and "social power," in close studies of the political economy of the modern state and of the professoriate.¹⁵ I would like to go still further, to see where intellectual production fitted

not just with philosophical or literary tradition, or with professorial “power,” but also to see connections between (a) the material circumstances of scholarly lives and (b) their psychological and “spiritual” sides. The sort of history I intend will look for *contextual* explanations of professors’ literary, political, and philosophical tendencies.

A study of UBC both permits and invites just this sort of work. The publication pattern of UBC professors 1915–45 was generally unremarkable, but with bright spots in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The first professor of philosophy, James Henderson (1865–1962), published exactly twenty-five lines during his entire professorial life, and these in the *UBC Alumni Chronicle*.¹⁶ Henry Angus,¹⁷ on the other hand, published systematically after 1930 in economics and political science, as did Harold Ashton in 18th-century French studies, and Frederick Soward in history.¹⁸ In agriculture, Alden Barss, Jacob Biely, and Paul Boving helped put UBC on the North American scientific map.¹⁹ Some of UBC’s most remarkable scholars of the late 1930s and early 1940s — John Irving²⁰ in philosophy and Sylvia Thrupp²¹ in history are examples — did not serve long, but rather moved on to Toronto, Harvard, Chicago, and like universities. Although beautiful in its situation, UBC (and Vancouver) was isolated in the “West beyond the West.” Other academic destinations exerted a powerful attraction.²²

How shall we explain the careers of those at UBC who published and those who did not? How did the professors of 1915–1945 think of the very idea of production? Were the questions, arguments, and ideas of professorial writer-researchers affected in some way by their authors’ social circumstances, political views, geographic situation, and personal wealth? Only a mix of quantitative and intellectual history, applied to the entire professoriate, is likely to provide answers. Collective biographical evidence and argument can point to connections, however strong and/or correlative, between professors’ geographical contiguity, their own education, their political and community involvements, their property and other economic interests, the sequence of their careers, and the central features of their intellectual lives.

GENERAL HYPOTHESES AND COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHY: THE HYPOTHESIS OF UBC’S WEAKNESS

More than 85 percent of UBC appointees lived in Point Grey, Kitsilano, or newly developed Dunbar, three residential centres tied to the city of Vancouver by tramways and even more closely after 1929 by legal incorporation. Many fewer lived in University Hill, and fewer still in Shaughnessy.²³

Professorial connections to the city and to the province were, however, more numerous and significant than these bald facts might suggest. The first hints of this come in lists of association and club memberships, both men’s and women’s, throughout the period.²⁴ In amateur and semi-professional associations for

political and cultural causes, and in professional associations and guilds,²⁵ UBC's professors (and their spouses) were significantly over-represented by comparison to any other active group in Vancouver's elite.²⁶ A rough estimate puts their participation rate at twice that of any other definable social category in the city.

Yet despite their geographic concentration in Vancouver, and despite the fact their jobs were safe in most of the period 1915–45, the UBC professoriate was nearly powerless at times when the University was in danger of direct government intervention,²⁷ faced with financial disaster,²⁸ or simply disregarded in the great economic and political events that shaped the province.²⁹ On a number of grounds, it can be argued that UBC performed services for the province no more and no less valuable than those of the universities of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. Yet it was British Columbia that produced Canon Hinchcliffe, a Minister of Education willing at the worst of Depression times in 1932 to recommend closure of the University.³⁰ Even Saskatchewan's Conservative Premier J. T. M. Anderson was disinclined to such radical measures, and in any case politically unable to go so far.³¹ Alberta's William Aberhart had more reason to interfere than either Hinchcliffe or Anderson. After all, like Margaret Thatcher nearly a half-century later, he was first offered (in 1941 May) then denied (in 1941 June) an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree. Even so, Aberhart did not interfere in University of Alberta affairs as he might, instead appointing a "Survey Committee" to examine university operations.³² By comparison, then, the UBC of the inter-war period was singularly open to outside interference.³³

Although they taught well enough, and although well connected in local society, members of the UBC professoriate were before 1945 a vulnerable bunch. If their social life was good, professors were, alas! connected to the wrong people. The powerful and the rich joined the Empire Club and the Vancouver Club, controlled the executive committees of the provincial Conservative and Liberal parties, and ran the diverse manufacturing sector of the city. Professors were scarce on the ground in these milieux. Professors lived in Point Grey, socialized mainly with one another, and took few noticeable steps to assert themselves outside their little community. But was the UBC professoriate tied to the outside world of power in other ways? Did it overcome its parochialism by economic and political linkages of a kind not immediately obvious in the data I have so far described? Was the professoriate as isolated in its intellectual life as in political-intellectual life?

One way of answering these questions would be to consider the University's connections to the forestry and agriculture industries, fields in which UBC could claim theoretical and practical competence. On the basis of the present, extremely partial evidence, any generalization will be risky. In the cases for which there is evidence, professorial advice was occasionally sought but not necessarily taken. An example: H. R. Macmillan, lumber baron, had a UBC tie — but saw the University as just another client, although in this case a client worthy of largesse. Did the great and the powerful ignore UBC because members of its professoriate

were insignificant contributors to national and international research and development work? Or just because the University was small and politically marginal?

The data are insufficient. It is not enough to know the place and date of birth, the sex, the educational attainment, the club connections, the pattern of publication and academic preferment, and the real worth (property) of professors. We need also to know in detail their collective and individual connections to the national, provincial, and urban economies. Although we do not yet have it, the UBC prosopography will provide that detail. It will be gathered through an analysis of contractual and notarial records, a survey of financial and business news, and a review of the archives of the office of the President of the University.

IF COLLECTIVE BIOGRAPHY IS GOOD HISTORY, WHY IS THERE SO LITTLE OF IT?

Paul Axelrod's study of the governance of Ontario universities after 1945 and John Reid's history of Mount Allison University make limited but effective use of collective biographical techniques.³⁴ Few book-length histories of universities in Canada make the attempt, and this despite the popularity of collective biography, or prosopography, among historians since the 1960s, and its subsequent wide acceptance among social historians. Although complexities of record linkage and of qualitative inference may make such studies unattractive to some writers, this would not entirely account for the scarcity of collective historical biography. The reason may lie elsewhere.

Despite its broad acceptance, prosopographical and biographical methods must now face the general methodological uncertainty of our times, and the logical and practical challenges of the moment. Prosopography should consider, for instance, the questions and the *Weltanschauung* of post-structuralist theory.³⁵ It should also take into account Foucault's analyses of social practice, Bruce Curtis's arguments about the growth of the state, and the views of their numerous scholarly progeny.³⁶ The list of new theories might be extended, but the point is that the "mere quantification" of traditional prosopography will no longer suffice. At its beginnings, collective biography was little more than a gathering of roughly similar facts about a number of roughly similar persons in the past or the present.³⁷ Such a collection would be unlikely, by itself, to confirm or to disconfirm hypotheses such as that (of weakness) I posited a moment ago. Prosopography stands in need of a new expression and of technical renovation.

THE RENEWAL OF PROSOPOGRAPHY

Paul Axelrod's recent study of Canadian university student life in the 1930s exemplifies a successful foray into renewed collective biography. Axelrod devotes an appendix to his methodology, paying special attention to the matter of social class.

My exploration of the backgrounds, beliefs, activities, aspirations, and destinies of university students in the 1930s confirms my belief in the promise and rationality of the sort of inquiry [studies of social class]. . . . I am also convinced that the type of class analysis that speaks most eloquently to the reality of student life in the 1930s is that which takes into account . . . economic position, collective class consciousness, and perceived social status.³⁸

Axelrod's questions are of the most straightforward kinds. Were Depression-era students accurate in assessing their life chances? What social devices did they use to learn and/or to adopt the attitudes and preferences of their colleagues, and did these devices at the same time serve to control their behaviour? These questions might be suited to investigations of social class as sociologists and structurally minded historians would see them. But I prefer to leave the emphasis of argument on practical questions, as did Axelrod: what did "class" mean to Canadian young people? What were its demonstrable and practical effects on them? Were they as affected by their *views* of social structure as they were by the structure itself?

The relation between Axelrod's many statistical tables, on the one hand, and his close studies of student values and group cohesion (in politics, sex, professional identification), on the other, is not crystal-clear, and this is intentional. He suggests (but does not demonstrate) subtle, causal linkages between the professions of students' fathers and students' choices of degrees and courses, their preferences for one sort of literature and music, and their later decisions and practices as graduate professionals. These are not weaknesses, but rather strengths: Axelrod has merely recognized the limits and the possibilities of inference and generalization built on studies of populations for which records are often dissimilar, and sometimes "unlinkable."

Axelrod did not intend as his first order of business to write a prosopography, and his method yields only rough percentages (as, for example, ethnic and geographic origins of students) of social, political, intellectual, and other categories. The renovation of prosopography/collective biography requires more precision than this. But more than precision—much more—it requires that new questions be asked of old evidence, and that certain kinds of evidence, heretofore underutilized, be rescued from oblivion.

TOWARD A NEW AND COLLECTIVE HISTORY OF THE PROFESSORIATE

If work on UBC is to have lasting value, it must show how professors accommodated themselves to a raw capitalist society, and exploit new ranges of evidence to explain the political weakness of the professoriate in the period ending 1945. And again, it must show how the material and the intellectual jostled each other in professors' lives, and how professorial lives conjoined with the lives of students, students' parents, politicians—and the lives of people who never heard of universities and never cared.

The Professoriate and British Columbia's Elites

Studies in the history of British Columbia's economy are not yet numerous, and are generally specialized rather than synthetic.³⁹ This is especially so for areas outside Vancouver and Victoria. Historians of British Columbia's provincial business elites have therefore concentrated on the two main cities. I can do little to right this imbalance, and shall work instead on connections between the UBC professoriate and the business/government "oligarchy" in southwestern-urban British Columbia. The task will be largely quantitative, beginning, of course, with a reliable database for the professors.

The database includes information from Board of Governors appointment records, and on professors' places and dates of birth, appointment history (progress through the ranks), postsecondary education, salaries, dates of retirement and death, department and faculty, and sex. Although Board of Governors records that provided the starting point for the database are incomplete, and inconsistent in form, it is possible to improve their utility.

To supplement and to verify them, I have begun to draw on city directories, tax rolls, incorporation records, the British Columbia Newspaper Index,⁴⁰ standard clipping files, and various club and association lists. By reading professors' own publications, speeches, and reported comment, I have been able to get a first approximation of their ambitions and pretensions—to see how far they thought of themselves as members of the ruling classes, or if they aspired even to influence those classes. By using the whole range of sources I have mentioned in this paper, I have been able to consider how far their ambitions and pretensions were backed up by social facts.

I hope to map longitudinal changes in (a) patterns of professorial and economic life, (b) professorial attitudes and social claims (pretensions), and (c) professors' political and social practices, possibly matching (a) with (b).

The study of political and social practice may be entirely feasible on the evidence I have listed, or it may require in addition a close study of literary and oral evidence, of fiction and descriptive narrative, and of non-print sources, especially photographs. How else to examine the habits and dispositions of people? The analysis of Canadian and British Columbian fiction, social description, and narrative will be helpful here. Still, the union of collective evidence and individual data will surely yield results not easily realized on the basis of a single evidence type.

Professorial Resistance

UBC had no faculties of business administration, law, medicine, or education before 1945. On the other hand, its faculties of forestry, agriculture, and applied science offered extensive undergraduate training from 1915. UBC's enrolment patterns confirm that it was predominantly an "arts and science university," but

with professional add-on faculties and departments.⁴¹ These facts show how UBC differed from her American land-grant counterparts, whose practicality and professional commitments were unmistakable, and from her sister Canadian universities in the Prairies and eastward. When UBC organized educational studies, it was as a small and weak department in the Faculty of Arts. Home Economics and Nursing were likewise isolated and tiny.

One way of explaining UBC's orientation is to say that the University catered to an influential fraction of the British Columbia elite (although this generalization has yet to be supported by hard evidence), and that that fraction saw higher learning in an arts-and-science perspective. Before 1945, UBC graduates would have expected to go elsewhere for advanced training, or simply to take their liberal education into the business of life. Pierre Berton went straightaway into journalism after his B.A.; likewise many of his colleagues.

But to say UBC was arts-and-science-oriented, rather than professionally oriented (however influential agriculture, forestry, and applied science may have been), is to beg a question. Surely UBC was more than a creature of its clientele. Its professoriate must have played a part in deciding the university's character. If we start from the presumption that professors played their part, then the question is quite a different one: how far and why did the UBC professoriate *resist* the enticements of practicality, of job-and-skill training? Professorial resistance to accommodation (as Fritz Ringer called it⁴²) may have stemmed from resistance to the encroachments of the state⁴³ or resistance to arbitrary university administration. In either case, it is a deserving explanatory theme, and approachable through the evidence of collective biography.

Professorial Community—Or Cloister?

We come finally to the question of non-economic links between the professoriate and the broader British Columbian society. Did UBC professors find outlets for their creative energies in the cultural organizations of Vancouver and the province? Had professors a private scientific life, not just an official university one? Were UBC professors participants in neighbourhood and community politics? In brief, was the UBC professoriate a cloistered society, or was it rather deeply involved in the life of the larger surrounding community?

Here, too, the evidence of membership lists, electoral records, newspaper accounts, and personal reminiscence may be linked to the hard data of a prosopography. Record linkage should provide at least partial answers to questions about professoriate members' cultural participation.

APPLICATIONS AND EXTENSIONS

I hope to have shown, by example and by reference to historical work on universities in Europe and North America, that a renovated prosopography may lead

or help to lead to an intellectually and socially informed history of higher education. Although the example of UBC has social, political, and chronological peculiarities, the questions to be asked about it are closely analogous to questions that have gone begging across the country. If UBC was politically weak in the 1930s, how much stronger was the University of Toronto or the University of Winnipeg professoriate? Both universities have since 1939 experienced crises of academic freedom (the cases of Frank Underhill and Harry Crowe), and have only with difficulty resisted the oppressive tactics of their administrators and governors, and behind them of governments and power elites. An extended prosopographical study of these and other English-Canadian universities may provide clear insights into the political sophistication and strengths of their academic staffs.

French-language universities and institutes, some of them still under the guardianship of the Church, invite us to ask questions about power, resistance, and participation—but with an approach differing slightly from that for English-language places. In Québec, the so-called Quiet Revolution was aided by profound shifts in demography, by rapid migration into the cities, and by a far-reaching industrial transformation, all of which are just now coming to be more fully understood.⁴⁴ One wonders if the professoriate of Québec universities, and of French-language professoriates elsewhere in Canada, were younger and more socially diverse than those of their Anglophone counterparts. Again, one would like to know if the rapid increase in the research capacity of French-language universities (particularly since 1965) is in any way accounted for by the collective characteristics of its professoriate—its patterns of academic training, its connections to extra-academic circles of power, its political culture. And not to forget the roots of these questions, it is essential to extend these enquiries to the early 20th century and before.

Although students have long attracted the attention of historians and sociologists—who see them as vital subjects of historical and collective studies—it is time to put professors and administrators under a prosopographical lens. Seen from the standpoint of their collective social relations and practices, we may at least see why professors create, resist, and stay in universities—and why, occasionally, they do not.

NOTES

¹ Apart from Harry Logan's *Tuum est: A History of the University of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press for the University of British Columbia, 1958), well-regarded historical studies of UBC include Cole Harris, "Locating the University of British Columbia," *BC Studies* 32 (Winter 1976/77): 106–25; Michiel Horn, "Under the Gaze of George Vancouver: The University of British Columbia and the Provincial Government, 1913–1939," *BC Studies* 23 (Autumn 1983): 29–67; Lee Stewart, "It's Up to You": *Women at UBC in the Early Years* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990); William C. Gibson, *Wesbrook and His University* (Vancouver: Library of the University of British Columbia, 1973); P. B. Waite, *Lord of Point Grey: Larry MacKenzie of UBC* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987).

- ² The pioneers of Oxbridgian collective biography are represented in Lawrence Stone, *The University in Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974, 2 vols.). The best English-language collective biographies of professors are of the British: A. J. Engel's *From Clergyman to Don: The Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) and Gary Werskey, *The Visible College: A Collective Biography of British Scientists and Socialists of the 1930s* (London: Allen Lane, 1978). For France, where prosopographical work is rapidly growing in popularity, see Christophe Charle, *Histoire sociale de la France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1991). Professionalization in academic fields has, for a number of authors, been linked to rising intellectual productivity. Two recent studies use this argument extensively and with the help of prosopographical technique: C. E. McClelland, *The German Experience of Professionalization: Modern Learned Professions and Their Organizations from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Hitler Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), and F. K. Ringer, *Fields of Knowledge: French Academic Culture in Comparative Perspective, 1890–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- ³ J. K. McConica, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3, *The Collegiate University* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), esp. pp. 1–68; and J. I. Catto, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1, *The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).
- ⁴ John Reid, *Mount Allison University* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984; 2 vols.).
- ⁵ P. Axelrod and J. G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University, and Canadian Society* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
- ⁶ On these matters, see José Igartua, "The Computer and the Historian's Work," *History and Computing* 3, no. 2 (1991): 73–83, and Harvey Mellor, "Historical Explanation and Educational Computing," *History and Computing* 3, no. 3 (1991): 178–82. For examples of application, see Peter Gunn, "Detecting the Rhythm of Life in Small Communities," *History and Computing* 3, no. 3 (1991): 151–60.
- ⁷ See note 1.
- ⁸ W. Bruneau, "The Belated Renaissance of University History in the United States," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 21 (1972): 282–301; cf. Paul Axelrod, "Historical Writing and Canadian Universities: The State of the Art," *Queen's Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (Spring 1984): 73–83.
- ⁹ Academic appointments were to the rank of Assistant Professor or above, but included persons who began their careers at lower ranks, whether as lecturers or as sessional instructors.
- ¹⁰ The UBC Archives contain record cards for all appointees in the period before computerization (1915–1972). There are cards for maintenance staff, part-time lecturers, professors, the President, and so on—some 10,000 records in all. These have not, until now, been reduced to machine-readable form.
- ¹¹ Stewart, "It's Up to You," on nursing, pp. 31–42; on home economics, pp. 44–48; on modern languages, and especially the Romance languages, the case of Isabel MacInnes, pp. 23, 67.
- ¹² This figure is an extrapolation from the seventy cases for which I have so far found evidence of birthplace.
- ¹³ For an example, see J. G. Greenlee, *Sir Robert Falconer: A Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).
- ¹⁴ For examples of the argument that legislative-constitutional reform can presage rising intellectual productivity, see E. G. W. Bill, *University Reform in Nineteenth-Century Oxford: A Study of Henry Halford Vaughan, 1811–1885* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), and T. Tapper and Brian Salter, *Oxford, Cambridge and the Changing Idea of the University: The Challenge to Donnish Domination* (Buckingham, England: The Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press, 1992), esp. chap. 2, "Constitutional Authority: Understanding the Formal

Machinery of University Government,” pp. 37–63, and chap. 7, “Oxford, Cambridge and the Research Tradition,” pp. 173–91. For examples of argument linking public/private investment in universities with subsequent intellectual productivity, see Mary-Jo Nye, *Science in the Provinces: Scientific Communities and Provincial Leadership in France, 1860–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); and in a quite different circumstance, Steven J. Diner, *A City and Its Universities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); also, cf. Bruneau, “Belated Renaissance,” which reviews several arguments of this type.

- ¹⁵ J. ben David, *The Scientist’s Role in Society: A Comparative Study* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971); P. Bourdieu, *Homo academicus* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1984).
- ¹⁶ James Breddick Henderson (1865–1962), M.A. (Glasgow), wrote a brief note about UBC’s “golden” age in the *Alumni Chronicle* 13, no. 3 (Autumn 1959), p. 31. He was Assistant Professor from 1915, having been an instructor in the old McGill University College of British Columbia, then Associate Professor in 1919 and Professor in 1929. Henderson retired in 1932.
- ¹⁷ Angus (b. 1891) was a member (1937–40) of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, and was president of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Canadian Political Science Association. See Margaret Prang, N. W. Rowell, *Ontario Nationalist* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975) for a discussion, *inter alia*, of Angus’s activities. Similarly, George Weir (1924) and Max Cameron (1945) undertook official studies of British Columbia public education. See G. M. Weir and J. H. Putman, *A Survey of the [Public] School System* (Victoria: King’s Printer, 1925); Max Cameron, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Educational Finance* (Victoria: King’s Printer, 1946).
- ¹⁸ Harry Ashton (1882–1952) is best remembered for *A Preface to Molière* (Toronto: Longmans Green, 1927), still in print. Frederick Hubert Soward (1899–1985) wrote numerous books and tracts on Canada’s place in international life, having himself been present at Algeciras, the Versailles Peace Conference, and other great events of the century. His texts included *Twenty-Five Troubled Years, 1918–1943* (Oxford and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1943) and his popular *Canada in World Affairs, 1944–1946* (Oxford and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950).
- ¹⁹ Alden Barss (1888–1980) came to UBC in 1918, and was professor and head of the Department of Horticulture in the Faculty of Agriculture from 1940. His government commissions in the United States and in Canada led to publications on fruit preservation and procreation. Jacob Biely (1912–1981) published seventy-five articles between 1928 and his retirement in 1968, most of them in the general area of animal science, and at the same time became a nationally known private consultant. Paul Boving (1874–1947) was an agricultural economist and general scientist, again heavily involved in government studies and inquiries in the early stages of World War II.
- ²⁰ John Irving (1903–1965) came to UBC from Princeton in 1938, and acted as head of UBC’s Department of Philosophy and Psychology until he went in 1945 to the University of Toronto. His lengthy research on the Social Credit Party in Alberta was published as *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959). On his place in the history of Canadian philosophy, see Leslie Armour and Elizabeth Trott, *The Faces of Reason: An Essay on Philosophy and Culture in English Canada, 1850–1950* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981), chap. 13, “Reason, History, and the Social Sciences: George Brett, John Irving, and Harold Innis,” pp. 430–77.
- ²¹ Sylvia Lettice Thrupp (1903–) came to the UBC history department in 1944 as an instructor and was lured away to the University of Chicago in 1945. Her publications then and later made Thrupp a writer and researcher of high international importance. Among her published works are “The Pedigree and Prospects of Local History,” *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 4, no. 4 (October 1940): 253–65; *Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300–1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1948]); *Society and History: Essays*, ed. Raymond Grew and Nicholas H.

- Steneck (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977); *Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements* (New York: Schocken Books, [1970]).
- ²² Cf. Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), and Maria Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), esp. chap. 5, "Leaning 'on Foreign Walking Sticks': Cultural Philanthropists, Influences, and Models from Abroad," pp. 127–55.
- ²³ A convenient source for the development of the city and its suburbs is Bruce Macdonald, *Vancouver: A Visual History* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1992).
- ²⁴ Cf. Gordon Selman, *The Invisible Giant: A History of Adult Education in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Centre for Continuing Education, University of British Columbia, 1988) [Occasional Papers in Continuing Education, no. 25].
- ²⁵ On the range of associations to which UBC professors might belong, see Ian Hunt, "Mutual Enlightenment in Early Vancouver, 1886–1916" (Ed.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1987), esp. chap. 1, "Introduction," pp. 1–40, and Gillian Weiss, "'As Women or as Citizens': Vancouver Clubwomen, 1910–1928" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1984). UBC professors might choose from 1920 on to join their own Faculty Association, and did so in substantial numbers; see William Bruneau, *A Matter of Identities: A History of the UBC Faculty Association, 1920–1990* (Vancouver: UBC Faculty Association, 1990), *passim*.
- ²⁶ I use the word "elite" much as did Robert McDonald in his "Elites, Status, and Class: An Approach to the Study of Elites in Canadian Urban History During the Industrial Era" (Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Vancouver, British Columbia, 6 June 1983), esp. pp. 17–18. Here McDonald makes a case for a definition of "elites" that combines Marxian and Weberian elements. See also McDonald's "Business Leaders in Early Vancouver, 1886–1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1977).
- ²⁷ Horn, "Under the Gaze," *passim*.
- ²⁸ On UBC's financial crisis during the Depression, see Logan, *Tuum est*, pp. 109–36. See also the report of a judicial inquiry in A. Lampman, *Report of a Commission of Inquiry . . . Leonard Klinck* [President, UBC, 1919–1944] (typescript, Archives of the University of British Columbia, Special Collections, UBC Library).
- ²⁹ On these "shaping events" and UBC's marginal part in them, see Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1958); Martin Robin, *The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province, 1871–1933* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972); Barman, *The West Beyond the West*; George Woodcock, *British Columbia: A History of the Province* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990); and Harris, "Locating the University of British Columbia."
- ³⁰ Horn, "Under the Gaze," pp. 56–58.
- ³¹ See John H. Archer, *Saskatchewan: A History* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980), pp. 156, 238, 311–12 for the background of the University of Saskatchewan and the relations of government to the University.
- ³² Walter Johns, *A History of the University of Alberta, 1908–1969* (Edmonton, Alta.: University of Alberta Press, 1981), pp. 162–70 for a description (without explanation) of the affair; cf. John Macdonald, *The History of the University of Alberta, 1908–1958* (Toronto: W.J. Gage for the University of Alberta, 1958), pp. 48–51, which gives a plausible explanation for the work of the Survey Committee and of the new University Act which followed on the Committee's report.
- ³³ Cf. Waite, *Lord of Point Grey*, pp. 174–79.
- ³⁴ Paul Axelrod, *Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario, 1945–1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), esp. valuable for its use of economic

evidence and indicators; Reid, *Mount Allison*. See also three well-contextualized essays in Axelrod and Reid, *Youth, University, and Canadian Society*: C. Gaffield, L. Marks, and S. Laskin, “Student Populations and Graduate Careers: Queen’s University, 1895–1900” (pp. 3–25); J. Fingard, “College, Career, and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881–1921” (pp. 26–50); and M. MacLeod, “Parade Street Parade: The Student Body at Memorial University College, 1925–1949” (pp. 51–71). These essays are a satisfying mix of complete prosopography (in which all persons are identifiable and record linkage is typically possible), and modified prosopography (wherein persons are conflated into large databases, and characterized by simple percentages of various collective characteristics).

³⁵ See Louis O. Mink, *Historical Understanding* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987) and Michael Stanford, *The Nature of Historical Knowledge* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

³⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage, 1979); Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836–1871* (London, Ont.: Althouse Press/Falmer Press, 1988). See also, for notes on scholars following in the Foucault and Curtis traditions, W. A. Bruneau, “State Education and the History of Mind States” (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian History of Education Association, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, 13 October 1990).

³⁷ J. S. Mill, *A System of Logic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963; 2 vols.; 1st edition [1843] ed. J. M. Robson), esp. Book 6, on the methods of ethology, ethnography, and general social study.

³⁸ Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990).

³⁹ See Robin, *The Rush for Spoils*. Cf. J. Friesen and H. K. Ralston, eds. *Historical Essays on British Columbia* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), esp. pp. 153–200.

⁴⁰ *The British Columbia Newspaper Index*, prepared on microfilm by the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, offers name and subject indexes to more than fifty daily and weekly British Columbia newspapers for the period 1855–1974. For UBC enrolment patterns, see the annual *Calendar of the University*. Between 1920 and 1940, enrolment averaged about 1,500 students per year. Enrolments in forestry, agriculture, and applied science rarely exceeded 15 percent of the total in any year.

⁴¹ Fritz Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), on accommodationists, or modernists, pp. 200–213.

⁴² Horn, “Under the Gaze,” *passim*.

⁴³ Paul-André Linteau et al., *Québec Since 1930*, trans. R. Chodos and E. Garmaise (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1991).

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