

A Reactionist Professional Association: The Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing, 1942-1948

Sharon Richardson

Depuis ses débuts en 1942, l'Association canadienne des écoles universitaires de nursing (ACEUN) s'est fait le porte-parole national de ses trente écoles-membres et l'organisme accrédité pour les programmes universitaires en sciences infirmières. L'objectif de cette recherche était d'analyser la création en 1942 du *Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing*, précurseur de l'ACEUN.

La recherche se veut historique. Des données primaires et secondaires ont été collectées et analysées par méthode inductive. Les données primaires consistaient en documents d'archives se trouvant à l'université Queen à Kingston en Ontario et à l'association des infirmières et infirmiers du Canada (AIIC) à Ottawa en Ontario. Les données secondaires ont affiné et corroboré l'analyse des données primaires; elles incluaient les histoires publiées de l'ACEUN et de l'AIIC ainsi que des livres et des articles sur le développement de la formation universitaire en sciences infirmières au Canada.

L'élan des débuts en 1942 du *Provisional Council* prit sa source dans l'AIIC. Le Provisional Council n'atteint aucun des objectifs qu'il s'était fixés. Au lieu de cela, il mit l'accent sur sa relation avec l'AIIC et débattit de la nécessité de continuer à exister. Le *Provisional Council* était une association réactionnaire qui reflétait l'absence de coordination de la formation universitaire en sciences infirmières et l'incapacité des professeurs en sciences infirmières à mettre de côté leurs querelles de clocher.

From its inception in 1942, the Canadian Association of University Schools of Nursing (CAUSN) has developed into the accrediting agency for university nursing programs and the national voice for its 30 member schools. The current research examines the creation in 1942 of the Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing, the forerunner of the CAUSN. The research is historical in design. Primary and secondary data were collected and analyzed inductively. Primary data consisted of archival documents located in the Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario and the Canadian Nurses Association (CNA) Archives, Ottawa, Ontario. Secondary data augmented and corroborated analysis of primary data and included published histories of the CAUSN and the CNA, as well as books and articles about the development of university nursing education in Canada.

The impetus for the inception in 1942 of the Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing originated with the CNA. The Provisional Council subsequently achieved none of its stated goals. Instead, it focused on its relationship with the CNA and contested the need for its own existence. The Provisional Council was a reactionist association that reflected the uncoordinated nature of university nursing education and the inability of university nursing educators to set aside parochial differences.

The professionalization of nursing in Canada was inexorably linked to the development of university nursing education and national nursing associations. One such association is the Canadian Association of University Schools

Sharon Richardson, R.N., Ph.D., is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Nursing at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Alberta.

of Nursing (CAUSN) which currently represents 30 of the 33 university schools. Established in 1942 to support the development of standards for university nursing education, the CAUSN evolved slowly during the subsequent half-century. A singular achievement was its national voluntary program of accreditation, implemented in 1987.

The establishment of the Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing in 1942 and its existence as an association of university nurse educators distinct from the Canadian Nurses Association (CNA), had considerable impact on the subsequent development of the organization known today as the Canadian Association of University Schools of Nursing. The Provisional Council was a reactionist professional association significantly influenced by the nature of university nursing education prior to the Second World War.

University Nursing Education Before 1940

University nursing education was slow to take root in Canada and slower still to grow and expand. As a female-dominated occupation, nursing was plagued by the constraints imposed on all women seeking higher education in Canada. Nursing was further penalized by having adopted what Davis termed "the Nightingale compromise", whereby student nurses staffed the hospitals and provided patient care¹. This apprenticeship form of education reinforced societal perceptions that nurse training served primarily to refine the inherent ability to care, which all women possessed². As an academic discipline, nursing was viewed with skepticism and suspicion in universities staffed almost entirely by men. Universities were reluctant to admit nursing, and demonstrated their reticence by failing to provide the financial support necessary for educationally sound programs. The terms under which the first Canadian university department of nursing was established in 1919 at the University of British Columbia was a classic illustration of the current attitude. The Board of Governors of the university approved a department of nursing solely on the understanding that no expense would be accrued by the university³. The Director of the University's Department of Nursing was also to be the Director of the Vancouver General Hospital, and the latter agreed to pay her full salary. Thus, the costs of opening the first department of nursing in a Canadian university were borne entirely by a hospital.

The curriculum model of this first degree program reflected prevailing American models of the time⁴, and was decidedly cost-containing. Students took one year of university arts and science courses, followed by three years as a trainee of the Vancouver General Hospital and a concluding year of university nursing courses. During the first and fifth years, students paid regular university tuition, and for the three years at the hospital, they paid for their

training in service to the hospital. This prototype for university nursing degree programs became known in Canada as the non-integrated model. Although politically expedient and inexpensive for universities to implement, it failed to promote integration of nursing content throughout its five years and precluded university control of the nursing content provided by the hospital.

Three other non-integrated five-year degree programs in nursing began at the University of Western Ontario, the University of Alberta, and the Institut Marguerite d'Youville (University of Montreal) in 1924, 1925, and 1926, respectively. There were no additional degree programs until shortly before the Second World War. In 1938, both the University of Saskatchewan and the University of Ottawa initiated degree programs, and in 1939 St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia admitted its first degree students⁵. These programs were small, with limited student enrollments and few nurse teaching staff.

Far more common and much more in demand than the degree programs were the certificate courses offered by university departments of nursing to graduates of hospital diploma programs. The first of these certificate courses was financed by the Canadian Red Cross in the early 1920s and was for post-graduate instruction in public health⁶. It cost the universities very little; the Red Cross provided funds directly to the universities of Toronto, McGill, British Columbia, Alberta, and Dalhousie to pay for these courses and financed students who wanted to attend⁷. Certificate courses proliferated much more than did degree programs, and came to include supervision and teaching, as well as public health. They had the additional advantage of being suitable for offering during the fifth year of the non-integrated degree programs.

The Depression seriously impeded the growth of university nursing education throughout Canada and almost led to the demise of programming at McGill University, a private institution which received minuscule funds from the Quebec government. In 1932, the McGill School of Nursing faced closure unless it could raise an endowment of \$40,000⁸. Miraculously, nursing alumnae and other supporters across the country donated about \$20,000 which, when coupled with extreme internal cost cutting, enabled the School to survive. However, these stringent economies meant that fewer courses were taught, a planned two-year diploma program was replaced by a one-year certificate program, and plans for a degree program were cancelled.⁹

Precarious funding seriously limited expansion and innovation in university nursing education. Nevertheless, the University of Toronto School of Nursing was able to introduce a unique 39-month program in 1933, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. This program was innovative in two ways: the faculty of the school assumed total responsibility for the education of students, and the school became an autonomous unit within the University able

to participate fully in University governance¹⁰. Unlike the situation in the United States, where private philanthropy stimulated the growth of collegiate education in nursing¹¹, Canadian departments of nursing relied on public funding channelled through university processes upon which they had little influence.¹²

Prior to the Second World War, university nurse educators were few and geographically isolated from one another. Frequently, there were only two or three full-time faculty in each nursing department. At the University of Saskatchewan in 1940, the only nurse faculty member was the director of the degree program¹³. Most of these individuals held a baccalaureate degree as their highest earned credential, although some also possessed specialty diplomas or certificates in public health, supervision, and teaching. Few engaged in research, which is not surprising given their extensive course planning and teaching workloads.

Communication between university departments of nursing and between individual nurse educators in the geographically dispersed universities was tedious at best, especially in the four western provinces. Most communication was by letter. Travel, which was primarily by train, was time consuming and relatively expensive, thereby limiting face-to-face interaction. The trip from Vancouver to Montreal required four or five days. As Kirkwood and Bouchard confirmed:

University schools of nursing tended to develop in isolation, each faculty dealing with its own issues and problems on an individual basis. ...These factors hindered them from developing an understanding of each other's unique situation and a shared vision of university nursing education.¹⁴

Conception of the Provisional Council

The impetus for the creation in 1942 of the Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing, the forerunner of the CAUSN, originated with the CNA. Selected representatives from both university schools of nursing and provincial professional associations were invited to meet with the Executive Committee of the CNA in the fall of 1941 to discuss problems in nursing service and education – problems which had been intensified by the Second World War.¹⁵ It seems unlikely that the CNA envisaged establishment of a separate association at that time.

This meeting was triggered by a written query in July 1941 from the Manitoba Association of Registered Nurses (MARN) to the CNA regarding "a Vassar plan or something similar [to] guarantee us a temporary increase in numbers [of practising nurses] in the form of women well qualified to assume

professional responsibility and leadership.”¹⁶ The MARN also asked that the opinions be solicited of nurse educators Lindeburgh, Russell, Ellis, and Gray of the Universities of McGill, Toronto, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia, respectively, on the “advisability or practicability of such a plan.”¹⁷ The CNA president, Grace Fairley, complied.

All four nurse educators responded in writing, but their responses were equivocal. After an initially enthusiastic letter in which she asked that a meeting of the CNA Executive be arranged with representatives from university schools of nursing to “make some long wished for progress in connection with our nursing schools,”¹⁸ Kathleen Russell adopted a neutral stance. Marion Lindeburgh observed that the existing shortage of qualified nursing teachers and supervisors, as well as the low salaries and lack of professional recognition accorded general duty nurses, were ongoing problems that contributed to low enrollments in the university schools.¹⁹ She recommended further study and analysis before undertaking “whatever plan might seem sound,” without overtly endorsing the proposed meeting.²⁰ Mabel Gray cautioned that the “whole situation is very involved...I do not think that hasty action should be taken.”²¹ She recommended instead that the CNA establish liberal scholarships to assist exemplary senior students, thus ensuring their retention and graduation. Kathleen Ellis thought that “such a meeting might be of more value after further investigations had been made regarding the several plans mentioned and the likelihood of a grant being obtained from the Federal Government.”²² She counselled delay.²³

Nonetheless, Grace Fairley convened a special CNA Executive Committee meeting 15 August 1941 in Vancouver, where it was agreed that a study was urgently needed to meet the shortage of nurses and develop leaders.²⁴ A subsequent meeting with representatives from the provincial associations and university schools of nursing was planned “for the purpose of discussing fully the present or future shortage of nurses.”²⁵ To facilitate attendance, the CNA paid expenses of university nurse representatives; however, provincial nursing associations paid expenses of their delegates.²⁶

The time allowed for organizing and scheduling the meeting was inadequate, resulting in confusion as to its purpose and overt antagonism from some participants. Letters confirming dates, location, and format were not sent until one week before the meeting.²⁷ The decision to convene in Montreal rather than Winnipeg was unexpected and resulted in overt expressions of dismay from the University of British Columbia²⁸, the Alberta Association of Registered Nurses (AARN),²⁹ the University of Alberta,³⁰ and the Saskatchewan Registered Nurses Association.³¹ The AARN President Rae Chittick asserted that “Our impression here is that the arrangements were too hurried

and not well considered from the standpoint of the provinces, and that the emergency is not serious enough to warrant this haste.”³² Chittick also objected strongly to the CNA’s choice of the University of Alberta’s representative.³³

On 29 September 1941 representatives of seven university schools of nursing – Toronto, Western Ontario, Ottawa, Montreal, McGill, Laval, and Saskatchewan – met with the President, the treasurer, and the executive secretary of the CNA; the editor of *The Canadian Nurse* journal; and a “guest” of unspecified affiliation. Grace Fairley chaired the meeting and represented the University of British Columbia. The absence of representatives from the University of Alberta and St. Francis Xavier University was noted with regret.³⁴ Guided discussion of problems affecting hospital schools, public health, and general duty nursing led to recommendations that the numbers and quality of students enrolling in university programs be increased. The issue of the university nurse educators organizing as a separate group within the CNA also surfaced.

The university educators met separately the next morning, 30 September, to prepare recommendations regarding undergraduate education, postgraduate courses, in-service education, recall of nurses to active duty, and publicity for the CNA Executive.³⁵ Kathleen Russell, Director of the University of Toronto School of Nursing, acted as chairperson. On 1 October 1941 she presented a reworked version of these recommendations, including detailed plans for their implementation, to the reconvened group of CNA Executive and university educators.³⁶ She prefaced her presentation by emphasizing “the urgency of the moment and the pressing need for immediate action.”³⁷ With the exception of the proposal that schools of nursing admit only one class per year, all recommendations were approved.

Two additional resolutions were subsequently passed by the CNA Executive, clearly indicating that they felt a mandate toward promoting standards of university nursing education. Firstly, they appointed a committee comprised of the CNA president, two vice-presidents, and Kathleen Russell to select a nurse who would take charge of implementing recommendations from the joint meeting of CNA Executive and university nurse educators.³⁸ This led in 1941 to the appointment of Kathleen Ellis as Emergency Nursing Advisor to the CNA.³⁹ Secondly, they appointed a committee, comprised of the CNA president and vice-presidents, to approach the federal government for funds to carry out the recommendations of the university nurse educators.⁴⁰ This committee was successful; the federal government provided \$115,000 in 1942 and \$250,000 in each of 1943 and 1944 for nursing education through the CNA.⁴¹ Throughout the three days of meetings, the CNA had maintained control and directed the deliberations of the university nurse educators, largely through the chairmanship of Kathleen Russell. All recommendations

emanating from these meetings in 1941 were later endorsed at separate meetings of the CNA Executive Committee.⁴²

Although the university nurse educators who were present debated organizing under the auspices of the CNA or establishing independently, they made no decision at the time. The CNA Executive clearly favoured formation of a committee of university educators within CNA and even passed a motion that this be done;⁴³ however, because several university representatives were gone before this resolution was passed, plans for organizing them within the CNA were postponed to the June 1942 CNA General Meeting.⁴⁴ When directors of university schools were invited to discuss formal organization of university nurse educators at the time of the June CNA Annual Meeting,⁴⁵ eight of nine directors accepted.⁴⁶ Kathleen Russell somewhat reluctantly agreed to chair this meeting held on 20 June 1942 in Montreal; the agenda included organization of the group and deciding its relationship to the CNA.⁴⁷

Birth of the Provisional Council

In 1942, it quickly became evident that opinion diverged about both the need for a formal association of university nurse educators and the advisability of accepting CNA sponsorship.⁴⁸ Agreement could not be reached and a committee consisting of Kathleen Russell, Sister Godefroy, and Kathleen Ellis was appointed to develop policy, functions, and bylaws for the proposed organization. These would be considered at a second meeting, to be held three days later.⁴⁹

On 23 June 1942 the university representatives formally declined to organize under the auspices of the CNA, and chose instead to create the autonomous Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing (PCUSDN).⁵⁰ The wording of the motion made by Marion Lindeburgh and seconded by Kathleen Ellis emphasized the temporary nature of the Provisional Council: "For the next two year period, in order to give further time for wise decision as to the form that the *permanent* organization shall take" [emphasis added].⁵¹

Arguably, their motion was a way of circumventing overt antagonism toward the CNA without discouraging university educators who were interested in forming an independent association. Supporters of the CNA hoped that the Provisional Council would not be seen as a permanently autonomous association. The CNA report on the formation of the Council in the October and November 1942 issues of their official journal, *The Canadian Nurse*, reinforced the perception of its temporary nature and CNA control.⁵²

It can only be speculated why the university nurse educators declined sponsorship by the CNA. The minutes of the 23 June 1942 meeting present

only the motions that were carried. It is impossible to discern who was in favour of and who was opposed to CNA sponsorship, or the substance of the debate. However, reaction to Kathleen Russell's role may have been a contributing factor. Russell had been a key player in attempts to maintain the group of university nurse educators under the auspices of the CNA. She believed that there were too few leaders and resources in Canada to support two national nursing organizations. Her perspective was reflected in the following correspondence with Council President Evelyn Mallory:

I think you know that I regret the decision to retain this Council as an independent body, but I have decided for the present that I should maintain membership. My thought is that it will be utterly impossible to separate these matters of university schools from the work of the Education Policy Committee of the CNA.⁵³

Later, she also wrote:

We [nurse educators, University of Toronto] feel very strongly that the work being done by this organization belongs to the CNA and that there can only be adequate resources if the work is consolidated with all of the educational work of the CNA. It seems to me that, in attempting to separate this Council from the Education Committee of the CNA we have an exact parallel to the confusion that now obtains between the Education Committee of the ICN and the FNIF branch of the ICN. I fear that the present Council will remain an exceedingly weak group until it has all the power and resources of the CNA behind it. And certainly it is not possible for the Education Committee of the CNA to disallow responsibility for nursing education at the University level.⁵⁴

Russell was especially active in the CNA during the latter part of her career and significantly influenced CNA policies and activities in the 1940s as chairperson and later member of the CNA Committee on Nursing Education. She held strong views on most subjects, but especially on nursing. In discussing the impact of Russell's leadership, her biographer, Helen Carpenter, observed:

Miss Russell received a mixed response. The objectives she held for nursing education were supported by some and opposed by others. The determination with which she pursued her goals was both respected and criticized. Miss Russell was often frustrated and impatient with those who clung to values of the past, and her frustration and impatience were apparent in her voice, manner, and facial expression at meetings, and also in her writing.⁵⁵

Carpenter added that "Some who were associated with Miss Russell in the pursuit of her goals found her determination, drive, and unwillingness to

compromise difficult.”⁵⁶ Some who might have had difficulty were other university nurse educators.

Having failed in the attempt to create a committee of university nurse educators within the CNA, members of the CNA Executive Committee and the Committee on Education sought to ensure a close working relationship between the two organizations. In order to accomplish this, they agreed that the President of the Provisional Council should be a member of the CNA Committee on Nursing Education, and the Convenor (chairperson) of the Committee on Nursing Education should be a member of the Provisional Council.⁵⁷

The Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing

At its founding meeting on 23 June 1942, it was agreed that the goals or objectives of the fledgling PCUSDN would be to: determine standards for university schools of nursing, strengthen the standards of existing schools, support the development of future schools, and strengthen the relationship between university schools in Canada and other countries.⁵⁸ Membership in the PCUSDN was open to directors and individual faculty of university schools who were nurses and paid an annual membership fee of two dollars. An executive committee was identified, and comprised of the president, vice president, and secretary/treasurer plus the chairpersons of the two standing committees on policies and studies. One general meeting of the PCUSDN was to be held annually, and additional meetings at the discretion of the president. Elected to office for an initial two-year period were: President Kathleen Ellis, CNA Emergency Nursing Advisor on leave from the University of Saskatchewan; Vice-president Reverend Mother Allaire, Institut Marguerite d'Youville, Montreal; and Secretary/Treasurer Mary Mathewson, McGill University, Montreal. These officers were empowered to name the chairpersons of the two standing committees; however, this was not accomplished at the inaugural meeting. The first business of the newly constituted Council was to agree to “send a resolution to the Canadian Nurses Association asking that a Clearing House for Studies be set up by the Canadian Nurses Association.”⁵⁹ In the lexicon of the day, “studies” meant research. Not only did the structure of the PCUSDN reflect that of the CNA, but in asking the CNA to set up a repository for nursing research, they were requesting them to assume a role that the PCUSDN appropriately might have undertaken.

As the fledgling Provincial Council fluttered through the next six years, it was focused inwardly; issues of relationship with the CNA, goals, and even the need for their continued existence as an autonomous association, dominated each general meeting. There is no indication in the meeting minutes that they discussed the contribution that university schools of nursing might make to the war effort or how they might take advantage of postwar opportunities.⁶⁰

In 1943, a survey found that seven Council members were in favour of maintaining the PCUSDN as an autonomous association, seven favoured organizing as a standing committee of the CNA, and the remaining six wanted to become a subcommittee of the CNAs standing Committee on Nursing Education.⁶¹ At the 26 June 1944 general meeting, the 12 Council members present agreed that *"In view of the fact that sufficient progress has not yet been made to justify a final decision as to the permanent form which the Council should take, [emphasis added] ...the organization should be continued as a Provisional Council for the next two year period."*⁶² Neither Council President Ellis nor Secretary/Treasurer Mathewson were present at this meeting; it was chaired by Vice-President Reverend Mother Allaire of Institut Marguerite d'Youville. On 29 March 1946, the available Council members decided to hold a 1 July 1946 general meeting. Ellis (University of Saskatchewan), Russell (University of Toronto), Fidler (University of Toronto), Lindeburgh (McGill University), Sister Lefebvre (Institut Marguerite d'Youville), Sister Lacroix (Institut Marguerite d'Youville), and Mathewson (McGill University) requested members to come prepared with definite opinions about whether the Council should become a special committee of the CNA, a sub-committee of the CNA Education Committee or remain an independent organization.⁶³

In a letter to Kathleen Russell, Council Vice-President Reverend Mother Allaire conveyed her regret at being unable to attend the meeting, but asserted her belief that it was preferable to maintain an independent organization of university nurse educators:

Our schools would have a stronger tendency to raise their standards if our Council is under the guidance of a strong educational body such as universities, while if it is under the CNA...our schools will lack this guidance which I should like them to have in favour of the profession.⁶⁴

Sister Denise Lefebvre of the Institut Marguerite d'Youville conveyed the same opinion to Council President Kathleen Ellis, appending a copy of Sister Allaire's letter to Russell.⁶⁵ This was the first recorded instance of the French Catholic sisters' antipathy to CNA control, and it may have been a significant factor in the continued existence of the Provisional Council.

There was considerable discussion at the July 1946 general meeting about the goals of the Council, whether or not the time was ripe for an association of university schools, and the form such an association should take.⁶⁶ Several members spoke of the need for a medium through which those teaching in university schools could discuss common problems and urged that some form of organization should be continued, if for that purpose alone. Subsequently, a motion was passed to continue the Provisional Council "under the present plan...for another two year period, and that an effort be made to find

out how the organization may be most useful and what form it should take."⁶⁷ In addition, it was agreed that the goal for the next two-year period was "to discover common problems of the University Schools of Nursing in Canada."⁶⁸ Once again, the existence of the Council as an organization of university nurse educators separate from the CNA had been affirmed despite a lack of concrete accomplishments in the four years since its inception.

The future of the Provisional Council came to a crisis point at the June/July 1948 general meeting in Sackville, New Brunswick. The relationship of the Council to the CNA was again discussed and the following resolution was debated:

That WHEREAS there is a felt need for a sub-Committee of the Educational Policy Committee which is prepared to speak with authority for University Schools and Departments of Nursing, therefore, be it resolved that the Executive Committee of the Canadian Nurses' Association approve establishment of such a Sub-Committee.⁶⁹

In response, a motion made by Sister Denise Lefebvre of the Institut Marguerite d'Youville, and seconded by Evelyn Mallory of the University of British Columbia, confirmed the Council's autonomy: "That the Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing remain for the present an independent organization and that every effort be made to work closely with the Education Policy Committee [of the CNA]."⁷⁰ A second motion sponsored by the same two members that the word "provisional" be deleted from the name of the organization was also passed.⁷¹

The success of these motions may reflect voting by a number of non-university Catholic sisters purportedly acting as spokespersons for absent Council members. The attendance record of the June/July 1948 Council meeting indicates that the universities of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, McGill, Queen's, and Laval, and the CNA Education Policy Committee were represented, but does not identify the individuals present. Secretary/Treasurer Helen Penhale defended her reluctance to identify individuals in the record, thus:

For this time I would rather not include the names of the people who attended because there were so many sisters there who said they were representing members of the Council. As an example, Sister Keegan from Edmonton General Hospital was there. She is in no way connected with a university. How can she speak for another person?⁷²

Resolution of the issue of who comprised the membership of the Council and therefore were eligible to vote was deferred by a motion by Sister Lefebvre, seconded by Evelyn Mallory "That a decision...be tabled pending the

report of the study on Faculty being prepared by McGill University and the reply to enquiry regarding the requirements for membership in the National Conference of Canadian Universities.⁷³ Maintaining the Council as an entity separate from the CNA subsequently proved meaningless because from 1949 to 1953, the Council was relatively inactive.⁷⁴ There were no general membership meetings during the two-year period of 1 July 1950 to 30 May 1952,⁷⁵ and membership declined from 29 in 1948 to 16 in 1952.⁷⁶ Not until 1957 did the Council finally achieve one of its stated goals when the document *Desirable Standards For Canadian University Schools of Nursing* was approved.⁷⁷

Conclusions

The Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing was a reactionist association that reflected the uncoordinated nature of university nursing education and the inability of nurse academics to put aside parochial differences and act in concert to influence public policy. The turmoil and demands of the Second World War intensified pressure on university nursing programs and their academic staff. Some university schools were hard pressed to maintain educational programming as nurse academics answered the call to military service.⁷⁸ Others struggled to become established. New degree programs in nursing began at Queen's University and McMaster University in 1941, the University of Manitoba in 1943, Mount St. Vincent University in 1947, and Dalhousie University in 1949.⁷⁹ Existing programming at the University of Toronto and McGill University was expanded.⁸⁰ A significant redirection of university nursing education began in 1942 with the University of Toronto's innovative integrated degree program.⁸¹

Expansion in university nursing education during and immediately after the Second World War was stimulated by federal funds distributed through the CNA and by scholarships, bursaries, and loans to students offered by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the Victorian Order of Nurses, and the Canadian Red Cross.⁸² For example, in 1943, university schools of nursing received \$30,000 in direct funds and \$40,000 in bursaries from the federal government.⁸³ The W.K. Kellogg Foundation also offered fellowships to Canadian nurses to obtain master's degrees in nursing in the United States. During and immediately following the Second World War, many Canadian nurse academics took this opportunity to upgrade their qualifications.⁸⁴ Their absence intensified the shortage of university teachers occasioned by university program expansion. Some also chose to remain in the United States, further limiting the available pool of qualified nurse academics.⁸⁵

Perhaps Kathleen Russell was right after all: There simply weren't enough resources available in Canada to support both the work of the Education Committee of the CNA and a separate association of university nurse educators.

Several prominent university nurse educators contributed significantly to the work of the CNA while participating minimally, or not at all, in the Provisional Council and its successor, the Conference of University Schools of Nursing. Among these were Marion Lindeburgh and Rae Chittick of McGill University, Kathleen Russell and Helen Carpenter of the University of Toronto, and Katherine MacLaggan of the University of New Brunswick. Others, including Kathleen Ellis, University of Saskatchewan; Mary Mathewson, McGill University; Evelyn Mallory, University of British Columbia; and Electa MacLennan, Dalhousie University; managed to participate in and contribute to both organizations, although rarely simultaneously.⁸⁶ It is intriguing to contemplate the impact these resourceful academics might have had on the development of Canadian university nursing education if they had concentrated their considerable talents under the auspices of a single professional association and acted more in concert with one another.

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10. Helen Carpenter, *A Divine Discontent Edith Kathleen Russell: Reforming Educator* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 17-26.
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20. Ibid.
21. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Mabel Gray to Grace Fairley, 15 August 1941.
22. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from K.W.Ellis to Grace Fairley, 3 September 1941.
23. Ibid.
24. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Grace M. Fairley to Mabel Gray, 17 July 1941 and ARC AV WY 1 CA1 C68, reel 2, "Canadian Nurses Association Minutes of Sub-committee Meeting, August 15, 1941."
25. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, "Canadian Nurses Association Minutes of Sub-Committee Meeting, August 15, 1941."
26. Ottawa, CNA, ARC AV WY 1 CA1 C68, reel 2, "Canadian Nurses Association Minutes of Sub-committee Meeting, September 19, 1941".
27. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Jean S. Wilson to Grace Fairley, 15 September 1941 and from Jean S. Wilson to Directors of University Schools of Nursing, 22 September 1941.
28. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Margaret Duffield to Jean Wilson, 25 September 1941.
29. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from A.E. Vango to Jean Wilson, 25 September 1941 and from Rae Chittick to Grace Fairley, 27 September 1941.
30. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from John James Ower to Jean Wilson, 27 September 1941.
31. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, Canadian Pacific Telegraph telegram from Jean Wilson to Grace Fairley, 25 September 1941.
32. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Rae Chittick to Jean Wilson, 25 September 1941.

33. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Rae Chittick to Grace Fairley, 27 September 1941.
34. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, "Report of a Joint Conference of Representatives of University Schools of Nursing and of the Executive Committee, Canadian Nurses Association, September 29-October 1, 1941."
35. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, "Report of the University Representatives Prepared For Presentation to the Executive Committee of the Canadian Nurses Association in Meeting, September 30th, 1941."
36. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, "Report of the Special Subcommittee Appointed September 30, 1941, By the C.N.A. Executive to Present in Final Form the Recommendations From the University Representatives, Together with Plans For Putting These Recommendations Into Effect."
37. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, "Report of a Joint Conference of Representatives of University Schools of Nursing and of the Executive Committee, Canadian Nurses Association, September 29-October 1, 1941," p. 6.
38. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, "Report of a Joint Conference of Representatives of University Schools of Nursing and of the Executive Committee, Canadian Nurses Association, September 29-October 1, 1941," 9.
39. Canadian Nurses Association, *The Leaf and the Lamp* (Ottawa: Canadian Nurses Association, 1968), 88.
40. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, "Report of a Joint Conference of Representatives of University Schools of Nursing and of the Executive Committee, Canadian Nurses Association, September 29-October 1, 1941," 9.
41. Canadian Nurses Association, *The Leaf and the Lamp*, 88.
42. Ottawa, CNA, ARC AV WY 1 CA1 C68, reel 2, "Canadian Nurses Association Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, September 29 to October 1, 1941," 67-68.
43. Ibid.
44. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Jean Wilson to E.K. Russell, 21 October 1941.
45. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Jean Wilson to E.K. Russell, K.W. Ellis, M. Kerr and A. Martineau, 26 November 1941.
46. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Jean Wilson to Marion Lindeburgh, 1 June 1942.
47. Ottawa, CNA, CCUSDN Collection, ARC WY18.C453, letter from Kathleen Russell to Jean Wilson, 26 May 1942.
48. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "Meeting of Representatives of University Schools of Nursing, Montreal, June 23rd, 1942."
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid. See also Kathleen Ellis, "Notes From the National Office", CN, 38 (October, 1942), 789-790 and Kathleen Ellis, "The Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing", CN, 38 (November, 1942), 845-846 for the CNA version of events.
51. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "Meeting of Representatives of University Schools of Nursing, Montreal, June 23rd, 1942."
52. Jean Wilson, "Notes From the National Office: University Schools of Nursing Organize," CN, 38 (October, 1942), 789-790 and Kathleen Ellis, "The Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing," CN, 38 (November, 1942), 845-846.
53. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection, Box 9, letter from Kathleen Russell to Evelyn Mallory, 14 December 1948.

54. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection, Box 9, letter from Kathleen Russell to Evelyn Mallory, 24 April 1951.
55. Helen Carpenter, *A Divine Discontent*, 54.
56. *Ibid.*, 55.
57. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "Meeting of Representatives of University Schools of Nursing, Montreal, June 23, 1942."
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. These glaring omissions are also noted by Kirkwood and Bouchard, *Take Counsel With One Another*, 11.
61. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "A Report of the Committee On Policies of the Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing, October 1, 1943."
62. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "Report of the Officers to the Council Winnipeg, June 26th, 1944" and "Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing Meeting at Winnipeg, June 26, 1944."
63. *Ibid.*, 2.
64. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 9, letter from Sister Allaire to Kathleen Russell, 20 May 1946.
65. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 9, letter from Sister Denise Lefebvre to Kathleen Ellis, 31 May 1946.
66. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "Provisional Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing Meeting, Toronto, July 1st, 1946."
67. *Ibid.*, 1.
68. *Ibid.*
69. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "Minutes of Meeting of the Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing [27 June 1948 and 1 July 1948]."
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*
72. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 9, letter from Helen Penhale to Evelyn Mallory, 5 October 1948.
73. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of University Schools and Departments of Nursing [27 June & 1 July 1948]," p.4.
74. Kirkwood and Bouchard, "Take Counsel With One Another," 13.
75. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "The Canadian Conference of University Schools of Nursing Minutes [May 30, 1952]," 2.
76. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, The Canadian Conference of University Schools of Nursing Summary of Membership by Schools, document appended to The Canadian Conference of University Schools of Nursing Minutes [May 30, 1952].
77. Kingston, QUA, CAUSN Collection 5073, Box 2, "The Canadian Conference of University Schools of Nursing Minutes of the Meeting in Montreal, January 19th, 1957," 3.
78. Margaret Allemang, *Nursing Education in the United States and Canada*, 211.
79. Janet Kerr, "A Historical Approach," 257.
80. *Ibid.*, 257.
81. *Ibid.*

82. Ibid., 256-257. For a comprehensive discussion of Canadian university nursing education funding, see also Janet Kerr, *Financing University Nursing Education In Canada, 1919-1976* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1979).

83. Kirkwood and Bouchard, *Take Counsel With One Another*, 12.

84. Janet Kerr, "An Historical Approach," 256.

85. Kirkwood and Bouchard, *Take Counsel With One Another*, 14.

86. This interpretation is derived from review of elected and appointed positions held by these university nurse educators in the CNA, the Provisional Council and its successor, the Canadian Conference of University Schools of Nursing(CCUSN), from 1942 to 1967. Lindeburgh, Chittick, Carpenter, MacLennan and MacLaggan were Presidents of the CNA. Kathleen Ellis was President of the Provisional Council from 1942 to 1948 and Emergency Nursing Advisor for the CNA during the Second World War. Mary Mathewson was Secretary/Treasurer of the Provisional Council from 1942 to 1946 and chairperson of the CNA History Committee. Evelyn Mallory was President of the Provisional Council from 1948 to 1952 and a member of the CNA Education Committee. Electa MacLennan was President of the CCUSN from 1954 to 1956 and President of the CNA from 1962 to 1964.