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A Wedding Has Been Arranged? The Unhappy Courtship of the Hamilton Teachers' College and McMaster University¹

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Abstract

This article is a case study of the long and complex history of teacher education in Hamilton, Ontario. Hamilton's first institution of teacher education, the Ontario Normal School, was an attempt to create an environment in which to effectively prepare secondary school teachers outside of a university setting. Its closure in 1907 was the result of the placement of secondary school teacher education within a university setting. The Hamilton Normal School (later Hamilton Teachers' College) that replaced the Ontario Normal School was eventually closed in 1979, a result of the failure of negotiations between Hamilton's McMaster University and the Ontario Department of Education. The role of local and provincial politics and the tensions in professional education are analyzed. Further, this article unravels a complex tale of competing objectives, and what could best be described as bad timing. Debates are identified from deep inside the core disciplines of the academy on the nature of teacher education that still haunt faculties of education today.

During the summer of 1970, as the fate of Hamilton Teachers' College (HTC) in Ontario, Canada was hotly debated amongst the faculty and staff of the college, McMaster University, and the Ministry of Education, a feature article about the college appeared in the *Hamilton Spectator* accompanied by a cartoon. Provocatively titled "A Wedding Has Been Arranged" and subtitled "A Proposed Link of Hamilton Teachers' College and McMaster University is Causing Concern," the cartoon portrayed the key players as members of a wedding party. The bride (HTC) and the groom (McMaster University) face one another. The bemused witness is the Department of Education. The officiating clergyman, unlabelled but probably the personification of the people of Hamilton, casts his eyes upwards, perhaps silently praying "Heaven Help Us" (Figure 1). Reporter Christine Cox explained to the readers that the Department of Education "is waiting with paternal concern to see on what terms McMaster will accept the college. A controversy quietly bubbling away in the faculty lounges of McMaster University could erupt this fall . . . since McMaster faculty . . . are unhappy about the idea of an arranged marriage in

¹ This article is part of a course of research "Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education" funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The author acknowledges the support of the staff of the Archives of McMaster University (AMU); Office of the Senate, McMaster University (ASMU); Archives of Brock University (ABU); Archives of York University (AYU); Archives of Lakehead University (ALU); Hamilton Archives of the Hamilton Public Library (HA); Educational Archives and Heritage Centre of Hamilton Wentworth (EAHCHW); and Archives of Ontario (AO).

which they feel one partner is educationally inferior to the other."² The cartoon foreshadowed the end of the unhappy courtship, as in the end no union of McMaster University and the Teachers' College was to take place. This article documents why and how this "arranged marriage" failed to occur. It unravels a complex tale of competing objectives, and what could best be described as bad timing. Further, it identifies those debates — from deep inside the core disciplines of the academy — on the nature of teacher education that to this day still haunt faculties of education.

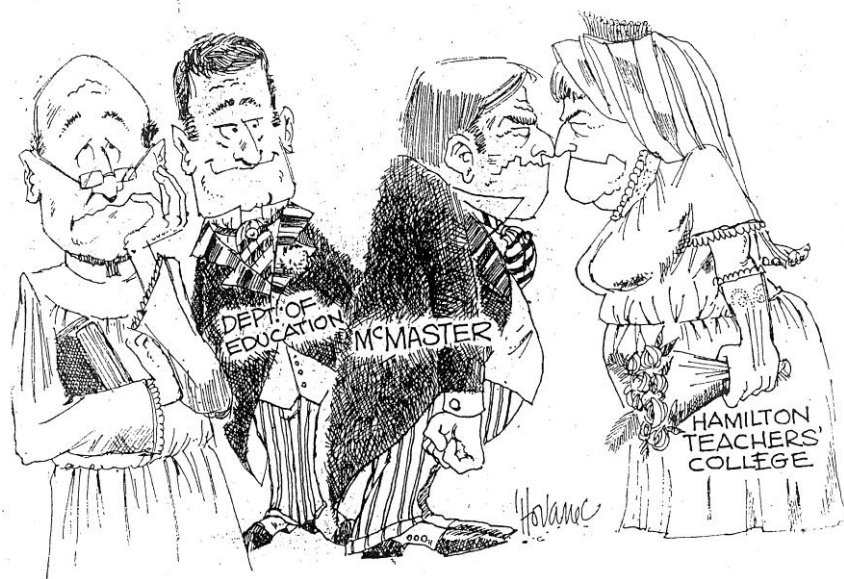


Figure 1: Hamilton Public Library, C. Cox, "A Wedding Has Been Arranged: A Proposed Link of Hamilton Teachers' College and McMaster University is Causing Concern," *Hamilton Spectator*, 29 July 1970. (With permission from *Hamilton Spectator*, 1 October 2009)

Institutions of Teacher Education

Institutes of teacher education are among the least studied of the professional schools.³ Perhaps this can be explained by Mary M. Kennedy's observations on the nature of the teaching profession:

² Ibid.

³ Among the few works that have explored this topic are: C.E. Phillips, *College of Education Toronto: Memories of OCE* (Toronto: Faculty of Education University of Toronto, 1977); W.G. Fleming, *Ontario's Educative Society: Supporting Institutions and Services* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); R. Harris, *Quiet Evolution: A Study of the Educational System of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); D.W. Booth and S. M. Stiegelbauer, eds., *Teaching Teachers* (Hamilton: Caliburn Enterprises, 1996); D. Lng and J. Eastman, *Mergers in Higher Education: Lessons from Theory and Practice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). A handful of dissertations have explored teacher education in Ontario, including T.A. Hodgins *University Education for Elementary School Teachers of Ontario 1950-1970 (A Case Study)*, (PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1971); L.A. Thompson, *Breaking Away in Teacher Education: The Development of a Concurrent Teacher Education Program at York University 1968-1980* (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1986); S. Gelman, *Women Secondary School Teachers: Ontario, 1871-1930* (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1994).

Most professions develop licensing policies that distinguish members from non-members and most members make career-long commitments to their professions . . . Both these aspects of professionalism have eluded education. A substantial fraction of the population consists of former teachers or people who were certified but never taught [or] . . . practicing educators [who] entered the field through alternative routes . . . The boundaries of educational expertise are further blurred by a presumption of expertise in the population at large for, as Carl Kaestle has noted, everyone has been to the fourth grade, and that makes everyone an expert on educational matters.⁴

The problematic nature of exclusive pedagogical professional knowledge and lack of rigid gate-keeping for admission further adds to the dubious status of teachers' colleges as true institutes of higher learning. Historians Roger Openshaw and Christine Orgen, studying New Zealand and the United States respectively, argue that the perceived status of teacher education institutions as academically and socially inferior to other professional schools has contributed directly to the lack of interest demonstrated by scholars of higher education.⁵ Where histories of teachers' colleges and faculties of education do appear, they generally fall into two categories: in-house studies that form a part of anniversary celebrations⁶ or student dissertations that are rarely published.⁷ More recently, several case studies have resulted from the mergers between and among free-standing teacher education institutions and universities, focusing generally on higher education policy.⁸ In short, a serious lacuna exists in the academic analysis of the history of professional preparation for teachers, and the institutions in which this occurred.

Institutions of teacher education were among the last components added to public education systems. In Ontario, they were created after the province's elementary schools, high schools, and universities in response to the need for staff to manage the expanding public school system. In order to teach in a publicly-funded school, one needed a teacher's certificate. In its absence, one could apply to the Department of Education for a temporary letter of permission, which allowed the individual to teach in a school for a limited period of time. Initially, teacher education was perceived as necessary only for those seeking to teach in elementary schools, and there were several routes by which one might gain teacher certification. Following the successful completion of some high school courses, one might attend a model school and participate in an apprenticeship model; or, following successful completion of four or five years at high school, one might attend a normal school. The model school path was terminated in the

⁴ M. Kennedy, "Incentives for Scholarship in Education Programs," in *Faculty Work in Schools of Education: Rethinking Roles and Rewards for the Twenty-first Century*, ed. W. Tierney (Albany: State University of New York, 2001), 17, <http://www.msu.edu/~mkennedy/publications/docs/FacIncentives/FacIncentives.pdf> (accessed 15 November 2002).

⁵ R. Openshaw, "Forward to the Past in New Zealand Teacher Education," *Journal of Education for Teaching* 25, no. 2 (July 1999): 111-22; C. Orgen, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); J. W. Fraser, *Preparing American Teachers: A History* (New York: Teachers College, 2006).

⁶ See for example D. McAuley and R. Moase, *25 Years Of Teacher Education at Brock University* (St. Catharines; Vanwell, 1990); I. Hundey et al., *Inspiring Education: Celebrating 100 Years of Studies in Education at the University of Toronto*, (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 2006); R. Stamp, *Becoming a Teacher in 20th Century Calgary: A History of the Calgary Normal School and the Faculty of Education, University of Calgary* (Calgary: Detselig, 2004).

⁷ T. Hodgins, *University Education for Elementary School Teachers of Ontario, 1950-1970 (A Case Study)*, (PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1971), 2.

⁸ For an example in Canada, see J. Eastman and D. Lang, *Mergers in Higher Education: Lessons from Theory and Experience* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); for New Zealand, see R. Openshaw, *Between Two Worlds: A History of Palmerston North College of Education, 1956-1996* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press: 1996).

early twentieth century as attendance at the normal school became the accepted form of elementary teacher education. Ontario's normal schools were renamed teachers' colleges in 1953. As the *Calendar of Teachers' Colleges* annually announced to the incoming students, the change in name was indicative of a change in focus. No longer was the goal of the teacher education program to instruct students in the craft of "teaching to the norm," but instead their goal was "the professional education of teachers" through academic and pedagogical studies.⁹

Between 1847 and 1963, the vast majority of students preparing to teach in Ontario's elementary schools obtained their teacher education by attending one of thirteen regional teachers' colleges. Unlike Britain, where the teacher education institutes were residential and segregated by gender and religion, and Quebec, where denominationally-segregated and religious-administered schools of pedagogy dominated the landscape,¹⁰ Ontario's elementary teacher education institutions were non-denominational, government-administered, and publicly funded, generally offering one-year, co-educational programs to day students who attended free of charge.

The preparation of teachers for the province's secondary schools has a more complex history. Do students possessing a university degree need additional pedagogical training before setting foot in a classroom? What is the role of the university faculty in their preparation? Should secondary teacher education take place in a free standing institution or within a university? These questions are central to the history of teacher education in Hamilton.

Teacher Education in Hamilton

Hamilton, Ontario is located some 60 kilometres west of Ontario's capital, Toronto. Its historic identity as a steel town began in 1861 with the foundation of the Hamilton Steel and Iron Company. Although McMaster University is now the institution of higher education most closely associated with Hamilton, the denominationally Baptist McMaster University was founded in Toronto and did not move to Hamilton until 1930, forty-three years after receiving its charter. A teacher education institution, however, and not a university, was to be Hamilton's first major institution of higher education.

Teacher education began in Hamilton with the establishment of the Ontario Normal College — an institution dedicated to the training of secondary school teachers. This was the second attempt to establish such a school. The first attempt, the Toronto-based School of Pedagogy, had a short and unsuccessful institutional life; established by the Department of Education to provide an optional course of study in secondary school pedagogy, the school had the support of neither the University of Toronto, whose faculty saw it as redundant, nor the Toronto Board of Education, who did not support the use of its secondary school teachers and their classrooms as hosts for the student teachers.

⁹ At the opening of the first Upper Canada normal school, the Toronto Normal School, on 1 November 1847, Chief Superintendent of Schools Edgerton Ryerson explained the nature and purpose of such institutions and the origin of their label "Normal": "The word Normal signifies according to the rule or principle and is employed to express the systematic teaching of the rudiments of learning. . . . A Normal School . . . is a school in which the principles and practices of teaching according to the rule are taught and exemplified." This explanation was repeated in the calendar annually. Ontario Department of Education, *Calendar of Teachers' Colleges* (1968), 9.

¹⁰ See for example B. Lefebvre, "La formation des Maitres au Quebec: Constat de son evolution (Teacher Training in Quebec: Report on Its Development)," *Journal of Educational Thought/Revue de la Pensée Educative* 28, no. 2 (August 1994): 153-64.; T. Hamel and M. Larocque "Observations from Quebec: The Emergence of a Research Culture in Education Through Legitimacy and Universitarisation, 1940-2000," *European Educational Research Journal* 1, no.1, (2002): 99-117; see also "Traditions and Transitions in Teacher Education," special issue, *Tidskrift: Journal of Research in Teacher Education*, no. 3-4 (2003),

http://www.educ.umu.se/presentation/publikationer/lof/lofu_nr3-4_2003.pdf (accessed 1 September 2009).

In the summer of 1895, the *Hamilton Spectator* jubilantly announced “A Good Thing for Hamilton: Ontario Normal College to be located here. A New building to be erected for the Collegiate School and the College – The Agreement between the School Board and the Education Department.” The *Spectator* described the numerous benefits that the city would accrue for a small price, “The extra cost to make provision for the Normal College will be small: two or three rooms is all that would be required,” whereas the benefits realized would be significant. In addition to the economic benefits to the city:

The presence in the city of say 100 intelligent and highly educated teachers in training, many of whom will be university graduates from all over the province for nearly the whole year [term is 1 October – 31 May] cannot fail to leave its impression on the whole city. The students of the Collegiate will strive to reach the same height of learning as those teachers in training with whom they come daily into contact. The teachers of the collegiate will have to be more watchful as they will be constantly observed by those sent here to be trained. When a teacher is wanted on the staff of the city schools the board will have the pick of the best of the teachers in training.

The article reported the terms and conditions of the ten-year agreement to which the city’s Board of Education and the Education Department agreed, most notably the role of the city’s teachers in working with the students in the “critic” capacity.¹¹ A critic teacher was an experienced classroom teacher who would work with the student in a master/apprentice relationship as the student teacher learned the skills of classroom management and curriculum delivery in a classroom setting.

Yet the agreement set to last ten years terminated in 1907. The Hamilton-based Ontario Normal College was closed. As a result of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto, two faculties of education were established to educate teachers for secondary schools: one at Queen’s University in Kingston, and one at the University of Toronto. R.A. Thompson, the principal of Hamilton’s Ontario Normal College, explained that this change was largely the result of political whims and the changing opinions of the University of Toronto, commenting that “a great change has come over the university authorities and they are now attempting to remove from Hamilton the college that has been doing such good work there.”¹² As a consolation prize, Hamilton was selected as the site of one of the new provincial normal schools.

Hamilton Normal School educated generations of student teachers drawn from throughout the Golden Horseshoe region. It was housed in a purpose-built building, located just west of the city’s central business district. Similar to all provincial teacher education institutions, admission standards fluctuated annually, driven by the projected demand for teachers. During their time at the normal school, student teachers undertook a mixed program of academic preparation and in-school teaching practice. The members of the instructional staff of the school were known as teaching masters — a title indicative both of rank and gender. Most masters began their careers as teachers, were subsequently promoted to principals and then joined the civil service as school inspectors. Teaching masters were appointed by the Department of Education through a process characterized by a coupling of promotion through the civil service ranks and the reputation for being a good teacher. While the majority had acquired an initial post-secondary degree, some possessed a master’s degree and a few had earned doctorates. The masters were employed on a twelve-month contract. In addition to teaching the student teachers, the teaching masters

¹¹ “A Good Thing for Hamilton,” *The Hamilton Spectator*, 14 August 1895.

¹² D.B. Caswell, *The Beginning and Early Development of Secondary School Teacher Education in the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: typescript manuscript, OISE/UT library, 1966), 24, quoted in E. Guillet, *In the Cause of Education* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 224.

worked through the summer delivering professional development courses to experienced teachers. Masters frequently relocated to teach these courses. Some masters engaged in textbook writing and research in the areas of child development, although scholarship, as defined by research and publication, was not part of their job description.

Department of Education officials believed that standardization was the means to ensure uniformity of instruction in the province's schools. Bibliographies of reference books, printed annually and distributed to the staff and students of the provincial normal schools, indicated the centralization of the curriculum.¹³ Annual departmental memos directed the principals of the normal schools on an array of administrative and programmatic issues. Courses followed provincial guidelines with some flexibility for local experimentation.¹⁴ Hamilton Normal School did boast some famous firsts, including the principalship of Miss Clara Elliot, one of the few women administrators in the male dominated normal school hierarchy. There was also an international element to teacher education, as students from Bermuda journeyed to Hamilton for their studies, subsequently returning to their homeland to teach.

Hamilton Teachers' College and McMaster University, 1953-1968

The same year that the Hamilton Normal School was renamed the Hamilton Teachers' College, it was relocated to the western area of Hamilton, neighbouring McMaster University — the result not of careful and long term planning, but of a fire. On 2 January 1953, the building that housed the Hamilton Normal School virtually burned to the ground. Its cause was attributed to arson, although no one was ever charged with the crime. The students took up temporary residence at the Zion United Church, and for the next four years the students described their institution as the "College-in-Churches" as their classes were held in the Zion United Church and St. George's Anglican Church.

Two months after the fire, the *Hamilton Spectator* reported that Hamilton Mayor Lloyd Jackson, with the authorization of the Department of Education, had announced the location of the new teachers' college adjacent to the grounds of McMaster University. McMaster had grown dramatically since its relocation from Toronto in 1930. While it retained its Baptist affiliation and seminary, it also offered an arts and science program. McMaster President G.P. Gilmour commented on the university's support of the decision, while noting a very strict delineation of purpose between the two institutions:

There is no question or proposal concerning any academic connection between the two institutions since the Department has full control of the training of elementary school teachers. But there are obvious advantages for students at the teachers' college if they can have access to the library facilities and other university grounds and equipment. Further it may mean that a larger proportion of elementary school teachers will be encouraged to complete university studies during their teaching careers.¹⁵

The location of the building was recorded in the McMaster Senate minutes as "a matter of interest and announcement to the Senate."¹⁶

¹³ Ontario Department of Education, *Calendar of the Teachers' Colleges* (1960).

¹⁴ For example, an experimental course called "Curriculum Methods" began in 1962 at the Peterborough Teachers College. "Curriculum Methods," *Ontario Education Dimensions* 7, no. 4 (January/February 1973): 5.

¹⁵ HA, Ontario Teachers Education College Scrapbooks (hereafter Scrapbooks), "Arrangements Completed for Fine Addition to the City Mayor Jackson Reveals," *Hamilton Spectator*, 26 March 1953.

¹⁶ ASMU, Senate Meeting, 26 March 1953.

When the Minister of Education W.J. Dunlop commented on the finalization of the arrangement for the location of the new teachers' college, he described the choice of site as "ideal" and, as reported in *The Hamilton Spectator*, "[T]hrough the student teachers being virtually on the university campus, many would be encouraged to continue studies toward a degree." While the new college building was celebrated as "the first in Ontario to be closely allied with a university," it was the cooperative use of the library and "mutual inter-change of playing fields, gymnasias and auditoria," rather than academic collaboration, that was highlighted. The architect described "working hand in hand with the university and I can't say how co-operative they've been even to date."¹⁷ At the official opening of the new college on 15 April 1957, the president of McMaster University joined politicians and other educational officials as a platform guest and, in his capacity as the leader of a Baptist institution, offered the invocation and dedication.

A review of the Hamilton press and the McMaster University senate records for the following ten years offers little that would suggest an ongoing, or even growing, relationship between the two neighbouring educational institutions. The university itself experienced tremendous and unprecedented growth as it added a number of academic and professional faculties to its campus. With the publication of the *Report of the Minister's Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers* (the *MacLeod Report*), discussions began between McMaster University and HTC.

The *MacLeod Report* was the work of a ministerial committee charged with the task of examining and reporting on the preparation of elementary school teachers.¹⁸ The committee held public hearings and invited community input. Some ninety-nine individual and organizational briefs were submitted that, in the committee's words, contained "a remarkable unanimity," leading them to conclude that "inadequate academic education and insufficient maturity on the part of the student teachers" had resulted in the failure of elementary teachers to gain professional status.¹⁹ They wrote "there appears a growing conviction among thoughtful parents and the public at large that most graduates from our Teachers' Colleges are too young, too immature and less well prepared academically than they should be." With the pressures of supply and not professional excellence driving enrollment patterns, the committee warned that "teaching has not properly challenged our ablest students, many of whom have chosen other careers in preference to elementary school teaching. Recruitment has therefore become increasingly difficult."²⁰

To create a teacher who was "a scholar and an educated person,"²¹ the committee recommended the relocation of teacher education to a university setting. The program of study could be delivered in a number of modes including concurrently (education subjects taken alongside a degree in another academic discipline), consecutively (an education program taken at the completion of a degree), or through an internship. As well, the committee suggested that both elementary and secondary teacher candidates be educated within the same environment and that, at the end of the program of study, both a university degree and professional certification be granted.

The vision of elementary teacher education proposed by the *MacLeod Report* was clear. Teacher education would be university-based and of four years in duration. Beginning teachers would be three years older than those graduating from teachers' colleges. Admission would be based on grades and not on the previous "places for all who applied" process. Fees would be charged. The program would consist

¹⁷ HA, Scrapbooks, "New Teachers' College First of Type," *Hamilton Spectator*, 24 June 1953.

¹⁸ Ontario Department of Education, *Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee on the Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario* (Toronto: 1968), 129.

¹⁹ Ontario Department of Education, *Report of the Minister's Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers* (*MacLeod Report*) (Toronto: 1966), 2, 13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

of four parts: academic/liberal education, foundations of education, curriculum and instruction, and practice teaching. It would be delivered by both liberal arts professors and professors of education, who would be “competent scholars and distinguished and successful teachers.”²² The program would be housed in a faculty, administered by a dean and governed by university regulation. However, education was not to be entirely severed from the Ministry of Education. The committee recommended that the minister approve the appointment of the dean and consult on the appointment of the instructional staff.

William Davis, minister of education, warmly welcomed the *MacLeod Report*’s recommendations. On 29 March 1966, he announced to the Ontario Legislature that he was “in complete agreement with the program suggested and it will be the policy of my department to implement the plans to this end as quickly as possible.”²³ The minister charged J.L. McCarthy, deputy minister of education, and G.L. Woodruff, director of the teacher education branch, with beginning negotiations with the universities on an individual basis.

The Ministry of Education may have been enthusiastic about this change, but the universities were nonetheless cautious. Speaking on behalf of the newly formed Subcommittee on Teacher Education of the Committee of Presidents of Universities of Ontario (CPUO), D.M.L. Farr, dean of Carleton University, explained that university autonomy must be respected as negotiations concerning “admissions, curriculum, academic standards and staffing” took place.²⁴ These concerns were highlighted in the meetings between McMaster academics and officials of the teacher education branch of the Department of Education.

Initial discussions were held between ministry officials, Woodruff and H.R. Blanchard, and the deans of McMaster, A.W. Patrick and R.P. Graham, to informally discuss the problems relating to the *MacLeod Report*’s implementation. No records exist to indicate that the request made by the two McMaster deans for “one or two more informal discussions before setting up committees or consulting the President of the University”²⁵ was granted; however, on 21 January 1967 the McMaster’s Senate Executive Committee established another committee, formalized at the senate meeting on February 8, “to study the report on the training of elementary school teachers.”²⁶ The members included F.R. Smith, principal of Delta Secondary School, as chair; McMaster faculty Dr. D.R. McCalla, Dr. E.T. Salmon, Dr. M.L. Stock; Dean of Arts J.H. Trueman; and the university registrar.

The six-person committee moved quickly, presenting on 15 March 1967 an interim report to senate outlining that it had “learned briefly of the history of informal talks and of correspondence on this subject between officers of the university and officers representing the Minister of Education.” It held a series of meetings to study the *MacLeod Report*, met with the principal of the HTC, examined “studies conducted in Alberta, British Columbia, California and Wisconsin on the training of elementary school teachers,” and corresponded with “at least two other Ontario universities to find out whether their study of the Minister’s Report has resulted in concrete recommendations.”²⁷ R.H. Brayford, acting principal of HTC,

²² *Ibid.*, 56.

²³ Ontario Legislative Assembly, *Debates and Proceedings*, 28 March 1966, 2009e.

²⁴ ALU, Senate Meetings, Meeting No. 20, 12 December 1967, D.M.L. Farr to William David, 1 December 1967, 30.

²⁵ AO, RG2-261, TB1 “Hamilton Teachers’ College Integration with University,” Memorandum from the Director of Teacher Education G.L. Woodruff to the deputy minister, 5 October 1966, re: Meeting at McMaster University 28 September 1966. The file indicates that this was one of two meetings held that day; the other meeting was at the University of Guelph, and was attended by the Principal of Hamilton Teachers’ College Hank Hedges. Hedges did not attend the McMaster meeting. The University of Guelph moved equally promptly and, by 23 February 1967, a proposal was put forth for a Learning Disabilities Centre located at Wellington College, which would offer certification courses to practicing teachers and masters and doctoral degrees in psychology.

²⁶ ASMU, Senate Meeting, 8 February 1967.

²⁷ ASMU, Special Meeting of the Senate, 15 March 1967, vol. xi, 58.

was invited to meet with the committee on March 17. He wrote to his superior, Woodruff, of the committee's concerns about standards, noting that "admission requirements must be the same for students in education as for the regular arts and sciences . . . Courses offered to students in education should be academically challenging . . . not watered down."²⁸ Brayford concluded his assessment of the meeting on a positive note. He offered "to name a committee of staff from the Hamilton Teachers' College to consult with them when the situation warranted it."²⁹

The minutes of this meeting reveal some further insights into how the process was occurring. Universities were consulting with each other in order to plan for the transformation of teacher education from a government-controlled program delivered in a stand-alone institution by civil servants to the creation of a Faculty of Education staffed by tenured faculty members, operating as an integral part of the university campus. McMaster's registrar reported that "Brock [University] does not anticipate any involvement in the programme of teacher education."³⁰ Ironically, it would be Brock University, and not McMaster University, that would become home to a Faculty of Education.

Within the week, the committee presented an interim report to the McMaster Senate:

The committee is fully cognizant of the complexities and ramifications of the problem under study. To date there appears to be unanimity of opinion in two major points:

- 1) That McMaster University should assume some responsibilities in implementing the recommendations of the Minister's Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers, 1966;
- 2) That Year 1 of any proposed training plan should be a purely academic year at the university.³¹

The minutes record that the interim report was carried unanimously. Dean Trueman further reported to the senate on his meetings with the Subcommittee on Teacher Training of the CPUO. He cogently observed that

. . . it is far from clear to our Committee how or if this staff [of the Hamilton Teachers' College] can be incorporated into the university community. It may well prove easier to solve the financial implications involved in the incorporation of the staff than solve those problems associated with that member's "status among his university colleagues" as the MacLeod Report describes it. As the PhD becomes more and more the requirement for an appointment at the Assistant Professor level in many universities, it is difficult to see how members of an education "faculty" are — again to quote the MacLeod Report — to be "given ranks comparable to those held by their colleagues in other faculties." This problem is a delicate one and any solution will require complex and quite possibly protracted negotiations if the education staff is not going to be thought of as a group of second class academics.³²

²⁸ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1967), R.H. Brayford to G.L. Woodruff, 22 March 1967.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1967), Meeting of the Committee to Study the Minister's Report on Training of Elementary School Teachers, 17 March 1967.

³¹ ASMU, Special Meeting of the Senate, 15 March 1967, vol. xi, 58.

³² AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1967), J.H. Trueman, *Interim Report on the Discussions of the McMaster Senate Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers*, 6 June 1967.

Trueman argued that for teacher education to be accepted as academically viable within a university, those staffing the program must be seen to be as well qualified as their counterparts in other faculties. He was not alone in voicing these concerns. J.A. Angus, the founding dean of the Faculty of Education at Lakehead University, observed the differences between the masters of teachers' colleges and university faculty. Angus described the work-life of the masters as

. . . relatively peaceful and unharried . . . There has been no compulsion on Teachers' College Masters as there is on Professors in Faculties of Education in other jurisdictions to take advanced degrees, conduct research, publish, assume leadership in professional organizations, serve on academic committees, deliver scholarly activity on which promotion, tenure or merit increases in salary are normally based. This is not to suggest that some Teachers' College Masters have not done these things. Rather the point is being made that there has been no endemic need to do them.³³

Not only were staff credentials a question, but so too was the nature of the teacher education program and how it should be delivered. Should it be offered as a one-year post-degree program (consecutive), or concurrently with the study of an undergraduate arts or science degree? From a pragmatic perspective, a consecutive program appeared to be the least disruptive.³⁴

The *Senate Report of the Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers* was presented to the McMaster Senate on 27 September 1967. Its nine recommendations (of which six are outlined below) further elaborated on those of the interim report, and concluded:

- 1) That McMaster University institute an elementary school teacher education programme on a consecutive plan ie at least three years academic studies . . . leading to a bachelor's degree followed by one year of professional training; . . .
- 3) That upon successful completion of the professional year students be awarded a Diploma of Teacher Education by the university; . . .
- 5) That a Department of Teacher Education be created at McMaster . . . this Department should be in the Faculty of Social Science;
- 6) That an outstanding individual in the field of teacher education be appointed as Chairman of the Department of Teacher Education to build up staff and to develop the programme;
- 7) That a Senate Committee . . . be set up to assist the Chairman and the Dean of the Faculty of Social Science with . . . its integration into the university as a whole;
- 8) It will also be necessary for this Committee to consider the role that the present staff of the Hamilton Teachers' College might play in providing faculty for the new Department.³⁵

Citing the input of Principal Brayford of HTC, the committee wrote that:

³³ J.T. Angus, "A New Direction in Teacher Education in Ontario" (address, Teacher Education Section of the Ontario Education Association, 24 March 1970), 3.

³⁴ For a more thorough assessment of this debate see, Angus, "A New Direction."

³⁵ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 27 September 1967, vol. xii, 53.

Mr. Brayford made it clear to us that each member of the Teachers' College staff would have to consider the desirability of leaving the provincial civil service for the hazards of a university position. There are many problems including the matters of academic achievement and a practical concern over pensions and other fringe benefits.³⁶

The senate discussions of these recommendations centered on one major point — that delivering a concurrent teacher education program outside the faculties of arts and sciences at McMaster was unworkable. Trueman, as a member of the Subcommittee on Teacher Education of the CPUO, reported that only Lakehead University “had drafted a recommendation favouring the concurrent plan . . .” Mel Preston, dean of graduate studies, questioned the implications of accepting these recommendations, and the cost in terms of the expansion of other university departments and programs. The Chair responded that:

The University has been giving consideration to a second campus in Ancaster [a suburb of Hamilton, located on the Niagara escarpment and to west of the main campus] . . . a Department of Teacher Education could be started on this campus and moved to Ancaster to become part of the liberal arts campus and thus avoiding any necessity to limit the development of existing faculties.³⁷

Admission standards were a key point of discussion, most notably the fact that “only 65% of the students now attending Hamilton Teachers' College had qualifications comparable to McMaster's Present admission standards.”³⁸

Thus standards of admission, locating teacher education within a department rather than a faculty, and the proposed relocation to a satellite campus were features of the senate discussion. Ironically, the academic standards of the staff did not even make to the senate floor. Staff transfer had been described as

the thorniest problem . . . one half (16) of the staff of the present Hamilton Teachers' College have no advanced degrees . . . Even when due allowance is made for their teaching experience, it is hard to see how a large proportion of these people could be brought into a University Department without that Department appearing second rate in the eyes of other university faculty members.

Significantly, the committee had concluded its report by warning: “Any compromise made, especially with respect to the standards for staff appointments to the Department of Teacher Education would inevitably weaken the impact of our program. There seems little point in merely continuing Teachers' College training under University auspices.”³⁹

Further discussion of the report took place at the senate meeting held 10 January 1968. Repeated references were made to the education of secondary school teachers, and questions about the efficacy of awarding a Bachelor of Education degree since “the general consensus appeared to be that such a degree was of little academic value.” Space, location, and impact on other developments in the university

³⁶ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1968), *Report to the Senate by the Senate Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers*, 19 September 1967, 11.

³⁷ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 27 September 1967, vol. xii, 53.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 27 September 1967, vol. xii, Appendix C, 12.

dominated the discussion. The senate approved in principle a resolution for “instituting a department of teacher education (the precise name of the department to be determined at a later date).”⁴⁰

The recommendations remained in limbo. While the committee continued to meet, the senate was informed that “the position of the Province was confused.”⁴¹ Consequently, President H.G. Thode wrote to Deputy Minister of Education J.R. McCarthy on 17 May 1968 regarding McMaster’s approval in principle of the development of a teacher education program, and included a copy of the report with a request for his input. The same report was sent to Woodruff by Brayford, who noted in his covering letter that: “Twelve copies of his document were delivered to me by the chair of the committee . . . I am holding the other nine copies and will not release any information to the staff regarding their content until I receive directions from you. I understand that the content of the brief is to be given to the press very shortly. I await your direction.”⁴² Woodruff contacted McCarthy immediately, who wrote in turn that: “The McMaster Report may be a basis for us to discuss with officials there. It shows a lack of understanding of the situation in several areas. No action should be taken on it at present.”⁴³ Many reasons for Woodruff’s negative reaction are possible, not least of which may have been the proposed movement of teacher education to a satellite campus that would eliminate the benefits of the integration of teacher education’s faculty and staff with the broader university community.

The senate meeting of June 18 was dedicated in large part to an update by Trueman. Following a meeting with Walter Pitman, chair of the Ontario Education Association, the committee learned that Trent University, like McMaster University, had received “no reply to its queries.” Impatiently waiting for a reply, the senate went public and the *Senate Report of the Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers* was widely circulated to faculty, officers of the student government, the Board of Governors, the press, and members of the staff of HTC.⁴⁴ McMaster was taking action. The president included a description of the strategy in his annual report: “The Senate Committee [Report] on this important topic has been circulated to all members of the faculty following its acceptance in principle by the Senate. The Report calls for the consecutive approach to teacher education.”⁴⁵

The report spurred action among the HTC staff, and thus the HTC Faculty Association was formed to deal with the fact that “the plans for the education of elementary school teachers . . . appear to be in the process of formulation without any direct involvement on our part.” In a letter to Woodruff, the association president, R.M. McKay listed his concerns: “It would be a negation of our responsibility as a professional group and a contradiction of the academic freedom which historically has been attached to persons responsible for higher education if we should now fail to influence plans.” In a handwritten comment, Woodruff noted: “Nonsense. Civil servants.” This dismissive scrawl suggests that even within the Department of Education itself, the teachers’ college masters were not viewed as academics but as arms of the bureaucracy.⁴⁶ While McKay voiced support for the integration with McMaster, he questioned the ministry support of the proposal, the “inference . . . that the existing staff of the Teachers’ Colleges is second-rate,” and, curiously, he concludes that “we request your permission . . . to forward copies of this letter to members of the Senate of McMaster University.” Woodruff did agree to meet with the staff, yet unfortunately no record of his communication exists.

When he finally responded to Thode, McCarthy constructed a detailed assessment of McMaster’s plan. The battle lines were drawn. What is apparent in his letter is that a number of agencies are

⁴⁰ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 10 January 1968, vol. xii, 83-93.

⁴¹ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 6 May 1968, vol. xiii, 130.

⁴² AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1968), Brayford to Woodruff, 9 July 1968.

⁴³ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1968), J.R. McCarthy to Woodruff, handwritten note, 16 August 1968.

⁴⁴ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 18 June 1968, vol. xiii, 154.

⁴⁵ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1969), *The President’s Report (1967/8)*, McMaster University.

⁴⁶ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1968), R.M. McKay to Woodruff, 9 September 1968.

competing for supremacy in decision-making. Although McCarthy conceded that “the Department is most anxious to find an acceptable pattern by which it can work with McMaster University in the development of teacher education program” and “the decision rests with the University, as I know you are fully aware,”⁴⁷ his point-by-point response indicates that the government wanted to set the frame of reference under which an education program could be effectively developed with McMaster University. In short, his response was hostile. He questioned the qualifications of those writing the report, concluding: “It is obvious that they are in need of expert help.” He questioned the committee’s decisions, stating that a number of “the assumptions . . . are invalid. A number of inferences drawn from the MacLeod Report are also incorrect.” McCarthy’s major objections centered on several points. He challenged the proposed location of teacher education: “It is not clear why a program of professional education would be made a Department. . . within the Faculty of Social Sciences. Is it or would it be the intention to include other professional programs in the Faculty of Social Sciences? I have in mind for example law or medicine?” He was equally clear that “the university would assume responsibility for the present Hamilton Teachers’ College and that the staff of that College would form the nucleus of a new Faculty of Education.” McCarthy’s penultimate point is of particular interest: “The University should not presume to make unilateral decisions involving existing institutions under the jurisdiction of the Department and involving present staff of a Teachers’ College.” To further emphasize his point, he included a copy of the letter from the president of the HTC Faculty Association.⁴⁸

Further Negotiations, 1968-1972

In the fall of 1968, McMaster’s Senate Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers had a new chair, University Vice-President W.F. Hellmuth, an economist and former dean of arts and sciences at Oberlin College. Another new committee member J. Reid, vice principal of W.H. Ballard Elementary School, served as a representative of Hamilton’s elementary teachers. These two men brought new perspectives to the committee.⁴⁹ The committee reported on 11 June 1969, focusing primarily on the state of negotiations between the presidents and the ministry; the location of the proposed department (including a recommendation of movement from social sciences to humanities); and the need to have committee representation on the planning and priorities committees. Significantly, however, Hellmuth observed that negotiations taking place between McMaster and HTC were for all intents and purposes informal, and that direct negotiations needed to take place with the Department of Education. Hellmuth warned:

A motion should now be presented which would authorize such negotiations to be initiated at the earliest opportunity . . . the longer negotiations are delayed, the greater the risk of losing possible services to the University of still more from the Hamilton Teachers’ College. A number of the more experienced faculty from that institution have recently resigned, having accepted well paid teaching and administrative positions elsewhere.

He maintained that the university could ill-afford further inaction permitting this drain of useful talent to continue.⁵⁰ The senate heeded this warning and unanimously approved the motion that: “As soon as the Committee on Teacher Education is constituted by the Senate, the University is authorized to enter into

⁴⁷ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1968), McCarthy to H.G. Thode, 4 November 1968.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 8 October 1968, vol. xv [sic], 28.

⁵⁰ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 11 June 1969, vol. xiv, 248.

negotiations with the Department of Education re the establishment of a Department of Teacher Education at McMaster University and that the faculty location of that Department be recommended by the committee."⁵¹

In spite of the need for speedy action, the committee took almost two years to make its report to senate. They held many meetings, including one with Brayford and Woodruff. Woodruff reported that while "the committee . . . were lukewarm concerning the establishment of a Faculty of Education . . . I would say that the meeting was satisfactory and useful and that a formal request from the university to integrate the Hamilton Teachers' College might be presented within the year."⁵² A year stretched into two. In that time, it heard from fourteen groups and received sixty-eight briefs. The brief from the HTC Faculty Association reiterated their earlier protest:

As the professional group currently responsible for the education of elementary teachers . . . we feel a special responsibility for exercising a positive influence on the program that will be the successor to what we are doing now. While we are aware that changes are necessary and indeed welcome such changes, we feel that the program we have developed, based as it is upon our unique knowledge and experience . . . constitutes a positive base upon which an effective teacher education within a university can be built.

The brief contained recommendations concerning curriculum, staff, facilities, and practice teaching, and concluded that concurrent education was the best mode of delivery. Courses in both the foundations and curriculum domains should be delivered "by persons who have teaching experience in the elementary schools, and the brief further argued that "this recommendation is not made in any attempt to enhance the standing of the present Teachers' College staff in the new faculty but because we are convinced that any attempt to teach these courses without exemplifying the concepts and principles would result in them being grossly ineffective."⁵³ It is unclear if the authors of the brief were aware that Brayford was working on another front — facilitating an Ontario Teachers' Federation committee, where he assisted in preparing a brief in which a concurrent program and a faculty of education were recommended.⁵⁴

The Hamilton Board of Education also entered the fray, supportive of the integration of HTC into McMaster but also of the sanctity of the qualifications of the college staff. Representatives of the board wrote:

One of the strengths of the Hamilton Teachers' College . . . has been the quality of its staff . . . [I]t has attempted to maintain a balance between practical experience and scholarship . . . We are bold enough to hope that the University will continue this practice. One of the fears of our officials in connection with the proposed merger is that future staff appointments may be made on the basis of academic qualifications rather than experience in the field and that the preference may be given to theorists rather than practitioners.⁵⁵

⁵¹ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 11 June 1969, vol. xiv, 249.

⁵² AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1970), Woodruff to J.F. Kinlin, 30 January 1970.

⁵³ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1970), Hamilton Teachers' College Faculty Association, *Brief Presented to the McMaster University Senate Committee on Teacher Education*, February 1970.

⁵⁴ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1970), Ontario Teachers' Federation Committee (N. Howard, Chair), *A Brief on Teacher Education as Proposed to the Senate of McMaster University*, January 1970.

⁵⁵ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1970), Committee on Teacher Education (C. Gage, Chair), *A Brief from the Board of Education of the City of Hamilton to the Senate of McMaster University*, June 1970.

Hellmuth summarized the recommendations of the Senate Committee on Teacher Education, focusing on the establishment of “a Faculty of Education” and “a concurrent 4 year program” being implemented.⁵⁶ The committee acknowledged that its recommendations “differ from and we believe are generally an improvement over” the work of previous committees, but hastened to add that they believed “there is no single best way, no foolproof formula to prepare students to be teachers. One member of the committee compared the various approaches to teacher education to “betting on horses.”⁵⁷ In the report, the committee gave its endorsement of both a concurrent and a consecutive program, with emphasis on the concurrent. The committee also recommended that the integrated college should be given faculty status.⁵⁸

Two days after its presentation to the senate, on 11 June 1971, Hellmuth forwarded a copy of the Senate Committee on Teacher Education report to Robert Welch, minister of education. At this point, it seems, the die was already cast — Hellmuth’s worries about acting promptly were well founded. A series of internal memos attached to his correspondence drafting the minister’s reply indicate that McMaster’s case was shaky. In a memo dated 21 June 1971, Assistant Deputy Minister J.F. Kinlin wondered whether “we [should] give a hint of possible non-interest.” Several versions of a possible reply to McMaster exist, and the one which was ultimately dispatched satisfied Kinlin’s concern that the Minister be “sufficiently frank.” It contained an ominous qualification that once the report has been passed by the senate, “[y]ou [Vice President Hellmuth] will get in touch with me to consider the matter. This will give us a similar opportunity to consider the question of teacher education, from a provincial viewpoint, in an attempt to decide which, if any additional faculties of education are required and where they might be located.”⁵⁹

The report received endorsement from the senate but it was too late. Timing was everything. In an internal memo commenting on a *Hamilton Spectator* story, which appeared on 28 October 1971 announcing “HTC Integration Closer to Reality,” Kinlin noted to Deputy Minister E.E. Stewart that “it is most interesting that if McMaster had spent 1½ years instead of 2 years on this study, they would have been integrated before the development of the [provincial] master plan.”⁶⁰ It took a little longer for McMaster to be formally told of its fate. On 5 November 1971, President Thode asked that Minister of Education Welch endorse negotiations to ensure that “full integration beginning with the 1973/4 academic year” take place.⁶¹ A week later, Thode was advised by Welch that because ministry staff were involved in the task of creating “a master plan for teacher education,” and since “the task of preparing the plan was much more demanding than anticipated . . . it has been decided to withhold discussions on all further agreements on the transfer of responsibilities for teachers’ colleges.⁶² The fate of HTC was once again up in the air.⁶³

One of the reasons for the decision to cease discussions with McMaster University was the impact of declining enrollment. In the summer of 1971, only 35% of the 1970-1971 graduating class of HTC were employed. This factor, combined with raising admissions requirements for teachers’ colleges to include one year of university, resulted in a drop in enrollment of over 300 students.⁶⁴ Staff at the provincial teachers’ colleges was cut.

⁵⁶ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 9 June 1971, vol. xvi, 185.

⁵⁷ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 11 June 1971, vol. xiv, *Report of the Senate Committee on Teacher Education*, 9 June 1971, 2.

⁵⁸ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 11 June 1968, vol. xiv, *Report of the Senate Committee on Teacher Education*, 9 June 1971, 2.

⁵⁹ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1971), R. Welch to Dr. W.F. Hellmuth, 25 June 1971.

⁶⁰ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1970), Kinlin to E.E. Stewart, 30 October 30 1971.

⁶¹ ASMU, Thode to Welch, 5 November 1971.

⁶² ASMU, Welch to Thode, 12 November 1971.

⁶³ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 12 June 1974, 284.

⁶⁴ HA, Scrapbooks, “Teacher Enrollment Cut - Jobs Scarce,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 14 August 1971.

The Establishment of the Ontario Teachers' Education College

McMaster University continued to voice its support for integration with the Teachers' College. In the summer of 1972, Hellmuth requested the assistance of the ministry of education's Blanchard. Hellmuth wrote:

We at McMaster continue to be interested in teacher education and in the prospect of integration with the Hamilton Teachers' College . . . it would be very helpful if you could let us know officially or informally whether integration of the teacher education program might be a live issue during the coming year . . . Perhaps you would be willing to give me a phone call.⁶⁵

Hellmuth was advised by F.W. Vicker, acting director of the Ministry of Education's teacher education branch, that the matter was "under active consideration . . . no integration is planned for September 1972 . . . you will be informed of any part that McMaster may have in the future plans."⁶⁶ Control had shifted from the university to the ministry. Later that summer, Minister of Education Tom Wells met with McMaster's new president A.N. Bourns "to discuss future developments in teacher education in Ontario and the role that might be undertaken by McMaster in such developments."⁶⁷ As part of the background paper prepared for this meeting, ministry staff outlined the history and current options for HTC, noting that "the present Hamilton Teachers' College site [opened in 1957] was selected with integration with McMaster in mind," and reminding the Minister that since 1966, university committees has been working toward this end. The paper indicated the following option: "Close Hamilton Teachers' College and transfer professional staff to the College of Education, Brock University effective September 1, 1973."⁶⁸ A second option was not as clearly stated: "If this college were integrated with a university, it could offer concurrent as well as consecutive teacher education programs." The name of the university was not stated.⁶⁹

The notes of this meeting, recorded by Deputy Minister Stewart, reveal the university's support for the integration of a Faculty of Education and the minister's doubts about the initiative. Stewart wrote that McMaster's president had:

. . . stressed however that it was his firm belief that the development of a teacher education program at his university would be good for McMaster, and good for the community. He noted that since McMaster wanted true integration its plan would be to move the teacher education program to the centre of the campus where it would be included as part of the Arts IV complex . . . University

⁶⁵ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1972), Hellmuth to H.A. Blanchard, 12 July 1972.

⁶⁶ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1972), F.W. Vicker to Hellmuth, 24 July 1972.

⁶⁷ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1972), File Station no. 11, McMaster University and Teacher Education, 5 September 1972.

⁶⁸ Brock University had been established in St Catharines, Ontario, approximately 60 km southwest of Hamilton, in 1964. In 1965, a teachers' college was opened in the city, holding classes in space rented from the university. On 1 July 1971, the teachers' college became part of Brock University. "Brock University Act, 1971, Receives Royal Assent," *Campus News: News and Information about Brock University* 6, no. 1 (8 July 1971), http://dr.library.brocku.ca/bitstream/handle/10464/1112/Campus_News_July_8_1971.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed 25 April 2010).

⁶⁹ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1972), Background article for "The Meeting of the Honourable Thomas Wells, Minister of Education, with the President of McMaster University Hamilton, Thursday August 31, 1972."

representatives indicated that interest in teacher education at McMaster had been building. They pointed in particular to the programs of in-service training and development . . . under the sponsorship of Shell Oil Company for secondary school teachers . . . [and to] members of the Faculty of Medicine who felt there could be a strong link between Medicine and Education in the fields of Special Education that related to children with physical and mental difficulties.⁷⁰

The Minister's concerns focused on a number of issues, including:

. . . an expression of doubt about the benefits that would be derived from transfer of responsibility, to the sharply increased costs that would be involved and to the fears that had been expressed that programs within universities might become too theoretical. He said that if requirements for new buildings were to be added to the costs already involved, the merits of integration might be questioned even more seriously . . . The Minister went on to indicate that . . . the need for faculties of education at both Brock and McMaster Universities had been seriously questioned. [I]n light of the decreased demand for university places, particularly in teacher education . . . The issue then was the location of a faculty of education for the Hamilton-Niagara region."⁷¹

The representatives of McMaster University reacted in a predictable manner. They "acknowledged the strength of the argument that one faculty would suffice . . . while McMaster could survive without developing such a faculty . . . they seemed to feel that there would be strong community resistance to closing the teacher education facility in Hamilton." The issue of staff was also discussed, with the minister noting "the moral obligation of the Ministry toward the current staff . . . and asked that, should developments proceed at McMaster, the Ministry and the University should work together in the allocation of the people involved."⁷² The meeting ended with President Bourns' reiteration of McMaster's support for teacher education, if the problems of accommodation could be addressed.

Minister Wells met with Brock University officials on 6 October 1972, at which time the issues of standards and the question of two faculties in the Niagara region were raised. The suggestion was made by Sydney Irvine, founding dean of Brock's College of Education, that "Brock might run Hamilton Teachers' College as a satellite operation,"⁷³ noting that 500 students "would be required for a reasonable program." The minister also indicated to Brock that "a system of accreditation was being considered so that he might be assured that candidates recommended by any given college or faculty were deserving of being accepted into the profession." In response, Irvine noted that this discussion was under way, and that a report on the subject by a committee, including John Lewis of the Institute of Education in London, was "in the hands of the Dean but apparently has not been released."⁷⁴

⁷⁰ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1972), E.E. Stewart, "Notes from the Meeting of the Honourable Thomas Wells, Minister of Education, with the President of McMaster University Hamilton, Ontario, Thursday August 31, 1972," 5 September 1972.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1972), "Notes from the Meeting of the Honourable Thomas Wells, Minister of Education, and Brock University," 11 October 1972.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Irvine's words proved prophetic as Brock currently administers a satellite teacher education program in Hamilton.

McMaster's advocacy for teacher education continued. A brief put before the Committee on University Affairs in November of 1972 "reaffirm[ed] that McMaster remains willing and ready to proceed to negotiations with the government for the integration of Hamilton Teachers' College." Writing to Wells on 21 December 1972, President Bourns emphasized that "we at McMaster believe that it is most important that McMaster University be authorized to offer a teacher education programme. This, we submit is a necessity for education in the Hamilton metropolitan area and appropriate and highly desirable for the University."⁷⁵ The Minister's reply reiterated the position that pending the outcome of the development of the master plan, "the location of a faculty of education to best serve the Hamilton-Niagara area . . . [and] a decision with respect to the future of Hamilton Teachers' College will soon be available."⁷⁶

On 25 May 1973, the minister announced that based on the recommendations of a study on educational finances headed by Mississauga businessman T.A. McEwan, Stratford and Peterborough Teachers' Colleges would be closed. The report recommended two additional closures "[b]ut the government has not adopted a recommendation that Hamilton and Ottawa teachers' colleges also be closed."⁷⁷ Further study would determine their fate. As reported in the press, Vice-President Hellmuth responded to the charge that "Hamilton missed the boat. We should have been integrated with McMaster five years ago," explaining that "there was no deliberate delay in preparing an integration scheme. He admits that if McMaster had put in a clear-cut proposal to the ministry in 1969 or 1970 there might be an education faculty now."⁷⁸

The public rallied at the threat of the closure of HTC. Hamilton MPP John Smith conjectured: "The University during the past years has been preoccupied with its new medical school, but perhaps another look could be taken at HTC now."⁷⁹ Yet the official record reveals that McMaster was strongly advocating the integration of the Teachers' College, and had informed the minister of the strong local support for the college. Advocacy for the continued operation of the college included public meetings and letter writing campaigns, resulting in the discussion of several options including the integration of Hamilton Teachers' College with Brock University, which would meet the Minister's criteria that "[t]here be a minimum of 500 to be viable."

Throughout the fall and winter of 1973 to 1974, dozens of letters and briefs in support of keeping the college in Hamilton reached the minister's office. Teachers, principals, directors of education, local and provincial politicians, prospective students, and community interest groups received more or less the same reply: "Let me assure you that no decision has been reached with respect to the future of Hamilton Teachers' College and that the future need for a teacher training institution in the Hamilton area will be carefully explored before any such decision is made."⁸⁰

A lengthy letter of eight pages from McKay, signed on behalf of the professional staff of HTC, to Deputy Minister Stewart, indicates the thorny issues that the staff faced. The action which precipitated the letter was the memorandum signed by Stewart and dated 4 October 1973, "encouraging [the College] staff to indicate an interest in alternate positions within the Ministry. Whether rightly or wrongly, many staff members interpreted the memorandum as further evidence that teacher education may be

⁷⁵ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1973), A.N. Bourns to Wells, 21 December 1972.

⁷⁶ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1973), Wells to Bourns, 4 January 1973.

⁷⁷ HA, Scrapbooks, "Future of Teachers' Colleges Uncertain," *Hamilton Spectator*, 26 May 1973.

⁷⁸ HA, Scrapbooks, "Teachers' College Missed the Boat," *Hamilton Spectator*, 17 October 1973.

⁷⁹ HA, Scrapbooks, "Save Teachers' College is Smith's Rallying Cry," *Hamilton Spectator*, 7 August 1973.

⁸⁰ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1973), "Appeals to Retain the College," H.A. Blanchard to L.J. Forester, 30 November 1973.

discontinued in Hamilton.”⁸¹ The letter outlines support for the integration of the Teachers’ College with McMaster University, and applauds McMaster for its “interest in establishing a Faculty of Education and i[t]s willingness to do so on the basis of a positive recognition of the value of the present college programme, an attitude that has not been clearly evident in the case of [other] universities,” yet the staff suggested an alternative. In the time awaiting integration, the staff “urge that Hamilton Teachers’ College continue to be operated in its present form and that advantage be taken if its potential for accomplishing certain objectives . . . [I]t would be valuable for the Ministry to exercise more direct control over one or more teacher education programs.”⁸² This suggestion caught the imagination of Stewart and ministry official Blanchard. While the letter of response indicated that “no decision has been made,” it also indicated that the “substantial” arguments were “carefully prepared.”⁸³

McMaster Dean of Sciences McCalla brought to the senate’s attention a news article report that “not only is this responsibility [for teacher education] not going to come to McMaster but a new kind of arrangement is to be made whereby the Teachers’ Colleges in Hamilton and Toronto will be integrated and a BEd will be granted by the Ministry of Education.” Bourns, McMaster’s president and chair of senate, further clarified the university’s position:

In a report on teacher education a little over a year ago it was recommended that the Teachers’ College at Hamilton be closed and that there be only one programme in teacher education in the Niagara Peninsula, at Brock University. The Senate of McMaster had moved rather slowly in making the decisions as to whether McMaster would assume responsibility for teacher education in the area.⁸⁴

Bourns continued to comment on a proposal being circulated wherein the ministry would operate the college itself and grant degrees. The discussion concluded with a report from Dean Trueman, who pointed out for the record that:

. . . the university had moved slowly for several reasons. In 1967 the Senate had moved very quickly to devise a plan for the integration . . . but it was not acceptable to the Department of Education and therefore the Committee which was set up to study the matter further had moved more slowly and carefully in devising the proposed arrangements for integration.⁸⁵

Compounding the issue was an announcement by Minister of Education Tom Wells that a new post-secondary institution for teacher education would be established and controlled directly by the Ministry of Education. Further, this institution would be degree granting. Two campuses of the Ontario Teacher Education College (OTEC) were established in Hamilton and Toronto. OTEC’s mandate included: providing a leadership role in teacher education; developing innovative preservice and inservice programs; and responding quickly to the emerging needs of the educational community.⁸⁶ In short, the two OTECs were to be an alternative to the university-based teacher education program. They were the

⁸¹ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1973), “Appeals to Retain the College,” R. M. McKay to E.E. Stewart, 8 November 1973.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ AO, RG2-261, TB Integration (1973), “Appeals to Retain the College,” Stewart to McKay, 4 November 1973.

⁸⁴ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 12 June 1974, 284.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ HA, Scrapbooks, “Specialized Training,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 7 December 1978.

old teachers' colleges with a new name. They had the same physical location, the same staff, the same curriculum and the same reporting structure. Contrary to the policy which began with the decision to implement the *MacLeod Report*, the Ministry was once again back in the business of teacher education.

Why this change in policy? Was it because, in the case of Hamilton, several well-placed Tory members (including the Hamilton MPP, who was both a graduate of HTC and parliamentary assistant to the minister of education) generated the public lobby; or was it as Larry Woods, a staff member of OTEC, suggested, a recognition on the part of the minister that:

. . . education is a conservative difficult to change enterprise and that preservice teacher education is almost the only point where meaningful change can be introduced. Perhaps he worried about what might happen when the equally conservative universities have no competition and those responsible to the public [a veiled reference to the civil service status of the staff of the colleges] have no direct impact on teacher education. Perhaps he realized that healthy competition would provide more innovation than vague promises to monitor the teacher education activities of the universities.

Woods argued further that:

An unquestioning belief in the university setting as the only possible cradle for all training in all professions is worse than naïve particularly when most of the problems appear to be the lack of practical in-class experience of the professors. That makes a direct contrast with the excellent in-class experience of the OTEC Staff.⁸⁷

The two campus OTEC was short lived, lasting only five years. It too was a victim of declining enrollment, and the recommendation on the part of a provincial commission on student enrollment advising the government of the urgency "to stop the over expansion of teacher-training facilities in the province."⁸⁸ The closure of OTEC Hamilton was announced in the press on 22 November 1978 — OTEC would be gone on 31 August 1979.⁸⁹ Stating that the decision was final and irrevocable, Minister of Education Dr. Bette Stephenson reflected: "I firmly believe that the Ministry of Education must direct all its efforts to the requirements of the children. The requirements of teacher education can be assumed adequately and most appropriately within the university setting."⁹⁰ Once again, after a brief interlude, the debate concerning the place of teacher training vis-à-vis universities arose. OTEC Hamilton was closed and McMaster University remained without a Faculty of Education.

Throughout the debates, however, McMaster continued to articulate its commitment to teacher education in various forms. In the mid-1970s, a senate meeting observed that "whether or when the University will in fact assume such responsibility and bring about the integration of Hamilton Teachers' College is now in abeyance and future prospects are difficult to predict." The university, however, set about to honour its commitment to teacher education through the implementation of a Master of Arts in Teaching/Master of Science in Teaching. At a meeting of the senate held on 25 March 1975, these programs were endorsed.⁹¹ For over twenty years, an inter-faculty program, leading to a Master of Arts

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ HA, Scrapbooks, "Head Thinks College Can Escape Axe," *Hamilton Spectator*, 26 September 1977.

⁸⁹ HA, Scrapbooks, "OTEC Staff and Grads Proud Despite Closure," *Hamilton Spectator*, 22 November 1978.

⁹⁰ HA, Scrapbooks, "College Shut But New Door Might Open," *Hamilton Spectator*, 1 December 1978.

⁹¹ ASMU, Senate Minutes, 25 March 1975, vol. xx, 190.

(Teaching) or Master of Science (Teaching) operated on the McMaster Campus. In 1998 the program closed.

Teacher education is still a part of Hamilton's higher education — albeit not as part of the program offerings of McMaster University. A satellite campus of St Catharines Brock University delivers initial teacher education, graduate education, and continuing education courses. Two nearby private universities offer teacher education. In Ancaster, the site of the once proposed regional campus of McMaster, Redeemer University College offers a Bachelor of Education. The Burlington, Ontario campus of Australia's Charles Sturt University offers a Bachelor of Early Childhood Studies and Master of International Education (School Leadership). In 2000, the teachers' college that had served a number of interim functions, including housing St. Mary's Catholic High School, was at long last integrated into the university as the home of the Information Technology Centre.

Conclusion

Teacher education in Hamilton, Ontario has had a long and complex history. One can observe experimentation, competing agencies, the role of local and provincial politics, and the tensions resident in professional education. Further, one can see how the debates in teacher preparation are played out on a local level. Hamilton's first institution of teacher education, the Ontario Normal School, was an attempt to create an environment in which to effectively prepare secondary school teachers outside of a university setting. Its closure in 1907 was the result of the placement of secondary school teacher education within a university setting. The HTC that replaced the Ontario Normal School closed in 1979 because both local and provincial forces worked against the university's plans for the integration of teacher education.

Dr. Jim Angus, founding dean of education at Thunder Bay's Lakehead University, once described teacher education as "a foster child in the Ontario educational family. It came late into the family — after the institution of the public school system, after the creation of the Department of Education, after the provision for inspectorial and supervisory services." Within the twentieth century, "the foster child had become a pretty ragged Cinderella. A Prince Charming was needed to rescue it from the ashes of public neglect and intrinsic apathy. The question was where to find one."⁹² Were the implementation of the *MacLeod Report* and the movement of all teacher education to the university campus the solution to the longstanding public and scholarly criticism of initial teacher education? As the McMaster University/HTC tale points out, the answer is both yes and no. One set of challenges was traded for another.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, questions were raised concerning the place of professional teacher education within a university that was increasingly shaped by the norms of science.⁹³ Almost seventy years later, Deputy Minister of Education McCarthy, who oversaw the transition of all teacher education into the universities, further contextualized these challenges. Addressing an invitational conference on "Teacher Education: A Search for New Relationships" (1970), McCarthy cautioned his audience of teacher educators:

It will be the task of the faculty of education to justify its position in the total university context . . . they will attempt to win academic respectability within the university by attempting to meet the criteria of academicians who know little or nothing about professional education. If they succumb to such blandishments, they will eventually lose their reason for being; first because they will be a poor

⁹² Angus, "A New Direction," 1, 4.

⁹³ See for example the *Report of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1906).

shadow of arts or science faculties; and second because they will be useless in terms of the school system.⁹⁴

Ontario's teacher education was launched on a challenging path with the implementation of the *MacLeod Report*. As this case study outlines, the attempt to integrate the professional program of teacher education into an academic environment led to many debates concerning the nature of learning to practice as a teacher. McMaster faculty raised those questions that perennially challenge teacher educators: How can university graduates best be prepared for the classroom? What should be the balance and integration of theory and practice? What is the optimal structure for program delivery? How can balance be achieved among the university faculty, the political masters, and those in the field who will continue to shape the experience of learning to practice as a teacher in Ontario?

Researching this case study of teacher education has raised some troubling questions. Is timing everything? Can careful planning on the part of one party be mired in the foot-dragging of another? McMaster University's *Senate Report of the Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers* was one of the first-off-the-mark responses to the *MacLeod Report*. Was the McMaster proposal punished for telling the truth? While it advocated its support for the concept, the senate report clearly highlighted the challenges that needed to be addressed. The authors did not mince words, stating that there were major cultural issues which existed between a normal school and a university: a staff who were civil servants and not academics; a student body that lacked a competitive advantage for university admission; a program that lacked academic rigour. McMaster proposed solutions to these challenges, but was unsuccessful in its attempts to house a teacher education program within the university. Why might this be the case?

Even after examining countless documents, no clear answer is apparent and an array of questions remain. Was the rapid expansion of McMaster's faculties of arts, sciences, engineering, and health sciences such that it did not have the will or the personnel to push through a teacher education initiative at breakneck speed? Or was McMaster being cautious because of the non-action response to the first set of proposals? Did the Ministry of Education perceive that in getting a medical school McMaster University had gained its professional merit, and that by dragging its heels the ministry could allow the new university down the highway, Brock University, to develop the Niagara region's teacher education facility? Did the local pressure to keep a teacher education facility in Hamilton finally yield to the pressures of declining enrollment? Or was it merely a case of senior university administrators deciding that the fight for a teacher education institution was not worth it in the end. The faculty it would acquire was, at least in the university's eyes, second rate; the students it would attract were not the best. The Teachers' College was on a prime piece of real estate — but perhaps patience would be rewarded there. It was. In 2000, the former HTC became McMaster University's Information Technology Centre. All that remains of the former Hamilton Teachers' College is the series of friezes on the Indiana limestone façade.

⁹⁴ J.R. McCarthy, "From Teachers' Colleges to Faculties of Education," in *Teacher Education: A Search for New Relationships*, ed. W. Rees (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1970), 7.