"FIT FOR FUTURE LIFE":

THE STRUGGLE TO ESTABLISH HOME ECONOMICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1919 - 1943

by

Ursula Margaret McCurry

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ABSTRACT

From 1919 to 1943 women's groups of British Columbia collectively struggled to establish a home economics program at the University of British Columbia [UBC]. The Board of Governors, in a stalling ritual which lasted over twenty four years, repeatedly refused the requests of the home economics movement ostensibly for financial reasons. Budget submissions of the university fail to support this assertion. Instead, the university records reveal a fledgling institution, self-conscious of its newly formed identity, and concerned with its future, which could not permit the intrusion of a subject which would undermine its first class status. UBC viewed home economics as a vocational subject which trained women in the art of housekeeping and which did not fit with the classically based utilitarian mandate which defined the university from its creation in 1911. Committed to utilitarian and not vocational education, the Board of Governors refused to institute home economics until 1943 when the influence of the legislature forced the Minster of Education to ensure its establishment. Women of the province fully endorsed the home economics movement; initially due to the fervor of the moral reform influences of the first generation of home economics advocates, and later as an avenue for expanded career options in which women did not directly compete with men. Inherently questioning the role of women in society, home economics advocates were able to expand the role of women as defined by separate spheres ideology by structuring the debate within separate spheres discourse and using the tools and weapons provided by it -- specifically their roles as mothers. Although money was the central defence used by the Board of Governors to prevent its establishment, the struggle for home economics became a discursive site upon which the role of women and the university in society were contested and redefined.

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Introduction: Pushing the Boundaries

The University of British Columbia [UBC] established a degree program in home economics in 1943, approximately twenty-five years later than most other Canadian universities, despite concentrated effort by advocates. Although the university claimed that the program was not established for financial reasons the issues surrounding the struggle to establish home economics indicate that more was at stake: the place of women in higher education in Canada, the role of the university in education and society, and women's role in society at large. This struggle, which began in 1919 and was resolved in 1943, is the focus of this study.

The struggle and prolonged delay in the establishment of home economics at UBC raises a number of questions concerning the university as an instrument of social policy and as a tool of social reproduction. Assumptions about gender and the role of the university were central to the debate. If, as historians have argued, universities play a role in educating people to be citizens and useful members of society, their function for women in society was much less clear. Complicating matters, the debate transpired at the same moment that the university was undergoing a profound change from a liberal arts college to a utilitarian institution no longer functioning simply to educate elites, but forced to meet the needs of the nation in order to survive.

The question of structure and agency, how people can have agency in institutions which do not appear to leave much room for action, was also a central issue of the struggle for home economics at UBC. Even as women pushed at the boundaries of separate spheres ideology to justify more public action they remained constrained by the definition of

womanhood as prescribed by that gender ideology. In one sense then, women were changing or expanding the conceptual definition of women's nature and social role, while simultaneously being ruled by it. Women in the home economics movement were struggling to enlarge woman's sphere into the more public realm of education but were doing so with arguments shaped by the ideology they were attempting to change. The struggle for a home economics faculty at UBC reveals the import of these issues within Canadian society for the first half of the twentieth century, and speaks to the way in which these issues shaped the course of women's education for more than a quarter century.

Historians of higher education in Canada have attempted to address many of the questions raised by the movement to establish home economics at UBC. There have been three main stages in the relevant historiography. The first stage consisted of Whiggish, liberal histories of universities which tended to examine great men and even greater institutions.[1] This resulted in a history of Canadian universities completely devoid of analysis or criticism. Not until the advent of social history during the late 1960s, did historians begin to focus on the relationship between education and broader social, economic and political forces. By analyzing the interplay of these forces, and their impact on universities and those who attended them, a deeper understanding of the role of the university and its influence was attained. In the hands of these scholars the university came into focus as a powerful instrument of social, cultural, and intellectual reproduction. Issues such as the university's

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[1]These histories were preoccupied with the "boosters and builders, administrators, evolution and antiquarian detail" of monolithic institutions. Many were not written by professional historians, but often were centennial projects, or written by ex-administrators in an attempt to immortalize their administrative period. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, Youth University and Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. XI. Typical of this genre are histories such as Harry T. Logan, Tuum Est: The History of the University of British Columbia, (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia), 1958.

role in the inhibition or expansion of social mobility, cultural elitism, and intellectual focus became issues of debate.

The first of the denominational colleges began to appear in the Maritime provinces in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first college in Canada, Kings College, at Windsor, Nova Scotia was founded in 1802 and began granting degrees in 1807, with the primary function of educating men for the Presbyterian priesthood. Many of the large universities which now exist in Canada, including the University of Toronto (established in 1843 as Kings College, York: became U of T in 1850), Queen's University (1841) and McGill University (1839), began as denominational colleges which banded together to create larger more stable organizations.[2] The transition from smaller independent autonomous units, to large corporate entities, led to the demise of the traditional university. Discussing the predicament of the university in modern society, Peter Scott in his article "The Rediscovery of the Liberal University," argues that its history is the history of "two distinct but interlocking networks of values: those generated by academic society and related to the pursuit of scholarship, and those imposed on the university by political society."[3] Scott states that the traditional university was primarily concerned with cultural capital through the formation of elites, while the modern university, which grew out of the technological and social revolution of the past one hundred years, became preoccupied with research and lost its

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[2]This phenomenon is observed throughout Canada from the Maritimes to the west coast. Communities which could not support a university independently would open a satellite college which would be affiliated with a larger more established university in a different part of the country. For example the University of British Columbia began as a satellite of McGill and until 1915 when it received its own charter was called McGill University College of British Columbia (MUCBC).

[3]Peter Scott, "The Rediscovery of the Liberal University: Popular Higher Education in a Post-Industrial World", Soundings 1981, 64(1), p. 5.

focus as a teaching facility. The focus shifted from cultural to scientific knowledge, and universities expressed an increased commitment to vocationalism. Thus, the traditional university succumbed to the utilitarian values of industrial society, and, as enrolment increased, utilitarianism and vocationalism not only seemed appropriate, but inevitable.[4]

The traditional university had been in decline in Canada since the 1850s when the nature of the university and its relationship to the state began a rapid and dramatic transformation. Denominational universities, no longer able to maintain their institutions or programs, began in the middle of the nineteenth century to look to government for assistance. The transition from a traditional to modern university, which occurred on a national scale toward the beginning of the twentieth century, reflected the needs of a rapidly changing economy and the evolution of a powerful state with newly defined needs. In Ontario, this transition was pre-empted by the passing of the University Bill in 1849, which prohibited funding to any denominationally controlled universities in the province.[5] By 1850 the process of secularization of universities was under way and by 1900 few, if any, denominational universities existed independently of secular institutions. The

[4]Scott, "The Rediscovery of the Liberal University", p. 11. Scott concludes that the dilution of purpose of the university has ultimately resulted in many contradictions which, he contends, will have to be resolved if the university is to survive. Scott's insights into the evolution of the modern university offers many glimpses into the development of the university in Canada in general and the University of British Columbia in particular.

[5]A.B. McKillop argues that the University Bill which officially established the University of Toronto in 1849 effectively put an end to denominational universities in Ontario. He states: "It completely removed any form of denominational presence, except a provision for the possible affiliation of church colleges with the state."(p. 20) Moreover, the preamble to the Bill declared "it is ...necessary that [U of T] ...should be entirely free, in its government and discipline, from all Denominational bias, so that the just rights and privileges of all may be fully maintained, without offense to the Religious Opinions of any..." as cited in A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951, (Toronto: U of T Press, 1995), p. 20-21.

university shed its divinity and became "Godless" but it had gained a new patron -- the state.

The transition from church to state funding occurred concomitantly with a transition from traditionally classical studies to more broadly based utilitarian programs which centered around the accumulation of scientific knowledge and which catered to the needs of the rapidly industrializing state. A transition from classical studies to professional programs and an increase in professional employment developed, as one historian has put it, from the "needs of a more complex market economy that placed an increasing premium on the importance of intellectual capital."[6]

In response to the increased value placed on utilitarian programs and the economic needs of society, universities by the beginning of the twentieth century began engaging increasingly in scientific research and offering business and commerce degrees.[7] The utilitarian focus of newly evolving programs in universities does not imply that the elitist character of the traditional period ended, only that due to financial restrictions and a rapidly industrializing society, post-secondary institutions had to rationalize their role. By the turn of the century an intimate link formed between "academic affairs, the needs of the provincial government and the economic imperatives of private industrial production."[8] Universities expanded into key areas to reflect the growth of major resource sectors in the economy. The rapid advancement of knowledge during this period demanded that the

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[6]Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, p. 8.

[7]Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, p. 10.

[8]A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 151.

university adjust to the needs of industrial life to ensure that society was constantly abreast of the changes. Universities were no longer simply institutions of knowledge: they became harbingers of social change and stability that required adjustment to the conditions and requirements of industrial life.[9]

As higher education became linked with the functioning of the industrial economy, the locus of academic authority shifted from the study of the gentlemanly scholar to the laboratory of the professional researcher. The classics and other areas of study once dominant were slowly losing ground to the needs of a science-minded public and state. Universities increasingly turned to the "gospel of research," prompted by the needs of the industrial economy and the directed funding of the state. The end of the first quarter of the twentieth century saw the classics in rapid descent.[10] The rise of academic specialization, which began as early as 1860, was not complete until after World War One, and would not truly dominate academia until the twentieth century, when the classics declined in the face of an increased reliance on, and belief in, the "truth" of empirical sciences.[11]

The world of the humanities and the arts, "dedicated largely to the elucidation of moral values,"[12] became increasingly obsolete in the modern university during the

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[9]A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 149, 174. The emphasis on the power of the university in the survival and dominance of the Canadian economy intensified after the first and the second world war when it was understood that the survival of any nation lay in technological development. Although understood after world war one, the financial support of the federal government was not focused until after the second world war.

[10]For an excellent discussion of the triumph of the "gospel of research" in Ontario, and particularly at U of T see A.B. McKillop, Chapter 7: "The Gospel of Research."

[11]Howard Adelman, The Holiversity: A Perspective on the Wright Report, (Toronto: New Press, 1973), p. 1-6.

[12]A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 187.

reorientation of the curriculum. This created a crisis of authority filled by the state. The presence of the state in higher education, although it filled the void left by the decline of the church, came at a price which threatened the autonomy of the university.[13]

Increased financial support of many Canadian universities by provincial governments forced many institutions to deal with ever-increasing intrusions of the state into university affairs. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, such intrusions were minimal. But the individual autonomy of institutions, though generally respected, was often infringed upon, as happened with home economics at UBC. Increased control of university funding enabled the state to exercise power either politically, by restricting monies whenever necessary or expedient, or financially, through directed funding.[14] Indeed, directed funding was one of the factors that contributed to the rise of sciences throughout the twentieth century.[15] Historians have argued that institutional autonomy during this period was due more to benign government neglect than active respect for the principle of academic freedom.[16] The degree of private sympathy of the Minister of

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[13]University autonomy, although never complete, was decreasing during this period due to increased intervention of, and reliance on, the state. Previously only accountable to the church, universities increasingly found themselves answering to a patron which made them increasingly accountable.

[14]A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 157.

[15]Until after the Second World War contact between Governments and Universities was very ad hoc and dealt primarily with budget negotiations. Budgets were submitted to the Minister and either accepted, if the province had covered all its obligations, or cutback to suit provincial finances. Individual institutions decided their allocations of funds based on their requirements and in most cases were supported, or allowed to run a deficit. After World War II, when the role of the university in society rose in importance due to the rapid advance of technology and the need to be ever competitive, autonomy of institutions became a point of contention. Intervention of the government in course selection increased, as did the tendency to direct funds to only certain areas while others were neglected. The difference between the inter-war years and after W.W.II, is that after W.W.II the government felt it could interfere in, and kept abreast of the use of funds. For an examination of the role of Government in University affairs see Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario 1945-1980, (Toronto: U of T Press, 1982).

[16]E.E. Stewart as cited in Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, p. 78.

Education played a significant role in the amount of funding provided to a particular institution and its level of autonomy.[17] Often, as with UBC in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the minister's private opinions resulted in increased control. The price of patronage was of particular importance to UBC because of the way in which it developed as an institution and the circumstances into which it was drawn.

Examining the impact of secularization and professionalism on Queen's University at the turn of the century, Chad Gaffield, Susan Laskin and Lynne Marks argue that by 1890 universities were beginning to provide training for a larger range of new professionalized occupations. This trend prompted university officials to speak increasingly of the wide-ranging services they were providing for future professionals as well as "the next generation of moral Christian leaders."[18] Thus, by promoting universities as agencies of national service, administrators were "responding to and helping to shape the contemporary political agenda."[19] Universities, then, were reflecting and contributing to social change while at the same time helping to ensure the perpetuation of dominant ideologies.

Educational history expanded again with the impact of women's history in the early 1980s. Feminist historians initiated the examination of women's access to higher education, and exposed the visible and invisible barriers to entry. Universities were shown to preserve

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[17]Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, p. 77. The role of the Minister of Education is vital to the condition of UBC particularly during the late 1920s early 1930s when the Hon. Minister Hinchliffe often interfered in what would normally be considered the jurisdiction of the university. In fact, it was the influence of the Minister which initially led to the establishment of home economics at UBC.

[18]Chad Gaffield, Lynne Marks and Susan Laskin, "Student Populations and Graduate Careers: Queen's University 1850-1920.", in John G. Reid and Paul Axelrod, Youth and Canadian Society, (Toronto: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988), p. 5.

[19]Gaffield et al., p. 5.

the dominant social ideals of femininity and to uphold them within the supposedly liberal walls of academia: the university was clearly defined as an instrument of social reproduction. Women's struggles for entrance into universities were detailed for most large institutions. These histories were typically either the tales of exceptional women who persevered despite the odds to triumph over the power of male dominated institutions or tales of the oppressive, insurmountable forces of male domination. The women who typically "walked very warily" afforded much insight into the role of the feminine ideal and its cultural reproduction in universities, but ultimately this history resulted in women being presented as victims with little or no power of their own.[20]

Women penetrated the hallowed halls of academia within a radically changing environment. Queen's University accepted women in 1878, and by the turn of the century, women had gained access to all major Canadian universities. Yet, during this period, "the university remained an experience primarily designed for men who required training for the public sphere, a sphere incompatible with women's primary role in the home."[21] The growth of the university depended on the inclusion of women, yet it was unwilling to fully accept them. Female students were relegated to faculties that were compatible with their "god given place in life," namely the arts, while men enrolled in the arts, medicine, theology and

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[20]Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill, (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications), 1981, is typical of this element of the history of women's higher education. Detailing the lives of exceptional women at McGill who triumphed over the evil forces of male domination, Gillett illustrates how hard women had to fight for entry into the programs she discusses. However by showing how these women "walked very warily" she fails to attribute women's efforts to agency on their part, which ultimately undermines their impact on the university.

[21]Gaffield et al., p. 8.

engineering.[22] The revenue generated by female students became increasingly necessary to universities. No longer able to restrict women from universities, it became necessary to restrict women students' access to programs. Thus, it became necessary to "contain" women already in universities.[23]

Over the last two decades the historiography of women's education has taken a parallel trajectory to the history of universities. It has moved beyond a simplistic approach of the "benevolent benefactor," in which women's access to higher education depended on the acceptance and attitude of the administration, to one that emphasizes the oppressive structure of universities and their curricula. The great woman/benevolent benefactor approach was replaced in the early 1980s with feminist studies which argued that women's access to education hinged on the Victorian ideology of the separate spheres.[24] This approach was rejected as uni-causal in the late 1980s when feminist historiography began moving toward gender studies. Women could no longer be studied in isolation. Women were affected by, interacted with, and reacted to men. The explanatory power of the uni-causal theories of patriarchy and separate spheres that rely on biological difference for their explanatory power were seen to portray women as victims; yet, the protracted struggle for higher education

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[22]Women were being educated to be "help mates" to their husbands, and as such their studies were generally viewed as tools to enable them to converse with their husbands. English, History, Geography and Mathematics were held as essential to the help mate wife.

[23]The necessity of the inclusion of women in the survival of the university is supported

[24] Studies which utilize this approach include: Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Wearily: History of Women at McGill, (Montreal: Eden's Press Women's Publishing, 1981).; J. G. Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison 1854-1914", Acadiensis 22(Spring, 1983) 3-23; Joan Burstyn Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood, Barbara Solomon In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), Lee Stewart, "Its Up to You": The History of Women at UBC, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990).

indicates that women are far from victims. New historical approaches reject a static concept of Victorian ideology, view ideology as a complex set of forces constantly in flux, being defined, contested and redefined. This advance has opened up new avenues of investigation which reveal women's agency within institutions, rather than simply exposing the oppressive nature of power.

Forced to remain outside the established educational system until the beginning of the nineteenth century, women began to create separate institutions whose function was education designed specifically for women. Considered by the academic community to be substandard, these schools were often the only option open to women. In an attempt to overcome the stigma associated with a "girl's" school, some exceptional women's colleges pushed beyond the finishing school reputation with "uncompromising" standards, placing themselves at the same standard as established universities.[25] Many of these imitative colleges which flourished throughout the eastern United States beginning in the 1820s became affiliated with established institutions and developed a reputation which overshadowed their "separateness."[26] The majority of colleges in Canada and the United States from the mid-1850s onward were affiliated with the most prominent universities. The introduction of co-educational universities and the demand for them from women and the

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[25]The separatist/uncompromising debate was split between the separatists who argued that women's education should be separate from men's, and designed specifically for women's needs, and the uncompromising reformers who rejected the separate approach arguing that separate never means equal. This debate is outlined in Sara Delamont, "The Contradictions in Ladies' Education," in Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, eds., The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World (London: Croom Helm, 1978).

[26]Women's colleges such as the Seven Sisters (Vassar, Wellesley, etc.) also known as the "imitative colleges" were part of the separatist movement and having high academic standards eventually gained considerable prestige. These colleges represent the first phase of development. The second phase was that of the affiliated colleges. In Canada the majority of women's colleges were associated with established all-male universities including Wesleyan College established in 1854 and associated with Mt. Allison.

legislatures of many states and provinces, ensured women a level of access to post-secondary institutions, but restricted the subjects they could study.[27] Until well into the twentieth century, women had to "walk very warily" within institutions which were hostile to their presence, but despite their poor reception on university campuses, their numbers were growing.

The myth of the benevolent benefactor is present in many histories of women in universities. One such example is John G. Reid's examination of women at Mount Allison which attributes the "nature of the education offered to female students at Mt. Allison...[to] the first chief preceptress"[28]- Mary Electra Adams. Reid argues that as the first director of the Wesleyan Academy, Adams' rejection of the "ornamental" branches of education - cooking, sewing and needlepoint - in favour of a "systematic programme of study aimed at producing women of intellectual vigour,"[29] ensured the success of the academy.[30] The simplicity of Reid's approach leaves many questions unanswered. Although he briefly attempts to tie social and economic factors into his argument he concludes that without the

[27]Many institutional barriers which had kept women out of post secondary institutions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century had disappeared by the 1870's including religious and residency requirements. However, this implicit acceptance of women on to university campuses did not by any means indicate a commitment to women's education. As A.B. McKillop stated in his examination of universities in Ontario, "[t]he initial presence of women on Ontario university campuses was not due...to increasing acceptance by men of [women's] right to be there. It was due instead to changing attendance patterns in provincial public education, new vocational opportunities, and the initiatives and persistence of courageous women." McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 128.

[28]John G. Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914", Acadiensis 22 (Spring, 1983) pg. 9.

[29]John G. Reid, p. 3.

[30]Reid concedes that the shape of programs, as well as the success of the woman's college "would depend in the future not only upon [Adams'] successors, but also upon the social and economic development of the region," yet, his arguments focus on the attitudes and ideologies of the administration. John G. Reid, p. 10.

excellent guidance of many different leaders, Wesleyan Academy would have failed. This argument does not permit agency on the part of anyone other than the all-powerful administrators who shaped the lives of the women of Mt. Allison.

The power of the administrator is also glimpsed in Margaret Gillett's work on the women of McGill, We Walked Very Warily,[31] but her analysis is more sophisticated than that of John Reid. Gillett examines the personal ideologies or beliefs of two significant men at McGill, the Principal, Sir William Dawson, and Professor of Philosophy, J. Clark Murray, in an attempt to illustrate the ideological context of the debate for women's right to higher education at McGill. Gillett argues that the debate by Murray and Dawson exposed societal views regarding women's role in society. Therefore, the concept of womanhood as it applied to Canadian women was being debated at McGill, not just women's right to higher education.

The concept of womanhood, or the "concept of a lady" as coined by Gillett, was central to the arguments for women's higher education, since the justification for the separation of the spheres hinged on it. By definition women, as "the weaker sex", were "the bearer of children, in need of protection, fragile on [their] pedestal[s], [and] emotional rather than intellectual."[32] This definition of woman as "a lady" (wife, mother, homemaker) held dire consequences for women seeking higher education. As a lady, woman's need for knowledge was very limited. Not only were there rules governing the behaviour of women, there were limits on acceptable knowledge. By viewing all upper and middle class women as ladies, society placed taboos on certain types of knowledge, including higher and

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[31]Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill, (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981).

[32]Margaret Gillett, p. 3.

professional education, and ultimately defined women's education as "unnecessary, inappropriate and dangerous."[33] Ideological concepts, such as that of "the lady," created and fuelled the debate concerning what, and how much, women should know in nineteenth century Canada.

Rich as it is, Gillett's analysis is unable to acknowledge the interplay of forces which were defining and redefining the nature of womanhood in Canada, and, as a result, is unable to see or explain change. Although women were extending the boundaries of respectability and thereby questioning their role in society, Gillett does not regard this as agency. Rather, she emphasizes the dichotomy between the image and the reality of women's experience and concludes that education was not progressive. Educational history is "erratic; it is cyclical or perhaps spiral in form, with periods of growth followed by stagnation and regression during which the battles thought to have been won have to be refought."[34] To Gillett the battles never change. Her static concept of Victorian ideology and the fixity of the concept of woman that she argues dominated throughout the history of McGill, cannot admit change; it results in a simplistic argument that undermines the struggle for ideological dominance which was constantly fought.

The issue of women's agency or power has come to the forefront of feminist history with the development of gender history in the mid-1980s. Who had power, who controlled it, and how to access it, became the focus of much feminist historical enquiry. From this perspective the university and women's access to it emerged as a site of struggle on which

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[33]Margaret Gillett, p. 3.

[34]Margaret Gillett, p. 4.

gender roles were being contested and defined. Historians have begun to address the issue of ideological construction and women's place in it, and how it is reflected in the choices women made concerning education. Ellen Jordan's approach takes women out of the formerly fixed notion of gender ideology and examines women's agency within a matrix of change. Within this locus women's agency becomes easier to grasp and biological determinism and its impact on history becomes the focus of study.[35]

Joan Burstyn, in her work Victorian Ideology and the Ideal of Womanhood,[36] examines the movement for higher education for women and argues that it "was an attempt to break through the prescriptions of the ideal, [and] to provide women of the upper and middle classes with the opportunity for individual betterment."[37] She argues that women's education must be considered within the context of "a broad upheaval caused by the development of industrialism, which affected women's economic well-being, and their aspirations for participation in the political and social life of the country."[38] By tracing the arguments for and against women's education Burstyn is able to deconstruct the ideal of womanhood as defined by separate spheres, and to examine the impact of its changing nature on society. She argues that Victorian society was hierarchical, with each person having a predetermined role.

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[35]Ellen Jordan, "Making Good Wives and Mothers'?: The Transformation of Middle-Class Girl's Education in Nineteenth Century Britain." History of Education Quarterly, vol. 31, no. 4, Winter 1991, p. 439-462. Joan Scott and Mary Poovey also take women outside of the ideology and examine the forces both shaping and being shaped in ideological struggles. See Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), and Joan Scott, Gender and the Politics of History, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

[36]Joan Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood, (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

[37]Joan Burstyn, p. 11.

[38]Joan Burstyn, p. 11.

If any part of the tenuous balance was altered, society would collapse. Thus, women's education threatened to alter the balance of the separate spheres which threatened to destroy relations between the sexes and could result in a sexual revolution. The power of Burstyn's work lies in her ability to uncover the complex interaction of forces which were threatened by women's education. She argues that class, social relations, and the economy all hinged on the survival of separate spheres. Thus, although the movement for women's higher education was not a radical movement, and did not threaten separate spheres, change was seen to endanger social order.

The complex web of interactive forces which Burstyn uncovers in her analysis of the struggle for women's higher education places into context the passion with which women's higher education was fought. However, Burstyn, like Gillett, fails to address women's agency in change. Changes in the definition of "ideal womanhood" are not attributed to changes in middle class ideology; rather, Burstyn explains the change as an alteration in the discourse surrounding women's higher education, which somewhat over simplifies the issue. The static concept of ideology which Burstyn employs, creates an argument which is able to reflect change yet does not reflect the larger societal forces which also influenced transitions in the discourse. Thus, Burstyn is ultimately forced to attribute the acceptance of women's education to changing social and economic factors which resulted in a loss of power on the part of men; in this way, she undermines the agency of women in the course of the struggle.[39] Women had little to do with the reasons for change, they just benefited from it. Unable to direct change, women are constantly viewed as reactionaries who take advantage of, rather

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[39]Joan Burstyn, p.172.

than shape, change. Women are not powerful agents in their own struggles; they do not shape the course of the debate, rather they react to the changes around them to their advantage. Women are not the agents in Burstyn's interpretation; they are the beneficiaries of change.

Women's educational history finally moved beyond the detailing of women's oppression when feminist historians rejected the fixity of separate spheres and began to conceptualize women's struggles as acts of agency. Barbara Solomon attempts to address the issue of agency in In the Company of Educated Women.[40] She argues that although social change was constant in the American republic, "women were expected to be the stable, unchanging element in a changing world."[41] The role of women could not remain static, however, "for both the demands of women themselves and the needs of a dynamic society necessitated their educational advancement."[42] Thus, women are agents who shape their lives as well as the history of the American republic. Solomon concedes that women's own desires and efforts as well as conditions beyond their control -- the industrial revolution, the Civil War, and a significant decline in fertility rates -- all contributed to the release of middle class women from expected societal roles. Thus, change arose from the combined impact of social and economic forces and the conscious actions of women.

Solomon states that higher education for women was perceived as a threat because it gave women an identity outside of the family. This belief did not prevent women from

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[40]Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

[41]B.M. Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women, p. xvii - xviii.

[42]B.M. Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women, p. xviii.

gaining an education: Solomon argues that the utility of educating women gradually gained acceptance while anxiety over women's possible abandonment of traditional roles endured. Solomon notes that society becomes willing to educate women when it proves advantageous. Thus, society changes and adapts. Solomon succeeds in exposing women's agency in the movement for higher education, but due to the inherently progressive nature of her argument, she portrays women's higher education in an extremely whiggish manner.[43] The fixity of much of women's history, and its inability to move beyond the binary oppositions of gender, prompted feminist historians to look for other methods of historical enquiry which allowed for and explained change. For this purpose, historians have turned to discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis offers the historian a tool to move beyond the limitations imposed by the separate spheres analysis. Discourse, with its focus on the power of language and meaning, offers an attempt to move beyond fixity of binary oppositions.[44] Language is not simply the written or spoken word; rather it is conceived of as discourse: "whole ways of thinking and understanding how the world operates, and what one's place is in it."[45] It is through language that all experience is understood and articulated and thereby given meaning. Without meaning there is no experience. But the power of discourse lies in its potential to expose change, to reveal the instability of meaning. Change is possible because language and meaning are dynamic, always potentially in flux.

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[43]Lee Stewart in her account of women at UBC also attempts to give women agency, however, her study tends to argue that circumstances beyond the control of women at UBC, namely public opinion, partisan politics, social definitions of femininity all contributed to their difficulties.

[44]Joan Scott, Gender and the Politics of History, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) p. 7.

[45]Joan Scott, "A Reply to Criticism", International Labour and Working Class History, No. 32, Fall 1987, p. 39.

Meaning is unstable because it is conveyed through "implicit or explicit contrast and through internal differentiation."[46] One view becomes dominant, prior, visible while the other is subordinate, absent, or repressed. "Any unitary concept rests on - or contains repressed or negated material and so is unstable, not unified."[47] The relationship between the terms is usually hierarchical, and as such, contests about meaning involve attempts to introduce new oppositions, reverse hierarchies, and expose repressed terms, thereby revealing the interdependence of the dominant and secondary terms and the instability of the concept.[48] The power of discourse analysis is its ability to reveal the instability of meaning.

An important modification to historical interpretations of agency and oppression is to see power in individual action. To view power not as something "external" which the oppressed have to tap into in order to be acknowledged as historical agents, a more sophisticated definition of power is needed. Michel Foucault presents a vision of power as dispersed throughout society - as "dispersed constellations of unequal relationships, discursively constituted in social "fields of force." Power as conceptualized by Foucault is not something owned by one dominant group and wielded over another; rather, Foucault asks us not to look at who has power and who does not (which he argues results in subjectification); instead we need to examine how power is organized, how different ways of seeing the world empower some over others. The goal is to analyze women's resistance to established authority within the constraints of domestic ideology. Domestic ideology then,

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[46]Joan Scott, Gender and the Politics of History, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) p.7.

[47]Joan Scott, p. 7.

[48]Joan Scott, p. 8.

becomes a way of seeing the world so accepted within society that it becomes described as a "truth" or "common sense": a way of empowering some people while organizing their claims within the regime of "truth". Human agency then becomes "the attempt to construct an identity, a life,...a society within certain limits...that at once sets boundaries and contains the possibility for negation, resistance,[and] reinterpretation."[49] The "truth," as defined by those accessing it, is constantly changing to fit the agents' changing view of the world.

The ideology of separate spheres was a way in which people structured and organized their world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Separate spheres were the common sense principles upon which whole ways of looking at the world were anchored. When looking at the ideology of Victorian England, Mary Poovey argues that what appeared coherent and authentic was actually fissured by competing emphasises and interests. Ideology, constantly contested, was therefore always under construction. As a result what seemed on the surface to be coherent and authentic was actually unstable and artificial.[50] Thus, Victorian ideology developed unevenly, both in the sense of individual and institutional discourses. She argues that "representations of gender constituted one of the sites on which ideological systems were simultaneously constructed and contested, as such "representations of gender ...were themselves contested images, the sites at which struggles for authority occurred."[51] She argues that the binary model of difference based on sex underwrote the symbolic economy of Victorian ideology and was redefined and reinforced by those involved

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[49]Joan Scott, p. 42.

[50]Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments, (Chicago: U of Chicago, 1988), p. 3.

[51]Mary Poovey, p.2.

in battles for social authority. The domestic ideal of female nature was "internally contradictory, and unevenly deployed"[52] and could be adapted to contradictory practices and deployed to authorize new practices. Poovey shows how separate spheres discourse enabled women to act while at the same time constraining them by structuring their actions in particular ways - ways which fit within the regime of separate spheres discourse and ultimately reproduced existing power relations. The power relations, although reproduced, had altered or "given" to accommodate the change. The discourse was shaken but not undermined. Poovey's approach to ideological construction is particularly useful when looking at the issue of home economics,[53] a case in which the dominant ideology remains intact but is utilized to push for women's access to higher education.

The inadequacy of present models of women's educational history to explain the struggle for women's access to higher education and the resistance to it, is further complicated when the focus is domestic science at UBC. Why were women denied a program which did not threaten but endorsed women's proper role? If the problem with women's higher

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[52]Mary Poovey, p. 15.

[53]An application of Poovey's approach to ideological construction was attempted by Ellen Jordan, in an examination of girls' education in Britain, "Making Good Wives and Mothers'?" Jordan argues that educational reformers manipulated their arguments to remain within the "discursive constellation" of domestic ideology. She argues that by remaining within the discourse to which their gender ideology belonged, reformers were able to ease personal tensions while successfully legitimizing educational reform to "wavering supporters without linking the cause with challenges to deeply held beliefs. Thus, women were at once extending the boundaries of femininity while simultaneously being trapped by them. Jordan states that rather than challenge the notion of the separate spheres and develop a new feminist discourse which would necessitate a change in the relations of the sexes, reformers "concentrated on defending their practical political initiatives by references to assumptions and principles their opponents accepted." Therefore, "protofeminists of the 1860s and 1870s chose to change the practices of society without directly challenging its ideology." This conclusion is problematic. Jordan's model assumes a static element. She sees the approaches to the issues changing, yet her model maintains the ideology intact. However, ideology must adapt to the changes in women's role as defined by the argument. In her model women are not agents contributing to the development of the discourse, rather they are outside the discourse being shaped by it. Ellen Jordan, "'Making Good Wives and Mothers'? The Transformation of Middle-Class Girl' Education in Nineteenth Century Britain." History of Education Quarterly, vol. 31, no. 4, Winter 1991, p. 439-462.

education was the threat it posed to the established social system, why would domestic science be perceived as threatening? What are the forces which contributed to the threat? These questions can not be addressed by the static models which currently dominate the history of women's education. Domestic science seems to contradict all of the trends which have been documented in the literature to this point. History needs to address the issue of change within a model which can explore multi-causality while exploring the fluidity of struggle. As such, the history of women's education cannot be viewed as the direct extension of middle-class Victorian ideology or women's educational history will for ever remain the tales of women's oppression.

The struggle for home economics at UBC is one example where the history of women's education could be interpreted as a tale of women's oppression. Yet, by approaching the topic as a site of struggle upon which ideological dominance was being contested, the battle to establish the home economics school at UBC reflects how both sides use the tools or weapons that separate spheres provided. Both sides are constrained by the ideology, even as they acted to change it. The struggle for home economics at UBC shows us how gender ideology and discourses work; how the forces of agency and oppression are inter-twined and how struggles like that to establish home economics permit us to reveal the methods used to fight ideological battles. Through the examination of struggles over the formation of the home economics Faculty at UBC, the ways and means of agency and oppression can be understood.

Chapter 1: The Art of Correct Living

When UBC opened its doors in 1912, under the title McGill University of British Columbia [MUCBC], the mandate decreed that

> the Senate shall make full provision for the education of woman at the university in such a manner as it shall deem most fitting. Provided however, that no woman shall, by reason of her sex, be deprived of any advantages or privileges accorded to other students of the university.[1]

Thus, from its inception UBC opened its doors, if not its mind, to women. The eagerness with which women embraced higher education in the province is reflected in the numbers of women attending UBC from its inception. Indeed, women have generally constituted nearly forty percent of the student body. The presence of women at MUCBC was the result of a number of forces including a growing public school system which made it possible for more women to reach the university level, a perceived societal utility which demanded more women to teach a growing number of primary and secondary school students, and the fiscal necessity of UBC itself. These factors, coupled with the resolve that no tuition fees should be charged to Arts and Science students, made it possible and acceptable for local women to attend.

Other Canadian universities admitted women students, but what is remarkable at MUCBC, and later, UBC, is the high proportion of women in the student body. From the day the university officially opened to the public, forty per cent, or 151 of a total 379 students were women. The level of women's enrollment was constant throughout the 1920s and most of the 1930s, when it went into a decline that lasted into the 1940s, reaching its lowest levels at thirty percent in 1937 and 1942. The broad national pattern

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[1]Statues of British Columbia, 1891 (Victoria: Queen's Printer for BC 1891), 383-91.

reflects trends similar to UBC during the 1920s and 1930s, but at a distinctly lower overall rate and without the fluctuations evident during the late 1930s and early 1940s. In the 1901, 1911, and 1921 censuses, the presence of women in Canadian universities grew, on average from thirteen percent to almost twenty percent, and then decreased to seventeen percent, obviously reflecting the effect of war on university attendance. Steady throughout 1920s and 1930s, at an average rate of twenty-two percent, attendance jumped to twenty-five percent in 1940 and peaked in 1945 at thirty-seven percent.

In the number and proportion of women enrolled, UBC was higher even than the more established universities of eastern Canada.[2] At the University of Toronto, for example, female enrollment grew from thirty-one percent in 1901 to thirty-four percent in 1911, it rose to thirty-eight percent in 1930 where it remained stable until 1935 when it dropped to thirty-seven percent.[3] At no point, then, did the proportion of female enrollment at U of T match the levels reached at UBC. This may be due to the age of the university (U of T was operational by the mid 1840s), the sex ratio of the older, more settled population of Ontario, or the many universities to choose from in Ontario, but none of these influences adequately explain the consistently high female student population of UBC. The female population in university in British Columbia in 1921, was only slightly lower than the sex ratio for the overall population. In 1921, for example, women made up forty-five percent of the population of the province, and more than thirty-six percent of the

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[2]At this point the only two significant student bodies were at Queen's and U of T. Western and McMaster both had insignificant student bodies, and a correspondingly small female presence. A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951, (Toronto: OHSS, 1994).

[3]McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 141, 427-35. Historical Statistics of Canada, 2nd ed., Series W439-455.

student body. Clearly, a very high proportion of women of university age (18-24) were attending university during this period, at a time when only one percent of the Canadian population attended post secondary institutions. The high concentration of women at UBC becomes even more significant when considered in this context.[4]

The numerically significant presence of women, did not reflect women's influence within the university. This may result from women's high concentration in the Faculty of Arts and Science. For example, every one of the 151 women enrolled on the first calendar day of 1915, when UBC opened its doors, were in the Arts faculty. It was not until 1916, when one woman enrolled in Applied Science, and then only for the four years of her tenure, that the concentration of women in Arts was at all disturbed. The addition of a Nursing Faculty in 1920, and the Home Economics Department in 1931 and again in 1943, both of which were part of the Applied Science faculty, altered the pattern of female participation. In both Nursing and Home Economics women constituted one hundred percent of the student body, while on average they constituted well over forty percent of the Arts and Science Faculty, and thirty-eight percent of the student body.[5] This was no accident, for the concentration of women in these "acceptable" areas were part of nation-wide trends, ones whose broader ideological location and significance it is important to discern. At the beginning of the century, women were highly concentrated in the faculties of Arts and Sciences, Education and Fine and Applied Arts. With the expanse of the

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[4]UBC Calendars, 1915-1944, Historical Statistics of Canada, 2nd edition, 1980, Series W439-455. DBS, Census, 1891 - 1921.

[5]Women constituted on average 41 percent of the Arts and Science Faculty because men were also enrolled in Agriculture and Applied Science in significant numbers which accounted for 25 percent of the male student population.

vocational options for women after the 1920s, women began to concentrate in distinctly feminine fields such as nursing, and home economics. There can be no doubt that the trend is reflective of the kind of social forces which influence the education and occupational choices of female students and their families; any study of women in higher education must contend with them. But another trend is equally compelling: despite the occupational barriers restricting their options, and the resistance of male students to their presence, women attended university in Canada and British Columbia during the period 1915 to 1955 in unprecedented numbers. Obviously, women and their parents understood the importance of work in a women's life cycle, and were willing to push the boundaries without collapsing them to ensure their place in a rapidly changing society. The role of women in society was changing and young women were changing with it. Women's participation at UBC, which is consistently higher than the national average, reflected changing social values in the West, and women's place within the changes. The forces shaping women's choices will be addressed in later sections; the first question is, who could attend university and why?

Not much is known about the makeup of the student population in Canadian universities or their personal motives for attending university during this period. Most studies have assumed that the university student was an Anglo-Saxon middle class male or female, and have proceeded from there. A study of Queen's students argues that overall, the majority of students tended to come from reasonably well off (but not necessarily wealthy) families, with the fathers of female students occupying higher status professions

(such as doctors and lawyers), than those of male students.[6] Moreover, thirty-seven percent of men came from farming backgrounds, while only twenty-one per cent of women did so. At UBC, the trends were similar. In 1919, fifty-five per cent of the fathers of female students were from professional and business occupations; in 1929, fifty-six percent, in 1939, forty-nine percent, and in 1949 forty-six percent.[7] During times of economic hardship, 1929 for example, more than half of the students came from families in which the fathers had higher status occupations, suggesting that surplus resources were an important facet of women's access to education in British Columbia. Lee Stewart in her study of UBC indicates that more female students were from the classes of skilled and semi-skilled workers prior to the introduction of tuition fees in 1920-1. In 1907-14, the children of skilled and semi-skilled workers represented thirty-four percent of the female student body, whereas in 1929-30, after the introduction of tuition fees, they formed only nineteen percent of the population. Thus, the decision of many families to educate their daughters was directly related to familial resources.[8] When family finances permitted, women were eligible to attend university, but, when the expense of sending a child some distance for higher education required sacrifice, families chose to send their sons.[9] Men's education, it would seem, was considered a necessity, while women's education was considered a luxury.

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[6]Lynn Marks and Chad Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University, 1895-1905: A "Little Sphere" All Their Own?" Ontario History, 78(Dec. 1986), 333-4, 336-40. See also Nicole Neatby, "Preparing for the Working World: Women at Queen's During the 1920's", in Ruby Heap ed., Gender and Education in Ontario: A Reader, (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1989), 329-351.

[7]Lee Stewart, It's Up to You, p. 96.

[8]Stewart, Its Up to You, p. 96-7.

[9]This finding is also supported by Gaffield and Laskin, "Women at Queen's University", p. 331-2.

The proximity of the university was also an influential factor in a family's decision to send women to university. At Queen's, the majority of students were originally from the greater Kingston area, and many lived at home.[10] This was also the case at UBC. The majority of female students were British Columbia-born and lived in the Vancouver area in their parents' homes.[11] It is interesting that a provincial university would attract so local a student body, but this may be due to the expense of sending any child but particularly a daughter to university. Women located out of town would incur expense beyond the cost of tuition, books and "caution money"; they would require room and board plus spending money -- if their parents were progressive enough to let them move to a big city. Victorian definitions of morality restricted women's access to non-local education, and generally confined them to local pursuits.[12]

For most women, a university education was their access to a teaching diploma and economic independence. With the introduction of nursing in 1919, teacher training in 1924, home economics in 1942, and social work in 1945, women who attended UBC had increased career opportunities. Although confined by the strictures of gender ideology and the hostility of male students when they entered non-traditional studies, women pragmatically chose careers.[13] It was the feasibility of earning a decent living and actually

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[10]Marks and Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University", p. 341-4.

[11]UBC Archives, Special Collections, Presidents Records, Student Statistics File, Reel 1-72. UBC Archives, Special Collections here after to be referred to as UBCLSC.

[12]For a discussion of the effect of schooling in rural areas see Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), chapter 10 and 11 and Growing Up in British in British Columbia: Boys in Private School, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984).

[13]Stewart documents a number of cases in which women were poorly treated by their fellow classmates and faculty in non-traditional fields. See Lee Stewart, Its Up To You, p. 99-101. See also Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Warily, (Montreal 1984).

having a career, I would argue, which prompted women to enroll in female dominated, socially acceptable, disciplines. The Arts faculty virtually guaranteed a teaching position in the rapidly expanding public school system, while nursing and social work also offered "acceptable" career opportunities. Home economics offered the widest range of possibilities, including dietitian, interior decorator, fashion designer, teacher and mother. Thus, women were pursuing two objectives when they enrolled in university: intellectual curiosity and fiscal autonomy. Women's scholastic expectations paralleled those of men, not in subject matter or career choices, but in ambition.[14] The women who attended university during the early 1920s, and the parents who financed it, did so with the expectation of achieving financial security and high status occupations. Though neither was readily available to women, the alternatives to not working were dismal.

Women had to battle both visible and invisible barriers in their pursuit of higher education. Institutions, though physically and legally open to women, were not particularly accepting of the female presence on campus and attempted to restrict their opportunities and actions in many ways. Nowhere is this more clear than in the case of the Home Economics Department at UBC and the institution's resistance to what appears, at least on the surface, to be an ideal faculty. Institutional barriers, -- economic, structural, philosophical -- were raised over the span of twenty-four years to prevent the establishment of the department of home economics. The fear of women in university life, although seemingly settled by the beginning of the home-economics movement in 1919, were just below the surface, and the threat of a female faculty brought them back to the surface

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[14]McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 141.

again. The history of the home economics movement, its background and philosophy, as well as its demands from the university, are the focus of the following section..

II

The home economics movement owes its identity to the traditions of the social reform movements of the Victorian period and to the home economics movement which originated in the 1850s in the eastern United States. Although its influence did not reach Canada until the turn of the century, the home economics movement represented women's attempts to redefine the domestic sphere through the application of economic and scientific principles to home management. Evolving out of middle class reform movements of the same period, its conservative outlook was due to its maternal feminist under-pinnings. There were two main forces in the movement: the maternal feminist impulse of fitting women for their "God given place in life"[15] and the women's education movement, which was attempting to extend the boundaries of separate spheres ideology by establishing new careers for women while at the same time being constrained by it. Both forces expanded women's sphere, but in doing so accommodated and reinforced rather than challenged traditional notions of gender. New women's career options and increased access to higher education enabled women to move into different areas not previously considered acceptable -- moral, social, and political reform and politics itself -- in such a way that the ideology remained intact. While women moved into higher education, moral, social and political reform and even politics, they retained the essentially "feminine" qualities dictated

[15]The attraction of maternal feminism lay in retaining women's role within the home while extending it outward to encompass the entire community. Thus, if women were trained in the "right standards" of living, their power would extend as far as the nation - because, it was argued, "a nation is built of its homes."

by the Victorian ideology of domesticity.[16] In this way, domestic feminist movements such as home economics "provided the institutional mechanisms by which the Victorian cult of female domesticity could essentially be perpetuated, in a more subtle form, for an age of science, industry and 'the new woman.'"[17] Home economics had become a site of struggle upon which gender relations, and the binary opposition of public and private, were being debated, contested and redefined. Bringing domestic training into universities pushed the boundaries of the domestic ideology from the private realm of the home into the public area of education, and thereby inherently questioned it.

The home economics movement developed in two stages, each possessing its own distinct qualities. The first generation were traditionally educated women who sought to instill working class and immigrant women and children with middle-class domestic values and ideals.[18] Traditional in their goals, these women saw the home to be "an island of resistance" to the mainstream commercial development of society.[19] The women of the movement viewed home economics as a social reform which would counter the destructive forces of urban-industrial change by giving women a new set of ideals and practices necessary to survive under the conditions prevalent in the late nineteenth century.

The first generation of women in the home economics movement in Canada were prominent from the late 1880s to World War One. They epitomized all that is considered

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[16] McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 139-140.

[17]McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 140.

[18]Ann-Marie Kilgannon, "Home Economics Movement and the Transformation of Domestic Ideology in Nineteenth Century America," MA History thesis, UBC, 1986, chapter 1.

[19]Kilgannon, "Home Economics Movement", p. 7.

domestic. They were concerned with spreading the "gospel of home economics," of teaching habits of cleanliness and hygiene to those less fortunate, and with improving the nation. They were women like Adelaide Hoodless in Canada, who found a personal vocation in home economics.[20] Women who believed domestic reform, which had as its objective the transformation of home life through the application of scientific principles, would raise the standards of the nation and rectify all that was wrong with society. After all, it was commonly argued, "the strength of a nation lies in its homes."[21]

The second generation of the home economics movement were college graduates who saw in home economics the potential for women to expand their career options through non-threatening pursuits. The professionalization of domesticity through the introduction of home economics into universities was used as a double enticement for women. One intention was to raise the standards of homemaking, giving it a new respectability and attracting women who were finding stronger enticements in the industrial labour force. This goal originated in the first stage of the movement yet was present throughout. The second intention was to offer women career options which were not in direct competition with men and were therefore non-threatening. The movement advocated the establishment of home economics in colleges and universities to further women's position in society, and as an avenue to new professions. Concerned more with

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[20]For a brief description of Adelaide Hoodless' involvement in the home economics movement see Robert M. Stamp, "Teaching Girls their 'God Given Place in Life'", Atlantis: Women's Studies Journal, 2(Spring 1977), p. 18-34.

[21]This phrase is used repeatedly by reformists as demonstrated in Mariana Valverde, "When the Mother of the Race is Free." Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History. Ed. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 3-26.

the reformation of the middle class home, these women introduced a new stream of professionalization for women that lay beyond the confines of teaching. They created and exploited women's career opportunities while remaining tied to the themes of service or nurturance which still dominated most jobs considered appropriate for women. Thus, domestic ideology still dictated the roles women would play in society, but the boundaries of those roles were being tested.

The second generation of the home economics movement dominated during the struggle with UBC (1919-1943), but the traditions set by the first stage of the movement were firmly entrenched and highly visible. The movement in B.C. was led by the Local Council of Women, who were joined in 1920 by the Parent-Teacher Federation (PTF). From that point forward, until the establishment of the program in 1943, the PTF carried the movement for home economics; it established a dialogue within society and the university that reflected the restraints of domestic ideology, while attempting to stretch the limitations on women's roles imposed by that ideology.

The home economics movement originated in the mid-nineteenth century in the United States. Powerful reformers started training seminaries (also called women's colleges) with the objective of teaching women practical subjects such as cooking, sewing and laundry in an attempt to teach women how to be intelligent wives and mothers, and teachers of children. Catherine Beecher's seminary in Hartford, Connecticut, and Emma Willard's seminary in Troy, New York, established their courses based on the principle that correct training in domestic arts as well as in traditional subjects fitted women for their proper work in the home. By 1889-1890, domestic science had become accepted as part of

the manual training movement in the United States, which was devoted to providing children with education designed to help them learn to work with their hands as well as their minds.[22] As the popularity of Beecher's and Willard's practical courses grew, the demand for teachers of these subjects increased and consequently, public colleges began developing training courses for home economic programs.[23]

By the end of the nineteenth century, concerns surrounding college women's position in society were beginning to surface. Women graduates were waiting much later to marry, if they did marry at all, which raised concerns around the survival of the traditional family. Suggestions were made that colleges should include domestic science courses to counter young women's lack of interest in their true calling. At approximately the same time, Ellen Richards, a graduate in pure sciences, began rationalizing her own life by applying scientific principles to domestic and societal problems. Richards felt that she "could not subscribe to an outworn dogma that "woman's place is always and for all time in the home. . .[s]o, she sought to define new boundaries for the home which would retain the home's essential values and at the same time be in step with the modern age."[24] By 1899, Richards and her friends formed the Lake Placid Conferences to "study the economic and social problems of the home and the problems of right living."[25] The first conference

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[22]The manual training movement did not hit Vancouver until approximately 1910 when a Supervisor of Manual Training was appointed.

[23]Earl J. McGrath and Jack T Johnson, The Changing Mission of Home Economics: A Report on Home Economics in the Land-grant Colleges and State Universities, (Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1967), chapter 1.

[24]Flora Rose, "Pioneers In Home Economics", 1948, UBCLSC, Charlotte Black Collection , Box 1.

[25]Hazel T. Craig, "The History of Home Economics", in UBCLSC, Charlotte Black Collection, Box 1, p. 9.

dealt with issues ranging from teacher training to home economics in women's clubs and home economics for citizenship. Concerned with the apparent disintegration of the family unit, the first Lake Placid Conference concluded that home economics would help the deteriorating social situation. The Conference argued that since women's life centered around the home, home makers should be educated to apply the findings of science to the problems of the home in order to increase their effectiveness and contribute to the welfare of the nation.[26]

Women's role in the home, society, and the nation was one of the central issues in the argument for the establishment of home economics. The belief that home economics would keep women in the home was the first argument utilized in its defence. During the course of the struggle this argument took on many different guises, yet the central contention was always the same -- women's place was in the home and women needed to be taught the ways of "right living." In Canada, the rationale was usually couched in terms of women being instructed for their "God given place" in life: teaching women the "right way" of living was the salvation of the nation. The arguments became more sophisticated over time and expanded to include issues which centered around women's position in society, particularly with relation to the family. By 1926, the debate included issues such as college women's propensity to divorce, the survival of the traditional family with women's ever expanding career choices, and the disintegration of the family unit. The survival of the relations between the sexes, and women's position within that relationship, was another central issue in the debate. The home economics advocates argued that the

[26]McGrath and Johnson, p. 11.

only way to preserve that relationship was by elevating the place of domestic pursuits in society through the application of home economics.

Following the first of the Lake Placid Conferences, the gospel of home economics spread quickly. Adelaide Hoodless, a Canadian home economics advocate, was invited to join the fourth annual Lake Placid conference in 1902, after participating in the Chicago Exposition on home economics in 1893. In a talk espousing the virtues of home economics to the nation, Hoodless defined home economics and, as such, broadly defined many of the arguments which were utilized by the movement until World War One.

> Domestic science is the application of scientific principles to the management of a Home, or briefly -- correct living. It teaches the value of pure air, proper food, systematic management; economy of time, labour, and money; higher ideals of home life and its relation to the State; more respect for domestic occupations; the prevention of disease; civic and domestic sanitation; care of children; home nursing, and what to do in emergencies; in short, a direct education for women as home-makers.[27]

Thus, to Hoodless and other domestic reformers of the time, the salvation of the nation lay in retaining the established gender relations while applying the "new" influences of science and technology. Reformers such as Richards and Hoodless felt that the home was in jeopardy because it was not adjusting to the rapid changes of society, and only through being taught how to adjust would the traditional middle-class family be able to survive. This notion, the salvation of the family, was the impetus behind the home economics movement in Canada. Hoodless, and many women like her, pushed for the acceptance of home economics despite strong opposition, first in school boards and later in the

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[27]Adelaide Hoodless, "Domestic Science," Women Workers of Canada: Proceedings of the Annual Meeting and Conference of the National Conference of Women of Canada, 1902, p. 120, as quoted in Stamp, "Teaching Girls their 'God Given Place in Life.'", p. 25.

University. By 1920, Hoodless had succeeded in establishing home economics classes in the majority of school boards throughout eastern Canada and in many institutes of higher education throughout Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and Newfoundland.[28]

In 1900, Hoodless began agitating for colleges and universities to offer programs in home economics. The first institute was at the University of Toronto in 1902, followed by Macdonald College (part of McGill) in 1903, and the Macdonald Institute, affiliated with the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph, Ontario. By 1910 the majority of provinces in the Dominion had established a university course in home economics, and by 1921 every province had done so except British Columbia. The majority of the schools were financed by large donations from private benefactors.[29] The University of British Columbia did not benefit from support of this kind until the late 1940s. The movement in this province progressed as a grass roots movement depending on public support and government funding.

The development of home economics study in British Columbia was not as smooth or as swift as in the East. Sewing classes were introduced in Victoria in 1872, and by 1903 the household arts in the public school curriculum had expanded to include food labs.[30] But public acceptance of the course was slower than its development would indicate. The

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[28]For a discussion of Adelaide Hoodless' career in home economics see Robert Stamp, "Teaching Girls Their 'God Given Place in Life'", p. 24-34.

[29]As a primarily eastern movement for the first quarter of the century, home economics in eastern Canada benefited from the support and donations of wealthy industrialists like Sir William Macdonald a tobacco millionaire and educational benefactor who funded the building of the Macdonald institute in 1901 and Lillian Massey, who donated to the U of T school to foster its establishment in 1903, as well as the support of the provincial government.

[30]The movement itself argues that home economics instruction began as early as 1870 in Victoria, but these were private sewing classes. There was no public school system until 1872.

main deterrent was the opinion expressed by the public and supported by school boards that home economics was a frill. The movement also had to counter the popular belief that domestic science skills should be taught in the home by mothers. The tax bill it generated was constantly under review, and it was not until the 1930s that home economics in primary schools was more than one-third funded by the government.[31] The need for home economics to justify itself was a particularly western phenomenon and continued until well into the 1950s. Thus, until home economics expanded into higher education, advocates mainly tried to convince women that standardized training was needed for everyone. The Local Council of Women (LCW) usually adopted the arguments as set out in annual conventions of the National Conference of Women proceedings on the position of women in society. The first stage of the arguments utilized by reformers such as Adelaide Hoodless in the east and Alice Ravenhill in the west, were outlined in an address to the 6th Lake Placid Convention in 1904, when a member argued that the aim of the home economics movement was to

> ...establish a standard organization of knowledge for the homemaker, and thru [sic] the medium of schools disseminate the various scientific discoveries made...amongst all classes thereby laying the foundation of a strong mind and physical national character and standard of living.[32]

This argument, which was generally accepted by the majority, did not translate into support for its implementation into the educational curriculum.[33]

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[31]Maureen Sangster Chestnutt, "Origin and Development of Home Economics Instruction in British Columbia from 1870 to 1951." M.Sc. thesis in Home Economics, California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, 1975, p. 18.

[32]Chestnutt, p. 10.

[33]This opinion is outlined by Alice Ravenhill in this following statement: "pubic opinion accepted domestic duties as constituting the one correct sphere for women, ...only a few of the more foresighted ones were alive to [women's] right to receive training for this calling." as cited in Chestnutt p. 62.

Despite the reluctance on the part of the government and tax payers to pay for home economics, women's institutes and organizations furthered the cause. From donating the first equipment used by home economics students to subsidizing the cost of the implementation of the program into schools, to paying the salary of the city supervisor in 1916, to raising the funds for its establishment in the university, women's groups and organizations were pivotal to the advancement of home economics in British Columbia.

By the beginning of World War I, home economics had become an accepted component of the curriculum in primary and high schools. The main problem at that time was finding adequately trained teachers to lead the classes. Unable to find qualified teachers in B.C., the school board was forced to look to Manitoba, Ontario, or the United States. Women's organizations began to question the logic in offering home economics to high school girls if they would not be able to carry their studies on into university or to use the courses toward matriculation. The two problems of young women of B.C. having to move outside the province to obtain their schooling and of locating properly trained teachers for British Columbia's schools prompted the women's organizations and the PTF to request the establishment of a home economics department at UBC.

The addition of the PTF to the movement in 1917 signals the beginning of the second phase of the home economics movement. The PTF, which originated in B.C. in 1915, was a volunteer organization of men and women joined to promote the welfare of children and youth and to raise the standards of home life.[34] Intrinsic to the home

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[34]I generalize here. The first PTA was established in Vancouver in 1915. The Parent Teacher Federation which followed in 1920 was a provincial body comprised of representatives from each local PTA. It was the PTF who supported the home economics movement from the 1920s to its completion in 1943.

economics movement from 1920 onward, the PTF argued that not only should women be trained to raise the standards of home life but that they should be educated to be economically independent. Understanding that this could prove to be a contentious point, that independent women were still seen to be a threat to the survival of society, the argument most frequently used distinguished jobs which would put women in competition with men, from home economics education which would develop careers for women. The economic and social relations would remain intact while offering women career opportunities. The focus of the home economics movement changed at this time to reflect the changing attitudes of society, as well as its leadership. Media coverage began to discuss issues concerning women's place in higher education, women's career opportunities, and women's position in society in general. Gender relations as defined by domestic ideology were in transition, the boundaries were being tested and redefined, and home economics was attempting to alter women's position in society without destroying it. Of course, nothing can be accomplished without struggle.

III

One of the most interesting aspects of the campaign for the establishment of home economics as it evolved in British Columbia is the duration and intensity of the battle. A seemingly innocuous program in its conformity to conventional views of women's domestic nature and social role, the home economics movement nonetheless was accomplished only by the concerted effort of a group of local women: no other single

cause in the early twentieth century elicited more interest or participation from the women of British Columbia than the establishment of home economics at UBC.[35]

The movement to establish home economics at UBC began in 1914 when Evlyn Farris, a prominent member of the UBC Senate, addressed the Women's Educational Club of Columbian College and denounced the teaching of home economics at the university level. This talk, which was reported in a local newspaper, elicited a response from a noted home economist, Alice Ravenhill, and opened up a debate which continued in various forms until home economics was permanently established in 1942-43. This debate, which was reminiscent of the debates of the "uncompromising" and the "separatists" of the late nineteenth century, outlined the issues surrounding women's education and the role of home economics within that education.

Evlyn Farris was a prominent figure in the academic community of Vancouver. Graduated in philosophy and classical studies from Acadia University in Nova Scotia, she was elected to the UBC Senate at the first meeting of Convocation in 1912 and was the first woman member of the Board of Governors. As the founder and acting president of the Vancouver University Women's Club, Farris possessed a life-long interest in higher education,[36]and was well respected in the academic community as well as within women's movements.

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[35]The importance of the home economics movement to local clubwomen of Vancouver is discussed thoroughly in Lee Stewart, "Its Up to You": The History of Women at UBC, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), chapter 3.

[36]Harry T. Logan, Tuum Est: A History of the University of British Columbia, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1958), p. 65.

In an address to various women's organizations within Vancouver, Farris, discussing the place of home economics in the university in 1914, argued that philosophic studies had declined before scientific and practical ones, and that with this trend "[w]e are growing indifferent to ideas" and are "substitut[ing] practice for principles."[37] All of these, in her view, imperiled intellectual development and endangered liberal arts education. She argued that "[i]f home making were regarded as a profession, it could then be taught in separate professional schools to women holding bachelor degrees,"[38] thereby ensuring that women would be educated in the formal sense prior to glorifying housework. Farris' agenda was quite straight-forward: she intended to dissociate women's education from the roles dictated by separate spheres and the sexual division of labour, while attempting to dispel the myth that women's interests were inherently domestic. Farris' talk was to impress upon women's groups that only through equal education at the university level could women be considered equal - much as the "uncompromising" had argued half a century before. This approach to women's education was considered by many to be elitist and exclusionary, and therefore unacceptable. Most women's groups and clubs at the time were not particularly interested in elevating women's minds, but rather in training women for "their God given place."[39]

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[37]Evlyn Farris, "Domestic Science Is Not Favored: Discussion on University Curriculum," The Sun, 26 February 1914, p. 7.

[38]Farris, "Domestic Science Is Not Favored," p. 7. My emphasis.

[39]Groups involved in the movement as outlined in the history of the B.C. home economics movement scrapbook include: The Provincial PTF, the Provincial Local Councils of Women, The Women's Institutes of British Columbia, The Vancouver University Women's Club, The Canadian Women's Clubs, The British Columbia Trustees Association, the British Columbia Teachers Federation, The Women's Educational Auxiliary of the United Church of British Columbia, The British Columbia Girls Guides' Association, Several Chapters of the International Order of Daughters of the Empire (IODE), The Business and

Not long after Farris' speech, Alice Ravenhill's response appeared in the *Vancouver Daily News Advertiser.* Ravenhill, who had pioneered domestic science instruction in England and was prominent in the home economics movement in Vancouver, contended that home economics was suitable for the university curriculum. She argued that "home economics is based on a large group of sciences - biology, chemistry, physics, mechanics, economics, ...as well as psychology, physiology and hygiene" and as such "there [should be] no difficulty in placing the subject on a strictly University level."[40] The maternal feminist supposition was that only through the application of science to social and civic problems, by a female volunteer cadre, would a solution to society's ills be found. This is evident when Ravenhill questions society's dedication to advancements such as agriculture at the expense of societal advancement:

> ...if the care of plant and animal life is of such moment to the well-being of this province, that again and again emphatic assurances have been given that a foremost place in the curriculum of the new University is to be given to agriculture, why does not the right care of human life call for similar recognition?[41]

Further research had to be done to combat social problems such as infant mortality and the spread of communicable diseases, especially tuberculosis. Only through the application of scientific and economic principles to the kind of pressing social problems that bore directly and often tragically on the family would solutions be found. This fundamental belief that educated women would better serve their families, and by extension society, appealed to

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Professional Women's Club, the P.E.O. Sisterhood, The Kiwanis Club, and the Trades and Labour Council. As outlined in UBCLSC, School of Home Economics Collection, Box 1, File 1, Scrapbook, p. 24.

[40]Alice Ravenhill, "Letter to the Editor", The Daily News Advertiser, 13 March 1914, p. 13.

[41]Ravenhill, "Letter to the Editor", p. 13.

many Vancouver women at the beginning of the twentieth century and attracted popular support to the home economics movement.

Home economics encompassed many of the same principles and endorsed many of the same solutions as the Christian reform movement. Indeed, it had sprung from the same roots. Home economics education was seen by reformers and women's groups alike to be a practical and worthy choice for women. With the rising interest in manual training for high school students, as endorsed by the Manual Training Act of 1911, home economics was promoted as the female equivalent of industrial training for boys. Although academics such as Farris comprehended the problems associated with training women for their "God given place" and the restrictions inherent in that association, most middle class women's perceptions of their role in society were firmly rooted in domestic ideology. Home economics advocates pushed at the boundaries of that definition, but never rejected it. Thus, Farris' reservations, although acknowledged in the academic community, were quickly disregarded by the general public who tended to accept the more popular position of the home economics supporters. The dualism present in the views of Farris and Ravenhill reflect the larger division within the women's movement in the early 20th century. Differing opinions of women's power -- those who believed that women's power was domestic and those who saw women's power being limited by the separate spheres -- were also at the heart of the division of the women's movement.

Farris was reluctant to accept home economics into the university curriculum. She did attempt to prevent home economic graduates from joining the University Women's Club,[42] but there is no record that she ever used her power on the Board of Governors or in

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the Senate to prevent the establishment of home economics; rather, she remained noticeably silent.[43] Clearly her lack of support of the movement can be interpreted as resistance. It is impossible, however, to know positively what her public position was. There is no record in either the Board of Governors or Senate Records of either support or resistance. It would appear then, that she neither endorsed nor hindered its advancement at UBC, although she did openly endorse the establishment of the school of nursing in 1919.[44] Her position on home economics, however, was not the popular position, and women's groups in Vancouver actively pursued the establishment of home economics despite the reservations of leaders like Farris.[45]

Notwithstanding Farris' reservations, the idea of home economics at UBC was not a very contentious issue. From the first set of proposed plans for the design of the university, a domestic science building was to be included.[46] The Board of Governors included home economics in the budget for 1912-1913, and there were plans for the building to be started in 1917.[47] The President of the University, Dr. Frank Wesbrook,

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[42]Farris' attempts to prevent women with home economics degrees from joining the UWC is outlined in Chestnutt, p. 19.

[43]Lee Stewart in her work on the establishment of home economics at UBC blames Farris for undermining the cause. She argues that despite Farris' lack of commentary on the movement she exerted force behind the scenes, and it was only when she retired from the Board of Governors that home economics was established. Stewart argues that "Farris may have been a powerful behind-the scenes ally in the university's passive resistance to the home economics campaign that lasted for a quarter century." See Lee Stewart, It's Up to You: Women at UBC in the Early Years, (Vancouver, UBC Press, 1990) p. 48. This position attributes Farris with power that she could not possibly possess. It appears that despite her personal position on the matter, Farris resisted undermining the home economics movement with the Board of Governors, or the Senate. While her inability to support the movement may be interpreted as resisting it, there is no record of this occurring.

[44]UBCLSC, Board of Governors Records, Minutes of Meetings, Reel 1, p. 674.

[45]This argument is outlined in Elizabeth Berry

[46]UBCLSC, Building Plans, Thompson, Berwick, Pratt and Partners Architectural Records, UBC.

while addressing the Local Council of Women (LCW) and then the University Women's Club (UWC) in 1913, upheld the view of home economics advocates that the teaching of personal and public hygiene could help alleviate social problems which in his opinion underscored the nation's need for experts in household administration, home economics, [and] domestic science.[48] Thus, in 1913, home economics seemed to be secure. Why then did it not come to fruition until 1943?

The answer had nothing to do with either the actions of the Senate or of women's groups in the province. In April 1918, the UBC Senate made its first appeal to the Board of Governors for the introduction of a Department of Home Economics.[49] This request was followed in October with an independent letter to the Senate from the Municipal Inspector of Schools enquiring about "the probability of a course in home economics extending the course now given in the High Schools, being offered in two years."[50] The battle had begun.

From that first letter from the Municipal Inspector, until the school of home economics was permanently established in 1943, the Senate and the Board of Governors were constantly reminded of the issue of home economics. The Senate, in response to the

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[47]UBCLSC, Board of Governors Records, Minutes of Meetings, Reel 1, vol.1, p. 15. This was proposed in the 1912-1913 budget, to be built in the academic year 1917-1918. It was again included in the 1913-1914, 1914-1915, and 1915-1916 budgets. Further endorsement of home economics is seen in a letter to the Minister of Education, from Chancellor F. Carter-Cotton dated 17 December 1914, which states: "the [budget] estimates submitted provide for the inauguration of University work in arts and the basic sciences, which are required by all students in the autumn of 1915; in agriculture and domestic science in 1916 and in forestry in 1917. These being the lines of work which most closely affect the well being of the people and the life and industrial development of the province." UBCLSC, Board of Governor Records, Reel 1, p. 184, 1 December 1917.

[48]Wesbrook, Vancouver Sun, 20 November 1913, and UBCLSC, UBC Scrapbook #2, p. 78.

[49]UBCLSC, Senate Records, Minutes of the Corporation, 28 April 1918.

[50]UBCLSC, Senate Records, Minutes of the Corporation, 9 October 1918.

requests of the LCW and other women's groups in the province, reported to the Board of Governors in March 1919 "that in their judgment it is highly desirable that the University establish a School of Household Science."[51] The Board responded that "little could be done in the present state of our finance but ... [they] would endeavor to do something in this line next year."[52] After receiving the response of the Board, the Senate stated in a stronger tone that:

> while we appreciate the difficulty of the Board of Governors, if not the impossibility, of taking steps in connection with the establishment of the faculty of Home Economics in the University that will entail the expenditure of money in 1919, we as the Senate strongly recommend to the Board of Governors that they put forth every effort to have this Faculty opened in the autumn of 1920.[53]

This stern reply, the first of a number of attempts by the Senate to expedite the progress of home economics, resulted in naught. The Board of Governors notified the Senate that although they were in "sympathy with the proposition," they would "take it up for practical consideration as soon as the University is in a financial position to undertake this work."[54]

The Senate, unable to take the matter any further without the consent of the Board, appointed a sub-committee, which urged immediate action. They contended, in rationales outlined by the home economics movement, that without home economics the women of B.C. who wished to teach would be forced to leave the province; that it would fit women "specially for their duties in the home and the community and not with a view to

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[51]UBCLSC, Senate Records, Minutes of the Corporation, 5 March 1919.

[52]UBCLSC, Senate Records, Minutes of the Corporation, 14 May 1919.

[53]UBCLSC, Senate Records, Minutes of the Corporation, 14 May 1919.

[54]UBCLSC, Board of Governors Records, Minutes of the Corporation, 23 May 1919.

remunerative employment; and that the majority of women would prefer a home economics course to any other.[55] One month later the Board replied "that in the present condition of the University finances it is impossible to take action in regard to the establishing of a Faculty of Domestic Science."[56] The tone of the dialogue was set early. Not only confrontational, it was uncompromising and effective for their purpose of stalling. The pleas of the Senate fell on deaf ears for twenty four years, until the Parent Teacher Association of Vancouver (PTA), spearheading the women's groups of the province, resolved to dedicate their energies to the establishment of a Faculty of Home Economics.

Attention was initially drawn to the home economics issue through the efforts of the Local Council of Women. They began slowly in 1919 with letters to the Board of Governors and the Senate, in an attempt to increase provincial awareness and to pressure the Board into funding the course. In the early 1920's the LCW was joined by a newly developed association - the Parent Teacher Federation (PTF)[57] - which resolved to "concentrate on getting a home economics course in the university."[58] By 1925, the PTA realized that they had had little or no effect. In fact, they had received the same non-

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[55]UBCLSC, Senate Records, Minutes of the Corporation, 23 February 1920.

[56]UBCLSC, Senate Records, Minutes of the Corporation, 28 April 1920.

[57]The Parent Teacher Federation was the parent organization of all of the various associations throughout British Columbia. As such, the PTA was the Parent Teacher Association of Vancouver, while the PTF was the provincial organization.

[58]UBCLSC, Board of Governor Records, Reel 1, p. 681, 27 June 1919. The PTA was a voluntary organization of women and men which was concerned primarily with education and citizenship. The majority of members were women, though men were represented, and women tended to control the leadership of the organization. Closely tied with school administrators of the province, many of the PTA's activities were supported by school principals and district representatives -- most of whom were men. Thus the home economics movement was endorsed by both women and men, albeit not equally.

committal response as the Senate. They resolved not to give up but to dedicate themselves "to arouse interest and support for the establishment of home economics" in Vancouver.[59]

The PTF wasted no time. After first approaching the Senate for support, the newly formed Home Economics Committee of the PTF arranged a delegation to meet with the Board of Governors to discuss the advancement of home economics in the University. The delegation, Mrs. Charlotte E. Rae, Mrs. P. Reliance, and Mrs. Olive Muirhead,[60] appeared before the Board, 29 March 1926, to "request its serious consideration of the establishment of a course in home economics at the University."[61] The committee submitted a proposed course list of studies for a degree in home economics and outlined a number of alternative suggestions to this end. Mrs. Reliance presented a method for reducing the initial cost of home economics equipment by proposing that an arrangement could be agreed upon with the Vancouver Board to use their equipment on afternoons and weekends. Mrs. Muirhead then outlined the committee's proposal for raising the necessary funds. She committed the PTF to raise $80,000 as an endowment for home economics by 1 March 1927. Their reasons were two-fold: the committee was dedicated to bringing home economics to the province through the efforts of women and they felt that this would "help the Board to

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[59]UBCLSC, Department of Home Economics, Box 1, File 1, Minutes of the Convention, September 1925.

[60]Mrs. Rae, Mrs. Reliance and Mrs. Muirhead the wives of prominent Vancouver businessmen were prominent Club Women of Vancouver who were often featured on the pages of the Western Women's Weekly. All of middle and upper class families, they were not only active in the PTA but also were seen at functions supported by the LCW and the UWC. Although there is no confirmation that they were formally educated in any sense, they were fully dedicated to women's education. All of these women were later that month named to the Home Economics Committee, with all the Presidents of the PT F, and Mrs. Clarke the High School President. These three women were the force behind the home economics movement in Vancouver, and remained dedicated until the matter was resolved in 1943. UBCLSC, Department of Home Economics, Box 1, Scrapbook, Minutes of the Convention, 9 April 1927, p. 2.

[61]UBCLSC, Board of Governors Minutes, Reel 1, p. 1214, 29 March 1926.

realize the urgency of the need of such a course in this province."[62] They asked that the Board guarantee that the course would commence September of 1927. The Board agreed to "give the matter the most serious consideration" and in a meeting after the delegation withdrew, decided that "subject to the approval of the Senate the Board will endeavor to put in force in 1927 a course in home economics ...if the endowment of $80,000 is provided ...on or before March 1, 1927."[63] The movement had been set in motion.

Women in the province were mobilized. Within months the PTF had organized a grass roots fund-raiser, the likes of which had never been seen in British Columbia.[64] They sent letters to mothers, teachers and heads of women's organizations appealing for funds, and attempted to saturate the media with news of their campaign. They arranged radio talks, publicity stunts, and flooded the newspapers with news of their actions. They appealed to businesses for support and to businessmen to help their daughters get a proper education. No group was untouched. By November 1926 they had raised $3,000 from Parent Teacher Associations throughout the province. By January 1927 they had over $6,000. Yet they were discouraged: things were not moving as quickly as they had hoped. At this point the PTF reduced their objective to $40,000, arguing that the government could raise the remainder.[65] A local brewery offered to subscribe $20,000 to the endowment

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[62]UBCLSC, Board of Governors Minutes, Reel 1, p. 1214, 29 March 1926.

[63]UBCLSC, Department of Home Economics, Box 1 , Scrapbook , Minutes of the Convention of the PTF, p. 1, 7-9 April 1926.

[64]UBCLSC, Department of Home Economics, Box 1 , Scrapbook , Minutes of the Convention of the PTF, p. 1, 7-9 April 1926. Women at the convention discuss the method of fund raising and the response.

[65]UBCLSC, Department of Home Economics, Box 1, Scrapbook , Minutes of the Convention of the PTF, p. 2, 16 January 1927.

fund, provided that the women match their contribution and that the Governors agreed to accept the diminished $40,000 endowment. The Home Economics Endowment Fund Committee (HEEFC) decided to notify the Board of Governors of their decision to reduce the proposed endowment to $40,000, $20,000 of which was to be donated by the brewery. President Klinck was outraged at the thought of using "tainted money" and stubbornly refused the donation, thereby waylaying the momentum of the fund raising campaign. After much consideration of the reduction of the target sum, the Board, responded, "the Committee [should] ... be encouraged to continue the campaign for the sum originally contemplated."[66] At the annual convention, the PTF members pledged to continue "active support of the HEEFC campaign until the objective be reached."[67] Discouraged by their inability to achieve their original goal, the PTF turned to the Minister of Education, Canon Joshua Hinchliffe, to get action.

Early in the fall of 1928 the Provincial PTF met with the Minister of Education Canon Joshua Hinchliffe to discuss introducing home economics at UBC. Hinchliffe refused to commit to the delegation but expressed sympathy for their cause. When later pressed on the issue, Hinchliffe stated "that while the government could co-operate in the introduction of this course, [t]he initial steps ...must come from the Governors of the University.[68] Armed with this information, the PTF and LCW formed another delegation to meet with the Board. Arguing that interest in home economics in the province was

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[66]UBCLSC, Board of Governors Minutes, Reel 1, p. 1282, 15 March 1927.

[67]UBCLSC, Department of Home Economics 1923-54, Box 1, Scrapbook , Minutes of the Convention of the PTF, p. 2, 25 March 1927.

[68]UBCLSC, Department of Home Economics 1923-54, Box 1, Scrapbook, PTF Minutes, 26 November 1928.

steadily advancing, the delegation persuaded the Board to include home economics in their estimate for 1929-30 and to establish the program by September 1929 as originally agreed.

The Board informed the Minister of Education that while the establishment of the course is "highly desirable," the Board was "entirely dependent on the government for the necessary funds."[69] Thus, it was vital that the Board receive a commitment from the Minister ensuring that the government would provide funds for maintenance of the course.[70]

After their meeting with the Board, the PTF also approached the Minister. It had become vital to women's organizations that action be taken before the issue was forgotten.[71] They argued, in a familiar vein, that as "homemaking was the ultimate work of ninety-five per cent of our girls training will be invaluable, not only to the home but to the moral, social and economic welfare of our country."[72] By training women to specialize in the home, they would be withdrawn from competition with men in the industrial world. And finally, due to the increased demand for home economic instructors in public and high schools, local women would be able to fill the need for qualified teachers.[73] The meeting

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[69]UBCLSC, Board of Governor Records, Minutes, 22 December 1928.

[70]It was practice to get a commitment for funds prior to establishing a course but once established it was not typical to ensure that the maintenance payments would be absorbed by the government. Usually these were then absorbed into the budget. In the case of home economics the Board of Governors were unwilling to assume any cost incurred by the program whatsoever. That is why they appealed to the government for maintenance costs.

[71]In a letter from the LCW to the PTF, they expressed their fear that the issue was being forgotten. UBCLSC, School of Home Economics 1923-54, Box 1, Scrapbook, PTF Minutes, Report of the Permanent Committee of the Home Economics Trust Fund, 1937-38.

[72]UBCLSC, Senate Records, Box 29, File 8, 14 January 1929.

[73]UBCLSC, Senate Records, Box 29, File 8, 14 January 1929.

was very successful, and on 3 April 1929 the delegation received word that the Minister had included $20,000 for home economics in his estimates for 1929-30.[74] The women's organizations of the province were ecstatic. There seemed to be nothing standing in their way.

Again nothing was done. At least one historian has argued that the Board felt that the sum was "totally inadequate" and refused to act,[75] however, this does not seem to be the case. President Klinck notified the PTF that it would take at least a year to organize teaching staff and accommodation for the course. At this point in time, the course was still a possibility; it was just delayed.

Although disappointed, the PTF accepted the judgment of the Board and asked only that the grant not be allowed to lapse. This prompted the Board of Governors to petition the Minister of Education to retain the unused portion of the grant and carry it over to 1930-31. The Minister informed the Board that "it would be absolutely impossible ... to carry the amounts over"[76] and the $10,000 item which had been included in 1930-1931 budget for home economics would not be available. In view of the inability to carry over the grant, coupled with severe budget cut backs for the 1930-31 academic year, Dr. Klinck decided, with the approval of the Honourable Mr. Hinchliffe, that it would be unwise to establish a Department of Home Economics.[77]

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[74]UBCLSC, Department of Home Economics 1923-54, Box 1, Scrapbook , PTF Minutes, 3 April 1929.

[75]Lee Stewart, Its Up to You, p. 48. I could find no reference to this citation in my examination of the records, and in fact, can only find reference to Dr. Klinck saying it would take time.

[76]UBCLSC, Board of Governor Records, Minutes, 24 February 1930.

[77]UBCLSC, Board of Governor Records, Minutes, 24 February 1930.

The women's organizations of the province were outraged. It was difficult to understand how a mutually beneficial situation such as the one arrived at in early spring with a Board that appeared sympathetic and an allegedly supportive government could fall through. Women all across the province mobilized. Women's organizations from Vancouver, Victoria, Nanaimo, New Westminster, and North Vancouver appeared before the Board of Governors and set up a "round table conference" with the Minister of Education for 2 April 1930. Acting as middlemen between the Minister and the Board, the various women's organizations of the province managed to resurrect the program and to elicit a tentative commitment from the Minister that he would do his utmost to obtain the necessary funds by the fall of 1931. On the 5th of April 1930, President Klinck announced the establishment of home economics at the University of British Columbia and headed east to locate a department head.

The Home Economics Department at UBC was officially in place in the 1930/31 academic year. Consisting of two introductory years of liberal arts study, the home economics program, though available on paper, was unavailable to the students who enrolled in the program. Unable to obtain adequate staff or facilities, the program never actually existed. When pushed by the PTF to outline the full four year program the Board argued that once the staff was secured more definite plans could be made.[78]

The Home Economics Department at UBC only existed for the nine months of 1930/31. The impact of the depression which hit British Columbia in 1930 resulted in a severe reduction in the operating budget and the end of home economics. The Board of

[78]UBCLSC, Board of Governor Records, Minutes, 1 March 1930.

Directors, after confirming that the budget of 1932-33 --less than half of the previous budget[79]-- was not incumbent on a provision for the department of home economics, withdrew maintenance. The Senate then discontinued the program.[80] Although disappointed, the PTF issued a statement that indicated they understood the issue was a financial one, and that it was only temporary.[81] It would take more than ten years to have the program re-established.

Home economics fell beneath the weight of the political struggles and economic depression that engulfed the university from 1930-33. Steadily reduced operating budgets resulting from the effects of the depression and an antagonistic Minister of Education, complicated even further by inter-departmental antagonisms and a factional Senate resulted in a vote of non-confidence and the attempted resignation of University President Dr. Klinck.

During this tumultuous period other dimensions of the struggle for the establishment of home economics became evident. The movement for the establishment of home economics became implicated in the struggle over the political control of the university between the legislature and the Board of Governors. The Board's reactions to this change of circumstances, their eventual acceptance of home economics, and

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[79]The Board was informed that the operating budget would be $250,000 for 1932-33 whereas the budget for 1931-32 had been $487,000, and also considerably less than the budget for 1929-30 which and been $625,000. The impact of the depression had resulted in massive government cut backs in all areas, but the university was taking more than its share. The Board had to drastically cut back in all areas, resulting in limitations in student enrollment and salary cutbacks of 5.23% from the previous year. This is discussed extensively in; Logan, Tuum Est., p. 110-120.

[80]UBCLSC, Board of Governor Records, Minutes, 6 January 1932. UBCLSC, Senate Records, Minutes, 4 May 1932.

[81]UBCLSC, Department of Home Economics 1923-54, Box 1, Scrapbook , PTF Minutes, Convention 1932, p. 18.

speculation concerning their motivation for preventing the establishment of home economics for more than twenty years will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: "Cambridge of the Pacific"

By the early 1930s UBC was crumbling before the eyes of a Board that fought valiantly to ensure its integrity and a public which, although critical of the practices and expense of the university, still considered it a vital part of the landscape of British Columbia. Conditions within the university and the province converged to precipitate the potential collapse of British Columbia's only university in 1931. What place did home economics play, if any, in UBC's predicament? The university was reluctant to establish a program of home economics despite the overwhelming support of educators and women's groups of the province. For twenty-five years home economics was "given due consideration" but repeatedly denied, ostensibly for financial reasons. Was UBC financially unable to establish this program, or any other home economics program, until 1943? The answer, obviously, is no. So the question is raised: what did prevent the Board of Governors from funding this program? Was it, as Evlyn Farris had argued in 1914, that home economics was merely a program which "glorifi[ed] housework" and undermined the academic standards of the university? The hesitation of the Board of Governors undoubtedly reflected their belief that applied science or vocational courses, such as home economics, would undermine the integrity and research mission of the university. But that is not the whole story: the question remains, why were female faculties such as home economics never a priority, while other programs such as forestry and commerce were? More than just the dilution of the research mission of the university, or a problem with training women in the traditional arts of home making, the refusal to accept home economics within the university curriculum revealed a reluctance to create a place for

women and a lack of commitment to advancing women's educational needs when they differed from those of men and the male academic structure. As such, the Board of Governors' reluctance reveals their view of the role of the university itself in the life of British Columbia, and of women in society and the economy. The Board of Governors consistently chose to ignore the needs of women; only when pressured by the Minister of Education in 1931 and the legislature in 1942, was any action taken.

The political struggles which engulfed UBC during the 1930s stemmed from the conditions upon which UBC was founded. The financial position of the university alone cannot explain the intrusion of the Minister of Education into University affairs in 1931 or 1942, nor can it explain the crises which racked the university between 1930 and 1933. The financial condition of UBC was the basis upon which all other issues developed. Examining the development of UBC and the conditions under which it operated will expose some of the larger issues which surrounded the home economics program. What issues were at the root of the prolonged hesitation of the Board of Governors and what finally caused the establishment of home economics will form the core of the following chapter.

I

In its first thirty years UBC experienced the growing pains of a rapidly changing social and economic environment, the maturation of a young province, two world wars, and a depression, all of which resulted in a somewhat divided view of itself and the role of higher education. While classical studies retained some stature in Canadian universities

until well into the 20th century, UBC from its inception had a utilitarian mandate which ensured that the needs of its resource-based economy would be the first priority. Higher education became increasingly valued not for its ideals but for its products: skilled professionals to contribute to economic prosperity. The university became increasingly focused on and driven by the needs of the industrial economy. It was this impetus that shaped the mandate of UBC. The University Act of 1908 reflected this:

> The University shall, so far as and to the full extent which its resources from time to time permit, provide for-
>
> (a) Such instruction in all branches of liberal education as may enable students to become proficient in and qualify for degrees, diplomas and certificates in science, commerce, arts, literature, law, medicine and all other branches of knowledge:
>
> (b) Such instruction, especially whether theoretical, technical, artistic, or otherwise, as may be of service to persons engaged or about to engage in manufactures, mining, engineering, agricultural and industrial pursuits of the Province of British Columbia:
>
> (c) Facilities for the prosecution of original research in science, literature, arts, medicine, law and especially the applications of science.[1]

The utilitarian emphasis was unmistakable. UBC was to be a university of the people, serving the needs of the people, economically and intellectually.

Not only was the university primarily dedicated to utilitarian pursuits, but it was also the first university founded and completely funded by the province. It was the first truly provincial university in Canada and as such had no independent source of revenue until the introduction of tuition in 1920, a unique financial position compared to older more established schools like the University of Toronto and McGill which were independent of the province before 1850 and had sources of revenue beyond provincial

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[1]Revised Statutes of British Columbia of 1911, vol. III, M-W, Chapter 234, An Act ot Establish and Incorporate a University for the Province of British Columbia, p. 2936-37.

grants. This luxury also made UBC more susceptible to encroachments on its autonomy by the state. Unable to fund itself in any respect without substantial provincial support, from its origin UBC had to rely on the good will and support of the public and the Minister of Education.

The original founders of the University Act, Steven D. Pope and his predecessor John Jessop, were both well aware of the problem of establishing a university in a young province on a slender income. Two solutions to the funding problem were raised. The first to support UBC with a land grant, was initially rejected; and the second was to fund the university through annual grants from the provincial treasury.[2] Without the financial basis of independent funding either from "people of means," business or alumni, which composed the basis of the budgets of older more established institutions, UBC was totally dependent on grants from the government for even the basic maintenance of its programs.[3] The provincial government therefore ultimately controlled the survival of UBC within its budget projections. Without the funding that grants provided, UBC would have to close its doors. This situation persisted until well into the 1950s when the attitude towards

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[2]Harry T. Logan, Tuum Est: A History of the University of British Columbia, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1958), p. 3. In his discussion of the university Logan points out that it was many years after the founding of the university in 1908 that "people of means" realized the important contribution the university was making to provincial prosperity and began to offer significant financial help. In fact it was not until well into the 1940s that private donations were of any significance at all to the budget, p. 3.

[3]This was a problematic position as the public, although supportive in enrolment statistics, was often critical of the university and its pursuits. The university was often forced to rebut criticisms of the legislativre caucus and the public. The correspondence between the Minister of Education and the President of the University is littered with it between 1920 and 1935. Criticisms covered issues including the cost of the university, the university was an glorified high school, British Columbia was spending too much on education, it was a rich man's university, and the province was spending too much while the students were loafing. UBCLSC, Presidents Records, Reel 1,24, Education Files.

universities took a dramatic shift and UBC finally developed a basis of support independent of government grants.

During its first quarter century UBC experienced many financial difficulties which were the direct result of its position within the province and the acceptance of the university by the general population. From the beginning the issue of financing UBC was a topic of much contention.[4] The public, although supportive of higher education in theory, was resentful of the large government grants made to the university and were reluctant to support higher education until after the Second World War, when it was viewed as socially essential.[5] A lack of support from the general population often left UBC vulnerable to state control. Indeed, the power of the state over university affairs was not only a contentious issue for UBC but proved a recurring theme in provincial politics during the 1930s; it often made financing the university a cause of public controversy. Indeed, from 1932 to 1933 the controversy almost resulted in the closure of the university.[6]

Constantly forced to cut back on spending or to justify their use of provincial grants, UBC was invariably subject to variances in the provincial economy. Despite the financial insecurity of the period, the autonomy of the university was generally tolerated if

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[4]The issue of establishing a university, the cost and location were the three prominent issues of articles in the Colonist from 1874 until 1899, totaling over 90 articles.

[5]Harry T. Logan, , Tuum Est, p. 110-115. This position was also reflected in the introduction to Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, as well as in the subject matter of newspaper articles during the period.

[6]Both the Lampman Enquiry and the Kidd Report were detrimental to the functioning and survival of the university during the 1930s and both were the result of the State exerting its power over, and infringing on the autonomy of the university. This tendency was also coupled with the personal animosity of the Minister of Education Canon Joshua Hinchliffe to create a crisis situation for the university.

not respected by the Ministers of Education from 1915 -1943. Nevertheless, the recurring theme of intervention and control was a constant source of anxiety for the President and Board of Governors and an important theme in the history of the university itself. This is particularly evident when the issue of home economics is considered. The intervention of Minister of Education Canon Joshua Hinchliffe to establish a home economics program in 1931 was not the result of his passionate support for the advancement of home economics in higher education; it could be interpreted as a reminder to the university administration that the security of patronage also brought the possibility of control, a popular political tool utilized by Ministers of Education in Ontario as outlined by Paul Axelrod in Scholars and Dollars.[7] Though more concerned with the Faculty of Agriculture, Hinchliffe embroiled home economics in a political struggle over the control of the university. He structured grants to the university to reflect his personal view of the role of education and disregarded the needs and autonomy of the university; moreover, home economics became the irritant Hinchliffe used to make his point. Being the sole benefactor of the university, the state controlled the finances, approved budgets and funneled moneys into those areas it felt were important to the growth of the province. Conversely, it neglected those areas it deemed "unnecessary." When pursuing goals compatible with the state and developing the university in accordance with society's increased interest in the development of sciences and utilitarian programs, UBC's funding was guaranteed; however, when other intellectual paths were chosen, problems arose. Autonomy through neglect was definitely the style of

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[7]Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario 1945 - 1980, (Toronto: U of T Press, 1982), p. 164.

governance utilized by the minister, and during difficult times like the 1930s the university was the first public institution attacked, both by the public and the state. Thus, patronage came at a high cost to UBC. But was UBC in any worse position than other Canadian universities?

The power of the state over university affairs was greater at UBC than at other Canadian universities. The proportion of revenue that state sources contributed to UBC revenue was significantly higher than at other universities in Canada, resulting in more direct control by the state on university affairs. UBC, due to its youth and to the public consensus that it was a frill that should finance itself, was initially unable to generate any substantial income, and was entirely reliant on the state.[8] From 1915 to 1920 UBC was unable to survive without state sources that provided ninety percent of UBC's total revenue. With the introduction of tuition for arts courses in 1920, the proportion of revenue granted by the state declined to eight of every ten dollars and then to seven of ten dollars by the end of the decade. The introduction of tuition reflected the relevant distinctions the state made about what it felt was worth funding, obviously implying that the university was not worthy, despite their declarations of support. Moreover, the total level of contribution that grants represented declined steadily from 1920 to 1942, averaging just over five of every ten dollars until 1945 when it again began to climb.[9] Government

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[8]The criticism that UBC was a frill is prevalent throughout all correspondence between the Minister of Education and the President of the University between 1919 and 1935. UBCLSC, President's Records, Education, Reels 4 to 24.

[9]1945 represents a change in funding patterns and educational priorities in Canada. After World War Two with the impact of the Cold War the importance of being on the cutting edge of technology elevated the status

support never dropped below fifty-one cents of every dollar of revenue for the university except during the depths of the depression when it constituted only forty-five cents, and that only for the 1932/33 academic year. In contrast, the University of Toronto, which received the majority of available grant money from the government of Ontario and had the largest grants in the nation, never received more than eight of every ten dollars and even then only during years of capital investment. On average, the University of Toronto received just over six of every ten dollars. The discrepancy between funding levels can be attributed to the University of Toronto's long standing independence which generated a revenue base that although not sufficient to maintain the university independent of other financing, generated a substantial proportion of its revenue. UBC, due to its youth, and the public consensus that it was "a frill" that should finance itself, was initially unable to generate any substantial independent income and was entirely reliant on the state.[10] The patronage of the state made the university accountable solely to the Minister of Education and by extension the public which ultimately influenced every plan and action taken by the Administration. Although tolerated, the interests of the university were not the priority of the government. An attitude of chronic neglect characterized the relations between the state and UBC from 1915 to 1935 unless political expediency or public concern dictated otherwise.[11]

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of universities which gained a new importance and prominance with respect to government funding. This impetus also secured the dominance of the sciences over the classics in universities.

[10]The criticism that UBC was "a frill" was prevalent throughout all correspondence between the Minister of Education and the President of the University between 1919 and approximately 1935. UBCLSC, Presidents Records, Education, Reel 4 -24.

The influence of the state in University affairs was often intrusive. The mandate of UBC outlined the type of higher education required by the province and ensured that the economic needs of society would be met. The state ensured that UBC fulfilled these ideals not only in theory, but in practice. The state's ideal of the university was quite simple -- it should offer utilitarian courses designed to promote economic growth in core industries, mining, forestry, and agriculture, to drive British Columbia to economic prosperity. UBC, the "poor man's university," was in theory to "serve the needs of all people" and the first President of the University, Dr. Frank Wesbrook, was hand-picked to ensure this.[12]

In the hands of Dr. Wesbrook (1913-1918) and his successor Dr. L.S. Klinck (1919-1944), the concept of utilitarian or practical education that was the corner-stone of the mandate of UBC was upheld and advanced through a strong foundation of broadly based classical study.[13] Adverse to what he termed "the danger of too great specialization" Wesbrook's vision of UBC was a global vision which stressed the search for knowledge through research and practicality by applying new knowledge to local concerns. Discussing the place of the university in Canada at the University of Manitoba in 1904, Wesbrook outlined his vision:

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[11]This was the case during the Kidd Report in 1932, when the impact of the depression created the need for a scape goat and the university became its main target. It was only through the personal committment of the Minister of Education, S.F. Tolmie, that destruction of the university was diverted.

[12]It is ironic considering the cicumstances surrounding the development of UBC to note that when Wesbrook agreed to take the Presidency of UBC he did so on the condition that there would be little or no government intervention.

[13]Wesbrook was very specific about the difference between utilitarian and vocational knowledge. Utilitarian knowledge as taught at UBC served the economic needs of the province by educating young men broadly in all areas of knowledge and enabling them to apply the skills they have learned to local problems. Vocational knowledge on the other hand taught students to do things with no wider base for a foundation.

> [a university] cannot content herself with teaching the languages, philosophy, math and science as known. She must be engaged in finding out new facts, not only those directly applicable to Manitoba, but those which are of world-wide importance. She must make provision in money, time and opportunity for the members of her university staff to engage in research. ...If the future is to be well planned, provision must be made for a thorough study of local resources and the training of citizens properly to conserve and develop those resources.[14]

Wesbrook's commitment to economic development through intensive pure research and the dedication he exhibited to local issues made him perfect for the Presidency of UBC. Endorsing all the aspects that the founders of UBC saw as vital to the university, Wesbrook added to their vision his commitment to research and a belief in high academic standards. He envisioned the Cambridge of the Pacific, "as an institution of the first order whose scope shall be co-extensive with the educational needs of the province."[15] He applied his vision to all aspects of university governance and argued that "[a] beginning which would require apology or explanations would be unfortunate." He stated that if the university was to undertake the natural leadership of the rational and scientific development of the province it would have to have excellent staff and a first-class library. When hiring staff he strove to attract first rate academics with research agenda's compatible with his vision of UBC and with the needs of the province. Nevertheless, he was careful to avoid over-specialization which he saw as dangerous to higher education.[16]

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[14]William C. Gibson, Wesbrook and His University, (Vancouver: The Library of the University of British Columbia, 1973), p. 39-40.

[15]Gibson, Wesbrook and His University, p. 71.

[16]William Gibson and Harry T. Logan respectfully oulines the excellence of the professional staff selected by Wesbrook. See Gibson, p. 80, and Harry T. Logan, p. 50-52.

Specialization and academic professionalization which grew out of the explosion of knowledge during the late nineteenth early twentieth centuries "required", as A.B. McKillop said, "the creation of well defined academic disciplines because, by no other means could any scholar of the late nineteenth century gain command of what he was coming to call his field."[17] The increased professionalization and specialization of higher education and the division of the disciplines which resulted, were in Wesbrook's opinion "the overwhelming trend of modern times" but were something to avoid. He stated that

> whilst specialization ha[d] spelled success, it seems likely to lead to disaster unless we realize that it brings with it a need for increased efficiency in our governmental agencies and requires special training for those who are to supply the need in social service and lead us in thought and action.[18]

Thus, although he saw specialization as a necessary consequence of the rapid accumulation of knowledge of the twentieth century, without a solid broad foundation based on classical study, the effect of over-specialized education could be dangerous.

The principles outlined by Wesbrook throughout his brief tenure at UBC carried on through the term of his successor, L.S. Klinck. In a report to the Minister of Education in 1928, attempting to rebut criticisms of the university and justifying its existence to the minister, President Klinck reiterated the essence of Wesbrook's plans. In a section that discusses the "principles on which the University of British Columbia is based," Klinck stated that British Columbia required a university for utilitarian reasons and pressing industrial need, to provide the best possible education for young men who would enter into

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[17]A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791 - 1951, (Toronto: OHSS, 1994), p. 159.

[18]Gibson, Wesbrook and His University , p. 89.

and develop the industries of the Province.[19] He then proceeded to defend the utilitarian position of the university from those people of the province "who recognize the value of culture and of the love of knowledge for its own sake" by clarifying that UBC was utilitarian but not vocational in its academic choices. Klinck then posits that the aim of UBC "is to educate the mind, to train students in exact and fertile thinking, and for the industries, to give [students] a sound knowledge of natural laws and natural products for the benefit of man and the advance of civilization."[20] To facilitate the accumulation of general knowledge the courses were purposefully broad and general rather than narrowly specialized, "designed rather to furnish the solid foundation the broad background, the wide outlook and the stimulating atmosphere rather than to provide much information in a restricted sphere."[21] The object was not to turn out "finished agriculturalists, or engineers, or industrial leaders . . . but to turn out graduates with a special capacity and training for attaining these goals in the shortest time and for achieving the greatest ultimate success in their chosen field."[22] This differentiation between trained professionals educated to meet the economic demands of the province, and trained technicians with the skills to do a job, was the intrinsic difference between vocational and utilitarian education as Wesbrook and Klinck understood it.

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[19]UBCLSC, Presidents Records, Education, Reel 24, 1928-29, Report by President L.S. Klinck entitled "The University of British Columbia", p. 6.

[20]Klinck, "The University of British Columbia", p. 7.

[21]Klinck, "The Univesrity of British Columbia", p. 7.

[22]Klinck, "The University of British Columbia", p. 7.

The fundamental difference between vocational and utilitarian education, so important to Wesbrook and Klinck and by extension to the legitimacy of UBC, defined the research mission of the university prior to the second world war. Klinck's objection to turning out "finished agriculturalists, or engineers" stemmed from a bias against Applied Science courses. The Faculties of Agriculture and Applied Science had been under scrutiny since 1923 when the cost of the university, and these two faculties in particular, had prompted protest. At the time of this report the Faculty of Agriculture had again come under criticism from the Minister of Education, Canon Joshua Hinchliffe. Hinchliffe was critical of professional and occupational education, particularly in the Faculty of Agriculture, and proposed that it be absorbed into Applied Science.[23] Thus, when Klinck stated in his report that "the object [of a university] is not to turn out finished agriculturalists or engineers. . ." his defensive rebuttal was not only because he had been the Dean of Agriculture prior to accepting the position of President, but also reflected the inherent bias of academics against the occupational or vocational studies of Applied Science courses. He was responding to Hinchliffe's agenda to place the Faculty of Agriculture in the lesser Faculty of Applied Science by illustrating that the study of agriculture at UBC was not simply the occupational training of a farmer, like that which was envisioned for engineers; rather it was the site of the majority of advanced research conducted at the university. Klinck was ensuring that agricultural research that applied the principles of pure science to agricultural problems would not be affiliated with trades such

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[23]Logan, Tuum Est, p. 110-111.

as engineering.[24] Divorcing scientific research from the training associated with Applied Science enabled Klinck to divorce scientific research from vocational training and elevate research to the level of prominence that it had gained in society throughout the twentieth century, while associating Applied Science with what he describes as a "repertoire of tricks."[25] Vocationalism associated with over-specialization and training as opposed to the acquisition of knowledge, did not teach students to apply knowledge but taught them to perform "tricks". The dichotomy between these two competing visions of the purpose of education is crucial. UBC did not want to train students to perform tricks. But UBC, forced by a strictly utilitarian mandate and the demands of a cost-conscious public and Minister of Education, had to accommodate courses that were not a priority to its leadership.

Applied Science courses were differentiated from the "solid foundation" of the Faculty of Arts and Science while being legitimated by association with it. The perceived inadequacy of Applied Science to stand independently from the solid academia of classical studies prompted Klinck to declare that "every Applied Science student ha[d] at least sixty percent of his entire work in Arts subjects (our course is 5 years) and some have more Arts units to their credit than are required for a BA degree."[26] The second class status attributed to the Faculty of Applied Science, which consisted of Nursing and Engineering -- and later

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[24]Although engineering was one of the courses which was central to the mandate of the university it was always condsidered an up-graded trade. See Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, p. 1-6.

[25]Klinck, "The University of British Columbia", p. 7. He states that "to teach the student merely to do certain things, to furnish him with a repertoire of tricks that he could perform." His emphasis.

[26]Klinck, "The University of British Columbia", p. 7.

Home Economics -- was boosted or legitimated through its basis in the Arts. Treated like a graduate degree -- the option suggested by Farris to accommodate home economics in 1914 -- Applied Science courses were not worthy of concentrated study; rather they were something that could be tacked on after a solid basis of classical study had been attained. This view of Applied Science created the resistance to new vocational courses at UBC. Only through affiliation with classical studies could Nursing and Engineering be accepted as worthy of study at UBC.

Of the two programs of study in Applied Science at UBC from 1914 to 1943, only Nursing took five years. Engineering was a four year program that began in second year. Nursing was obviously a course which would have fallen into the category of vocational education and therefore would not be appropriate to the research mandate of UBC, but due to political pressure from the medical profession and a lucrative deal for the university, it was introduced. A pragmatic confluence of interests influenced the actions of the Board of Governors and prompted them to establish a degree program in 1919, which Klinck argued "represented a substantial extension of educational and vocational opportunities for female students."[27] The general acceptance of the Department of Nursing which developed from the glorification of nurses during the First World War and intensified with the impact of the "Spanish Flu" epidemic of 1918-1919, reflected increasing societal concern with hygiene and also "imparted special significance to the work of women and revised attitudes

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[27]Lee Stewart, Its Up To You: Women at UBC in the Early Years (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), p. 32. For a fuller discussion of the establishment of Nursing at UBC see chapter 3, p. 31-42.

toward women's education."[28] The popularity of the image of Florence Nightingale and the increased social utility derived from training women to fulfill the role of a medical technician at a lower wage made nursing a very attractive profession for women and society. Yet the program had little or no status in the university. The establishment of the nursing program developed from a commitment by the hospital authorities to absorb all costs associated with the program. This even included library books, as the Board of Governors reaffirmed when they denied the library's request for funds in 1920.[29] Contingent on the financial support of an external source, the Department of Nursing maintained a precarious position at UBC. The establishment of the first degree program in nursing enhanced the reputation of the University but did not translate into significant changes in the understanding of women's position in the university. The vocational nature of the program was a thorn in the side of the Board of Governors and just three years after its establishment, the program was extended from a two to a five year program in an attempt to raise it to the standards of the rest of the university. The acceptance of nursing was not predicated on any real acceptance of either the program or the increasing and changing variety of roles for women in society. Rather it offered an opportunity for the university to appease public opinion by providing specific vocational training as a solution to social problems and to supply practical useful skills for its students. The establishment of the Department of Nursing in 1919 fulfilled the vocational cries of the utility-conscious

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[28]Glennis Zilm and Ethel Warbinek, Legacy: History of Nursing Education at the University of British Columbia 1919-1994, (Vancouver: UBC Press, School of Nursing, 1994), p. 3-23.

[29]Stewart, Its Up to You, p. 37.

public without placing additional demands on the treasury or the university. It was a perfect opportunity but revealingly, had it taxed the resources of the university in any way, the Nursing program would not have been established at UBC.[30]

Home economics faced many of the same barriers as nursing, but was not accepted at UBC until twenty-four years after the establishment of the nursing program, and twenty-three years after its acceptance throughout Canada and the United States. Both nursing and home economics were considered vocational occupations. But unlike nursing, home economics was associated with women's primary vocation -- motherhood -- which was perceived as having little public economic utility. The problem of the association of home economics with homemaking, without the public support of the greater need for training which nursing had accrued during and after the First World War, coupled with the financial strain that the Board of Governors insisted home economics would place on the university, made it unacceptable to the Board of Governors. In a university that desired to be first-rate, training housewives when it could be educating intellectuals was hardly a priority. Home economics did not have the intellectual legitimacy necessary to become a priority at UBC or the public and social utility necessary to make it a favoured and funded project of the provincial government.

Indeed, home economics was everything that the university was fighting against; it was vocational education in its most rudimentary form. When first presented to the university for consideration, home economics advocates promoted it as training for

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[30]The Board of Governors discuss the cost of books for the nursing program and decide that they would not incur any costs. See UBCLSC, Board of Governors Minutes, Reel 1, 23, February 1920. This issue is also discussed in Lee Stewart Its Up To You, chapter three, and Glennis Zilm and Ethel Warbinek, Legacy.

women's "true vocation, motherhood." It was not until the Second World War that this vocation came to be seen as valuable to society and therefore important to the university. Although Ellen Richards in the United States and Alice Ravenhill in Canada had been elevating the study of home economics by promoting it as the application of scientific principles to the home, no "valuable" research was being produced which would change the program from merely being a "woman's course" to a program worthy of study at UBC. Training women in the art of motherhood would not drive the economy; neither would it provide the nation with anything that it would not have otherwise -- it was not perceived to have any public value or utility. UBC was willing to forgo the revenue generated by women who would have enrolled in home economics in an attempt to maintain its high standards and to ensure that the university would not have to apologize for itself. Klinck outlined this approach in his objectives for the University when he stated that the policy of UBC would be to:

> Select what is necessary, omit what isn't vital; include all courses where a special training to meet British Columbia's special conditions is desirable, omit courses which do not require modification to fully meet British Columbia's requirements. If a student wants medicine, for instance, let him go East for it.[31]

Obviously, the study of home economics would not rank highly given these priorities, particularly when women only had to go to Manitoba or Washington to acquire proper "training." Embroiled in the university's insecurity about its identity and its definitive objection to catering to vocational education, home economics was a loser. There were,

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[31]Klinck, "The University of British Columbia", p. 8.

moreover, no redeeming aspects to entice the Board to entertain the faculty despite home economics' ideological alliance with the Faculty of Agriculture. This in itself may have been a problem. Trying to disassociate itself from vocationalism and over-specialization, the Faculty of Agriculture was never openly supportive of home economics or of the prevailing association between Agriculture and Home Economics.[32] Too contentious an issue to be tackled by a faculty that itself was struggling to survive, home economics was left on its own to struggle against the established forces in the university and the state.[33]

A confluence of interests worked against the establishment of Home Economics just as they had worked for the establishment of Nursing. On the surface the debate was about the ability to finance new programs, but within the context of the vision of the university as a first class institution upheld by the Board of Governors and its defensiveness concerning its self-defined research mission, home economics represented a certain infringement on the integrity of both of these priorities. Within this context then, the reluctance to establish home economics takes on a certain poignancy and significance. The Board's reluctance to institute the program never wavered, yet the intervention of the legislature and the Minister of Education in 1943 forced the establishment of the

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[32]The general view of home economics was that what agriculture was for men home economics was for women.

[33]It is interesting to note that Home Economics was ultimately introduced into the Faculty of Arts and Science and not Applied Science or Agriculture despite the traditional affiliation between the two. This may be explained by the attempt in 1935 to upgrade the Faculty of Applied Science to the standards required by the rest of the Faculties by raising the academic standard of courses and students and to place a greater emphasis on theory and reading. Logan, Tuum Est, p. 124.

Department of Home Economics. Under these circumstances, the resolution of the struggle seem less a triumph for women than a loss for the university.

II

When the depression hit British Columbia in 1929 the political turmoil which ravaged the University of British Columbia stemmed from issues concerning the funding of the university and the public pressure surrounding its perceived over-spending. The university became the focus not only of the political pressure to cut spending, but also of the personal animosity of the newly elected Minister of Education, Canon Joshua Hinchliffe. Troubled by the education system in Canada, Hinchliffe took the opportunity of financial difficulty to make an astute point concerning the autonomy of the university and its dependence on the generosity of the government and the people. The 1930s was a time of reorganization and retrenchment for the university and society at large.

The political upheaval experienced by UBC during the 1930s can be traced to the election of the Conservative Tolmie government in 1928 and the appointment of Canon Joshua Hinchliffe as the Minister of Education. Hinchliffe had a number of problems with the administration of the university, including its wastefulness and what he regarded as its lack of standards. Having a general dislike for popular education, Hinchliffe expressed his sentiments through a particular resentment of the professional and occupational courses offered at UBC. Budgets were drastically cut, partially due to worsening economic circumstances and partially to Hinchliffe's personal agenda and his particular dislike of the "unnecessary" Department of Agriculture. The political upheaval nearly spelt the end of

the university itself. The struggle over the size of the Department of Agriculture (which Hinchliffe insisted be severely reduced), coupled with the effects of the worsening depression on provincial funds, brought UBC in 1931 to the point where the Board questioned the University's survival. Ruthless budget cuts and a Board defensive of its right to allocate funds without intervention from the Senate, resulted in a "motion of want of confidence in the President" on 16 March 1931.[34] The moment of general crisis and upheaval was not an auspicious one for advocates of the Home Economics movement. Indeed Home Economics soon became identified as part of the general crisis of the University of British Columbia.

At the request of the Board, Judge Peter Lampman was appointed by the government to inquire into the problems of the university. Lampman concluded that the central problem was a perceived favouritism toward the Department of Agriculture by the former Dean of the school, now President Klinck. Lampman posited that the decision-making powers of the university were not well defined and led to "friction and meddling."[35] He also criticized the government for becoming involved in the workings of the university, particularly with respect to the establishment of Home Economics: "The Government had apparently succumbed to the pressure, as it actually provided money for that course. It is almost unbelievable, considering the state of finances at this time."[36] Government intervention in university affairs was becoming an increasingly important

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[34]Logan, Tuum Est, p. 116.

[35]Logan, Tuum Est, p. 118.

[36]UBCLSC, Board of Governor Records, Box 3, Lampman Report 1931-1932.

issue at UBC during the 1930s. Though the preservation of academic freedom from political intervention is always a concern for publicly-funded universities, UBC came under increasing attack from the legislature for the next decade.

The attacks during the 1930s came right on top of each other. After just having resolved the issues of the Lampman Inquiry, UBC was ill prepared for the attack on the university posed by the Kidd Report of 1932. The Tolmie government was elected in 1928 on a platform which promised to apply "business principles to the business of government."[37] Tolmie's application of business principles to the depressed economy of British Columbia during the 1930s led to the Kidd Report, which in effect was the application of business principles to government. A committee of five prominent businessmen was appointed, with George Kidd, retired president of the British Columbia Electric Company, as chairman. When the findings of the report were issued in 1932 many areas were drastically cut. The Kidd Report stated that as further taxation was impossible, the "only alternative lay in sharply reducing provincial expenditures."[38] The majority of the cuts were directed at social services, with education prominent among them, and the University of British Columbia was the institution most directly affected. The Committee determined that since it was no longer an option to raise taxes, provincial funding to the university, which already had been drastically reduced in the 1931 budget, should be curtailed further. To a university just beginning to recover from the factionalism present

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[37]Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia, (Toronto: U of T Press, 1991), p. 237.

[38]Barman, The West Beyond the West, p. 253.

during the beginning of the depression, this verdict was alarming. UBC was put in a compromised position. The Committee did not profess to know what effect this would have on the university, or on its ability "to maintain its existence," but it stated that "should it be found that the financial resources of the university are so meager as to impair its existence; the question will have to be considered whether it may not be in the best interests of higher education to close the university and rely on the proposal...to establish scholarships to furnish the means of attending a University elsewhere in the Dominion."[39] The Government in a dramatic show of support despite public opinion at the time declared itself in support of the university and stated that "the question of closing the university should not be entertained unless the financial inability of the Province to continue its operation is clearly shown."[40] This unexpected governmental support and the united front presented to the public by the university faculty and students kept the university operating during this difficult period despite severely reduced operating budgets and a steadily reducing enrollment pattern.[41] The effects of the depression were felt throughout the university until 1934 when a much needed upturn was finally experienced. By 1933, British Columbia was beginning to come out of the depression which had ravaged it throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s and began looking toward a brighter future. The

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[39]Kidd Report, as cited in Logan, Tuum Est, p. 119. This reference to a university elsewhere in the Dominion harks back to the first quarter of the century, when it could not be decided whether to establish a university in Victoria or Vancouver, and its mention is a veiled threat.

[40]Logan, Tuum Est, p. 119.

[41]Enrollment figures began to decline in the 1929/30 academic year and did not recover to their former levels until 1935/36. The effects of the depression were felt in all aspects of the university.

change in circumstances for the university, however, was not reflected in their support for the establishment of Home Economics.

The Lampman Report left the women's organizations of the province furious. Years of diligent effort had been derided as an "obsessive ...pet subject". Alice Townley, a prominent club woman of Vancouver, in an angry rebuttal of Lampman's report which appeared in *The Daily Province* in July 1932, argued that home economics should not bear the brunt of "Judge Lampman's high disapproval." Moreover, she contended that "women's opinions and desires [are] not given enough consideration" in society, and the stand of the government had been admirable.[42] Women were once again mobilized to struggle for Home Economics, despite the financial difficulties which plagued the University.[43] The PTF established the Permanent Committee of the Home Economic Endowment Fund (PCHEEF), in a display of solidarity and undying dedication to the establishment of Home Economics. They issued bursaries to aid students in continuing their studies outside the province and kept up a vigilant letter writing campaign, although it was obvious that their energies were flagging.

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[42]Alice Townley, The Province, 31 July 1932, p. 14.

[43]Having barely recovered from the Lampman investigation, UBC was once again assailed from an external force in the form of the Kidd Report. The Kidd Report was an attempt by the Conservative Tolmie government to apply business principals to the provincial government. The Kidd Report found that further taxation being impossible the only possible alternative lay in sharply reducing provincial expenditures. With respect to the university, they felt that all spending to the university which had already been cut back should be curtailed. A brief synopsis of the Kidd Commission can be found in Barman, The West Beyond the West, p. 253-554

Little occurred between 1932, when the course was discontinued due to severe budget cutbacks, and 1936, when the efforts of the Local Council of Women (LCW) re-energized the movement to permanently establish the program. The Permanent Committee of the Home Economics Endowment Fund (PCHEEF), after receiving word from the LCW and other women's organizations of the province that they were concerned by the lack of action, requested an audience with the Board of Governors. The display of support was incredible.[44] Women's organizations from all over the province representing all types of interests descended on the Board to urge the re-establishment of the Home Economics course at UBC. In response, President Klinck issued a report to the Board which reviewed the cost of establishing the Home Economics program in 1931. His final decision, however, was no different: he reported that although his personal sympathies had always been and would always be with the Home Economics movement, he felt "that the present financial position of the University parallel[ed] too closely the situation which obtained when Home Economics was discontinued to warrant a resumption of this course at the present time."[45]

The Board, feigning interest in the establishment of home economics, appeared to be changing its stance: yet, still nothing was done. The PTF, in an attempt to expedite matters, turned its energies towards the newly elected Liberal government. What is

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[44]The organizations represented include provincial P-TF, Vancouver University Women's Club, LCW for Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminister, Business and Professional Women's Club of Vancouver, B.C. Teachers Federation, B.C. Trustees Association, Women's Institutes, Trade and Labour Council, B.C. Girl Guides Association, Women's Educational Auxiliary of the United Church, Kiwanis Club, and the P.E. O. Sisterhood. UBCLSC, School of Home Economics 1923-1954, Box 1, Scrapbook, "Annual Report of the Permanent Committee of the Home Economics Endowment Fund ", 1936-1937, p. 20.

[45]President Klinck, "Home Economics Report", Senate Records, Box 29, File 8.

intriguing about this move is that they set their sights on their old ally Dr. G.M. Weir, who had been the Minister of Education when the Pattullo government was elected in 1933. Weir, who was on a leave of absence from UBC from 1933-1941 while he served as Minister of Education, had been co-author of the Putnam and Weir Survey of 1925 which had supported and endorsed the integration of Home Economics into the regular public school curriculum. The PTF was, no doubt, hopeful that he would extend his support to the establishment of the course in the university. Their hopes proved unfounded. Weir did not move to re-establish the course, although he did usher in a new era of cooperation and growth for the University.

The province began to show signs of recovery from the depression in 1933, and the recovery of university finances followed soon thereafter. By 1938, President Klinck informed the PTF, in response to a letter from the PCHEEF, that both the Board and the Senate were considering the feasibility of re-establishing Home Economics.[46] Despite the outbreak of World War II in August 1939 and the necessary adjustments that had to be accommodated with respect to the university budget, the Senate, in February 1940, recommended to the Board of Governors that "if and when the funds are available, the course in Home Economics should be re-established prior to the establishment of any other course."[47] This represented a significant advancement for the home economics movement,

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[46]Board of Governor Records, Minutes, Reel 2, p. 230, 28 November 1938.

[47]Senate Records, Minutes, Vol. VIII, p. 773, 21 February 1940. The decision by the Senate to establish Home Economics was to the detriment of three other departments: Pre-Med., Pharmacy, and Institute for Research in Social Services.

the most tangible advance since 1931. The Board had to finance the programs chosen by the Senate, and although the Senate had always promoted home economics, they had never made it a priority over all other fields. All that remained was adequate financing. But the Board did not include an estimate for home economics in the 1941/42 or the 1942/43 budgets and, indeed, it was not until pressure was exerted on the Minister of Education by the legislature that any action was taken.

UBC came under constant attack in the Legislature in early 1942. H.G Perry, Minister of Education in the coalition government, felt that the Board of Governors "was beyond the control of the Legislature" and that short of changing the University Act, "the Legislature could not require the University to do anything."[48] Perry was not alone in the legislature: Dorothy Steeves, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation MLA for North Vancouver, attacked the administration of UBC, stating that she would "sponsor a bill which has as its purpose the democratizing of the board of governors."[49] She argued that the Board existed in a "sacrosanct vacuum" and should be held accountable. The alleged lack of accountability on the part of the university raised a number of issues, including the establishment of home economics. At this point the five women members of the legislature - Laura Jamieson (CCF), Tilly Jean Rolston (Conservative), Nancy Hodges (Liberal), Dorothy Steeves (CCF) and Grace MacInnis (CCF) -- crossed party lines to promote the re-establishment of home economics at UBC.[50] Tilly Rolston noted, in an

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[48]Paul Malone, "'No Control,' Says Minister," The Province, 4 February 1942, p. 3.

[49]Malone, "No Control", p. 3.

angry speech, that although $17,000[51] had been raised by women's organizations. . . nothing had been done about the matter, and young women still had to go out of province to attain their degrees.[52] Just following this outburst in the legislature, Honourable Mr. Perry requested the Board to submit an estimate of $14,570[53] for the establishment of home economics in the budget for 1943/44.[54] The women's organizations of the province had finally realized their goal.

September 1943 marked a new beginning for home economics at UBC. It did not signify the end of the struggle. From its inception, home economics was forced to justify its existence to an unsupportive, and at times hostile, academic community. The status of the program was constantly in question, and the heads of the department, Dorothy Lefebvre (1943-47) and Charlotte Black (1947-1965), spent the majority of their time defending and justifying the place of the home economics curriculum in the university.[55] After donating the money to rebuild the home economics building when fire ripped through UBC in January of 1949, the PCHEEF finally dissolved.

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[50]The P-TF had sent a brief history of the movement to the new Minister of Education, and all women members in the legislature just prior to the opening of discussions on educational spending, in an attempt to bring the issue to their attention.

[51]This figure is the original $11,000 amortized over 12 years.

[52]Malone, "No Control", p. 3.

[53]It is interesting to note that Home Economics was re-established on a budget that was little more than half what was originally considered inadequate.

[54]This figure is based on using the labs of the Vancouver School Board's King Edward High School. If you remember, this option was submitted by the PTF in 1926 and rejected by the board at that time.

[55]See UBCLSC, Charlotte Black Collection, where Ms. Black is repeatedly writing to the Dean of Arts and Science defending the place of home economics in the University.

It is difficult to ascertain what, precisely, was behind the final establishment of home economics, but what is certain is that the financial position which improved during the mid-1930s and steadily expanded from that point onward was not itself the reason for home economics' newly secured position within the curriculum of UBC. More important perhaps was the pronounced shift in public opinion by 1943, as demonstrated by the support of the legislature. This shift, coupled with the apparent change in the attitude of the Senate during the 1940s, successfully resulted in the establishment of home economics at UBC. Ostensibly about a lack of finances, the Board of Governors' choice not to initiate the Home Economics program depended less on the financial state of the university than it did on the Administration's reluctance to establish a school to teach the art of home making. Any action taken by the Board of Governors was the direct result of political pressure and not of a change in finances despite the duration of the struggle. Reluctant to establish home economics, the Board of Governors of UBC may have never abandoned their guise of financial stringency despite improving conditions throughout the depression during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Until 1934 UBC could use the weak financial position of the university as a valid excuse, but from 1935 to 1942, establishment of the program was possible. The pressure applied by the Senate in 1940 attempted to force the issue and nothing happened. Three years later, in a worse financial predicament than during the late 1930s, the on-going political tension between the university and the legislature and increasing public support of the program pushed the issue into the spotlight once again, and forced a resolution.[56] A closer examination of the ostensible reason for the

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[56]In the late 1930s, the annual budget of UBC was growing at a steady rate. Increasing from $629,000 in

delay in establishing the program will highlight the inadequacy and intention of the extended delay.

As a developing institution, the University of British Columbia surely did have unfortunate timing. During its first thirty years of existence it faced two world wars and a depression. Attempts to stabilize their finances during constantly changing times was a difficult process indeed, but, except for 1932 to 1933, when the worst effects of the depression hit the provincial economy, UBC maintained a rate of growth of funding just slightly less than the growth in the student population.[57] Beginning with the introduction of tuition in 1920 until home economics began in 1943, there were three distinct phases in the financial evolution of UBC. The first interval, 1920 to 1929, was a period of rapid growth and capital expenditure. The second period, 1929 to 1933, the depression, was a very difficult time for the relatively young university. The final phase of development for the purpose of this study, 1934 to 1942, was a time of constant growth and stability

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1936, to $774,000 in 1938, to $836,000 in 1940, by 1942 the annual budget had only increased to $873,000. The growth during this period is attributable to revenue generated by the university from tuition, the book store, the restaraunts. Revenue was not increasing as quickly as in previous periods, growing by only $6,000 between 1940 and 1943. This obviously is due to the decreased enrolment resulting from the war. Government grants during this period were not growing as quickly as in the mid-1930s, they decreased in 1939 and 1940 by 7, and 1 percent respectively and then stagnated in 1941, then showing some recovery in 1942 increasing by 7 percent, finally returning to the levels of the late 1930s. The 1940s generally was a time of growth and prosperity for UBC.

[57]The annual budget was growing at a rate of four percent on average between 1920 and 1929, whereas the student population was growing at an average rate of seven percent. This situation is problematic because at this point UBC was attempting to establish itself permanently on the Point Grey site. It was not until the "Great Trek" of 1922/3 that anything substantial was accomplished. Financial statistics are based on figures compiled from UBCLSC, Records of the President, Reels 1-90, Estimates, 1920-1945. Student enrolment figures are based on thoses published in the UBC Calendars. 1915-1955.

without the capital demands of the 1920s. At this point the Board of Governors' opposition to the establishment of home economics becomes unconvincing.[58]

During the 1920s, dealing with the difficulty of attempting to establish a first rate university on a meager budget and unable to match the growth rate of the student population, UBC was constantly operating at a loss, and until 1925 was unable to balance the budget. With deficits ranging from $19,000 in 1922 and to $28,000 in 1925, UBC was unable to stabilize its finances.[59] From the end of the First World War until the beginning of the depression, the main priorities of the administration were to move the university from the "Fraser Shacks" to the permanent site at Point Grey and build a foundation which could accommodate the rapidly growing student population.[60] From 1919 to 1929 the annual budget of the university almost doubled, rising from $482,000 to $826,000 while the student population increased at a similar rate growing from 890 to 1776 students. The budget of the University, though not radically increasing, was growing at a steady rate which would have sustained new courses had the Board of Governors wanted to establish them. From 1926 through 1929 the sustained growth of the budget was higher than the growth of the student population, increasing at an average rate of 6.5 percent, while the student population grew at a slightly lower rate of 6.4 percent.[61] Although true financial

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[58]Please note that my commentary on the financial position of UBC during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s are based solely on the annual budgets of UBC and do not necessarily reflect the state of the provincial economy at that time. Their annual budgets were based on revenue from tuition, on campus services and government grants.

[59]Based on numbers compiled from the Records of the President, Reels 1-182, 1929-1945.

[60]The student population increased from 956 in 1920 to 1778 in 1929.

stability did not begin until after the resolution of the Kidd Report and the introduction of a new Liberal government in 1933, had the Administration wanted to introduce home economics in the late 1920s, it would have been possible for them to do so. They chose not to. They did choose to establish three new programs during this period: the Faculty of Applied Science expanded to include the Department of Forestry in 1921; and Arts and Science gained the Department of Education in 1925 and a Department of Commerce in 1930, all of which survived the radical cuts of the depression. The survival of Commerce throughout the early 1930s is intriguing when it is recognized that both Commerce and Home Economics were established on the same provincial grant for the 1931/32 academic year.[62]

During the difficult years of the depression Minister of Education Hinchliffe drastically cut funding to the university due to expediency and a personal agenda. Between 1929 and 1932, government grants dropped from $623,000 to $250,000, a decrease of 60 percent, while enrollment only fell to 439 students, an average reduction of 9 percent a year for three years. This period was extremely difficult for UBC. Barely able to survive in a severely depressed economy with an increasingly critical public, the administration was forced to make hard choices. This was the period when the reluctance to assume the

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[61]The Budget between 1926 and 1929 ranged from five to nine percent averaging six and a half percent, whereas the fluctuations in the student population peaked at ten percent growth in 1927, showed zero percent growth in 1928 and exploded to nine percent growth in 1929. The overall average however, was 6.4 percent over the entire period.

[62]The first Commerce program in Canada was introduced in 1920 at the University of Toronto in their Applied Science Department, so when it was included into the curriculum of UBC it was still a relatively new program, while home economics had been established throughout the majority of Canadian universities since the First World War.

financial responsibility for the Faculty of Home Economics was justified. Choosing to maintain the Commerce program while dissolving Home Economics illustrates the indifference of the Board to the program.[63] It is reasonable to assume that given that the program was up and running, maintaining it would not have been beyond the capacity of university finances. However, once the Minister confirmed that the grant for Home Economics was not available, the program was no longer given consideration. The indifference to resuming the program after the cuts required by the Depression were over reveals the over-riding indifference of the Board.

The change of government in 1933 immediately resulted in an increase of $50,000 to make a total grant of $300,000 for the year 1933 to 1934. The immediate growth of 16 percent over the previous year set the precedent for Pattullo's term and funding continued to increase steadily until World War Two. An average growth rate of twelve percent from 1933 to 1939 made the post-depression period one of recovery and growth for UBC. The financial difficulty defense used by the Board of Governors against the establishment of home economics becomes an increasingly implausible rationale between 1935 and 1939. A complex interaction between steadily increasing budgets, a minister sympathetic to the needs of the university, a strong provincial economy, and little public criticism left UBC in a position to absorb the cost of establishing home economics. Notwithstanding this, the attempts by the Senate in 1940 to force the issue did not amount to acceptance; home economics was not established.

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[63]UBCLSC, Records of the President's Office, Reel 26, Minister of Education Correspondence, August 19, 1929; Harry T. Logan, Tuum Est, p. 97.

The financial outlay required to establish home economics at UBC was not incomprehensible. The cost to establish the program for one year, 1931, was $10,100.[64] When it was included in the budget in 1942 at the request of the Minister, an item of $14,750 was included in the budget. Given the reluctance to establish the program on financial grounds, how much did the Board estimate the program to cost? When submitting estimates to the Minister in 1929, the Board of Governors submitted a total cost of $152,000 for two items: "$50,000 at least" for home economics and "$102,000 for a women's building."[65] Not considered on its own cost or merits, home economics was seen to be part of the larger issue of the place of, and the space for, women on the university campus.[66] Thus the cost of the program included the cost of a building to house all women in the university. The refusal of the university to establish a home economics program stemmed not only from the economic instability of the university, but from the Administration's attempts to make home economics the thin edge of the wedge for women at UBC. The reluctance of the Administration to incur the cost of constructing a women's building and their attempts to transfer the cost to the women of the province and the legislature attests to the low priority of women at UBC. The refusal of the administration to compromise in any way, demanding that the grant for the program include the cost of the

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[64]UBCLSC, Records of the President's Office, Reel 28, Estimates for 1930-31.

[65]UBCLSC, Records of the President's Office, Reel 26, Minister of Education July-December 1929/30, Proposals to the Minister, p. II, Home Economics.

[66]In a memo to The Honourable. J. Hinchliffe, Minister of Education, dated November 9, 1928 President Klinck discussing what "would be necessary to put into effect the recommendations in the Memoranda on Commerce and Home Economics" he states that it was imperative to "house [home economics] in a women's building, that would relieve congestion and render unnecessary...any extension to the permanent Science

building, and rejecting every alternative suggested by the representatives of the PTA, demonstrates total indifference to the program.[67] Attempts to keep women separate, and it could be argued unequal, were not just confined to the geographic space specifically allocated to them on campus. Women were also confined to "women's sections" in Mathematics and English and were lectured to by Professors who were considered "lesser luminaries". Separate classes indicates a separate experience and treatment for women at UBC. It also points to a reluctance about women's presence both by the administration and staff, as well as an indifference to women's academic needs. What is interesting was that the indifference was not just at the administrative level.[68] Separate classes for women in Math and English continued until 1941 despite the efforts by female students and the Dean of Women, Dr. Dorothy M. Mawdsley, to integrate women.[69] Sanctioned by the administration, women were treated differently than men in the academic community of UBC despite the provision in the University mandate that "no woman by reason of her sex shall be deprived of any advantage or privilege accorded to male students of the

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Building or the Arts Building." UBCLSC, Records of the President's Office, Reel 24, Minister of Education Correspondence, November 9, 1928.

[67]This indifference stands in stark contrast to the priority given to the Commerce program at the same time. Estimated at a cost of $5,000.00 the budget reflected only the expense of establishing the program which may explain its existance after the severe cuts of 1932/3. UBCLSC, Records of the President's Office, Reel 24, Minister of Education Correspondence, November 9, 1928.

[68]UBCLSC, Records of the President's Office, Reel 21, Estimates - Misc., Mid-Term Examinations in First Year Mathematics/English, 19. See also Lee Stewart who argues that women's courses in English were separated because "Sedgewick didn't want women". It is startling to realize that the separation continued until 1941. Lee Stewart, p. 76.

[69]Mawdsley opposed the segregation of women because she felt it resulted in the subordination of women in the academic community.

University."[70] As President Klinck stated, the university was to "provide the best possible education for young men who would enter into and develop the industries of the province."[71] Although generally a colloquialism, the phrase "young men" reflected more about the priorities of the university than was intended.

Home Economics would not have been established without the sustained efforts of women's groups of the province. The Board of Governors, reluctant to establish a program that would undermine the first class status of the university that they were attempting to create, and that was considered a frill by its opponents, attempted to stem women's efforts by arguing that although they were supportive of such an important program, they simply had no money. This process may have continued forever had the legislature not intervened. Had the program been important to the Board of Governors it would have been established, but unwilling to compromise their research mission, the Board attempted to ride out the storm. The storm, however, proved unrelenting. By 1942 society had changed, allowing different views of women's role to exist, and the role of the university had expanded with the impact of the Second World War to include vocational courses. Called on to perform special tasks during the war, universities afraid of becoming trade schools nevertheless expanded to incorporate many vocations previously considered unacceptable. An increased presence of government due to a call for accountability undermined the autonomy of institutions and resulted in less individual power for universities. All of the

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[70]Revised Statutes of B.C. 1911, vol III m-w, Chapter 234, s. 97.

[71]My emphasis. L.S. Klinck, "The University of British Columbia", p. 8.

changes in the role of women, the university, and the government and the impact of the war on all of them created a shift which made it possible for home economics finally to be established at UBC and ensured its survival despite criticism for over fifty years.

Chapter 3: Rhetoric and Discourse

Home economics, arguably the most domestic of all academic pursuits, struggled for acceptance into the Vancouver school board for over a decade before it was introduced into public schools (1909-1919), and another twenty years before it was accepted into the University of British Columbia (1919-1943). That this subject, which appears so innocuous in retrospect, had such a prolonged struggle for acceptance is at first difficult to grasp. How can it be, that something so common as teaching girls to grow up and be good mothers could create so much turmoil?

Home economics was seen by a number of social reformers as a cure for the dislocating effects of urbanization and industrialization that had transformed Canadian society seemingly for the worse. The effects of industrialization, immigration, urbanization, poverty, crime and vice which plagued Canada's cities precipitated a search for social order. The family became the focus of many social reform movements. It was believed that if the home were stabilized, society would naturally stabilize. Home economics became a discursive site from which a variety of concerns about gender, race, and class in a changing society were raised. The rhetoric employed by those who supported home economics reveals the gender, race and class dimensions of the movement, dimensions it shared with other reform movements.[1] The rhetoric employed by reformers and its influence in shaping the home economics movement over the duration of the struggle will be the focus of this chapter.

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[1]The theory upon which this paper is based derives from: Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988, Denise Riley, 'Am I That Name?'. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota), 1988, Anita Levy, Other Women: The Writing of Class, Race, And Gender, 1832-1898, (New Jersey: Princeton), 1990, Joan Scott, "The Evidence of Experience." Critical Inquiry, 17(Summer 1991), Joan Scott, Gender and the Politics of History, (New York: Columbia University Press), 1988.

The home economics movement developed in two similar yet individually driven stages. Evolving out of the same impulses which drove many of the reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century advocates attempted through the use of allegories and rhetoric to reform society by educating working class mothers in domestic values and the skills of "correct living". By the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century, the movement was dominated by professionally trained home economists who increasingly saw themselves as experts in homemaking, as professionals applying the science of technology to the decay of the home. With the influence of educated women in the movement rising, the focus changed from working class to middle class women, and as the movement progressed, it narrowed even further to the college educated daughters of the middle class women.[2] As the leadership of the movement changed, so too did the rhetoric employed to bring home economics to public attention. Originally more interested in the mission of reforming the home and by extension society, home economics advocates utilized the rhetoric of other reform movements to train domestic missionaries who would go out and train other women to reform society. By 1926 the first generation of domestic reformers were replaced by college educated women intent on instructing women to disseminate information on correct living, the focus shifted from rhetoric directed at recruiting and training domestic missionaries, to more specific arguments which focused on the career opportunities available

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[2] This trend is noted by Ann Marie Kilgannon in her thesis "The Home Economics Movement and the Transformation of Nineteenth Century Ideology in America", MA History Thesis, UBC, 1985, and Linda Gordon's dissertation "Women with Missions: Varieties of College Life in the Progressive Era", University of Chicago, 1980. Both argue that the second generation of women saw themselves as educators not reformers who were looking for academic acceptance by their colleagues and sought it by rejecting women in general, and particularly women who would not instill legitimacy to the program.

to women who were trained home economists, while still retaining some of the original moralistic and xenophobic overtones of the first stage of home economics reform.

From 1900 to 1926 motherhood, nationhood, family, race, cleanliness, morality, sanitation, and eugenics were all invoked both to order and to explain the agenda of the home economics movement. The symbolic economy -- the pool of socially derived meanings -- which was utilized to support the home economics movement was used by other social reform movements of the period in an attempt to cure the dislocating effects of urbanization and industrialization in a rapidly changing society. By tapping into the existing symbolic economy the home economics movement was able to explore these issues while associating their cause with "layers and ambiguities of meaning" which "although they questioned the binary oppositions of gender representation, ...also served to legitimize and at the same time obscure"[3] them. Through the use of multiple symbols and meanings, the movement was able to gain access to the "discursive fields of force," and thereby alter the gender ideology to accommodate their agenda.

The primary symbol that was utilized was that of motherhood. Not only were all women by issue of their gender, mothers, but they were deemed responsible for the moral and social well being of the nation. The composite symbol of mother of the race was based on the argument that what mothers were to the home, women were to the race. Thus, by extension, women were the "mothers of the race". The layers of meaning which were

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[3]Mariana Valverde, "When the Mother of the Race is Free", in Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History, Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde eds., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 5. See also Valverde's work on moral reform movements The Age of Light Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1835-1925, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991).

encompassed within the symbol were organized within the structural relations of sexuality, race, and class. Women, as reproductive agents not only had to "keep the proportion of Anglo-Saxon to foreign born...[by] bear[ing] four children"[4] but they also had to "feel the responsibility of in some way contributing towards the betterment of the race [because] not to do so would be irresponsible"[5]; irresponsible in facilitating the degeneration of the Anglo-Saxon race. For as the rhetoric of the day argued, "a nation [could] only rise to the level of its homes."[6]

The theme of race degeneration was central to the arguments of the home economics movement. By arguing that women were mothers of the race it was possible by extension to argue that if women were not properly trained to raise good citizens the nation would suffer. Thus, by tapping into the existing racist discourse, and the symbols implicit therein, reformers were able to articulate and substantiate their claims. It was women's responsibility to raise strong, moral, clean, respectable Anglo-Saxon children who would in turn raise strong, moral, clean, respectable children, thereby stopping the threat of mongrelization of the race. The home economics movement tapped into this discourse and pushed the boundaries of domestic ideology by suggesting that not all women were "naturally" able to perform the role of mother. Moreover, not all mothers were created equal. Thus, it was argued, would it not be safer to ensure the morals and cleanliness of the nation's children by having them

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[4]Mrs. Young, "Domestic Science Should Not Be Considered Frill: Mrs. Young in Paper Prepared for the British Columbia Teachers Federation", The Daily Colonist, 3 August, 1924, p. 26.

[5]Miss Riddell, "Woman's Canadian Club Favours Home Economics Course", The Daily Colonist, 20 January, 1926, p. 6. Note that this citation was under the heading "Pride of Race".

[6]Mrs. Clarke, "Scores Maidens who Commercialize Life: Mrs. C.E. Clarke, Addressing Women's Canadian Club, Emphasizes Duty of Young Women Seeking Careers", The Daily Colonist, 17 March , 1920.

educated by trained professionals? Reformers were playing on, though not openly stating that the "lower classes" like the "lower races" were not capable of morally educating their children, and by extension, that "Canadian values" should be taught in schools by women trained in the art of correct living. It was particularly important, home economics advocates argued, to have morally educated women in rural areas where "the foreign element strongly preponderate[d]"[7]:

> these foreigners are going to breed future anarchists or future Canadians. If they are to become a real asset to Canada, and not a source of living danger, it is essential that their children be educated in and taught to strive for Canadian standards of hygiene, and morality. [Thus] [a] girl teacher specifically trained in the laws of health and morality in a home [economics] course at high school, ...would be a national asset.[8]

Hierarchy and binary oppositions are endemic in this statement issued by Annie T. Riddell for the home economics movement in 1926 to rebut arguments against the adoption of the home economics in university curriculum. Everyone who read or heard the statement that foreigners would have "to be taught to strive" understood that not only were "foreigners" racially inferior to native Canadians, but also that racial mixing was a "danger" to Canada. It was possible through the teaching of "Canadian standards of hygiene and morality" by properly trained home economics teachers, to lift the great unwashed masses from the depths of the dirt of immorality to the heights of Anglo-Saxon purity. Class was also central to the underlying meaning of the passage. The lower races of foreigners and the "lower" classes of

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[7]Miss A. T. Riddell, "Home Science: Its Value to the Nation: Address Given on Request of the Education Committee of the Local Council of Women to the Women' Canadian Club of Victoria", The Daily Colonist, 14 February, 1926, p. 25.

[8]Miss A. T. Riddell, "Home Science: Its Value to the Nation:", p. 25.

Canadians were linked through the symbol of mother of the race. Both were seen to be a problem and had to be assimilated if Canada was to grow and prosper. The mother of the race symbol, as a composite of meanings, provided the umbrella under which class and race were contested and debated, and was the anchor to which all contests of meaning were related.

Cleanliness and purity were issues of central importance to the home economics movement for the obvious reason that a clean home was a healthy home, while also being intricately connected with the structures of race and class under the composite symbol of the mother of the race. Images of cleanliness and purity tapped into the symbolic economy of moral reform and drew upon many layers of association and meaning. Cleanliness and purity were one side of a binary opposition which when analyzed contained discourses of sex, gender, race and class. Clean and pure versus dirty and immoral. For the home economics movement the many layers of implicit meaning were very important to their mission. Advocates were not interested in teaching cooking and laundry in schools, they were interested in spreading the gospel of home economics while enlightening and reforming society. Thus, issues like cleanliness and purity had many different layers of meaning which were used to both convey their message and define their mission.

On the surface cleanliness could be taken simply as cleaning the home. Home economists were obsessed with bacteria and the standards of cleanliness of all women. But, this commitment to cleanliness reflected class biases. Certain classes (particularly the lower classes) did not, in the opinion of reformers, exemplify the standards of cleanliness that a strong nation required to grow and prosper. Cleanliness in this instance had a double

meaning: clean meaning morally clean or pure which drew on sexual standards, and also meaning not dirty, again playing on the sexual associations, but also relying on the structural relations of class and race for its meaning. All of these layers of meaning were present in an article in The Daily Colonist dated 1 December, 1918, which discussed a Miss Denne's practices as the teacher of home economics at the Normal school in Victoria.

> Miss Denne preaches the gospel of cleanliness, and insists that each of her students shall go out into the districts and the classroom and spread that gospel. Her immaculate kitchen and the white attire of those who work in it are emblems of that purity that should rule the personal habits of every woman. Dirt in any form is an abomination...[9]

What is interesting about this account is how pure the teacher and students are. Miss Denne holds cleanliness to be a "religious experience" and has to spread the gospel, while the children are in all senses of the word pure and therefore all dressed in white. That neither of the characters have been sexually soiled is obvious. Obvious too is the declaration that this level of purity is extended to Miss Denne's entire home and should with missionary zeal be extended by herself and her students "into the districts". The sexual symbolism is readily apparent. The white dress of everyone in the classroom indicates purity, while the contrast to "dirt which is an abomination" sets up the dichotomy between the levels of morality. This in turn plays on race and class. Dirt, as discussed earlier with respect to the mother of the race symbol, is associated with "lower races" and "lower classes". The meaning of cleanliness which applied to class was physical: they were not physically clean enough, they were "the great unwashed." Cleanliness too was a moral issue as the lower classes were associated with

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[9]"Home Economics a Study for Girls", The Daily Colonist, 1 December, 1918, p. 11

vice such as prostitution, liquor, and fighting. As race and class were often conceptualized as one, the issues of dirt with respect to race were similar to that associated with class with the addition of the issue of racial purity into the equation. One of the main goals of the home economics movement was to defend the Anglo-Saxon race from the impurities of contact with other races or mongrelization. It could remain pure if women did not become "dirty" by intermixing races or through immoral acts. Canadian society could remain clean and pure if women were properly educated as to the level of cleanliness expected of them, physically, morally, and racially. The gospel of domesticity as defined by advocates of home economics drew on the rhetoric of cleanliness, sanitation, and morality for their interconnected and multiple meanings.

That people accepted the arguments that were put forward as a justification for the integration of home economics into public schools and later university curriculums is not surprising. Who could resist or dissect all the integrated and interacting meanings which were used to justify it? The arguments were framed within an existing discourse and relied on the existing structures of race and class for their meaning. What is interesting is the unquestioning belief that proper management of the home would eradicate the social problems of urbanization and industrialization. In an address to club women in Vancouver, 20 January, 1926, Miss Annie Riddell argued that the institutionalization of women in B.C. would be drastically reduced if only women were properly trained in the art of home making. She argued that "[o]ut of the 170 women's cases admitted to insane institutions 150 were young housewives between the ages of thirty and forty"[10] and that a "properly run course in

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[10]Miss A.T. Riddell, "Home Science: Its Value to the Nation", p. 26.

the housewife's art in B.C. high schools [would] prove a profitable investment for the province."[11] Obviously by reducing the number of "affected" women reducing the number of facilities needed to house these women. By associating the number of "affected women" with the number who were housewives she was arguing that women who were not properly trained in the art of housewifery faced possible insanity. The dichotomies of trained/untrained, normal/insane were not missed by the women who listened to Riddell's talk. This opinion, when coupled with Alice Ravenhill's earlier pronouncement that "the frayed condition of . . . over fatigued nerves . . . may result in the break-up of the family circle" -- created a persuasive argument which was not easy to resist Women had to take home economics to avoid insanity. Again layers of meaning combine to portray an even more powerful picture than that of insanity from housewifery. By entering the discourse of insanity, a layer of meaning was added to all that had been argued before while at the same time creating a dichotomy which many women were not willing to chance. The dichotomies of normal/not-normal, good housewife/insane which were the central issues of Riddell's discussion of the feeble minded rested on gender representations. The women who were not housewives were by extension insane and therefore affected women who were useless and therefore not women. The series of dichotomies, if extended, would imply normal/not-normal, housewife/insane, woman/non-woman, thereby pushing the women who were not within the compact of motherhood, beyond the boundaries of domestic ideology into the category of "other", and beyond womanhood. However, Riddell taps into the discourse of insanity to argue that without the proper training in home economics women risk madness,

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[11]Miss A.T. Riddell, "Home Science", p. 26.

and conversely that home-economics could prevent madness. Obviously, she was playing on and adding layers of meaning to the women's hysteria argument that was becoming popular at the time. Women who were not properly trained in the "art of housewifery", or those women who were not properly trained in home economics, would become hysterical and placed in asylums.

The association between home economics, hysteria, and insanity was intended to play on another societal perceptions of insanity that ruled at the time, namely its association with vice. Immoral women, prostitutes, and women who did not understand the limits of societal roles and conventions were considered insane and placed in asylums. So again, there is a direct connection made between morality and being a good housewife, but in this instance, the threat went further than threatening the nation; it argued that without the "right" understanding of, and training in, woman's vocation (housewifery) all social context could be lost and insanity was just around the corner. The message was that home economics training could prevent all of these possibilities.

In a press release in 1926 home economics advocates argued that it was no longer good enough to leave "so vital a subject [so]...very much to chance."[12] It had become necessary to bring home economics into schools, and by 1919 to the university, thereby circumventing the "lower elements of society" and ensuring proper moral education. By arguing within the existing discourse and relying on the existing structures of race and class,

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[12]"Money Asked for Home Economics: Parent-Teachers Would Endow Chair at University of British Columbia: Campaign is Launched to Raise $80,000 - Study Now Recognized as Science." The Daily Colonist, 1 October, 1926, p. 3.

through the use of the symbol of the mother of the race, home economics advocates were able to move the role of socializing children from the home into the schools without upsetting gender relations and the inherent binary oppositions of public and private. Women were still the mother of the race, however it was now accepted that it was more prudent for only properly trained women to educate children on morality and hygiene. It could no longer be entrusted to just anyone. Thus, the transformations implicit in the home economics movement were still articulated within the discourse of femininity; it was still to be women who educated them, but now they were specialized. Moreover, although in reality the public and private dichotomy of gender roles no longer existed as socialization was moved from the private sphere of the home into the public sphere of the school, women still retained ideological possession of the role as mother of the race. The binary opposition was never explicitly questioned, and therefore remained intact, while domestic ideology altered its structure to encompass the newly accepted and expanded role of women in society. The boundaries of the ideology were pushed but did not collapse, because the contest was articulated in, and supported by, the binary oppositions and structures which legitimized its existence.

By the mid-1920s the reform impetus of the home economics movement and in society at large was in decline. The use of rhetoric designed to make moral associations had lost its prominence and the value of education had become the focus of the movement. The broad arguments of the early home economic reformers designed to impress upon the public the essential need for home economics to save the rapidly deteriorating city, gave way to arguments which were less concerned with the moral aspects of the movement (though the

undertones were definitely still there) and more concerned with portraying home economics as a legitimate program of study for women.

Throughout the first two decades of the home economics movement opposition had centred around the belief that home economics was a "frill" and that taxpayers money should not be used to teach girls what was considered their calling and the "natural jurisdiction of the family". By the mid 1920s this argument had been resolved and had given way to the fear of women's independence through increased career options. It is interesting to note, however, that while home economics was no longer considered a frill for public school children, the opposition to home economics entering post-secondary institutions continued to argue that it was a frill unworthy of study, and that it would result in diluted literacy efforts if accepted.[13]

By 1926, a profound shift in the leadership of the home economics movement resulted in a transformation of the struggle. With highly educated women influencing the movement, from the mid 1920s, the use of moral reform allegories declined and advocates focused their defence around two main themes: career opportunities for women, and the benefits to the family and the nation which would come from home economics education. Encouraging women and their families to support the acceptance of home economics into

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[13]The evolution of the arguments of the opposition are also evident in the content of press releases of the home economics movement, particularly in The Daily Province from 1920-1942 and Victoria Daily Colonist from as early as 1903. The concern with home economics being a frill and infringing on the rights of the home are expressed in Miss McKeand, "Domestic Science in the Schools: Theory and Practice of Household Management Taught on Scientific Lines.", Victoria Daily Colonist, 6 September 1903; "Home Economics: A Study for Girls." Victoria Daily Colonist, For the second generation concerned with women's careers see in particular, Alice Ravenhill, "Scope of Home Economics: Importance of Sound Training in True Methods Receiving Attention." The Daily Province, 29 October 1926, p. 8, "Opportunities for Women: Home Economics Course Trains for Varied Posts.", The Daily Province, 8 October 1926, p. 21. For an overview of the styles of defence utilized by the opposition to home economics see Linda Peterat and Mary Leah DeZwart, An Education for Women: The Founding of Home Economics Education in Canadian Public Schools, (UPEI: Home Economics Publishing Collective, 1995), p.39-57 and 95-103.

post-secondary education, advocates focused on and emphasized the economic advantages of a university degree in home economics, but seemed unable to abandon totally the reform rhetoric of the origins of the movement. Arguments were still supported with references to the mongrelization of the race and the preponderance of the broken home due to lack of training and knowledge of how to be a good wife, but the focus had ultimately shifted to the career opportunities offered by home economics to "self-supporting women."[14] Women's ability to work in distinctly feminine fields was perceived to threaten the established social order and the objection that home economics training might be a career choice for women which excluded wifehood and motherhood became the central opposition to home economics in higher education.[15]

When the home economics movement began to agitate for a university program in 1919 the ideology of the separate spheres was threatened in a more open and direct manner. Advocates argued that home economics offered career opportunities to women which did not conflict with the desires of men and gave women new spheres of influence without undermining those of men. Men, it was argued, had no desire or ability to study home economics, so women could happily engage in the plethora of fulfilling careers open to one possessing a home economics degree without fear of upsetting the social order. Unable to refute claims that home economics was non-competitive, the opposition argued that women

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[14]Focusing their attentions on "self supporting women" the second generation of advocates were appealing to people like themselves and the rising number of women who could no longer rely on their families to support them, or who could not marry. The phrase is found in a press release by Miss F.P. Hansford, "Opportunities for Women: Home Economics Course Trains for Varied Posts", The Daily Province, 8 October, 1926, p. 21.

[15]Linda Peterat and Mary Leah DeZwart, An Education for Women: The Founding of Home Economics Education in Canadian Public Schools, (UPEI: Home Economics Publishing Collective, 1995), p. 39-95.

who took home economics in university would be able to get jobs, become independent, and choose not to get married.[16] Thus, advocates were forced to address the impact of higher education on marriage, the family, and the nation by arguing that women were being trained to be "fit for their future lives." The wage earning potential offered for home economists, the argument stated, was only for the period in women's lives between school and marriage, for women strove to no higher vocation. The arguments had changed from correct living and proper training for "motherhood" to the right of education for everyone and the transitory nature of women's employment.

Gearing their arguments toward middle-class women and their college educated daughters, advocates debated the utility of home economics in ways that were specifically designed to challenge the role of women in society but which were constrained by the boundaries of the discourse in which they were formed. In an example of the arguments used by the home economic movement after 1925, Alice Ravenhill in a four part series outlined the advantages of educating women to work in areas which were not in direct competition with men:

> Women have long since shown their capacity to attain as high a standard in university degrees as that demanded of men. Is not the time ripe when instead of continuing such competition they should concentrate their particular gifts

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[16]Advocates in an attempt to refute this claim repeatedly argued that women's vocation and choice in life would be motherhood, and that home economics was simply training her to do it well and possibly teach it, though only for that period between school and marriage. They were also addressing the societal "problem" of women who were never able to marry, an issue which was becoming more important as sex ratios became increasingly more unbalanced. This point is articulated in an article in the Victoria Daily Colonist, 13 March 1927, p. 5, in which the author states: "It has been asked what value is a university course in home economics to a girl. Naturally, a large number of these girls very soon will marry and become home makers, but these girls will carry with them high ideals of home life, coupled with practical knowledge ...and their homes will be the "little heaven" in many a community. There are many vocations open to the home economics graduate, and be it noted these vocations are all essentially feminine ones, where women are not competing against men in the labour market and which benefit society."

> upon the betterment of these special aspects of daily life in which these are designed to exercise their greatest influence?[17]

No longer debating the ability of women to "handle" university, as early advocates were forced to do, women were still intricately tied to the home and home economics was promoted as the field where women's natural talents were most needed and effectively utilized. The moral overtones of Ravenhill's statement illustrate the long lasting effects of the first generation of advocates on the home economics movement (herself being a founder), while the message reflects the changing role of women in society. Forced to defend against the fears of the opposition that women would use education to reject their "natural calling" as a mother, advocates argued that women would never reject their vocation, because it was the place where women's influence was greatest. No real power came from working; power came from mothering. Thus, Ravenhill posits that women and men should not be in competition; rather women would always gravitate to where her influence was greatest -- the home.

Ravenhill's position formed the basis upon which Annie T. Riddell, a second generation reformer who had a Master's of Home Economics, built in her address to the Women's Canadian Club of Victoria. Her address, entitled "Vocational Outlets for Girls," outlines the value of home economics to women and the nation:

> In such countries as boast a modern course in home economics, such as we have in view in high schools and universities, there has resulted a multiplicity of remunerative, interesting and honourable careers for girls which might well make a Canadian mother of daughters grow green with envy. Among others may be mentioned, dieticians,. . . managers of hotel and departmental tea-rooms, ...journalists on the specifically home science topics of women's

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[17]Alice Ravenhill, "Value of Home Economics: Second of Four Articles for Endowment of Chair in U.B.C.", The Daily Province , 21 October, 1926, p. 26.

magazines. . . At present in British Columbia there are practically, but two professions open to girls, teaching and nursing. The result is that many girls are forced into these professions who have no natural aptitude for them -- with more injurious results to the professions and the suffering public.[18]

When discussing the types of jobs available to women two things are immediately apparent in Riddell's account: that she only addresses the daughters of middle class women, that is, those able to finish high school and go to university; and that all of the jobs she lists are distinctly feminine in scope and purposefully designed to be non-competitive in nature.[19] The "multiplicity" of jobs for women outlined by Riddell, were described as "remunerative, interesting and honourable". Thus, women were still required -- despite the impact of World War One on the acceptability of women's work -- to pursue "honourable" jobs.[20] This was the beauty of home economics; not only was it honourable, it was interesting and remunerative as well. Thus, advocates were pushing the boundaries of "acceptability" beyond the two professions open to women, nursing and teaching, but structuring the new professions in non-threatening terms. Advocates of home economics were not questioning

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[18]Miss Annie T. Riddell, "Home Science: Its Value to the Nation", The Daily Colonist, 14 February, 1926, p. 25. Similar views are in The Daily Province , 8 October 1921, p. 21., and The Daily Colonist, 14 February, 1926, p. 4, 3 April, 1926, p. 4, and as early - though not as clearly, 17 March, 1920, p. 9.

[19]The jobs outlined by advocates to be possible with a home economics degree are as follows: dietitians in hospitals and sanitariums, institutional managers, managers of tea rooms and clubs, Supervisor of hotel dining rooms, hotel hostess, and Director of University halls and cafeterias, not to mention home economics instructor. The majority of these positions are linked with food preparation and are conceived of as work of a transitory nature to be performed prior to women's true vocation - marriage and children. These jobs were to "fit women for their future lives" as housewives and mothers. These themes are repeatedly evident in newspapers and press releases throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

[20]The concept of honourable jobs was an obscure one which rested on the definition of womanhood for its meaning. An honourable job was one which conformed to the societal definition of femininity, whatever that was at the time, while always remaining non-competitive with men. The term honourable was contradictory particularly when it is considered that the role of women in society was changing, and that attempts by home economics advocates to make their view of womanhood the societal definition was redefining the term -- honourable jobs upheld motherhood while concomitantly expanding the definition by taking women out of the home into "acceptable" positions.

the need for women to do honourable work, they were just expanding the category of "honourable" to include professions for which women had a "natural aptitude." Still constrained by domestic ideology which structured the discourse, advocates were accommodating rather than challenging in the struggle to enlarge women's participation in scientific and academic studies and careers.[21]

Riddell's message, though straightforward on the surface, contained a veiled threat: the public as well as professions stood to suffer "injurious results" if women's "natural aptitude" was not allowed to express itself and women were forced to simply do what was defined as "acceptable". Moreover, the message was that women's work was "natural" as long as the jobs they chose did not compete with men. By expanding the opportunities for women in a non-threatening manner, the definition of "acceptability" and by extension women's role in society was being challenged without inherently questioning or undermining the ideology upon which it was based. Structuring their argument within the discourse of the separate spheres which empowered women to act albeit within "honourable" limits, home economics advocates challenged the discourse without upsetting the existing power relations.

One tactic used to address women's expanding career options without upsetting the social order was employed in a series of articles entitled "Schools for the Homemaker" published in Maclean's magazine in the 1920s. The articles addressed society's underlying anxiety concerning the changing role of women and encouraged women to find happiness at

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[21]Kilgannon, "Home Economics Movement and the Transformation of Domestic Ideology in Nineteenth Century America", p. 71.

home rather than in paid work.[22] The series of articles promoted home economics education but only insofar as it was a path to the fulfilment of women's "natural role":

> A Bachelor of Household Science – there is something paradoxical about that degree! It reminds me of what a man said to me on the subject of the School of Household Science at the University of Toronto,. . . "They say, you know, . . . that when a girls finishes that course, she gets her M.R.S." And that, it seems to me, is one of the most satisfactory recommendations I have heard for training in scientific home-making.[23]

No mention was made of the varied careers open to women with home economics while it is not so subtly implied that all women who study home economics are doing so as a way to get married. This obviously is an overstatement, but the defence of home economics tended to remain within the boundaries of separate spheres ideology while simultaneously attempting to expand the discourse to accommodate the goals of the movement.[24] The advantages of increased knowledge of the home and by extension to society which came with a home economics degree was a focal point of most press releases or addresses of the home economics movement after 1926. No longer necessary to convince the public that it was useful to teach girls the right way to sew, advocates attempted to disassociate themselves from the general backlash to women's higher education by emphasizing the advantages of home economics to the home and society. Arguments which centred around home economics being an extension of woman's natural vocation, how it would keep the home

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[22]Linda Peterat and Mary Leah DeZwart, An Education for Women, p. 101.

[23]Anne Elizabeth Wilson, "Schools for the Homemaker", as cited Linda Peterat and Mary Leah DeZwart, An Education for Women, p. 101.

[24] As late as 1951 Charlotte Black, Director of Home Economics at UBC was keeping a close accounting of which of her graduates are married and who is doing what as a way of accounting for the program. See UBCLSC, Charlotte Black Collection, Box 1, File 1.

intact, how it "satisfied [women's] normal impulse for homemaking" while training women for "so many varied lines of work" which did not take jobs away from men and were natural for women proliferated during the late 1920s early 1930s.

The arguments of the second generation, although geared to middle class as opposed to lower class women, and with a different intent, that of educating rather than reforming, retained strains of the reform arguments of the first generation. Discussions of the importance of home economics to society and the nation still played on the healing capacities of educating women to be excellent mothers. Home economics was still portrayed as a method of fighting the potential mongrelization of the race, and was seen to be a way to ensure happy homes and a happy society -- but the emphasis had shifted. No longer forced to illustrate the potential of home economics to reform society, the benefits of educating women came to the forefront. These benefits included earning wages and the increased stability of the home and society resulting from women applying the skills they learned to their vocation - motherhood. The utilitarian notion of higher education which was becoming popular in post-secondary education was not lost on home economic advocates and became a central focus by the later 1930s. Race and class issues took a back seat to utility but were still evident in the rhetoric until the mid-1930s.

Opposition to the introduction of home economics into high school and university curriculums between 1926 and 1943 became less concerned with the concept of home economics as an educational frill and were concerned with the potential of women's higher education to upset the social order and cause the decay of the family.[25] Distressed that

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women would reject motherhood when given other career options, the discourse of the opposition shaped the type of responses and support advocates could use to refute their claims.

With the onset of the depression in the 1930s, the movement lost momentum. Lagging spirits of the women's groups due to the constant refusal of the UBC Board of Governors coupled with a general financial slump for the province undermined the force of the movement. Between 1933 and 1936 not much was attempted or accomplished by home economics in British Columbia. When the movement regenerated late in 1936, it was with it eyes turned not toward the public as had been the case formerly; rather advocates set their sights on the legislature and a political solution to their struggle. Increased government intervention in moral reform issues, increasing public support of vocational studies in university curriculums and changing roles for women in society placed home economics in a stronger position for acceptance. Within four years the university had agreed to establish the program before any other, and within seven years, the program was in operation.

The success of the home economics movement lay in its evolution from a social reform movement of the early twentieth century dedicated to curing the dislocating effects of urbanization and industrialization, to a modern movement dedicated to the transformation of society through the advancement of women through education. Able to use the weapons of the separate spheres in the form of their "natural role" of mother, women were empowered to act. By articulating the arguments for the teaching of home economics in schools within the

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[25]Opinions such as these littered the editorial pages of Vancouver newspapers beginning in the early 1920s. One such example went so far as to argue that "...higher education is ruining the home life and the country and the children especially the girls." Editorial, The Daily Colonist, April 3, 1924, p. 4.

existing symbolic economy and using the weapons separate spheres provided, the home economics movement was able to successfully push the boundaries of separate spheres ideology without actually collapsing it; and more importantly without openly questioning the binary oppositions on which it was based. Home economics advocates were forced to structure their arguments and actions within the discourse of the separate spheres while attempting to change it. Though succeeding only in reproducing the existing power relations the home economics movement and its struggle for ideological dominance illustrate how discourses work, how they empower and constrain at the same time.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has identified factors contributing to the resistance to establishing home economics at UBC from 1919 to 1943. The reasoning behind both the movement and the reluctance to establish the program by the Board of Governors has been the focus of the study. The legislative resolution to the struggle to establish home economics at UBC indicates that the acceptance of home economics in 1943 was less a victory for the home economics movement than it was a confluence of interests. By the time the program was accepted into UBC, the controversy which surrounded the movement until the late 1930s was no longer evident. The establishment of the home economics program was no longer controversial but had become almost bland in its acceptance. What happened that something so vehemently opposed for so long could become so conventional that it was accepted with a whimper, not with a bang?

When home economics was first introduced into public awareness in the early 1900s it was promoted as a social reform movement designed to save society from the decay of industrialization and urbanization through proper homemaking. The reform impetus of the movement, generally confined to the first generation, enabled home economics to promote women's access to education in general and later higher education based on a legitimacy attained through the use of the discourse of the separate spheres. The legitimacy of this extension of women's rightful role was achieved through the extension of the home to encompass all of society. By extending the association, it was possible to argue that as women's domain was the home, and as society was only as strong as its homes, women should be the caretakers of society. This argument which was

common to all social reform movements was expanded by home economics advocates who argued that in order to fill this very important role properly women needed to be trained. As women's role moved beyond the private sphere of the home into the public domain of men the boundaries of the ideology of the separate spheres were challenged though not undermined. Inherent in the discourse of the movement were the class, race, and gender relations of the ideology of the separate spheres which facilitated the expansion of the discourse to include the goals of the home economics movement without inherently questioning the ideology. By 1926 the decline of moral reform movements in Canada was reflected in the course of the movement.

Formerly dominated by domestic reformers, by 1926 college educated women came to rule the home economics movement and the focus shifted from training domestic missionaries to go out and spread the gospel of cleanliness to the lower classes to educating middle class women's daughters for careers which were promoted as non-threatening. Supporting women's right to higher education and independence the second generation of the home economics movement was pushing the boundaries of the private sphere to encompass the public realm within limits set by the ideology of the separate spheres. Presenting the jobs which women would be qualified to occupy with a home economics degree within the guise of honourable and distinctly non-competitive professions, advocates of women's education were able to expand the domain of women from the home into the public world of work.

By 1943, when home economics was finally accepted into the faculty of Arts and Science at UBC, the ideology of separate spheres had expanded to encompass women's

expanding societal role. When first advocated, home economics undermined the ideology of the separate spheres by inherently questioning the gender roles on which it was based, but by arguing within the discourse advocates were able to push the boundaries of women's role in society without collapsing the ideology. Moreover, they were able to do so by using the existing weapons provided by separate spheres as mother of the race and the nation to facilitate the necessary change. Influences beyond the struggle for home economics also contributed to the acceptance of women's expanded roles, particularly the impact of the two World Wars and a rapidly expanding economy. The earning potential of women increased as a result of expanding job opportunities after the second world war, as did society's acceptance of these new roles and the income they generated as women were increasingly viewed as family wage earners.

The stated opposition to the establishment of a Department of Home Economics at UBC was ostensibly the financial position of the university and its inability to support the cost of the program, but changing financial conditions belie this explanation. There was a general reluctance on the part of the university to accept women on equal footing with men which was expressed in their prolonged objection to a seemingly innocuous program. Women were accepted into UBC in numbers which were comparable to men, often making up just under half of the student population, yet their influence within the university was minimal. Forced to take English and Mathematics in segregated classes that were taught by professors who were described as "lesser luminaries"[1] until the 1940s, women were

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[1]As cited in Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia, (Toronto: U of T Press, 1991), p. 246.

treated differently at UBC and this treatment was endorsed by the administration. The resistance to women was expressed by the prolonged refusal to establish an entirely female faculty at UBC while other programs, such as Commerce, were established despite the financial restraint imposed on the university. Women, then, were accepted until they taxed the finances of the university or demanded programs beyond those deemed necessary by the male academic structure. The establishment of the nursing program explicitly illustrates this point.

Resistance to women, although part of the aversion to establishing home economics at UBC, was not the only factor which influenced the stalling tactics of the UBC Board of Governors. The development of the university as the "Cambridge of the Pacific" and its commitment to a research mission geared toward utilitarian education did not allow for applied science or vocational courses, such as home economics, which did not enhance the stature of the university. Home economics, as outlined by Evlyn Farris as early as 1914 and expressed by the Board of Governors for the duration of the struggle, was seen as undermining the legitimate academic pursuits of other programs by teaching the art of home making. Viewed as an applied science course without the validation of research, home economics did not suit the vision of UBC as promoted by the Board of Governors, nor did it seem to advance women's academic equality as expressed by feminists such as Evlyn Farris. That the arguments of the Board eerily echo those of Farris, though obviously without the politics, is ironic. Farris was fighting for women's equality and against the potential ghettoization of women in academia, while the Board was reluctant to undermine the legitimacy of the research mission of the university by teaching women how

to be housewives. The university was looking to train intellects, not teach farmers and housewives how to perform "tricks". The fear that a vocational course such as home economics would dilute the research mission of the university was a large part of the Board's reluctance to establish home economics. Lack of financial resources was used as an excuse because it was straight forward and difficult to refute. But, by 1943 it could no longer be used as a viable reason for stalling the acceptance of the program.

What then had changed within the university, such that by 1943 it was finally ready to accept home economics into its curriculum? First, without the pressure from the legislature and the Minister of Education home economics may never have been established. But by the time the program was established permanently at UBC, a number of transitions had occurred within society and the university which facilitated its acceptance. By 1920 the role of the university had changed from that of an institution dedicated to the reproduction of elites and classical education, to utility-oriented education -- education designed to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding economy and government. By 1940 this role had again expanded from classical and utilitarian education to include vocational education designed to meet society's needs. The university was no longer considered accessible by only a small majority; it was now open to all who could afford it, and later, with the introduction of government grants, to anyone who desired to attend. The vocational nature of technical education, which was a major opposition to home economics and undoubtedly one of the issues behind the stalling of the Board of Governors, had extended to higher education and home economics therefore was considered acceptable.

The role of the government in university affairs also transformed during this period. Originally basically non-interventionist, the government by 1945 was taking a more active role in university affairs and by 1960 was openly reshaping the policies and practices which had ruled academic affairs. More interventionist in nature, the government was increasingly becoming more intrusive and demanding more accountability for its money. This trend is plainly demonstrated with the struggle to establish home economics. The political awareness surrounding the home economics movement in 1943 stemmed from this political trend. Politicians already interested in reducing the autonomy of the university through increased accountability used home economics to bring their point home. Home economics became politically embroiled in power struggles between the legislature and the university, albeit much to its advantage.

By 1943 Home Economics department was uncomfortably situated in the Arts and Science Faculty at the University of British Columbia. The establishment of the program unfortunately had less to do with the level of grass root support than it did with its sheer tenacity. By the time of its establishment the role of women had shifted to the point where the career options provided by a home economics degree were seen to be a way of containing women rather than advancing them. They were "safe" professions which would not challenge gender definitions as defined by the separate spheres. The university too had changed to encompass formerly less important vocational studies, while UBC as an individual institution had matured to the point where it was not so self-conscious. The overwhelming reluctance to establish a home economics program at UBC was not simply a lack of financing, as was claimed, nor was it simply about women, though it was about

both of these issues. Home economics became a site of struggle in which fears and questions about identity and place were challenged and resolved.

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Abbreviations

BCARS	British Columbia Archives and Records Service
VCA	Vancouver City Archives
UBCLSC	University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections

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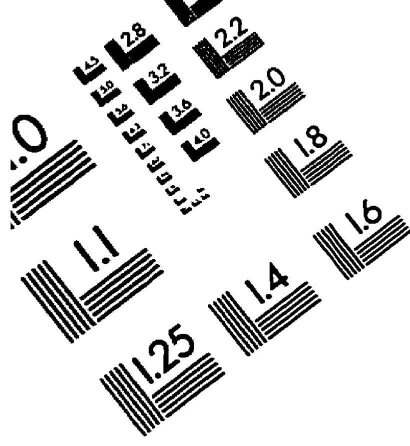
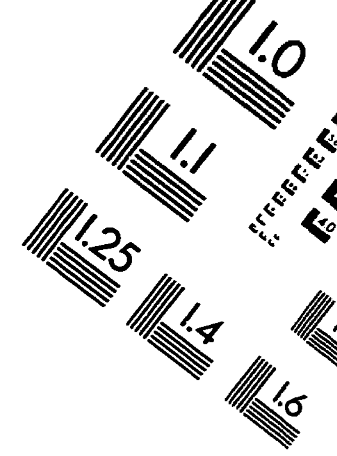
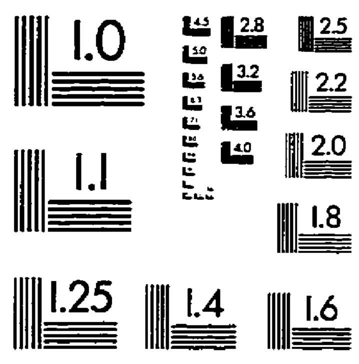
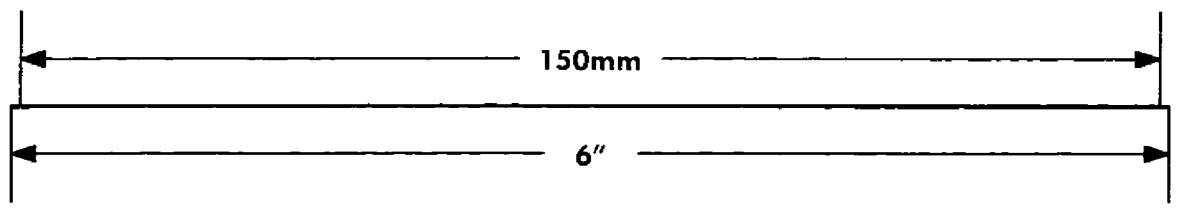
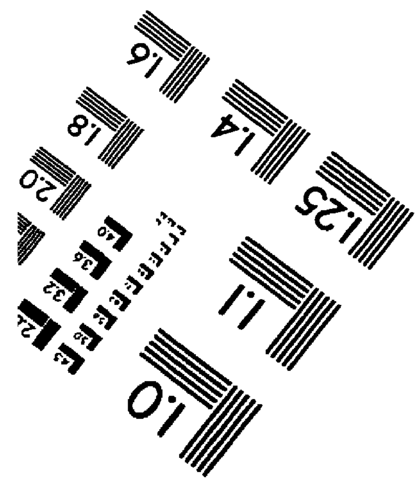
TEST TARGET (QA-3)





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