

Representation and the CPSA: The Formative Decades

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ABSTRACT:

This paper examines issues of representation that emerged in the first three decades after the formation of the Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA). Drawing primarily on archival records, it explores the elite origins of the CPSA and the kinds of representational challenges it faced as it established organizational practices for executive meetings, the journal and annual conferences. I focus on a range of issues of representation as they arose, including gender, race, class, language, region, nationality, and disciplinary boundaries. This contributes to our understanding of how the CPSA evolved and responded to challenges for greater representation, and how these challenges shaped the institutional practices of the organization as an intellectual gatekeeper. It also sheds light on the historical precedents that have shaped both successes and failures in equitable representation within the organization and ultimately the discipline. This analysis also provides deeper insight into why some academic disciplines, like political science, were slow to respond effectively to challenges for broader and more equitable representation.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a part of a much larger research project into the history of representation in the CPSA. One hundred years ago, the few academic organizations that existed in Canada represented a very narrow range of elites in Canadian society. In particular, women, racial and sexual minorities were under-represented either within the professoriate or within their academic organizations. Over the past century, while academic organizations have multiplied, some disciplines transformed and became more representative of Canadian society. Other disciplines, including political science, have consistently fallen behind their disciplinary cohorts in improving representation within their ranks. We need to ask: Why? A partial answer to this question lies in how the CPSA addressed issues of representation and how it responded to a range of challenges for more representation within its ranks.

I explored this question in a paper I presented last year, which looked at the founding meeting of the CPSA (Newton, 2008). After the inaugural meeting in 1913, the CPSA membership did not meet again until 1930. Using published and archival CPSA records, this paper focuses on those intervening years up to 1939, drawing mainly on an analysis of the CPSA executive and membership lists. I will address representation of region, universities, employment and gender among both the executive and membership. This analysis contributes to our understanding of which issues of representation were significant for the CPSA in its initial years, and how the CPSA managed representation and responded to challenges for representation. My hope is that this detailed knowledge of the history of the CPSA will contribute to a larger understanding of the ways academic disciplines create themselves and, in turn,

influence public policy (Gagnon, 1990). We shall see how the CPSA played its role as intellectual gatekeeper in validating particular kinds of intellectual knowledge, in framing which research was important to fund and investigate, and in determining whose voices were worth heeding during these foundational years in the development of the modern Canadian state.

METHODOLOGY

The following analysis is based on archival records of the CPSA including executive and membership lists either published by the CPSA or found in the CPSA archives. The 1913 membership list of 251 members was published in 1914 and had the least amount of information: name, city and in some cases a professional title (M.P., K.C., Dr., etc), or an honorary title. This allowed me to identify some occupational indicators: professors, doctors, lawyers, politicians, reverends, or the military. It was impossible to determine gender in every case, since many of the names included only initials. Of the entire list, only two could be identified as female: Mrs. A.M. Heustis and Gertrude Tate. City names allowed me to determine the provincial distribution of CPSA members (CPSA, 1913, 1913 Membership, 5-8).

Seven more extensive membership lists were located in the CPSA archives, dating from 1930-1936 (LAC, v. 1, Membership list 1930; v. 7, Membership Lists File). These lists, in addition to the above information, often included first names and frequently an employer's name, thus allowing analysis of the employment profile of members. Many members listed their business address instead of a home address, which also allowed me to classify their occupation. Finally, I am exceedingly grateful to the careful person who prepared the membership lists, sometimes adding handwritten information (a first name or "Miss") which helped identify gender. In the case of professors, where possible, I supplemented the membership list data with information drawn from online university archives. This often revealed a professor's department or academic specialty. Federal and provincial government web sites provided information on the politicians' ridings and political affiliation. When a politician listed Ottawa or a provincial capital as their address on the membership list, I substituted their riding location to provide more accurate information about provincial representation. These seven lists, consisting of 3,151 members, constitute a sizeable population from which to analyze representation.

Similarly detailed information is available on the CPSA executive members. In addition, the CPSA archives provide fuller information about executive meetings in the intervening years between 1913 and 1930. Together this data provides a representational profile of the 249 executive members from 1913 to 1939.

MEMBERSHIP: THE FOUNDING MEETINGS OF THE CPSA

The issues of representation implicitly present at the conception of the CPSA in 1913 were stark. The need to distinguish the study of political *science*, to raise it above the common order of folks discussing politics, the need to distance the organization from partisan politics, the need to establish credibility based on recognized credentials, and the struggle to define what constituted the discipline in a Canadian context helped frame who could legitimately participate in the organization. Despite initial claims that the CPSA might offer a place where “typical citizens” could gather to debate issues of the day, members at the founding meeting were far from this. They represented an elite group of professionals, academics, civil servants and politicians, dominated by urbanites, with limited representation from Quebec. The membership was predominantly English-speaking; all the papers were presented in English; and no mention was made of accommodating francophone members in the CPSA constitution. Only two women were present at the first meeting, and the language used in the inaugural speeches often made explicit the assumption that the membership would be male (Newton, 2008).

The organization disbanded with the onset of World War One. In May 1922, the executive met at the Chateau Laurier during the meetings of the Royal Society with Adam Shortt (President), James Mavor (V.P.), R.M. MacIvor, O.D. Skelton, R.H. Coats and S.A. Cudmore present. R.H. Coats resigned his position as secretary-treasurer because of his workload as Dominion Statistician; Cudmore agreed to take his place. They agreed to re-kindle the organization and plan a membership meeting in Ottawa for the following year. The meeting never happened. (CPSA Fonds, Minutes Executive Council Members 1922).

The executive met again the following year at the Chateau Laurier. This time Shortt, Skelton, A.R. McMaster, F.J. Horning, H. Marshall and two M.P.s bolstered Coats and Cudmore’s numbers: J.S. Woodsworth and Wm. Irving. Again they agreed to re-organize, planned a subsequent meeting in Montreal, and raised the fees to \$3.00. Doubtless reflecting deference to the interests of Dominion Statistician, R.H. Coats, they recommended a focus for the papers of that meeting: “In view of the publication of the results of the census, papers might be prepared on the racial constitution of the Canadian people.” (CPSA Fonds, Minutes, Executive Council Members, 1923). This was one of the very few mentions of race in the archival record, and it seems to reflect anxiety about the changing racial makeup of Canada. References to race were rare, but the executive often met in private clubs and arranged for members to stay in private clubs, which at this time would have excluded women and non-whites.¹

The executive did not meet again until the winter of 1929 when Coats invited the old executive, including Shortt, Skelton, S.J. MacLean, and N. McL. Rogers to his home to discuss re-starting the organization. They agreed to transfer the funds of the old association to a new association. Another business meeting in the Chateau Laurier followed in May. D.A. McGibbon of the University of Alberta was credited with organizing this by bringing together economists at the National Conference of Canadian

¹ I have tried to follow-up on this with inquiries to several of the private clubs, to find out when (or whether) they lifted their restrictions on women, non-whites or Jews. To date, none have replied to my inquiries, but I hope to develop this line of research in a later work.

Universities (CPSA, 1930, Foreward 1). They constituted a new executive, including three vice presidents, a secretary, treasurer and a ten member executive committee. However cautious the CPSA had been at its inception in avoiding political partisanship, they were considerably less cautious in relation to business representation or representation from the civil service. Shortt, the president, and Coats were high-ranking civil servants. Several executive members were prominent businessmen, including Simon J. McLean, of Toronto who had a PhD from Stanford and worked with the Board of Railway Commissioners; C.E. Neill of Montreal who worked for the Royal Bank of Canada; W.E. Rundle of Toronto who worked for the National Trust Co.; and James Richardson of Winnipeg who worked for the family business that owned 250 grain elevators across the prairies in the 1930s (Siamandas, 2007 and Appendix 3). J.W. Dafoe, editor of the Winnipeg Free Press, was also elected to the executive. Coats urged a vote approving these five non-academic members (see Appendix 3). In passing this motion, the executive saw these well-placed businessmen as being an asset to the CPSA and they were untroubled by the business and media representation embedded in their ranks (CPSA, 1930, Minutes, May 23 1929, 123-24). Notably, the records show only 13 new memberships in May 1929; not all of the incoming executive had actually paid the \$2.00 fee to join (CPSA, 1930, Treasurer's Report, 127).

This time they were successful in re-starting the annual meetings. They convened May 19-20, 1930 in Ottawa with a program of topics that included:

- Business Trends and Forecasting,
- Immigration and Settlement,
- Canada's International Position (President's Address, Dr. Adam Shortt)
- Inter-Imperial Trade
- Pacific Relations
- The Royal Prerogative of the Dissolution of Parliament
- Central Banks; the Canadian Situation
- Content and Curricula of Commerce Courses in Canada (CPSA, 1930, 2-3)

The eighteen men presenting represented selected universities or colleges across Canada: one from University of British Columbia, three from Manitoba, two from University of Toronto, two from Queen's. The only representatives of Quebec universities came from McGill (4). Francophone representation was thin. Only one man, A.J. Pelletier, with a paper on "Canadian Census of the Seventeenth Century" had an identifiable francophone name though A.R.M. Lower presented a paper on "The Growth of the French Population of Canada." None of the presenters came from east of Montreal. In the section on "Business Trends," two men from the business community presented: W.W. Goforth, a Montreal businessman and D.M. Marvin from the Royal Bank of Canada. Several presenters were from the civil service, including Adam Shortt, President, and O.D. Skelton, Presiding Officer (CPSA, 1930, 2-3). Judging from a sign-up sheet found in the archival record, fifty-two men signed up for this meeting (LAC, v. 1, Signatures on CNR Stationary)

The 1930 business meeting elected a new executive, with O.D. Skelton as President. Several issues arose that reflected their desire to accommodate particular kinds of

representation. First, was the choice of editor for publishing the proceedings. Secretary Cudmore, with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS), chose members for the editorial committee from the two leading universities in the country: C.A. Curtis from Queen's and H.H. Kemp from University of Toronto. Second, in deciding when to hold the next meetings, the western colleagues were successful in vetoing a proposal to meet at Easter since they would be unable to attend. They toyed with the idea of meeting with the Royal Society and the Canadian Historical Society, and they asked Mr. Coats to investigate the possibility of finding a patron. The final decision of where to hold the next meeting was settled in favour of Ottawa (CPSA, 1930, Minutes, May 20, 125-6).

This brief overview of the formative years of the CPSA hints at some of the major representational themes of these formative decades. A few key universities and professors dominated; as did representation from Ontario. High ranking civil servants and businessmen also had a significant presence in the association and on the executive. The relative absence of women and francophones was striking and was the implicit elite bias in the way it conducted business.

WHO JOINED THE CPSA AND HOW DID THEY JOIN?

From the outset, membership to the CPSA was restrictive. The membership clause of the 1930 Constitution allowed: "Any person nominated by two members and accepted by the Executive Council may become a member..." (CPSA, 1930, 128). This represented a change from the 1913 Constitution which required only one member to nominate plus the acceptance of the Executive Committee (CPSA, 1913, 151). Though there is no explicit discussion in the archival records of why the executive decided to restrict membership, it does suggest that they thought some people should not belong to the CPSA. One wonders: Who did they want to exclude? Was this an attempt to restrict political partisanship? Were the two female members in 1913 not wanted in the organization? Whatever the reason, the restrictive role of the executive council in approving membership established the elite and exclusive nature of the organization. Inevitably, the desire to restrict membership would collide with financial need in the coming years, as the executive confronted the need for increased revenues to fund the organization.

How did this renewed organization draw in members? Executive members invited people they thought should join. For example, in 1931 as the organization was struggling to build its membership base, Knox, Curtis and Mackintosh, all from Queen's, drew up a list of names of people they thought should be members, again noting that some executive members had not yet paid their dues (LAC, v. 1, Correspondence, Mackintosh to Cudmore, 23 Jan. 1931). The fifty-two people identified in their "List of Prospects for the CPSA" is fascinating. Their academic recommendations reinforce regional imbalance in favour of Ontario, suggesting nine new members from University of Toronto, three from Queen's and two from University of Western Ontario. They also suggest four new members from the west, and five from McGill, but only one member

east of Montreal, W.R. Maxwell of Dalhousie University. The emerging focus on economic development in Quebec “picked up by French-Canadian educators and by such groups as the Société d’économie sociale” were entirely ignored by these Queen’s professors (Goodwin, 1961, 51). In addition, they also suggested thirteen members from the business community, including the only two women, from the firm of Cockfield Brown and Co. in Montreal², four members of the press, one American and six civil servants from the departments of Agriculture, Trade and Commerce, Finance and the Secretary of State. Finally, they recommended M.P. R. Gardiner, United Farmers of Alberta, and R. Deachman of the Consumer’s League of Canada (LAC, v. 1, Minutes and Correspondence). Notably, no representatives of labour or other social organizations were recommended. Only one letter exists in the archival records of an individual member actually nominating a person. Prof. H.F. Angus of U.B.C. and L.J. Ladner of Vancouver wrote to nominate Mrs. A.M. Gosse of Vancouver and her membership was accepted (LAC, v. 1, Angus to Cudmore, Jan. 9 1931). She joined for four years.

PROVINCIAL REPRESENTATION

The membership had a surprisingly broad geographic base, with at least one member from each of the nine provinces, none from the north, and a significant number of representatives from outside Canada, mostly the United States and England. With only 33 percent of the Canadian population, Ontario disproportionately dominated the membership at 57.9 percent. Saskatchewan and Manitoba were roughly proportionately represented at 8.6 and 5.9 percent of the membership. The eastern provinces were significantly underrepresented, especially considering the long history of Dalhousie compared to some of the more recently established universities in the rest of Canada. Only 16.2 percent of the membership was from Quebec compared to its 27.7 percentage of the population (Canada. Statistics Canada., and Appendix 1). Membership in the executive up to 1939 showed the similar patterns (Appendix 2). The vast majority of the members also came from large urban centres like Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, or Winnipeg, so rural Canada was not well represented. A fuller story of the significance of this imbalance in representation emerges when we analyse the data on occupational indicators.

OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION

Of the 3,151 members identified in the membership lists, 1,193 had no information listed to indicate their careers. Using titles, addresses and other information I located occupational indicators for the remaining 62 percent of those listed. When titles allowed me to identify professional standing or occupation, I could not always determine whether the titles were used consistently (for example, some people used the title Prof.,

² These two women, Dorothy McEvoy and Mary (R)owland never joined the CPSA but W.W. Goforth from the firm did become a continuing member.

while others used Dr. to indicate an academic post). In addition, some members had dual indicators for career, for example, a lawyer who was also a politician, which I will try to identify in the discussion below. Counting all the career indicators for each member in a given year, I was able to identify 2,553³ discrete indicators of careers (Appendix 4).

Academic

As expected, the largest number of identifiable careers of the membership was in the education sector, mostly universities, but also included school boards, high schools, private schools and small colleges. A significantly higher percentage of the executive were from academia (Appendix 7). Most were listed as economists or political economists, but a range of other disciplines were also present, including history, law, philosophy, commerce, engineering, agriculturalists, psychology, accounting, and social work. A smattering of members from elite foreign universities like Oxford and Harvard also joined the CPSA.

Of the Canadian universities, the University of Toronto members massively dominated the membership lists with 164 members, followed by 74 from Queen's university, and 49 from and McGill. Neither the east, British Columbia, nor Alberta had strong representation. Dalhousie University brought the largest number of members from the east (12) as did the University of Manitoba (39) and the University of British Columbia (23) from the west (Appendix 4). Given the focus on federal politics and Ottawa, this geographical representation of universities makes some sense, but it cannot explain the dearth of francophone representatives from Quebec universities.

Not all universities were equally welcomed. It appears that the timing of the annual meetings did not suit the western universities. H.A. Logan, Head of the Political Economy department at the University of Western Ontario complained to Cudmore that his faculty members could not attend in 1933 because the CPSA scheduled meetings for May 22-23, their busiest examination period. He requested the last day of May or early June (LAC, v. 2. Correspondence, May 22, 1933). Cudmore's response indicated that they chose the earlier date because it overlapped with the meetings of the Royal Society, and that "it suits the convenience of university professors who can drop off at Ottawa on their way to England or the Continent. However I am sure that the incoming Committee will give its earnest consideration to your representations which correspond with what we hear from certain Western universities" (LAC, v. 2, Correspondence, Cudmore to Logan, June 1, 1933). Their earnest consideration resulted in no change. The meetings held in Montreal on May 21-23, 1934 and in Ottawa, May 25-26, 1935

³ Of the 1,958 people who listed a career indicator, 595 had two indicators, for example a lawyer and a politician. The most common overlaps were civil servants who also had Dr., lawyer or military titles. Politicians also often had dual indicators. I counted both of these as career indicators, so the results discussed do not represent individuals, but rather overall career indicators.

made it impossible for western faculty members to participate. Indeed the timing of the meetings remained the same up to 1939.

Representation from French-speaking Quebec universities was not strong, and can partly be explained by the weak tradition of teaching economics in Quebec (Goodwin, 1961). If one considers however, that 49 of the 79 Quebec academics were from McGill, francophone underrepresentation from that province was dramatic. Some evidence suggests that the executive was aware of the need for representation from Quebec, but not French Quebec. It appears they placed their hopes on Stephen Leacock. According to Cudmore, Leacock had turned down the presidency of the CPSA twice, but Cudmore did not want to lose representation from McGill.

Professors are very thin skinned people. And Leacock particularly so. He and Mavor had a quarrel about a paper he gave to the Royal Society one time, and I do not think he came back to the meetings of the Royal Society until after Mavor was dead. That is my reason for being particularly careful not to alienate whatever affection he may have for the C.P.S.A. One of these years we shall want to meet in Montreal and we can hardly do so without his blessing, especially as our French Canadian Vice President is a washout. I wonder if it would not be a good idea to put Laureys⁴ as a Vice President instead of Montpetit next year (LAC, v. 2, Correspondence, Cudmore to Bladen, 9 May 1933).

Leacock was chair of the economics department at McGill, but by the time he was forced to retire in 1936, he openly declared his disillusionment with the discipline. "When I sit and warm my hands, as best I may, at the little heaps of embers that is now Political Economy, I cannot but contrast its dying glow with the generous blaze of the vain-glorious and triumphant science it once was" (Goodwin, 1961, 191). Two Anglophones from Quebec became presidents in the 1930s: Leacock and J. C. Hemmeon, both from McGill. Neither Laureys nor Montpetit served as CPSA president, despite their positions as founder and head of their francophone departments in Quebec.

Business

Perhaps the most surprising result of this study is the significant numbers of elite businessmen who were also members of the CPSA. Their numbers almost equalled the academic members (Appendix 7). The members from the business community represented the corporate elite of Canada, often with multiple members from head office joining the CPSA, and with the banks having the most significant presence.

The executive of the 1930s explicitly sought the membership and participation of members of the business community. For example, in planning the Annual Meeting for 1933, Mackintosh sought out "some big guns from the banking world to give papers on

⁴ Henry Laureys was Director of "L'École des Hautes Études Commerciales, established in 1907 by the Quebec government to provide university-level study of business and civil service (Goodwin, 1961, 173).

a Central Bank” (LAC, v. 2, Correspondence, Mackintosh to Cudmore, 27 April 1933). Business connections also had other benefits. The Canadian Passenger Association, for example, was able to arrange a reduced rate of one third the fare of rail travel, plus a .25 cent fee per person if the CPSA could guarantee one hundred passengers (LAC, v. 2, Correspondence). O.D. Skelton “took a position very strongly two or three years ago that we should not be under any obligation to any government for free meeting room accommodation.” But when the manager of the Convention and Tourism Bureau of the C.N.R., Montreal, offered a free meeting room, Cudmore was “inclined to take advantage of his kind offer,” especially since they paid twenty dollars for rooms in the Chateau Laurier in 1930 and anticipated a rent increase for 1933 (LAC, v. 3, Correspondence, Cudmore to Urwick, Dec. 10, 1932). Nor did they have any qualms about asking for and using the services of private clubs to house members and hold meetings.

CPSA Members from Business	
<p>Banks: Royal Bank, Bank of Montreal, Bank of Hamilton, Bank of Nova Scotia, Banque Canadienne Nationale, Canadian Bank of Commerce, Imperial Bank, Dominion Bank V.W. Odlum, Brown & CO. Canadian Banker’s Association Institute of Bankers.</p> <p>Utilities and Transport: Bell Telephone, Northern Electric, Canadian National Railway, Canadian Pacific Railway,</p> <p>Resources: Hudson Paper Co., E.B. Eddy, E. Pullan Ltd., Nesbitt Thompson Co.</p>	<p>Trust Companies: General Trusts, National Trust, Northern Trusts</p> <p>Insurance: Sun Life, London Life Canada Life</p> <p>Retail: Eaton’s Henry Birks</p> <p>Food: Canada Packers Searle Grain Co. Winnipeg Grain Exchange</p> <p>Manufacturing: Canadian Construction Association Otis-Fensom Elevator Co.</p> <p>Canadian Chamber of Commerce</p>

Civil Service

Members of the civil service joined the CPSA in numbers almost equal to that of business (20.2%). Like the business community, these were also high ranking officials

from a range of departments. With few exceptions, the vast majority of these were federal civil servants. Thirty of them prefaced their names with Dr. though it is unclear whether this indicated medical degrees or PhDs. Six were lawyers, including the Clerk of the House of Commons. Many of the following departments were represented by deputy ministers or heads of units.

CPSA Members from the Civil Service	
Department of Agriculture Board of Grain Commissioners Board of Railway Commissioners Exchequer Court of Canada National Research Council National Defence Imperial War Graves Commission National Library Department of Mines External Affairs Dominion Bureau of Statistics Department of Labour	Department of Finance Public Works Dominion Superintendent of Insurance Department of Fisheries Trade and Commerce National Revenue Department of the Interior Department of Mines Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission Railways and Canals

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS), the Department of Labour and External Affairs had the largest number of members, with the DBS dominating. This is not surprising, given who was on the executive and how they solicited members. Adam Shortt, the first CPSA president left Queen's University in 1908 to join the first Civil Service Commission using his knowledge of political economy to press for modernization of the bureaucracy (Ferguson, 1993, ch. 5). He remained a leading figure in the CPSA until his death in 1931 (Gordon, 2008). Dr. James Bonar, a trained economist, was also in the 1913 executive. In 1907, he was appointed first Deputy Master of the Royal Canadian Mint, serving in that capacity until he retired in 1919 (MacG., 1941, 283).

Also on the executive and President in 1935, Dr. Robert Hamilton Coats worked as editor of the *Labour Gazette* from 1902 to 1915 when he became the first Dominion Statistician, Controller of the Census and helped establish the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1918 (Ontario. Ministry of Culture. Ontario Heritage Trust). Passionate about the need for reliable statistics, he tried to steer the CPSA in that direction on more than one occasion. "With regard to possible financial support, Mr. Coats referred to a proposition submitted to him for the establishment of a Canadian Statistical Association which stated (sic) that financial support for such an organization would be forthcoming" (LAC, V.1, Minutes Executive Council Meeting, 1922). In the 1929 meeting Coats successfully persuaded the CPSA to establish a link with the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population Problems (CPSA, 1930, 1929 Business Meeting Minutes, 126).

When Coats resigned his position as secretary Treasurer in 1922, he asked S.A. Cudmore, also from DBS, to take over. Cudmore remained active on the executive, serving as secretary until 1932 then as V.P. until 1934. He used his position in the DBS to help with administrative tasks for the CPSA. There is evidence he used the resources of the DBS to do CPSA business. He informed C.A. Curtis that "I am having a circular struck off in the Bureau to go out to the members and shall also send a card with blanks for suggested members, so that we may get good value for postage" (LAC, v. 2, Cudmore to Curtis, May 9, 1993).

Interest in the CPSA among civil servants went beyond members. The United Empire Club, a "small discussion group" that met regularly to discuss "matters of an economic nature relating to the development of the empire" requested copies of the program. Of the 14 members, all were "responsible officials of the Government Service" and 13 had university degrees. Only two of this club's members actually joined the CPSA (LAC, v. 2, Correspondence, Booth to Cudmore, 13 May 1933). In another case, J.F. Booth of the Department of Agriculture asked if the national association of Technical Agriculturalists, with about one hundred and fifty members, most "in government service" and all with university degrees, could have copies of the CPSA program and attend the sessions on agriculture (LAC, v. 2, Correspondence, Booth to Cudmore, 13 May 1933).

Given the strong presence of members of the civil service in the ranks of the early CPSA, there is no evidence of concern that, like politicians, civil servants might have a political agenda of their own to press. Caution about political partisanship and government influence did not extend to caution or critical reflection on the role of civil servants.

Politicians and Other Professions

Politicians also had a respectable number of members in the CPSA in these early years, with much less representation in the executive. Most of these were federal politicians, and they represented a range of political parties without one party dominating: Conservatives like Charles P. Beaubien, Senator from Montarville, Quebec, H.H. Stevens from Kooteney, B.C., or R.B. Bennett who joined while he was Prime Minister; Liberal M.P.s such as C.R. Mackintosh from North Battlefield, Sask. or Senator A. Pakenham Ontario; CCF M.P. Angus MacInnis from Vancouver South or J.S. Woodsworth from Winnipeg North; Labour M.P. H. Mitchell from Hamilton South or United Farmer H.E. Spencer from Battle River, Alberta. To its credit, the CPSA did manage to maintain a bipartisan profile among its members, but the executive profile is less balanced. In a clear effort to balance partisanship in 1913, the initial executive included one liberal and one Conservative politician as V.P. The politicians who were executive members after this time included two Liberals, one Labour, two CCF, and one politician who shifted his allegiance from CCF to Liberal. None were Conservative.

Very few members worked in the other professions. I could identify some lawyers or military men. They aggressively sought out members from other professional organizations like the Engineering Institute of Canada (LAC, , v. 2, Burley to Cudmore,

15 May 1933). Even fewer clergymen joined, probably signalling the growing decline of traditional religious influence in social and political life and the CPSA's agenda to make move public policy in a "scientific" direction.

The Press

Members of the press had a small but significant presence both as members and on the executive. Once again, the executive was aggressive in inviting the press to participate and they were eager to have good press coverage of their meetings, even going so far as to providing précis of papers (LAC, v. 2, Correspondence, Letter by Cudmore, 16 May 1933). Newspapers and magazines were sent copies of the programme, including the four "Toronto dailies, the *Financial Post*, *Saturday Night*, *Monetary Times* and *Farmer's Sun*" (LAC, v. 2, Correspondence, Bladen to Cudmore 13 May 1933). Cudmore even personally met with the Canadian Press in 1933 to ensure the CPSA meeting had adequate press coverage (LAC, v. 2, Correspondence, Cudmore to Bladen, May 15, 1933). J.W. Dafoe of the *Manitoba Free Press* (later the *Winnipeg Free Press*), B.K. Sandwell of *Saturday Night* and Floyd Chalmers of the *Financial Post* all served on the executive, with at least one press member present from 1929 -1934. Dafoe even became President in 1938.

Who is Missing?

The relative absence of members from other social sectors is striking. Despite its claim of bringing people of all walks of life together to discuss issues of the day, few members from the labour movement, farmers, health or social service joined in this conversation. Gordon Bates, General Secretary of the Social Hygiene Council in Toronto, and W.T. Burford, Secretary Treasurer of the All Canadian Congress of Labour, were the only two male members I could identify over these years who represented the social sector. While neither the membership lists nor the archival record present any overt evidence of the racial identities, given the names, careers and social practices outlined above, during this period, the CPSA represented a narrow range of Canadian society: white, elite, and exclusive.

GENDER

It was also mostly men. Women represented a less than 2 percent of the membership during this period, and information about the individual female members is elusive (Appendix 8). We must keep in mind that enrolment of women in universities underwent a significant increase in the 1920s, but I could not determine whether many studied political economy. Mrs. A.M. Heustis, discussed in an earlier paper (Newton, 2008), and Gertrude Tate were the only identifiable female members in 1913. Both of them represented activism that was typical of women's organizing for that era: Heustis through the Women's Institutes and suffrage and Tate, through a group from the

Anglican Church in which she co-founded of the Crèche Child and Family Centre in 1909. The Centre was to focus on helping working families with children under six years old, and “played a pivotal role in the early development and formation of child care services” (Child Development Institute, 2008).

Only four of the twenty-nine women were married; three did not use either Mrs or Miss, and the remaining twenty-one were “Miss.” Most were from Toronto, with a cluster joining in 1935-1936. Some of the women used business addresses, suggesting they worked for banks or the civil service. I could only identify three from a university; however, I hope to gather fuller information about these women as my research progresses.

Miss Helen L. Babe paid dues 1935 and 1936, and appears to be the first woman on a CPSA program prior to 1939, where she commented on Stephen Leacock and J.L. McDougall’s papers in the section on Economic theory in 1933 (CPSA, 1933, Table of Contents). Her address on the membership list is Annesley Hall, the first dormitory built in Canada for women students at Victoria University, University of Toronto (Victoria University), suggesting that she was likely a student at the University of Toronto. Miss I.M. Biss, also from the University of Toronto, was a member for six years, from 1930-1936. The Dean of women from Queen’s university, Miss Winnifrid Kydd also joined for several years, as did Mrs. Phyllis Burns, of the Maritime School of Social Work at Dalhousie (Archives P.E.I., 1947-1975). Notably, despite their small numbers, more women worked in a social sector than did the men, hinting that women perhaps brought to the association different perspectives and concerns than did the men.

This was not true for all the women. Miss Helen D. Chataway from Ottawa joined in 1932, 1933 and 1936. On April 7, 1932, Chataway submitted an article, “Capitalism Reconstructed,” to Cudmore for consideration at the conference. “May I hope that, whatever the verdict, you will give me, however briefly, your advice and criticisms? They would be greatly appreciated.” She also acknowledged that the paper was too long and she was willing to shorten it (LAC, V. 3, Correspondence, Chataway to Cudmore, April 7, 1932). Cudmore replied that the programme was too full to include her paper but she was welcome to come to the conference and attend the roundtable on a planned economy and “present your views.” He also sent comments on the article and expressed his reservations about basing “currency and its expansion or contraction on such foundations as you suggest. (LAC, v.3, Cudmore to Chataway, 28 April 1932) Chataway persevered and eventually published her book, *Economics and Life* (Chataway, 1948). In her Preface she thanked a number of leading members of the CPSA, including R.H. Coats, DBS and Harold Innis of the University of Toronto. Her work, however, was entirely ignored in Goodwin’s history of economic thought in Canada (Goodwin, 1961).

What is significant is that women were present from the outset in the CPSA, some aspired to scholarship in the discipline, but none served in leadership positions, though doubtless some of these women had considerable leadership skills.

CONCLUSION

The way the CPSA started, as a white, elite group of academics, politicians, civil servants inviting who they believed should join was bound to create a membership base that replicated the social characteristics of the executive. While some challenged the CPSA to allow greater regional representation, the executive made on-going decisions that favoured the three main universities: University of Toronto, Queen's and McGill. While they cared about Quebec representation, francophone Quebec representation was not a priority. Despite its claim that the CPSA was open to "all persons interested in the objects it seeks to promote"(CPSA, 1934, 4), the voices of labour, women, francophones, racial minorities were simply not a part of the conversation.

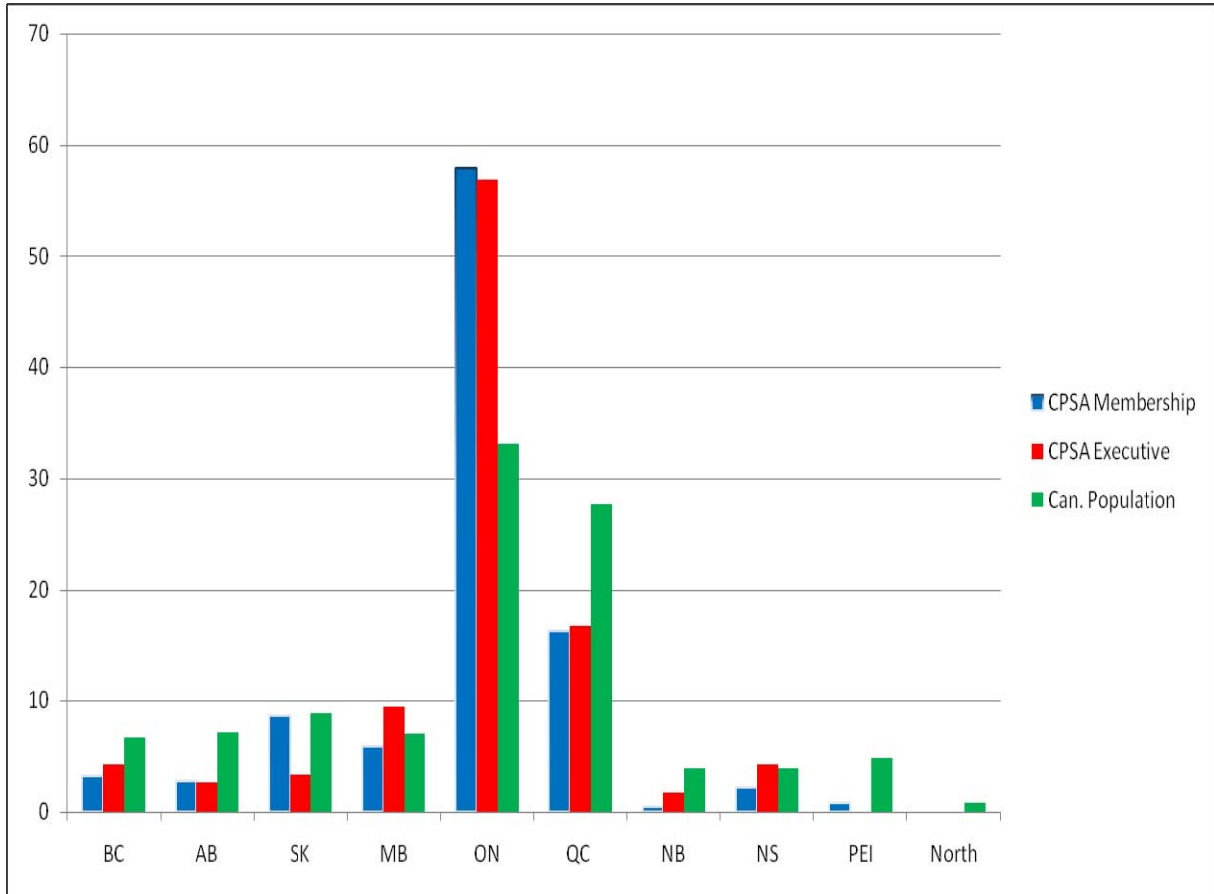
My interest in unfolding this history is not to condemn, but to reflect on how these processes of representation worked within the CPSA. Ongoing research will observe how this changed and unfolded in the following decades. My goal is to better understand the how challenges for representation were defeated or succeeded within the organization. In the end, understanding this history of representation may help us to reflect on how our discipline can lead, not lag behind others, in representing the rich diversity of Canadian society.

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(Note: Contact author for additional Appendices)

Appendix 3: Membership and Executive Representation by Province

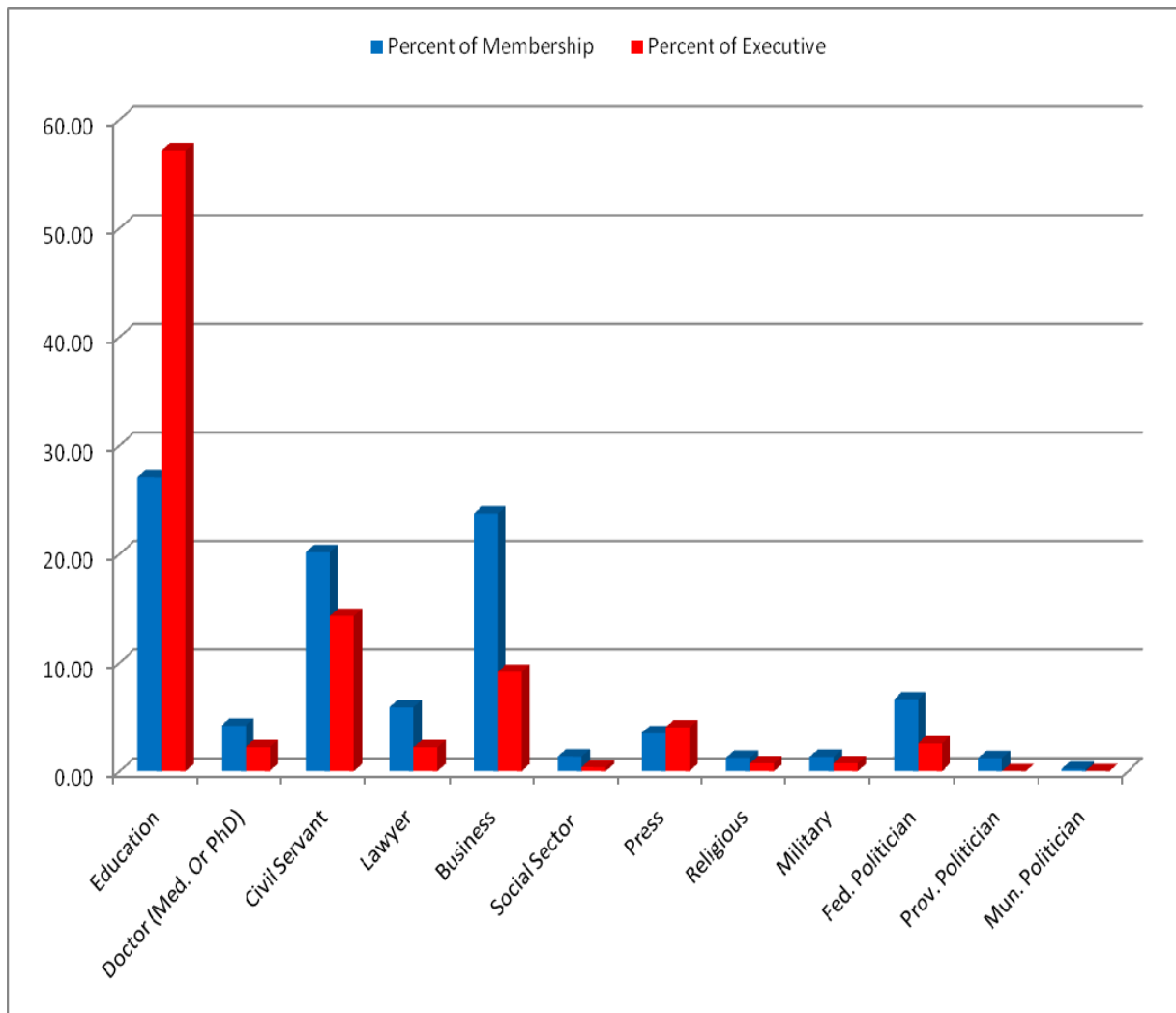


Population data circa 1931, (Canada. Statistics Canada).

Appendix 4: Academic Institutions Represented

City		University	N	City		University	N
Vancouver	BC	U.B.C.	23	Kingston	ON	Regiopolis College	1
Vancouver	BC	Board of School Trustees	5	Ottawa	ON	U of Ottawa	1
Abbotsford	BC	Anthropologist	1	Toronto	ON	U. of Toronto	164
Edmonton	AB	U. Alberta	9	London	ON	U. Western Ont.	23
Sask.	SK	U. of Saskatchewan	16	Toronto	ON	Wycliffe College	1
Brandon	MB	Brandon College	10	Quebec	QC	Academie Commerciale	1
Winnipeg	MB	Manitoba Law School	4	Montreal	QC	Catholic School Board	6
Winnipeg	MB	U. Manitoba	39	Montreal	QC	School of Higher Commercial Studies	4
Winnipeg	MB	School Board	1	St. Anne de la Pocatiere	QC	E-cole d'Agriculture de St. Anne	6
Newmarket	ON	Pickering College	1	Montreal	QC	Ecole Polytechnique	4
Sandwich	ON	Assumption College	3	Montreal	QC	Loyola College	2
Toronto	ON	Central High School of Commerce	3	Montreal	QC	McGill	49
Toronto	ON	Frontier College	12	Montreal	QC	School of Higher Commercial Studies	1
Aurora	ON	St. Andrew's College	1	Montreal	QC	Sir George Williams College	1
Hamilton	ON	McMaster	17	Montreal	QC	U. of Montreal	5
Guelph	ON	Ont. Agr. Coll.	9	Sackville	NB	Mount Allison	1
Toronto	ON	Osgoode Hall Law School	2	Fredericton	NB	U. of New Brunswick	8
Ottawa	ON	Ottawa U.	4	Wolfville	NS	Acadia	9
Newmarket	ON	Pickering College	5	Halifax	NS	Dalhousie	12
Kingston	ON	Queen's	74	Antigonish	NS	St. Francis Xavier	6

Appendix 7: Membership and Executive Career Indicators



Appendix 8: Women Members of the CPSA, 1913-1939

Surname		Year Joined	City	Title, Organization
Aykroyd	Joan S.	1932-1933, 1936	Westmount, QC	
Babe	Helen L., Miss	1935-1936	Toronto, ON	Annesley Hall, Queen's Park
Biss	I.M. (Miss)	1930, 1932- 1936	Toronto, ON	
Burns	Phyllis, Miss	1936	Halifax, NS	Maritime School of Social Work
Chataway	H.D. Miss*	1932-1933, 1936	Ottawa, ON	
Davison	Helen E., Miss	1936	Montreal, QC	
Gosse	R., Mrs	1931-1933, 1936	Vancouver, BC	
Huestis	A.M., Mrs.	1913	Toronto, ON	
Kerr	Jessie, Miss	1935	Sarnia, ON	
Kydd	Winnifred, Miss	1935-1936	Kingston, ON	Dean of Women, Queen's 1934-39
Langridge	Miss K. Thelma,	1935-1936	Mimico, ON	
Lape	Esther E.	1935	Philadelphia, USA	Girard Trust Building
Macintosh	Margaret, Miss	1934- 1936	Ottawa, ON	Dept. of Labour
Matthews	Helen, Miss	1935-1936	Toronto, ON	
McIntosh	M.I., Miss	1935-1936	Toronto, ON	
McKay	Margaret, Miss	1936	Westmount, QC	
McNab	Mary, Miss	1935-1936	Toronto, ON	
Meen	M.K., Miss	1936	Toronto, ON	
Pattison	Irma, Miss	1935	Montreal, QC	Canada Cement Building
Ratz	Betty A.M. Miss	1932- 1936	Toronto, ON	Econ D., Bank of Nova Scotia
Rountree	Meredith	1936	Westmount, QC	
Sinclair	D.B., Mrs.	1936	Toronto, ON	
Swandron	Mary, Miss	1936	Toronto, ON	
Tate	Gertrude	1913	Toronto, ON	Anglican Crèche, 1909; Pres. Of Zonta Club 1935
Turnbull	M.I., Miss	1936	Montreal, QC	Royal Bank of Canada, Head Office
Whytock	Louise, Miss	1935, 1936	Toronto, ON	
Wilcox	Jane, Miss	1935	Toronto, ON	