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ABSTRACT

This document examines graduate studies in the history departments of the universities of Ontario. Emphasis is placed on the present state of affairs in relation to: faculty, graduate students, master's programs, Ph.D. programs, cooperation, and libraries and archives, immediate developments, and the future. A summary of the recommendations indicate that the consultants: (1) approve all existing MA and Ph.D. programs; (2) recommend the funding of the MA program at Laurentian, and of the Ph.D. programs at Carleton and Waterloo; (3) propose a major reorganization of work for the Ph.D.; (4) favor the MA by dissertation; (5) recommend the virtual cessation of part-time study for the Ph.D. and a close control over part-time MAs; (6) recommend that a much larger part of the faculty be involved in graduate teaching; (7) recommend no limitation on admissions and would like to see a model expansion of student numbers; (8) recommend that more aspects and areas of history be studied at the Ph.D. level, especially those not covered at Toronto; (9) would like to see more intensive work in local history; (10) recommend setting up more advanced research seminars; (11) look for greater cooperation between history departments and historians in other departments; (12) recommend joint programs run by several universities; and (13) advise history Ph.D. to seek more employment outside universities. Other recommendations and supplementary material are presented. (MJN)

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PERSPECTIVES AND PLANS
FOR GRADUATE STUDIES

15. HISTORY 1974*

Advisory Committee on Academic Planning
Ontario Council on Graduate Studies

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*The status of this report is given in Item 2 of the statement of principles, on page 1.

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T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

	Page
FOREWORD	i-11
REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF ONTARIO UNIVERSITIES	1-5
REPORT OF ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC PLANNING	1-22
APPENDICES	
Appendix A: Report of Consultants	A1-A97
Appendix B: Response of the Discipline Group	B1-B4
Appendix C: University Comments	C1-C48
Appendix D: Procedure of Planning Study and Terms of Reference	D1-D6
Appendix E: Discipline Group Membership	E1
Appendix F: Roles of ACAP and of Discipline Groups	F1-F4
Appendix G: Curricula Vitarum of the Consultants	G1-G3
Appendix H: Addendum to Consultants' Report	H1-H15

FOREWORD

The Advisory Committee on Academic Planning (ACAP), as presently constituted, was established by the Ontario Council on Graduate Studies at the request of the Council of Ontario Universities in January, 1971. The Advisory Committee's terms of reference were directed broadly toward the effective planning and rationalization of long-term graduate development in Ontario's universities both at the level of individual disciplines and at a more general level. The Advisory Committee's activities are based on the premise that graduate work is the one area of university activity in which specialization among universities, cooperative arrangements and comprehensive planning are most necessary.

In March, 1971, concern over the rising costs for support of graduate work prompted the Ontario government to institute a general embargo on funding for any new graduate programme, that is, one which had no students enrolled on May 1, 1971. This embargo was subsequently modified to include only those disciplines in which over-expansion was felt to be potentially most serious. ACAP was to begin immediately planning studies in those disciplines which remained embargoed.

The disciplinary planning process begins with the formation of a discipline group composed of one representative from each university with an interest in graduate work in the planning area. The discipline group assists in defining the precise academic boundaries of each study, scrutinizes the data collection forms, prepares a list of potential consultants, maintains contact with the consultants during the study, and prepares a commentary on the consultants' report.

The final decision on consultants for the planning study is made by ACAP. The consultants are requested to make recommendations or programmes to be offered in Ontario, desirable and/or likely enrolments, the division of responsibility for programmes among universities, and the desirable extent of collaboration with related disciplines.

While the consultants' report is the single largest element in the final report on the planning study, ACAP considers the statement of each university's forward plans to be most significant. These forward plans are usually outlined prior to the planning study, and are used as a basis for comments from the universities concerned on the consultants' report.

On receipt of the consultants' report, and comments on it from the discipline group and the universities, ACAP begins work on its own recommendations for submission directly to the Council of Ontario Universities. COU considers the input from all sources, and prepares the position of the Ontario university community.

The following report is one of a series of disciplinary planning studies carried out by the Advisory Committee on Academic Planning and to be published by the Council of Ontario Universities. The emphasis of the report is on forward planning, and it is hoped that the implementation of COU's recommendations will help to ensure the more ordered growth and development of graduate studies in Ontario's universities.

**Council of Ontario Universities
Conseil des Universités de l'Ontario**

**Report and Recommendations
concerning Graduate Studies
in History**

On the instruction of the Council of Ontario Universities, the Advisory Committee on Academic Planning has conducted a planning assessment for history. The resultant report from ACAP is attached together with the consultants' report, the comments by the discipline group, and the comments of the individual universities. The procedures followed and the planning techniques used are described in the ACAP report and are not repeated here. It is important for the reader to read the ACAP report and attachments in order to understand the recommendations in this Report from COU.

The Council received the ACAP report and supporting documentation on October 3, 1974. The ACAP report was discussed on that occasion and on December 5, 1974.

As a result of these discussions this Report and Recommendations were prepared and approved by the Council on January 10, 1975. The Report is addressed to the Ontario Council on University Affairs and the universities of Ontario.

The following principles have been adopted and will apply to this and all other COU Reports arising out of assessments.

1. Discipline assessments by ACAP should form the basis for planning by the universities of their development of graduate studies, particularly PhD programmes. On the basis of these assessments, COU should make its own recommendations on currently embargoed programmes. Each university must retain the freedom and responsibility to plan and implement its own academic development. However, the universities in embarking on a cooperative planning process have signalled their intentions of cooperating with the COU recommendations.
2. Universities generally plan their emphases in graduate study on the bases of related departments, not of single departments. Initially the sequential nature of the discipline planning assessments made this difficult. However, by the summer of 1974 assessments of most of the social sciences, all of the physical sciences, engineering doctoral work, and a number of professional areas were completed. On the information and recommendations available, each university should be able to make decisions concerning its support of graduate programmes in these areas. Amendments to university responses to the individual discipline planning assessments may then be made in the wider context of a group of related disciplines and amendments to COU's original Reports on an individual discipline may be required.

3. The first concern in planning is to review the quality of graduate opportunities and of students in Ontario universities and to make judgements about how to proceed or not proceed based on quality considerations. The procedures have made use of highly qualified independent consultants who have no direct interest in the universities in Ontario. Accordingly, COU feels bound to accept their judgements about quality where they are stated clearly unless unconvinced that their conclusions about quality are consistent with their evidence. COU's recommendations in the case of programmes which are of unsatisfactory or questionable quality will call for discontinuation or the carrying out of an appraisal, if the continuation of the programme is not crucial to the province's offerings. In some cases, however, there may be a particular need for the programme and the appropriate recommendation will be to strengthen it, with an appraisal following that action. It is also possible that if there were found to be too large a number of broadly based programmes there could be a recommendation to discontinue the weakest; in this case, an appraisal for a more limited programme might be relevant.
4. A second consideration is the scope of opportunities for graduate work in the discipline. Do the Ontario programmes together offer a satisfactory coverage of the main divisions of the disciplines?
5. Numbers of students to be planned for will depend on the likely number of applicants of high quality and in some cases may relate to an estimate of society's needs. Such estimates may be reasonably reliable in some cases and not in others. If the plans of the universities appear to be consistent with the likely number of well-qualified applicants and there is either no satisfactory basis for estimating needs or there is no inconsistency between a reasonable estimate of need and the universities' plans, then COU will take note of the facts without making recommendations on the subject of numbers.

If the numbers being planned for by the universities are grossly out of line with the anticipated total of well-qualified students, or a reliable estimate of needs, COU will make appropriate corrective recommendations. Depending on the circumstances, these may call for a change in the total numbers to be planned for and indications of which institutions should increase, decrease, or discontinue. The recommendations in serious cases may need to specify departmental figures for each university for a time. If the numbers being planned for are insufficient, the recommendations may call for expansion, or new programmes, and may have implications for both operating and capital costs.

Unless there are exceptional circumstances, the recommendations concerning enrolment will not call for a university to refuse admission to any well-qualified student who wishes to work in a

field, in which that university offers a programme and in which it has the capacity to accommodate the student.

6. The quality of graduate programmes is partly dependent on size, and for each programme, depending on how it is designed and its scope, there is a minimum size of enrolment below which quality may suffer. That number cannot be expressed for the discipline as a whole but only for individual programmes depending on their purpose, their resources and their design.
7. Universities will be expected to notify COU if they intend to depart from the COU Report in any way which they believe might have a significant bearing on the provincial plans.
8. Appraisals arising as the result of assessments are to be based on the standards but not necessarily the scope of the acceptable programmes in the province.

General Observations concerning History

1. Generally, graduate work in history in the province is of good quality and the standard of faculty well above average.
2. Three universities are designated with general doctoral programmes and six with a more specialized role at the doctoral level. Fourteen of the universities have master's programmes.
3. Certain areas for doctoral work need more attention, in particular the history of third world countries.
4. As yet there does not appear to be a mismatch between the number of new PhDs in history and academic employment. However, in the future, vacancies are likely to be few and potential students should be aware of the employment climate and the probable need to explore non-academic markets.
5. The length of time taken to obtain the PhD degree and the number of students in the ABD category are excessive.
6. It is essential to maintain the growth of library resources in history. The development of acquisition policies coordinated through the university system is to be encouraged.

Recommendations

It is recommended that:

1. The universities examine the structure of the PhD requirements and consider steps that would encourage graduate students to remain at university until they complete the thesis.

2. Queen's University continue to offer a masters' programme according to its plans and a general doctoral programme in history.
3. The University of Toronto continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its plans and a general doctoral programme in history.
4. York University continue to offer a master's programme according to its plans and a general doctoral programme in history.
5. Carleton University continue to offer a master's programme according to its plans and a specialized doctoral programme in Canadian history.
6. The University of Ottawa continue to offer a master's programme according to its plans and a specialized doctoral programme in the history of New France and France under the Ancien Régime and the history of French Canada.
7. The University of Guelph continue to offer a master's programme according to its plans and submit a detailed report to ACAP on its future plans soon after the completion of the current review by the Appraisals Committee. ACAP then would make recommendations concerning the role of Guelph in doctoral work in history. In any case a progress report is requested by June 1975.
8. McMaster University continue to offer a master's programme according to its plans and a specialized doctoral programme in ancient history (Greek and Roman), Canadian history and modern British history (including Imperial and Commonwealth history).
9. The University of Waterloo continue to offer a master's programme according to its plans and a specialized doctoral programme in European history since the Reformation, early modern and modern British history and the history of the British Possessions in the Atlantic area, and the history of Canada and the United States.
10. The University of Western Ontario continue to offer a master's programme according to its plans and a specialized doctoral programme in Canadian history, with some modest offerings in American and British history, and with an increased emphasis to social-structural and demographic history.
11. Lakehead University continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its approved Five-Year Plan.
12. Laurentian University continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its approved Five-Year Plan.
13. Trent University continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its approved Five-Year Plan.
14. Wilfrid Laurier University continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its plans.

15. The University of Windsor continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its plans.
16. In view of the acceptance of the recommendations by COU and the completion of this planning assessment, the Ontario Council on University Affairs request the Minister to remove the embargo on history in accordance with the original announcement of the Minister that new graduate programmes would be embargoed until, for each discipline, a planning study has been conducted.

Action by COU

ACAP is to arrange that the Discipline Group:

- a) examine the structure of the PhD requirements in order to make recommendations for shortening the time required to obtain the degree; and
- b) explore the likely character and extent of non-university employment opportunities for doctoral graduates.

Notes concerning the recommendations

The dissertation areas for master's and doctoral programmes are described in the text of the ACAP report.

January 10, 1975.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC PLANNING

ONTARIO COUNCIL ON GRADUATE STUDIES

REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF ONTARIO UNIVERSITIES

ON

HISTORY PLANNING ASSESSMENT

November 1974

PROCEDURE

On the advice of the Ontario Council on Graduate Studies, the Council of Ontario Universities on September 17, 1971, instructed the Advisory Committee on Academic Planning to conduct a formal planning assessment for history.

A Discipline Group was formed consisting of a member named by each interested university. A list of members is attached as Appendix E. Professor E. Wright and later Professor J. Grove held the ACAP portfolio and attended meetings when ACAP representation was necessary.

The procedure and terms of reference for the planning assessment is attached as Appendix D.

The Discipline Group began its meetings in September, 1972. In accordance with the procedure, the Discipline Group provided ACAP with a list of possible consultants. ACAP obtained the services of Professor G.R. Elton of the University of Cambridge, Professor J. Hamelin of Laval University and Professor H. Kreisel of the University of Alberta. Brief curricula vitarum appear as Appendix G. Professor Kreisel played the role of the senior Canadian academic from outside the discipline in this planning assessment. The consultants held their first meeting in Toronto in May, 1973, and discussed with the Discipline Group their schedule of visits to the universities. These took place during August, September, October and December.

The draft report of recommendations was presented to the Discipline Group for informal comments on March 18, 1974, and the final report was subsequently received and distributed March 26, 1974. The universities were requested to submit comments to ACAP by May 6, and the Discipline Group by May 21, after it had seen the comments of the universities.

The Discipline Group comments plus those of the universities appear in Appendices B and C respectively. The latter includes only those comments specified by each university for publication.

After examining the university comments and the Discipline Group response, ACAP felt it needed further clarification and explication from the consultants, especially as to fields of particular strength of the various departments from the point of view of a student in pursuit of a doctorate. Also ACAP felt it was not possible, from the consultants' original report, to produce convincing arguments for the existence of the two new PhD programmes. The ACAP history subcommittee met with Professors Hamelin and Kreisel and discussed the inadequacies of the report. Subsequently, and after consultation with Professor Elton, the consultants submitted an addendum to their report to ACAP. This addendum is attached as Appendix H.

The report then is based on the data, reports and comments described above and sets out recommendations for COU on the plan for graduate work in history in the province for the next several years.

As is required, this report is made directly to COU. It has been transmitted also to the Ontario Council on Graduate Studies and the Council of Deans of Arts and Science for information.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Planning Techniques

For some years now, the universities of Ontario have been committed to the belief that the quality and effectiveness of graduate study in the province can be ensured only by collective and cooperative action. This implies a mechanism for continuing consultation and agreement so that the plans of each university for each of its disciplines are concerted with those of the other universities. At any given time there will exist a plan for the development of each discipline, with agreed and understood roles for each department; since graduate education is the most advanced formal intellectual activity and is, therefore, undergoing change, it is necessary that such plans be kept under regular review and be subject to ready amendment.

The Council of Ontario Universities has assigned to the Ontario Council on Graduate Studies the task of advising it on the development of such plans and of the steps to be taken to carry them into effect. The Standing Committee which carries out these tasks for OCGS is the Advisory Committee on Academic Planning. A significant role is also played by the discipline groups, one of which is established for each subject, with a representative from each interested university. Each discipline group has the function of assisting and advising ACAP in connection with its own subject.

The above may give the impression that the planning activity is fragmented on a disciplinary basis. This would, of course, not be acceptable. Since the development of one department in a university should not be considered independently of its contribution to the rest of its university and of the influence of the university as a whole on the department, it is most important that universities as institutions play a central role in the planning process. One of the most effective ways of doing this is by indicating to ACAP the nature of institutional commitments to a department and institutional aspirations for the department.

The most significant single input to a planning assessment is the set of statements from each university of its plans for its department. When these are subjected to collective scrutiny it may be found that their totality constitutes a reasonable plan for the discipline in Ontario, but in any case this set of plans is the first approximation to the provincial plan, which the planning assessment may have to refine if there are duplicated features, lacunae in offerings, too large a total enrolment, or other reasons to recommend altering some of the university plans. The universities are also involved in that the bodies that act on ACAP reports, i.e. both COU and OCGS, are composed of universities.

The formal documents stating the responsibilities of ACAP and the Discipline Groups are Appendix F. Briefly summarized, it is ACAP's function to advise on steps to be taken to implement effective provincial planning at the graduate level, to promote the arranging of the graduate programmes of the province in order to enhance and sustain quality and to avoid undesirable duplication, and, when necessary, to carry out formal planning reviews for disciplines. A discipline group has the responsibility of

keeping under review the plans for graduate work in the discipline and making regular progress reports to ACAP in connection with graduate work in that subject. To make all this possible, it has been agreed that ACAP may communicate directly with universities and discipline groups, to request necessary information, to discuss reports, to convene meetings, and to make and receive proposals for the future.

The above information has been given in some detail because it constitutes the mechanism currently approved by COU for cooperative graduate work. It is fair to say that in 1971 there was no mutually agreed plan for graduate study in any discipline. Our task is not only to generate the first such plan for each subject but also to ensure that it is kept under continual review.

There are four fundamental components in the plan. The first is analysis of the fields of study, the formats of study which should be available to prospective students in the province. The second is an estimate of overall provincial enrolment at master's and doctoral levels based principally on the likely numbers of highly qualified applicants. In regard to considerations of manpower needs for the province of Ontario, ACAP is conscious of the unreliability of forecasts and, except in special cases, subscribes to the approach proposed in the Macdonald Report (1969):

"The country as a whole and the provinces must be concerned about manpower requirements. This concern can be expressed in the first instance through careful survey and forecasting of manpower needs on a continuing basis. Such forecasts should be given wide circulation. It is reasonable to expect that universities will respond by creating additional opportunities for study in the areas of shortage. In addition, the universities through their counselling services have a duty to advise students about the opportunities in various fields from the standpoint not only of intellectual challenge but also of vocational prospects and social utility. The reaction of prospective students to such forecasts is likely to provide an effective control. We believe the market-place, if its trends are made explicit, offers an adequate governor to prevent serious surfeit and to encourage movement of students toward fields of opportunity."

The third component of the plan is an indication of the role to be played by each department in terms of the programme it will offer and its academic emphasis. Cooperative arrangements between departments are stressed. The fourth component consists of an examination of the enrolment plans of the universities and consideration as to whether the universities' plans and the predicted enrolment for this discipline are consistent. If not, some appropriate action should be recommended to COU. It will be seen that although there may also be other aspects, these are four necessary components in such a plan.

One must hasten to add that the future is uncertain and that to forecast intellectual trends, student interests, and employment markets five years hence is to undertake to examine many variables. Of course, this is not

a new exercise since all universities have had to make decisions about building, staff hiring, library expansion, equipment investment and so forth and have done so on a basis of similar forecasts. Perhaps sometimes the forecasts have been more intuitive than consciously recognized, but they have certainly been there. All that is new is to make such plans systematically for the province.

It will be realized that, at a minimum, the ongoing planning procedures we have indicated requires annual reporting of enrolments and annual examination of admission standards. When there are indications from these or other sources that some aspects of the plan for the discipline are not being realized, it will be necessary for ACAP to initiate a review. Such a review would usually not involve outside consultants. Whether the impetus came from a discipline group, a university or ACAP itself, comments would be sought from all concerned and the review would culminate in a report to COU recommending an amendment to the plan.

If a university notifies ACAP of its intention to depart from its accepted role (for example to enrol numbers substantially at variance with its understood plan), ACAP will review the situation in the light of any other such notifications it may have received and any other pertinent factors. The extent of any further study would depend on the situation, but if ACAP felt that the university's new plan could be a cause for concern, its first step would be to seek full discussion with the university. Normally there would already have been discussion in the discipline group and between universities and the university would have reached its intention after a careful examination of the general situation of graduate study in the discipline. Thus the ACAP decision would be straightforward and a change in plan would be recommended to COU through OCGS. If, however, ACAP still felt that there was a probability that the university's action might be found, on further study, to be potentially harmful to the system, it would probably next seek comment from other universities concerned and from the discipline group. In any case, ACAP would eventually make some recommendation to COU (through OCGS) concerning the variation.

It is difficult without a concrete case to speculate on likely recommendations, but perhaps two hypothetical situations will illustrate the extremes. If a university indicated that, without any marked change in the academic emphasis of its department, it proposed to arrange to enrol somewhere around 70 graduate students instead of about 50, and if there were changes at other universities and no potential developments which could be substantially affected, ACAP would presumably simply notify COU of the university's intention and recommend that it be recognized as an alteration in plan for the discipline. At the other extreme if a university proposed to begin a new programme designed to enrol fairly soon some 30 PhD students in a field of the discipline already well covered in other universities, it would clearly be necessary to obtain reaction from the discipline group and from other universities and perhaps even some expert advice, in order for ACAP to generate an advisory position concerning the impact of the proposal on the system and suggestions to the university concerned and to COU. As has been noted, if there had been advance inter-university discussions and agreement, this would be a positive factor in ACAP's assessment, but there is of course the possibility that the recommendation

would call for modification of the university's intention; we take that to be the obvious consequence of system planning. Of course, the university could decide to act in a manner contrary to a COU recommendation, accepting whatever consequences would result; we take that to be the basic right of university autonomy. It is understood that a university will not act in this way without the notification and review described in the preceding paragraph.

SYSTEM RECOMMENDATIONS

It is emphasized that the consultants' report (Appendices A and H) is an essential and integral part of this report to COU. In the main body of the ACAP report we have dealt only with those aspects of the consultants' report which appear to be particularly significant or which have led us to recommend courses of action. The consultants have prepared an index of departments at the end of their report (Appendix II). For this reason we have not included references to the consultants' report in our university recommendations.

We deal first with some recommendations of general application to history in Ontario. As has been our custom with other disciplines we prefix our recommendations to COU with the symbol 'C' to avoid confusion with the numbering in the COU report.

In their report, the consultants conclude that the PhD programmes in history are "generally in sound shape and indeed meritorious". They note that the standard of the faculty "in general is well above average" although they "do not find many really outstanding persons among them". They emphasize that "the publishing activity of Ontario historians is impressive and that several departments are also active in editing historical journals". On the other hand, the consultants are very concerned about the length of time it takes to complete the PhD degree. They describe this central problem as unsatisfactory, frightening and unacceptable.

Another concern of the consultants is student support. In paragraphs 47-52 and recommendation 14 (section V), they recommend a more consistent policy of student support with more bursaries and fewer teaching assistantships. ACAP feels that there is no unique problem in history and matters of student support are under continual review in OCGS. However ACAP agrees with some university comments which note that teaching assistantships serve a useful role for the graduate student.

In history, as in other library-based disciplines, sound programmes require extensive library holdings. The consultants urge increased financial allocations to libraries for the completion of serial runs. ACAP agrees that this is an important concern and suggests that universities take note of it when drawing up budget priorities. Also, in regard to libraries, the consultants recommend that the Robarts Library be open to all faculty and graduate students in the province (recommendation 17). ACAP notes that there have been well-defined arrangements for some time for the use of all university libraries, including the Robarts Library, by graduate students, faculty and staff of other universities. These arrangements have recently been revised somewhat. It can be seen from the Inter-university Borrowing Project Principles of Agreement and Operating Procedures that graduate students, faculty and staff may borrow directly when visiting another Ontario university library providing the principles of agreement are followed.

Recommendation C1

It is recommended that the Discipline Group examine the structure of the PhD requirements in order to make recommendations for shortening the time required to obtain the degree and further it is recommended that the universities consider steps to be taken to reduce the incidence of graduate students leaving the university before completing the thesis. (See Appendix A, paragraphs 39, 87-96, 152 and section V, Recommendations 3 and 5).

The consultants stress that the central problem touching the PhD is the length of time it takes to complete the degree and conclude that much of the trouble is due to the present structure of the degree. The Ontario PhD in history combines the most time-absorbing aspects of two different systems. It requires course work in several fields with comprehensive examinations followed by a full-scale dissertation. They have offered their suggestions for reducing the length of time. The Discipline Group agrees that every effort should be made to shorten the time it takes to complete the degree but it rejects the consultants' advice to lighten the requirements without offering any alternatives. ACAP proposes that the Discipline Group review the various stages of graduate training in order to offer suggestions for reducing the length of time taken to complete the degree without affecting the essential purpose and quality of the programme. In this review, the Discipline Group should consider what a thesis is - its nature and length - and the purpose and number of comprehensives. It should be stressed that there is room for variety. Not every university nor every student needs to follow the same rigid pattern. ACAP is aware that universities have a time limit for students to obtain the PhD degree and is surprised at the frequent failure to enforce it.

This recommendation is also directed at the high incidence of part-time, particularly ABD, graduate students in history. In 1972-73 there were 95 ABDs and 224 full-time doctoral students in history in the province. The number of ABDs as a percent of total doctoral enrolment has grown from 19% in 1968-69 to 28% in 1972-73. Part-time master's students in 1972-73 accounted for 44% of a total master's enrolment of 356.

To overcome this problem, the consultants recommend the cessation of part-time study for the PhD and a close control over part-time master's students. In some cases, part-time study for the doctorate may be necessary and even desirable but universities should exercise a close control over any such part-time doctoral study. It should be emphasized that in the case of history the number of part-time graduate students is unduly large.

Recommendation C2

It is recommended that the Discipline Group explore employment opportunities for graduates other than in university teaching. (See Appendix A, paragraphs 53-55 and section V, Recommendation 13).

The consultants note that the period of expansion for PhDs is at an end. In the future vacancies at universities will be few since most of the recent university posts have been filled by recent graduates. Increasingly graduates will have to rely on non-academic avenues for employment. In a modern industrial society, such as Canada, there has been and still is a growing number of positions for which there is no specific career training but which require the development of analytical skills. One can get access to these positions from a variety of disciplines including history. For example, this is the case for many positions in mass communications and for administrative, research and policy positions in the civil service. However employment of PhDs outside the university is a slowly growing trend and great caution should be used in relying on this trend for employment projections.

DOCTORAL PROGRAMMES IN HISTORY

At present, there are nine universities which offer the PhD in history. As it should be, Canadian history is offered as an area for thesis work at all of the universities with the majority of students preparing theses in this area. In their addendum (Appendix H), the consultants note that the Universities of Toronto, Queen's and York offer students the widest choices. The University of Toronto is "clearly pre-eminent in the province" with an all-embracing programme effectively covering the main areas of history. They point out that both Queen's and Toronto tend to be conservative in their approach to graduate work stressing political history and the conventional methods of historical study. At Queen's, Canadian history predominates but it could "further develop its interests in Britain, the USA and selected parts of Europe". (paragraph 83). The consultants note that "York, because of a very large and highly qualified faculty, and the diversity of interests to be found there, has extraordinary potential, though we feel that the potential has not yet been fully realized".

Together the Universities of Toronto, Queen's and York account for 74 percent of the province's doctoral students. The University of Ottawa, with a very specialized programme, accounts for ten percent. This leaves only 16 percent of the doctoral students for the remaining six universities. Also, Toronto, Queen's and York have a larger proportion of full professors in their graduate faculties than do the other Ontario universities. Indeed, they have 55 percent of the province's total number of full professors. It is clear, therefore, that three universities, Toronto, Queen's and York, have doctoral programmes in history of a recognizably different character from the others. Each of these three departments offers at least four areas of specialization; each has a substantial number of highly qualified faculty; and each has a large fraction of the province's doctoral students. In summary, the Universities of Toronto, Queen's and York should be considered to have general PhD programmes in history. The addition of new fields for PhD theses is of course a matter for appraisal action, although it is also important to inform ACAP and the Discipline Group of any field additions so that the impact on the provincial system can be assessed.*

* If any Ontario university wishes to offer a new research area for thesis work, it so informs the Appraisals Committee. The Appraisals Committee may decide that the new field is a natural and limited extension of work underway and that earlier investigations by the Appraisals Committee (or by a planning assessment) give sufficient assurance of quality. In this case, no appraisal would be required. Alternatively, the Appraisals Committee may decide that the new field is sufficiently unrelated to the established ones (in personnel, facilities or scientific interconnections) that an appraisal to establish quality is required. Lastly there is a situation wherein a professor will occasionally pursue a research topic (and employ a student) in a field bordering on the one in which he concentrates. This last type of "occasional thesis" would not normally be discussed with the Appraisals Committee, since it would not be listed amongst the fields the department "advertised" as research areas.

The above refers to appraisal. Insofar as system planning is concerned, all new fields anywhere are matters of report to ACAP and hence the other universities, but in the case of "general" PhD programmes COU approval of a new field is not required, whereas specialized programmes are expected to expand only into areas which seem appropriate to ~~COU~~ at the time a proposal is made.

The Universities of Carleton, Guelph, McMaster, Ottawa, Waterloo and Western Ontario have a more specialized role at the doctoral level. These history departments supervise theses in Canadian history and usually in one other area as well. The addition of new fields for PhD theses should be a matter for both appraisal and provincial planning, the latter involving a submission to ACAP and recommendations by it. Any specialized department wishing to broaden its offering should consider new approaches and areas which are not already well covered by the University of Toronto. The consultants suggest that this would help to balance the study of history in the province, to offset the dominance of the University of Toronto and to avoid unnecessary duplication of resources.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UNIVERSITIES WITH GENERAL DOCTORAL PROGRAMMES

Recommendation C3

It is recommended that Queen's University continue to offer a master's programme according to its plans and a general doctoral programme in history.

The chief emphasis of the doctoral programme is on Canadian history. The consultants appear to be critical of Queen's because of the conservative nature of the programme in a department capable of much greater diversity. The fields currently offered for PhD dissertations are Canadian history and select areas of British history, Commonwealth history, military history, European history and American history. More specifically these fields listed by Queen's are: Later Medieval England, 1300-1500; Central European Reformation; France in the 18th Century; France in the 20th Century; Russia, 1855-1955; Germany, 1750-1945; United States, 1763-1877; United States, 1840-1940; British Isles in the 19th or 20th Century; British Empire and Commonwealth, 1850-1940; New England, Nova Scotia, Acadia, New France in the 17th and 18th Centuries; Canada, 1812-1896; Canada, 1878-1957; and Naval and Military history, 1795-1941. ACAP agrees with the consultants' recommendation that Queen's further strengthen the opportunities for doctoral theses in those areas listed above other than Canadian history.

Recommendation C4

It is recommended that the University of Toronto continue to offer a master's programme and a general doctoral programme in history according to its plans.

The University of Toronto is the "only university in the province which, by ordinary world standards, is to be called major in historical studies" (paragraph 25). This extensive programme effectively covers most of the main areas of history. The Department of History permits PhD dissertations in the following fields: Canada to 1840, 1840 to the present; Europe 1453-1610, 1610-1789, 1789 to the present; Russia from 1682 to the present; East Central Europe from the late 18th century to the present; Britain 1485-1714, 1660-1815, 1815 to the present; American History to 1800; United States 1800 to the present; British and French Colonies in North America to 1783; China in the 19th and 20th centuries; The British Empire; Medieval History to 1150, 1050 to 1494; International Relations in the 19th and 20th centuries; and Modern Africa.*

Besides the Department of History, there are several other departments in the University of Toronto which offer doctoral work in history. The following table lists the areas for PhD dissertations with the relevant department.

*The 1974-5 University of Toronto calendar omits Modern Africa as a field.

<u>Department</u>	<u>Area</u>
Classical Studies History of Art	Greek and Roman History Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Modern
Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology	Sixteen areas listed in the appraisal document
Islamic Studies	Islamic History including Persian, Ottoman, Turkish, Indo-Muslim
Medieval Studies	Medieval History including history of art and history of ideas
Near Eastern Studies	Near Eastern History
Political Economy	Economic History
Sanskrit and Indian Studies	Indian History

Recommendation C5

It is recommended that York University continue to offer a master's programme and a general doctoral programme in history according to its plans.

The University states that the principal fields for PhD dissertations are Canada since 1867 and United States since 1850. But in exceptional cases PhD dissertations are offered in Britain 1815-1914; United States prior to 1850; Europe since 1870; France in the 17th and 18th centuries and China since 1850.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UNIVERSITIES WITH SPECIALIZED DOCTORAL PROGRAMMES

Recommendation C6

It is recommended that Carleton University continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in Canadian history according to its plans.

Recommendation C7

It is recommended that the University of Ottawa continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in the history of New France and France under the Ancien Régime and the history of French Canada according to its plans.

The Carleton department emphasizes new approaches to the study of Canadian socio-economic history and has considerable strength in this area. Naturally the new PhD programme concentrates on Canadian history stressing social and intellectual history rather than the more traditional political and constitutional history.

The University of Ottawa restricts its doctoral theses to topics in the history of New France and France under the Ancien Régime and the history of French Canada. This programme fills a great need in Canada.

Of course, in both departments there are research projects and master's theses in other fields.

The national capital offers unique advantages for doctoral work in Canadian history because of the extensive resources at the Dominion Archives, the National Library, the Parliamentary Library, etc. Moreover, the consultants suggest that "the opportunity exists for immensely fruitful cooperative and complementary enterprises" between Carleton and Ottawa (paragraph 141). Because of the interlocking and reinforcing nature of their strengths in Canadian history, collaboration would allow each university to offer a more balanced programme. Already the two universities cooperate in producing the periodical Histoire Sociale/Social History. ACAP recommends that the two universities initiate conversations to generate specific modalities for developing cooperative work and submit a progress report by January, 1976.

Recommendation C8

It is recommended that the University of Guelph submit a detailed report to ACAP of its future plans soon after the completion of the current review by the Appraisals Committee, and that ACAP then make recommendations concerning the role of Guelph in doctoral work in history. In any case a progress report is requested by June 1975. It is recommended that Guelph continue to offer its master's programme in accordance with its plans.

In May 1971 the OCGS Appraisals Committee approved the PhD programme in history at the University of Guelph to continue in modern British history and Canadian history with a limited enrolment and subject to review in three years. This review is now in process. The review will consider the definition of the areas for doctoral theses, the faculty situation (size, research interests and seniority) and the academic reasons which led the Appraisals Committee to limit student enrolment.

The history department has a strong interest in Scottish Reformation and Calvinist history and the consultants are very enthusiastic about cooperation between the Universities of Guelph and Waterloo in Radical Reformation history. ACAP suggests that the University of Guelph consider the possibility of cooperation in doctoral work with the University of Waterloo.

Recommendation C9

It is recommended that McMaster University continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in ancient history (Greek and Roman), Canadian history and modern British history (including Imperial and Commonwealth history) according to its plans.

There are only two Ontario universities which offer doctoral work in ancient history (McMaster and Toronto). ACAP encourages McMaster to maintain this as a strong field, continuing, of course, to draw on the strength of the Classics Department. In the field of Canadian history, McMaster emphasizes the politics and religion of Ontario, demographic studies of Ontario and local Ontario history. The consultants remark on the strength of the University to offer an interdisciplinary programme in English history and society. ACAP encourages McMaster to consider the formation of such a programme drawing on the strengths of related departments.

Recommendation C10

It is recommended that the University of Waterloo continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in European history since the Reformation, early modern and modern British history and the history of the British Possessions in the Atlantic Area, and history of Canada and the United States according to its plans.

Although the University has had a favourable appraisal in the above areas for PhD dissertation, the consultants feel that Waterloo is weak in United States history. ACAP notes that the programme will be reviewed by the Appraisals Committee in 1976 according to the standard procedure. The consultants are very enthusiastic about cooperation in doctoral work between the Universities of Guelph and Waterloo in the history of the Radical Reformation. ACAP suggests that the universities consider this possibility.

Recommendation C11

It is recommended that the University of Western Ontario continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in Canadian history but with some "modest offerings" in American and British history, including an "added emphasis to social-structural and demographic history" according to its plans.

ACAP is in sympathy with Western's intention to increase the proportion of doctoral students in British and American history. It also seems reasonable to ACAP that there should be doctoral work in Latin American history at Western. ACAP encourages Western to develop its strength in this area and in due course submit it to the Appraisals Committee. The consultants praise the emphasis on local history which is supported by the strength in urban and regional government at Western noted in the political science and geography reports. The consultants feel this is one area of history in which more doctoral work should be encouraged.

MASTER'S PROGRAMMES IN HISTORY

The consultants point out that "the range (at the master's level) is good, even without the all-embracing programme at Toronto" and conclude that "the quality of what is offered varies from the good to the entirely adequate". The consultants strongly favour the MA by dissertation. (Section V, Recommendation 4). They emphasize that as a graduate degree the MA should include a component which differs in essence from the undergraduate degree (paragraph 74). Some consider this to be even more important for the terminal master's student for whom it is the only experience of genuine research than for the intending doctoral student. However ACAP does not intend to make a recommendation concerning MA requirements because it feels there is a case for having several different kinds of programmes available to graduate students. It is likely that enrolment at the master's level will continue to grow since there are indications that more schoolteachers may return to university to improve their scholarly qualifications.

Universities which offer only master's programmes should concentrate on strengthening their undergraduate and master's programmes rather than contemplating doctoral work. Brock is the only university which does not offer a master's programme. ACAP notes that a master's programme is not in the approved Brock University Five-Year Plan.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UNIVERSITIES WITH MASTER'S PROGRAMMES

Recommendation C12

It is recommended that Lakehead University continue to offer a master's programme in Canadian history.

If Lakehead decides to expand its programme to include modern British history as the consultants suggest, referral to the Appraisals Committee would be necessary. ACAP can see no objection to such an expansion on grounds of planning.

Recommendation C13

It is recommended that Laurentian University continue to offer a master's programme in history as outlined in the University's Five-Year Plan.

The approved Five-Year Plan of Laurentian University states that the current programme in history will continue whether or not there is a favourably appraised programme in Canadian Studies. The University calendar states that the master's programme is offered in Nineteenth Century Social History of North America and Europe.

Recommendation C14

It is recommended that Trent University continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its plans.

The University offers master's work in the areas of Canadian and "connectional" history, Medieval history, and the theory of history. The 1973-4 graduate calendar describes Canadian and connectional history as focusing on Canadian history but with an emphasis on the wider British, Imperial and American contexts of that history. Research may deal with political, cultural, social and economic topics primarily in the nineteenth century.

Recommendation C15

It is recommended that Wilfrid Laurier University continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its plans.

The programme concentrates on North America and Europe. ACAP encourages Wilfrid Laurier to consider the possibilities for cooperation with the University of Waterloo as suggested by the consultants.

Recommendation C16

It is recommended that the University of Windsor continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its plans.

The programme concentrates on political history of the 19th and 20th centuries. The geographical focus is on Canada, United States, Western Europe (mainly France and Germany), the British Isles (mainly England) and Russia. There is also some emphasis on social and intellectual aspects of history.

RECOMMENDATION FOR COU ACTION

Recommendation C17

It is recommended that COU adopt the recommendations of this report, and, in the expectation that its members will act in accordance with them, COU inform OCUA that it has adopted these recommendations and request that the embargo on history be now removed, in accordance with the original announcement of the Minister that new graduate programmes would be embargoed until, for each discipline, a planning assessment has been conducted.

RECOMMENDATIONS

C1

It is recommended that the Discipline Group examine the structure of the PhD requirements in order to make recommendations for shortening the time required to obtain the degree and further it is recommended that the universities consider steps to be taken to reduce the incidence of graduate students leaving the university before completing the thesis. (See Appendix A, paragraphs 39, 87-96, 152 and section V, Recommendations 3 and 5).

C2

It is recommended that the Discipline Group explore employment opportunities for graduates other than in university teaching. (See Appendix A, paragraphs 53-55, and section V, Recommendation 13).

C3

It is recommended that Queen's University continue to offer a master's programme according to its plans and a general doctoral programme in history.

C4

It is recommended that the University of Toronto continue to offer a master's programme and a general doctoral programme in history according to its plans.

C5

It is recommended that York University continue to offer a master's programme and a general doctoral programme in history according to its plans.

C6

It is recommended that Carleton University continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in Canadian history according to its plans.

C7

It is recommended that the University of Ottawa continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in the history of New France and France under the Ancien Régime and the history of French Canada according to its plans.

C8

It is recommended that the University of Guelph submit a detailed report to ACAP of its future plans soon after the completion of the current review by the Appraisals Committee, and that ACAP then make recommendations concerning the role of Guelph in doctoral work in history. In any case a progress report is requested by June 1975. It is recommended that Guelph continue to offer its master's programme in accordance with its plans.

C9

It is recommended that McMaster University continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in ancient history (Greek and Roman), Canadian history and modern British history (including Imperial and Commonwealth history) according to its plans.

C10

It is recommended that the University of Waterloo continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in European history since the Reformation, early modern and modern British history and the history of the British Possessions in the Atlantic Area, and history of Canada and the United States according to its plans.

C11

It is recommended that the University of Western Ontario continue to offer a master's programme and a specialized doctoral programme in Canadian history but with some "modest offerings" in American and British history including an "added emphasis to social-structural and demographic history" according to its plans.

C12

It is recommended that Lakehead University continue to offer a master's programme in Canadian history.

C13

It is recommended that Laurentian University continue to offer a master's programme in history as outlined in the University's Five-Year Plan.

C14

It is recommended that Trent University continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its plans.

C15

It is recommended that Wilfrid Laurier continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its plans.

C16

It is recommended that the University of Windsor continue to offer a master's programme in history according to its plans.

C17

It is recommended that COU adopt the recommendations of this report, and, in the expectation that its members will act in accordance with them, COU inform OCUA that it has adopted these recommendations and request that the embargo on history be now removed, in accordance with the original announcement of the Minister that new graduate programmes would be embargoed until, for each discipline, a planning assessment has been conducted.

A P P E N D I X A

CONSULTANTS' REPORT

**GRADUATE STUDIES
IN THE HISTORY DEPARTMENTS
OF THE
UNIVERSITIES OF ONTARIO**

**G.R. Elton
Jean Hamelin
Henry Kreisel**

**Submitted to the
Advisory Committee on Academic Planning
Ontario Council on Graduate Studies
Council of Ontario Universities
March, 1974**

CONTENTS

Prefatory Note	A-iii
I. Introduction	A-1
II. The Present State of Affairs	A-8
(A) Faculty	A-8
(a) Numbers	A-8
(b) Ranks	A-10
(c) Distribution by Interests: Regions	A-11
(d) Distribution by Interests: Periods and Aspects	A-13
(e) General Comments	A-16
(B) Graduate Students	A-18
(a) Numbers	A-18
(b) Degrees Awarded	A-19
(c) Distribution by Universities	A-20
(d) Sources of Student Supply and Support	A-23
(e) Employment	A-26
(f) General Comments	A-27
(C) MA Programs	A-30
(a) General	A-30
(b) Structure of the Degree	A-31
(c) Areas of Study for Dissertation Work	A-34
(D) PhD Programs	A-38
(a) General	A-38
(b) Structure	A-38
(c) Areas of Research	A-45
(d) So Many Schools of Research?	A-47
(E) Cooperation	A-48
(a) Informal	A-48
(b) Intra-University Arrangements	A-49
(c) Inter-University Arrangements	A-51
(F) Libraries and Archives	A-52
(a) Libraries	A-53
(b) Archives	A-57
(c) Summary	A-58
III. Immediate Developments	A-60
IV. The Future	A-64
(a) Manpower Planning	A-64
(b) The Future of Graduate Programs	A-66
(c) Teaching Structure	A-69
(d) The Future of Cooperation	A-69
(e) The Language Problem	A-71
(f) Libraries	A-72

V. Summary of Recommendations	A-73
VI. Conclusions	A-75
Appendix I: Tables	A-76
I. Growth of full-time faculty (1968/73)	A-77
II. Full-time faculty by Departments (1972/73)	A-78
III. Graduate Faculty (1972/73)	A-79
IV. Full-time faculty - professorial ranks (1972/73)	A-80
V. Departmental Distribution of graduate faculty (senior ranks) and graduate students (1972/73)	A-81
VI. Distribution of faculty ranks: percentages	A-82
VII. Faculty Specialization: Regions	A-83
VIII. Faculty Specialization: Aspects (1972/73)	A-84
IX. Faculty Specialization: Periods (1972/73)	A-85
X. Faculty Specialization: Percentages (1972/73)	A-86
XI. MA Students in History (1968/73)	A-87
XII. PhD Students in History	A-88
XIII. Graduate students: total number (1968/73)	A-89
XIV. Graduate students: percentage increase (1968/73)	A-89
XV. Graduate students: departmental distribution: percentages (1972/73)	A-90
XVI. Degrees awarded (1968/73)	A-91
XVII. Graduate students: origins (1972/73)	A-92
XVIII. Full-time graduate students: sources of financial support (1968/73)	A-93
XIX. Employment of PhDs (1968/73)	A-94
XX. Library Support	A-95
Appendix II: Index of Departments	A-96

Peiora expectavimus, bona invenimus,
meliora appetimus.

PREFATORY NOTE

In this report, we base analysis and comment on numerical statistics provided for us which are of necessity not always sufficient or accurate. Shifts of interest, for instance, or changes in appointments were rendering some details out of date even while we were studying the situation. This could not be helped, and no one is to blame. We are therefore aware that some of our figures and percentages are liable to be slightly out of true, but we have felt obliged to provide a reasonable foundation of information and have good reason to think that the intruding inaccuracies are too small to affect either the resulting picture or the conclusions drawn.

Our brief does not compel us, and our rapid investigations do not qualify us, to attempt a full-scale appraisal of individual departments: we are concerned with the whole situation in the province and see particular institutions in that setting.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The problems of graduate work in history can be properly understood only in the context of university studies in history in general. We must therefore begin by explaining what we conceive the nature of historical study to be - its function in universities specifically as well as in society at large, together with the consequences this has for the enquiry in which we have been engaged. We would emphasize that any appearance of arrogance or conceit should be put down to the effects of inescapable compression; in setting out the virtues and importance of history we do not mean to decry any other form of study.

2. The study of history is recognized to possess certain mind-forming qualities useful both to the individual and to society. A knowledge of the past greatly enlarges a man's acquaintance; it provides criteria for judgment and action in human affairs. Men, as Francis Bacon said, are rendered wise by history. The insistence that conclusions be based on reasoned inference from established evidence provides a training in practical logic and exercises the reasoning faculties. A trained understanding of the past is an essential contribution to all forms of learning none of which exist without their own prehistory. More particularly, the academic practice of the subject provides a training for functions necessary in society and qualifies its products for work involving administration, teaching and research. Despite recent attacks from various quarters, enrolment figures and publishers' catalogues show that historical studies remain among the most attractive and immediately useful labours of the university.

3. However, it can justly be argued that history shares many of these qualities with other forms of study. It needs therefore to be said that the discipline occupies rather a unique place in the enterprises of the mind. By and large, academic disciplines fall into two categories. Some are predominantly concerned with imparting knowledge and skills usable in a lifetime's work: they are essentially directed towards training people to pursue stated avocations. Others attend to predominantly academic and educational purposes; they may, and almost certainly will, produce teachers, but their chief interest lies in creating superior minds. No doubt few disciplines answer absolutely to this distinction, but nearly all can be readily assigned to one class or the other. History stands between them, being both a training subject for a variety of employments (historians, archivists, librarians, civil servants) and selfconsciously an instrument for improving intelligence and sensitivity. Concerned as it is with whatever men have done, suffered, thought, written or experienced, it often seems to lack precise definition as a subject, a problem which has become more manifest as historians have carried their interests from such things as politics and war into the social, economic and intellectual happenings of the past. History at times appears less as an academic discipline than as an attitude of mind living parasitically on the disciplinary skills of others. This, however, is an illusion, an illusion sometimes fostered

by incomprehension among those (let us not define them) who confuse the identification of a discipline with the possession of technical devices like quantifiability or model-building. There certainly is a discipline - a craft - of history with an area of operations and methods of proceeding peculiar to itself. Historical knowledge and interpretation depend on the use of teachable methods - sceptical and imaginative skills of investigation - which were evolved to meet the problems of dealing with a peculiar type of material for study: the haphazardly preserved and finite (not augmentable) evidence left behind by the past. The nature of this evidence has compelled the development of strict techniques of discovery and evaluation to which all other techniques (often borrowed from other disciplines) must be subordinated. Historians have to consider evidence exhaustively, not in a selection directed by provisional hypotheses; they cannot add to their evidence by such techniques as extrapolation or imaginative reconstruction; they must explain backwards from effects to causes, not forward from established facts to consequences; they operate on the assumption that questions may turn out to be unanswerable. In these and other ways, they differ from both natural and social scientists. Historical study is that study which practises the historical method.

4. The other objection to which the middle position of history gives rise is that it offers neither usefulness nor relevance. The past, being dead (we are told), can at best provide amusement for the many or an ivory-tower preoccupation for the few. At worst it is alleged to be almost anti-intellectual in that its awareness of accident and the contingent inhibits rational and especially radical thought and makes its devotees live in a dead past. We are not here obliged to defend history against its more philistine detractors, but this accusation (and even more extreme reactions against the learned study of the past on the grounds that what is wanted is an untrammelled new world) matters here because it mistakes the nature of history, because it destroys the human roots of society, and because it is gaining ground among politicians, administrators, and professional educationalists. (It has to be admitted that the confident planning of new worlds is made easier when history is forgotten - easier but not more successful.) Even though good history must be about the past and must accord that past the respect of treating it in its own right, not merely as the presumed precursor of a later day, historical study is not simply backward-looking and uninvolved. Whether the historian is a determinist or not (few are), whether he would vote for this party or that, whether he treats of the cold war between Russia and the United States or of the hot war between Sparta and Athens, are all points of no significance at all. What matters is the contribution which historical understanding makes to a man's understanding of his world and the understanding he can teach others to acquire.

5. The one constant element in historical experience is change: the task of creatively understanding the past boils down to identifying, explaining and evaluating change. History, properly understood, compels its practitioners to avoid ossification - either that ossification which

comes from the cessation of thought or that which results from submission to intellectual authority. By creating no systems it offers the prospect of untrammelled comprehension and the acceptance of novelty as much as the preservation of tradition. Though the study of history deals with a past which only the blind and deaf could call dead, it constantly looks to the future: not in the crude sense of studying the past so as to discover forecasts or precepts but in the very subtle sense in which a comprehension of changes gone by instructs the mind in contemplating, planning and accepting changes to come. It is in this effect that history becomes very important to any society: liberation to the intellect and reassurance to the soul. Historians, who professionally think in the flux of events, are exceptionally conditioned to cope with the facts of life. It is true that a sufficient acquaintance with the fate that so often has overtaken human aspirations good and bad is liable to breed some doubt, even cynicism, in the face of those ever recurring panaceas, but in fact the historian can provide criteria of discrimination and choice in the judgment of any program which society should value. Indeed, if history did no more than teach a measure of stoicism to a world rather notably devoid of that quality it would justify its existence well enough. However, there is more to it than that - more than can here be elaborated, though one fundamental fact about the historian's proper involvement with his world should be recorded. Historians usually choose their avocation because they have an interest in people as individuals, and they do not find it easy to suppose that mankind came to an end before the age in which they live. A precise learned discipline which, confronted with the faceless entities and agglomerations of the social sciences, remembers the particularity of men and women is something that no civilization can afford to be without.

6. History, thus, has an identity of its own and bears directly upon the problems which confront the world every passing day. These truths, however, do not define its place in a university where, as we have said, it seems liable to stand between the two main camps, to partake of characteristics belonging to both, and to exasperate in consequence both by seemingly failing to come up to the ideal concept entertained of itself by either. The function of the man in the middle is to get hammered by the two men on either side of him, and this has certainly happened to history. However, that function could be to pull the extremes together, to act as a bridge rather than a punch-ball, and it seems to us that history has of late been gaining increasing recognition in this respect. All sorts of academic disciplines have been discovering historical dimensions in themselves: even practitioners of enterprises traditionally based on theory and general laws have found it more and more desirable to use historical techniques in order to adjust their models of reality to reality itself. We may point to the present growth of the history of science, pursued now not only to discover past beliefs about nature but also in order to gain a better understanding of the present state of scientific investigation. In sociology and even in political science, fruitful advance seems increasingly to depend less on the formulation of theories of behaviour or the accumulation of detail

to be subordinated to such theories, but on the testing and evaluation of both by methods of enquiry first developed by the historian and still best practised by him. The obvious truth that there is a history to everything that men do is coming to be reflected in a growing desire to explore historical dimensions everywhere.

7. These developments, sensible and welcome though they must be, are not without their dangers. Serious historical study yielding results of value can no more be pursued by the untrained amateur than can studies in economics or biochemistry; and when they turn historians, biochemists and economists are amateurs. Insofar as other subjects will develop a concern with their history and with historical methods of enquiry, they will depend on the guidance, cooperation and instruction of professional historians. They will, that is, have to make use of the existence among them of a subject in the middle which reaches out in all directions and, while sure of its reasonable autonomy, is exceptionally concerned to interact and assist. The fact is that, despite current talk of the decline of historical studies or the folly of pursuing interests of no immediate "relevance", the man in the middle is seen more and more as a middle-man, not a common target for attack. Current academic developments outside history have made the existence of a truly important department of history more essential than ever to all universities. Universities cannot nowadays afford to neglect the promotion of a competent body of professional historians in their midst because history is one of the few disciplines capable of counteracting the splintering effect of specialization. As things are, historians can and should provide the major element of coordination and control for all the enterprises of a studium universale. At their best - and they should be driven to be at their best - historians have it in them to be the theologians of the modern academy.

8. This may sound extravagant and absurd. That, however, historians in fact carry out some such function is quite readily seen in undergraduate courses. In universities based on the honours system usual in Europe, history is the subject chosen by the few who want to train as professionals and the many who want a general education; and history students lead the demand for new areas of enquiry and interdisciplinary enterprises. In the multiple-subject system of North American education, history is, for similar reason, a common major subject for those seeking to acquire culture and a still more common minor subject for those who wish to add culture to qualifications. Evidently, many young minds engaged among the rudiments of improvement find in history precisely that approach to generalized understanding which makes the subject a coordinator among its companions. Possessed, even at the undergraduate level, of a sizeable core of necessary knowledge, it can train rational abilities and a reasonable objectivity better than less mundane, more imaginative disciplines. The qualities which advanced practitioners acquire and cultivate can be discerned in embryo among undergraduates, and the importance of history in the undergraduate teaching work of any university can no more be overstated than its role among men of learning. In this enquiry we are not concerned with undergraduate courses or teaching, but the foundations of every department of history lie there,

and the point must be made. All the institutions that we have looked at pride themselves on the attention they give to undergraduates; academic historians in the province of Ontario regard themselves in the first place as teachers and would wish to have their performance judged by that criterion. We fully accept these claims and their justice. But if the power base of these history departments lies in their activities with undergraduates, certain consequences follow for their graduate programs.

9. Thus: the health of every university demands a good and sound department of history because history above other disciplines can and does act as the coordinator and interpreter of all the intellectual enterprises in the institution, and because at undergraduate level history provides a flexible and varied service which is much in demand and generally well catered for. What, then, makes a history department good and sound? The answer, once again, arises from those features which distinguish historical studies as an intellectual and, one might almost say, a spiritual enterprise. A training in history aims to produce a particular form of the enquiring mind: an understanding of human behaviour and action, through time, derived from the precise and cautious assessment of all the available evidence. The sound historical method avoids the pursuit of single, identified questions and distrusts all answers that embody single causes. If a metaphor be permitted: where other disciplines instruct their practitioners to follow paths through the wilderness of ignorance (existing paths or paths they are the first to blaze) the historian, at all stages of his development, is expected to strike off into the untrodden ground and to ramble away from the path to which he returns only to stray off again and again. A proper understanding of anything in the past depends on the possession of a mass of seemingly irrelevant information from within which alone the particular can be understood; it also depends on the possession of an imaginative, evaluating and coordinating mind which has grasped that what is significant can be discovered only when it is recognized that in the first instance nothing is insignificant. The trained historian should display very wide knowledge and an imagination that is both creative and disciplined - and that valuable combination is not as rare in the profession as the scurrilous legend likes to pretend. But it is certain that it takes time to produce these qualities; historians notoriously improve with age.

10. For a university education in history, the consequences of this necessary ideal are that the ordinary distinction between undergraduate and postgraduate study loses much of its precision. Of course, there is an unmistakable difference between the undergraduate student and the research student, but the characteristics of both states appear also in the other with a frequency unusual in other disciplines. Undergraduate exercises turn into proto-research, while course work and fields and the usual manner of supervision continue to remind the graduate student of his earlier identity. (We shall see that in Ontario these points of continuity are often more manifest than the equally important elements of transformation.) History takes its time, and anything resembling a sound education in it is not obtained, in any academic

system, at the stage of the first degree; and this applies not only to the production of professional historians but quite as much to the production of sensible, generally educated, men and women. Thus the bachelor's degree becomes less a milestone than a momentary resting place for the drawing of breath. It should be recognized that relatively little of the fruitful effects of historical study accrues to the student who abandons that study at BA level.

11. The second point to grow from this state of affairs concerns those who teach. A department whose work is confined to undergraduates lives in an artificially truncated condition. As we have said, the departments that we have inspected generally pride themselves on their undergraduate teaching, and justly so. We do not begin to deny the importance of this work or to question the dedication of men and women who devote themselves to it. Insofar as this often-expressed pride represents resistance to the pernicious notions that university teachers are to be judged solely by "their own work" and that eminence increases with the distance from the undergraduate, the characteristic belief in undergraduate teaching which we have encountered calls for loud applause. But when (as at times it does) it cries down the necessity for post-graduate work it raises serious doubts. Whether or not they continue to pursue their own research (and if they do not, they have some real difficulty in remaining intellectually alive), teachers of history do decline in quality if their whole professional lives are spent with undergraduates. Academic instructors are not schoolteachers and should not behave as though they were, any more than they are gentlemen of leisure entitled to follow that code of behaviour. For the academic mind to remain in a state of alert competence, it needs to encounter the challenge of other minds beyond the BA stage. Teaching graduate students, at least up to the master's degree, is in general not a luxury but a simple necessity if the quality of the department is to be maintained. And a case can be made for thinking that a teacher who never supervises a PhD student is at least in serious danger of decline.

12. We therefore maintain that in history departments graduate programs are essential because, in the first place, they provide an inseparable advanced phase of that education which the department exists to provide, and secondly because without them the members of the department are unlikely to maintain the qualities which make them good scholars and teachers. By the terms of this enquiry, we shall concern ourselves with graduate work only, but we cannot accept that, in history, this sector can be divorced from a full view of the department's total work - in teaching and research and writing, in everything that touches its professional role and educational service. Some things we shall have nothing to say about because they lie outside our competence. We cannot usefully speculate concerning the province's future investment in universities or the fortunes of the learned world at large. We do not suppose that assessment or advice should feed on personal prejudice or whim. We respect honestly held opinions even where we feel forced to disagree with them. But neither can we ignore the frame of thought, based on experience and reflection, which underlies these introductory

remarks. Particular circumstances assuredly modify particular conclusions, but we hold, without qualification, to the view that the serious study of history is an activity necessary to the intellectual and moral well-being of any community and that it is the duty of every university to provide for it. We think that no analysis which does not start from that assumption is worth having.

II. THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

(A) Faculty

(a) Numbers

13. In 1972/73, there were 415 full-time teachers of history in the fifteen departments of history in Ontario (Table I). This, however, is a somewhat misleading figure. A good deal of history is taught in other departments, for example of economics, which do not come within the compass of this enquiry. It would appear that the additional numbers involved are small, except at Toronto where alone we have been provided with accurate information. The 68 members of the department there are reinforced by 6 people teaching in the Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, 5 historians in the Department of Near Eastern Studies, 12 persons specializing in history but domiciled in the Department of Political Economy, 3 art historians, and 6 ancient historians in the Department of Classical Studies. In addition there are 5 historical specialists in the Centre for Medieval Studies, outside the department but closely associated with it. Thus it would give a truer picture to say that Toronto students have some 105 teachers of history to draw upon, and students elsewhere would also find specialists available to them not accounted for in our figures. However, it would appear that the teaching activities of history departments involve little use of colleagues elsewhere; and while we would wish to remain aware of these additional resources, we think it right to confine our investigations essentially to members of history departments proper.

14. The total of 415 represents an increase of about 34% in five years, since 1968/69, and that increase has been pretty steady, greatest in 1970/71 and, significantly, showing signs of coming to an end during the last year covered. We recognize that this augmentation is part of the general expansion of university studies in the province since the mid-sixties, and that the expansion of history has simply been part of a process. It should be noted that the expansion lagged well behind the experience of some other departments. Sociology, for instance, justifiably nowadays regarded as a rival to history in attracting students, shows a much greater percentage growth in five years, but this reflects the fact that, being a more recent discipline in university teaching, it started from a much lower base. The growth of history has been proportionate to general growth and in the main to need - so far at least. It has, obviously, been greatest in new institutions: out of the 105 appointments added in five years, York has laid claim to 36 and Waterloo to 14, while Toronto contented itself with 9 and Queen's with 6. (The York expansion may be regarded as exceptional, peculiar, and possibly disquieting.) But no single department has stood still, and the general situation at present should be described as healthy - moderately expansive according to need and opportunity, yet well enough controlled to avoid the danger of undermining standards. We attend in Section IV to the problems of the future.

15. A look at the distribution of this teaching strength shows that there are three kinds of departments in the province: small, middling and large (Table II). The two giants, of course, are Toronto and York, a fact which would become even more apparent if all the Toronto historians were included. (If Toronto were counted to have 105 historians instead of 68, its percentage holding would read 25 instead of 16.) A solid middle group includes five institutions - two relatively ancient (Queen's and Ottawa), two relatively young (Carleton, Waterloo), and one that has grown markedly from a small order base (Western). McMaster heads the list of those who each dispose of less than 5% of the total; it really straddles the divide between the middling and the small departments, and it also raises a measure of surprise because the university as a whole by size alone would seem to merit a higher place than it receives here. Thus except perhaps for McMaster, the table of percentages reflects pretty accurately the range of overall size of the universities; or, in other words, history departments everywhere would appear to be properly founded and would seem to be receiving a fair share of available resources. No history department can claim cinderella status in its own university, but only York perhaps could be thought of as specially favoured. These facts reflect the general position: history occupies an established and recognized place of importance in the work of all the universities in question.

16. From the point of view of this enquiry, the total number of full-time faculty is misleading in yet another way. By no means everybody is involved in graduate teaching, and a look at the graduate faculty is therefore necessary, though it should be said at once that further analysis will continue to comprise all teachers. Considerations of potential development require that we should concern ourselves also with those who are available for work with graduate students, even though at present they do not engage in it. The total of the graduate faculty (full-time) is 226 (Table III), or only just over half the available resources. Here the league table makes clearer distinctions. Toronto and York remain well ahead of everybody else; McMaster's percentage rises significantly, as does Western's. Ottawa and Carleton change places, a fact descriptive of the larger and older graduate program found at the former. Brock, Laurentian, Wilfrid Laurier, Trent and Lakehead virtually vanish from sight. However, all that these figures usefully show is the fact that graduate work is much more concentrated in fewer places than the teaching of history generally (i.e. to undergraduates). This is to be expected; what matters is that even so there is still a pretty wide range of institutions significantly involved in graduate programs. Despite the manifest ascendancy of Toronto (and York), enough serious work goes forward elsewhere to justify our speaking in terms of a general situation.

17. The big question raised by the number of graduate faculty is, of course, the gap between it and the overall total, especially in view of our conviction, stated in para. 11 above, that work with advanced students is a necessary part of scholarly existence. What about the 189 teachers who appear to be left without such work? The answer, not

surprisingly, emerges from the tables of professional status (Tables III and IV). Of the 91 full professors and the 151 associate professors, 77 and 102 work in graduate programs; of the 117 assistant professors and 48 lecturers, only 45 and 2 do. It is senior faculty, by status and in the main by age, that teach graduate students, and this is particularly true of the best established graduate programs. At Toronto, for instance, all the full professors and all but two associate professors are involved; at Western we find 25 out of 28 members of the three senior grades so employed, but none of the rather high (8) number of lecturers. We therefore conclude that the gap between all faculty and graduate faculty is to be explained by two phenomena: fairly recent recruitment, during the period of expansion, of new teachers still being processed for more advanced work (e.g. still finishing their own PhDs), and the very recent initiation of some graduate programs which are still too small to bring in the majority of teachers. While on the face of it the presence of 189 (45.6%) persons who do not teach anyone but undergraduates is disquieting, the discoverable explanations suggest that this is a temporary phenomenon, produced by the very recent phase of expansion, and probably likely to disappear.

18. This conclusion also justifies our decision to analyze the standing and interests of all teaching faculty. The persons not yet involved will, we hope and prognosticate, come soon to be so and will bring their special concerns and abilities to the programs.

(b) Ranks

19. There are significant differences in the proportion of senior and junior faculty at the various universities (Table VI). The figure which matters here is that of full and associate professors combined, for the established strength of a department lies there. In the province as a whole they occupy 59% of teaching posts, which seems about right: one wants to see just over half the total on the settled side, whereas any higher proportion would argue an insufficiency of new blood and proclaim the dangers of ossification. True, a high proportion of senior faculty testifies to a successful search for excellence and eminence (see especially Carleton), but it militates against future developments and should be adjusted as soon as possible by the recruitment of juniors. On the other hand, a relatively young department with a lot of unestablished faculty in it lacks experience and authority. Thus departments significantly in excess of the provincial figure need to consider the limitations which this puts on flexibility; those that fall well below it need to take steps against immaturity and lack of weight. Among the first, the most striking case is that of Ottawa with 71% senior faculty - most striking because the department at the same time has a very low number of full professors. Waterloo's 62% comes close to the desirable level, but here, too, an excessive number of professors are of associate status. Waterloo is the product of recent

expansion, and seniority will come with time; Ottawa has gone through a recent remodelling of a faculty which had grown superannuated, and much the same development may be expected. This, however, does not alter the fact that at both universities the balance is at present wrong and needs adjusting. Even more out of true is Carleton's 74%, well distributed between the two grades; this is a department in which younger people may for some time have difficulty in making their way, or rather (since the "senior" faculty themselves are generally quite young in years) one which will have few vacancies to offer for a long time.

20. On the other side we may note York whose mushroom growth has left it with a large department distributed around a low mean, a prescription for internal promotion rather than fresh recruitment, or Western whose recent growth upon a rather elderly base has produced similar results. At Lakehead and Laurentian we are dealing with brave beginnings rather than developed situations, and it may thus be too early for comment; nevertheless, we wish to point out that even existing programs there will suffer unless an effort is made to improve quality and quantity at the senior end. Much the same should be said of Trent. The two oldest universities - Toronto and Queen's - produce figures which suggest strong elements of solidification, a preponderance (marked in the second case) of full professors over associates is a sign of the predominance of well settled people, some of them approaching the age of retirement. Both places, predictably, struck us as pretty conservative, but it seems likely that both will before long find themselves undergoing changes in the wake of the necessary replacement of faculty. Over all, therefore, the age structure and distribution of professional status, which in toto look quite satisfactory, are in most individual cases a trifle disquieting. Now that expansion has come to a stop, there is hardly anywhere enough room to manoeuvre, and while a little room will probably soon show itself at Queen's, Toronto and McMaster, most departments will have to work within the terms already set and may find it difficult to satisfy the legitimate ambitions of junior faculty. The possible consequences of such a situation do not need spelling out.

(c) Distribution by Interests: Regions

21. The impression of a certain standardization which these figures support is reinforced by a look at the main interests of the teaching faculty. We turn first to the allocation of specialists by regions of the world (Table VII). On the face of it, this is not unreasonable. One expects every country to study its own history first, and the fact that only about 25% of professors specialize in the history of Canada might be taken as a sign of a happy lack of isolationism - or alternatively as a sign of a less happy lack of confidence in national identity. The largest single area of interest is western Europe (i.e. France, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Spain); if

the 84 specialists in British and Imperial history and the forty whose area of work is eastern Europe are added, the Old World preempts some 51% of teachers. It is evident that something must give, and in this case the least satisfactory position appears in "third-world" studies. Over 60 specialists in American history is probably enough, in view of the fact that the subject receives such overwhelming attention south of the 49th parallel.

22. However, this is a superficial analysis which needs a closer look. In the first place, the total of specialized interests exceeds the total of faculty by almost 100 because a number of people specified several areas. This may indeed fairly reflect their interests, but it must be doubted whether it fairly reflects their ability to pursue research and instruct graduate students. Both the returns and the impression left in conversation suggest that the normal present-day situation really applies in Ontario, too: namely, one regional specialization per man. This is so even at Trent and Queen's whose professors distort the total by including a high proportion of men professing an interest in two regions. It is not possible to make accurate allowances for these discrepancies, but it looks as though readjustments would reduce the preponderance of western Europe (especially France) and give pride of place (by a short head) to Canada.

23. Secondly, the balance varies a lot between universities. As one might expect, all the smaller institutions find it difficult to cover all the ground; but, their total teaching strength considered, Ottawa and perhaps even York do badly by British history, Waterloo and Carleton by American. Ottawa's American specialists include not one Frenchman. The minor interests - Africa, Asia, Latin America - are very much confined to Toronto and York, with Waterloo making a gallant effort.

24. Thirdly, it should be noted that these are the professed interests of the total faculty, not of those involved in graduate teaching. This does not matter too much because, we hope, the existence of "exotic" interests in the more junior faculty may soon find an outlet in the territorial expansion of graduate programs, but it is a point worth making. Analysis of one apparently well diversified department will illustrate the situation. If York's 39 graduate teachers are studied in place of all 75, the figures read: Canadian, 12; American, 7; British, 2; West European, 10; East European, 4; Asian, 4; African, 2; Latin American, 2; others, 2. The heaviest loser is western Europe, almost all the teachers remaining being specialists in French history alone, while British (and Imperial) history effectively vanishes. Canada stands out as dominant, and America holds her own. Interestingly, the exceptional interest in third-world history is here covered by senior people, i.e. in this respect the effort at diversification is very real.

25. What all this underlines, however, is the exceptional position of Toronto. Here the figures adjusted for graduate faculty only read:

Canada 15; America 8; Britain 7; western Europe 14; eastern Europe 3; Asia 3; Africa 1; Latin America 1. The West European contingent covers the major countries - no French monopoly here. In addition, as has already been said, Toronto possesses outside the department medievalists (British and European), historians of science and of art, a solid body of economic historians (several regions), Islamic historians, and classical historians, many of whom do cooperate in the teaching of graduate students (many do not). Toronto is the only university in the province which, by ordinary world standards, is to be called major in historical studies. It must therefore be emphasized that here the facts reveal a highly traditional distribution of interests, with third-world matters far from well represented and conventional Canadian history predominant. This is not in itself a matter for censure. Toronto embodies the traditional core of historical studies in the province, and it is right that there should be a mainly conservative centre to the discipline among so large a number of institutions. But these facts ought to be taken into account by other departments who would be well advised not to copy or rival Toronto but to seek special distinction in areas not so well attended to by the giant.

(d) Distribution by Interests: Periods and Aspects

26. These conclusions are reinforced by a study of the periods and aspects offered by teaching faculty. Here we again return to the total number of professors and once more note that the figures are influenced by answers listing more than one item. First, periods (Tables IX and X). Here the analysis is especially complicated by the absence of the Toronto "extras": ancient history has more practitioners than the 15 persons (3%) indicated, though the five medievalists at the Centre for Medieval Studies would not increase the percentage allocated to that subject. The obvious dominance of modern history, especially of the 19th and 20th centuries, though it almost amounts to deformation, comes as no surprise; apart from anything else, the dominant subject of Canadian history begins for many only in 1867 and for no one before ca. 1700. Much the same applies to the sizable body of American historians. Interest in West European history, including British, is commonly nourished by an interest in the prehistory of the North American continent, a concern which would take few people back beyond 1600. However, in any case, this distribution (which is pretty consistent throughout the Ontario universities) does not differ much from what would be found in the United States and in the newer institutions of Europe too. Nevertheless, we feel compelled to draw attention to the weaknesses of a situation which seems to limit history to the last 250 years. Recent history, itself one of the most difficult, disorganized and problematic sectors of the discipline (for good reasons: it takes time to sort out the materials and the problems), suffers when it is seen too much in its own terms, and no school of history can be considered adequate which cuts off the last few

centuries from their predecessors. When the specialists in medieval and early-modern history are increasingly treated as fringe-partners or even freaks, and when study concentrates on the highly atypical industrial societies of recent times, historical perspective is lost and the virtues of historical comprehension become unattainable. This is bad for teachers; it is worse for students. We do not suppose that the imbalance can at present be much redressed, but we would urge that at least it should not be allowed to deteriorate further. The bias towards "modernity" has certainly reached the danger point in a learned community when three-quarters of its members confine their interest in history to approximately one-twentieth of the historically knowable stretch of time.

27. The meaning of the alleged distribution by aspects (Tables VIII and X) is much more difficult to clarify because these categories are notoriously flexible and tend to be differently understood by different people. Most members of the profession agree readily on what political or military or diplomatic history may be (though even here the edges tend to get blurred), but accident and whim will play a large part in deciding whether a man calls his interests cultural or intellectual, social or economic. We therefore propose to join the figures for at least these two particular cases (though this will involve some misleading augmentation where people have solved the dilemma by laying claim to interests in both such cognate aspects). The figures for the history of science are once again distorted by the set-up at Toronto whose 0 should read 6, giving the subject a very respectable representation in the province. The small number of specialists in historiography is acceptable because this is, on the one hand, a subject ancillary to the study of history itself, and, on the other, part of intellectual history anyway. That urban history should so far command few followers is understandable because this is a new specialty; one may hope for expansion here. But that only 23 people should claim to be interested in local history is disconcerting, and we feel strongly that the important - and highly accessible - problems of the localities, treated (in the modern manner) as exemplars of general problems seen in the particular, should receive much more attention. Both research and teaching can only benefit from an increasing concern with surveyable communities whose records are readily and immediately available.

28. The most interesting fact to emerge from the analysis is that the traditional primacy of political history is being successfully challenged by the new stars of socio-economic history (which, if we accept a slightly suspect addition, just tops the table with 34%) and also by intellectual history linked with cultural concerns (16%). Admittedly, this result seems to be produced in the main by one university - York - whose faculty contain an exceptionally large non-graduate component. That is to say, at the level of graduate teaching and the production of future scholars the decline of political history is more apparent than real. At the same time, the figures for York show clearly enough that a system dominated traditionally by political historians has proved itself capable of developing in novel ways.

29. As things stand, comment is possibly superfluous and certainly problematical. We may be confronted by an exceptionally transitional situation, or we may be witnessing the end of a transformation which will really make its mark as the younger historians of today grow into positions of seniority and control. Conversations with the people involved make us believe that the second rather than the first is true. We would speculate that the rise of socio-economic history will continue and that intellectual history, served by libraries whose resources are more readily available and more easily completed than those of archives, will at least maintain the ground gained. Politics and the biographies of politicians will continue to decline as the major interest of Ontario historians. In general, we welcome this, but with two reservations. Political history is very necessary in any well ordered school of historical studies because it provides both a structural framework articulated by the passage of time (something too often lost in the more fashionable studies today) and a concern with what men do and think rather than how they exist in their circumstances (socio-economic history in particular runs the danger of dehumanizing history). And secondly, we are not persuaded that all the expressed preferences for other forms of history are really based on a sufficient acquaintance with the sophisticated methods developing in these aspects or with the serious methodological problems that beset them. We are inclined to think that many of the scholars opting for socio-economic or intellectual history need to learn more about the inwardness of their choices. Here the insulation of history departments from departments of economics or philosophy and from the historians within them is serious, and we advise urgent attention to breaking this down; the more theoretical of the latter will benefit as much from genuine intercourse as will the somewhat pragmatical among the former. There are already signs of promising exceptions: we are impressed by the demographic studies at McMaster, the significant contributions from economists, sociologists and linguists at Guelph, and the interests of junior faculty at Waterloo. We draw attention to the often hidden pitfalls of intellectual and cultural history, ambushed time and again by superficiality, which are at present exercising specialists in Britain and the United States; we do not seem to see enough awareness of them in Ontario and apprehend too ready a surrender to fashionable topics without scholarly rigour. Above all, we want to stress that all these new ways of looking at history need to meet in common action; their function should be not to develop isolated lines of their own but to reinvigorate the sort of understanding through time which has traditionally been shaped around the political life of society. One ultimate end in view should be a new political history, absorbing and containing the advances made by social and intellectual historians; and of this we see no real sign so far. Nevertheless, we would conclude this part of the analysis by expressing our satisfaction at the increasing diversification of learned interests among the historians of the province.

(e) General Comments

30. We have not only digested the details supplied but also met many teachers of history in Ontario. Comment arising out of such brief meetings must be impressionistic and could be unfair. We do, however, think that it would be useful if we were to explain our impressions - endeavouring to remain judicious if we cannot guarantee that we shall be just.

31. Taking the faculty as a whole, we liked what we saw. Historians in Ontario are a respectable body, mainly professional in their attitudes, well qualified, fully capable of discharging their duties and fulfilling the calls that society has a right to make upon their services. We do not find many really outstanding persons among them, though when such occur their influence upon the morale of a department is immediately noticeable; but we find even fewer people who should never have been appointed. The standard in general is well above average. This impression is supported by the views of persons with more prolonged acquaintance with the situation than we can have. Everywhere, deans of arts and of graduate studies, as well as other members of the administration, declared the high esteem in which they held their history departments (sometimes making comparisons to the detriment of other departments which we do not propose to repeat). We recall only one exception to what became almost a tedious chorus of praise - one case of distinctly modified rapture, not supported by fellow administrators at the same institution. Again and again we were told that history departments caused exceptionally few head-aches, worked well and smoothly, had excellent relations with colleagues and with students, and maintained the soundest of standards. It should be emphasized that the publishing activity of Ontario historians is impressive, and that several departments are also active in editing historical journals (see para. 104). Any criticisms which we make in this report should be seen against a general conviction - which we share - that the study and teaching of history in Ontario are in a sound condition and worthy of respect. No human situation is incapable of improvement, but we did not find ourselves investigating an ailing body. If changes are required they must be careful and sensible: they will occur in a context of satisfactory activity and start from a foundation of health, not decay.

32. The most manifest general characteristic is one of conservatism. This shows itself in various ways. Virtually every member of the teaching faculty was concerned to emphasize his belief in teaching, especially the teaching of undergraduates. This is indeed a body of teachers. We can only applaud, though we were sometimes surprised (especially at York, Queen's and Western) to find that even some of the young men were not inclined to extend their concern for undergraduates into a concern for graduate students as well. That is to say, they were content to leave advanced teaching to others. The universities of the province all started as instruments of general education and continue to be very

active in this; hence a preoccupation with undergraduates is both laudable and somewhat conservative. We hope that it may prove possible to develop graduate programs without affecting the quality of undergraduate teaching; experience elsewhere supports this hope. But at any rate, we found no department corrupted by the attitude which puts the claims of a man's "own work" above his duty to students (though very occasionally we met this attitude in individuals). Even the few specialist centres (see paras. 107-12), often in other disciplines the breeding ground of dangerously narcissistic tendencies, do not countervail this impression. We can see no sign that what may be called the Californian disease has got any sort of footing in the history departments of the province.

33. Conservatism also shows itself in the continued weight given to traditional preoccupations with Canadian history, political history, and the conventional methods of historical study. We should be more troubled by this if the signs of new interests and better diversification were not so manifest. We are in fact troubled by it on occasion. Thus Queen's seems to us inclined to complacency rather than conservatism, and Western and York seem disinclined to make full use of their varied resources. We would urge such departments to remember that the pursuit of traditional studies and functions above all requires constant freshness to remain alive, and that that freshness can be obtained without the hunt for novelties and gimmicks they so rightly deplore. While appreciating the special causes for depression, we regret that Trent should wish to freeze its present situation and sees no occasion for any sort of dynamism. Departments of history are right to be cautious and solid rather than effervescent: it is one of their roles on the academic scene. On occasion, however, they need reminding that the step from caution and solidity to intellectual apathy and stagnation is not long.

34. Even in that majority of departments which show a very active life, developments in hand are on the whole characterised by conservatism. Thus the comprehensive rebirth which has taken place at Ottawa concentrated on preserving and advancing traditional virtues; we think that the department has been wise in its priorities and successful in carrying them out. Only Waterloo shows unmistakably the signs of a free-wheeling situation in which new things are burgeoning. The innovations at Carleton rest upon preparations so careful that, in the view of others as well as ourselves, the department could easily have moved much faster and somewhat farther without any risk of losing control or quality. Similarly, Lakehead and Laurentian, justly anxious to develop, have taken their time and secured every position on the line of advance in ways which strike us as sensible, even though an approximation to snail's pace has its frustrating side. Better this, however, than the selfadvertising clamour of certain other disciplines.

35. It is plain that on the whole we regard this prevailing conservatism as sound and fruitful. But we wish to stress that there are moments and circumstances, even in the study and teaching of history,

when radical departures are called for. This is especially true for graduate programs, the growing point of the discipline. Here the kind of devotion proper to undergraduate teaching, and the normal care taken to prepare every inch of the ground, can prove needlessly stultifying and inhibiting. Here experiments and enterprise of the more imaginative sort are urgently called for. A time of increasing stringency is not the best time for advocating energetic advance, though it can prove to be a time when only dynamic action can preserve a momentum that in good times comes by itself. We want to see the hints of growth and change further developed. We should like to see younger men given an increasing part to play in graduate programs. The faculty should not regard the present situation, which gives grounds for satisfaction, as anything but a chance to advance to better things still - higher standards, greater productivity, the exploitation of all methods, new or tried, in promoting the understanding of the past. Canadian history and the Canadian profession of historians are still in measure battling towards levels attained by the subject and its practitioners elsewhere. The materials exist of libraries and archives, of teachers and students; let them be used to the full.

(B) Graduate Students

(a) Numbers (Tables XI-XV)

36. In 1972/73 the total number of graduate students (MAs and PhDs) in the province, in history, was 774 (Table XIII). In addition there were 95 ABDs (persons who have completed all requirements except the doctoral dissertation) and 16 candidates for the rare degree of MPhil. These last two categories will here be ignored because they make no measurable demand upon graduate instruction by the faculty. The figure of 774 marks an increase of about 30% since 1968/69, but this increase has not been steady. After a sudden upswing in 1969/70, further additions became quite small, and the last year in fact registered a decline of nine, or 1.15%, too small a percentage to be significant. Nevertheless it should be noted that the growth of graduate studies in history looks as if it has come to an end; even if it resumes, the rate of growth will be minimal.

37. This number of students is considerable even when it is distributed over fourteen institutions. We must therefore emphasize that we found all departments using stringent standards for admission. No students are admitted anywhere without at least a B+ standard in their major undergraduate subjects, and applications remain sufficient to enable departments usually to operate on even higher requirements. At Waterloo (we were told) the department looks for "at least an A-", though it is hard to see what in that case they would hope to find at most. We do not mean to suggest that a B+ guarantees absolute excellence, but we are agreed that in terms of the Ontario university

system the criteria used in selecting graduate students in history are impeccable. This view is shared by the university administrators whom we interviewed: it was universally held that history departments maintain a standard of admissions superior to that generally employed. Rather than trying to grow large at the expense of quality, they all prefer to remain relatively small and selective. The files of rejected applications (some of which we saw) proved almost without exception to be self-explanatory.

38. The total number is made up of 436 MA students and 338 PhD students. There has been a slight but encouraging shift in the proportions between the two in the last five years, from 1.42 MAs to one PhD to the present relationship of 1.26:1. This suggests a growing seriousness in the program: not only are there far more graduate students but a higher proportion of them enters for the full-scale enterprise. On the other hand, the fact that in the same time ABDs have doubled in number indicates either a disquieting increase in the total of students who find it difficult to complete the course before seeking employment, or a shift in behaviour presumably conditioned by job prospects.

39. The figures for part-time students, on the other hand, suggest no improvement. For MAs, the proportion increased markedly from 40.4% to 49%; for PhDs (where it includes unfinished PhDs that started full-time, a distressing aspect of the situation) it has remained steady at just over 33%. These are really very high figures, at least from an absolute point of view. Half of Ontario's candidates for master's degrees, and one-third of the province's intending doctors, are not pure students. The largest programs appear most ready to admit part-timers. Ottawa has more part-time students than full-time in both sectors of the program; Queen's manages this for the MA; Toronto's total of part-time PhD candidates is higher than the provincial average. The situation needs serious thought (see para. 152). It appears that a very large part of those called by the name are not strictly graduate students under constant instruction and supervision, though they receive enough of both to be counted into the assessment here. The fact that so many students work part-time also affects, it must be remembered, the ultimate test of the system, the number of degrees awarded. One can set reasonable limits to the length of time taken by full-time students, part-timers notoriously take much longer and are much more likely to fail to complete the course. We reserve comment and recommendations till later.

(b) Degrees Awarded

40. Table XVI shows what has happened about the successful completion of courses. In 1972/73 205 students obtained the degree they were seeking, 67 more than in 1968/69. The percentage increase (32.4%) is slightly higher than that for total numbers registered, but the figures are so close (and ABDs come untraceably into the total of persons

finishing while being omitted from the total of persons registered) that it would seem best to conclude that the increase of successful students has simply kept pace with the increase in student numbers. Some improvement appears for both kinds of degree. The proportion of MA degrees granted to students registered has risen from 37% to 42%, while for the PhD the figures have doubled to 7%. This last figure also shows up a point which calls for explanation. So many doctoral candidates and so few degrees can mean several things, including the virtual failure of programs to bring students to the desired conclusion. Is this the case? Or are we faced with the consequences of so many part-time students, and no more? Part of the answer is certainly that several new programs are still pushing first-generation students towards the promised goal. We are not able to answer these questions conclusively, but we shall show (para. 46) that we do not regard the programs as having failed, while in Section II (D,b) we shall consider the undoubted fact that PhDs take very long to finish. Several causes operate, and some of them no doubt differently in different institutions. But it is worth noting that while at first sight an overall increase in numbers (for the PhD) by 73% in conjunction with a 100% increase in degrees awarded displays an encouraging trend, when the first means 338 heads and the second only 23 one begins to feel misgivings.

(c) Distribution by Universities (Tables V, XV, XVI)

41. Even allowing for the fact that some departments do not yet offer the PhD degree, the distribution of graduate students between the universities is very uneven. Toronto, with one-fifth of all MA candidates and nearly half of all PhD candidates, obviously stands out. But there are some other places with a good share of the supply, such as Ottawa, which attracts a sixth of all MA students, or Queen's which harbours nearly a fifth of potential PhDs. These three universities between them in fact account for 57% of all the graduate students in the province. Waterloo has 9%, McMaster and Western have 7% each; the remaining 20% divide between four departments still concerned with a measurable share (Carleton, Guelph, Windsor and York) and five departments barely or not at all involved in the work (Brock, Lakehead, Laurentian, Trent, Wilfrid Laurier).

42. Uneven distribution is what one would expect, in view of the fact that some institutions have only very recently begun to develop this side of their work. The relatively high standing of Waterloo is so far based on MA students, while York has concentrated on PhDs; both these departments are capable in the future of acquiring a larger share of both totals. One of the most significant figure in all this welter is that which shows that Toronto and York between them already have 56% of all PhD candidates, a predominance which could develop into a near-monopoly, for reasons discussed in para. 43.

Nevertheless, there is solid strength in other places, and the most sensible conclusion from these percentages is that at present at least the predominance of Toronto/York has still left several other important centres of graduate studies. Ottawa and Queen's in particular, with a quarter of all students attending there, create a firm counterbalance in the east, while Western preserves the existence of graduate studies at the other end of the province.

43. With some striking exceptions, the various departments match their share of senior graduate faculty well enough to their share of graduate students (Table V). York, with 12%, serves only 5.4% of the students. This at first looked to us like the temporary result of recent expansion, but we are surprised to find that it is intended to be permanent policy. We cannot agree that this intention can or should be fulfilled. It ought to be expected that the powerful faculty there collected will before long attract a higher proportion of students who ought to be admitted. If so, York may first affect its giant neighbour, for Toronto has a low ratio of teachers to students (1:6, compared with York's 1:1.8 and a provincial average of 1:4.3). The other large graduate schools do not do so well either: at Ottawa the ratio is just under 1:6 and at Queen's even a disturbing 1:8.3. On the face of it, it therefore looks as though a student would get the best attention if he went to one of the smaller departments, but this is a misleading and mechanical inference. Once again we must note the presence at Toronto of an unaccounted for, extra-departmental, element; and while calculations based on only full and associate professors among graduate faculty give the most accurate picture of quality, they distort by omitting a few junior teachers. When all the figures are so relatively small, one or two or three persons omitted here or there affect the result. This is quite apart from the fact that the student/teacher ratio is not the only criterion by which to judge a school: variety of interests matters greatly, and even mere size is important because a graduate program with very few students in it will lack the mutual stimulation among students which contributes so greatly to the success of the work. The manifest pull of Toronto owes less to mere numbers of teachers there than to its well-established reputation. We conclude that Toronto, Ottawa, Western, Waterloo and McMaster are large or sizable graduate schools, reasonably but not lavishly provided with teachers; that Queen's belongs to the same category but needs to enlarge the graduate faculty (perhaps by bringing more of the available teachers into the program); that York needs immediately to expand its intake of graduate students if it is to justify its large faculty; and that the remainder make a useful, if occasionally token, contribution more important in giving the department the necessary advanced dimension than in producing higher degrees in quantity.

44. We return to degrees awarded (Table XVI). With one exception, the top departments dominate this scene, too. Toronto, in particular, which has consistently over the last five years turned out about one-

quarter of all advanced students graduating in history, here justifies its recognized eminence. Western and Waterloo (the latter with so far no PhDs and only four years of MA production) between them make up about another quarter. Western has, in one way, a remarkable record: in charge of only one-twentieth of PhD students it has over five years awarded not far short of one-fifth of PhD degrees. This is the sort of efficiency that counts. York's low figures again reflect the youth of the program, but also again emphasize the disproportionate size of its faculty on present showing. More disconcerting are the figures for Ottawa and Queen's. Ottawa had nearly one-tenth of all registered PhD students in 1972/73 and, fairly enough, awarded one-eighth of PhD degrees in that year; but it also had 16.7% of MA students and turned out only just over 10% of MAs. Queen's did worse: of PhDs it taught nearly one-fifth but turned out only one-eighth, of MAs it taught a twelfth and produced less than one-eighteenth. It is evidently in these relatively large graduate programs that we must seek one cause of the discrepancy between students registered and degrees obtained. The picture is further affected by the existence in some places of the MA degree without dissertation, a point on which we shall comment later (paras. 72, 74). While Queen's shows signs of contracting, Ottawa's achievement was materially better in the last year than ever before; we believe that this is another sign of the recent revival taking effect. Nevertheless, over the years Ottawa has been distinguished by a relatively high intake of students and a relatively low rate of degrees awarded, and even though the most recent comparisons are encouraging the department needs to take cognizance of the facts and consider what should be done. Do admission standards need jacking up? Is there an unusual number of drop-outs or throw-outs? We have neither the information nor the time to investigate the problem, which in any case is one for the department to study. Ottawa needs also to consider that its recovery of excellence may find a rival in Carleton which has shown itself capable of a remarkable increase in the number of MAs produced and is now about to enter the PhD stakes, too.

45. We do not wish to labour these points too much. Obviously, there are differences between departments worth drawing attention to, and some things suggest themselves when one looks at the figures of students at work and degrees awarded. But without comparisons with other departments in the province, and history departments elsewhere, it is not possible to say whether these discrepancies are entirely normal or entirely peculiar; and we have no means for making such comparisons. Absolute figures are perhaps more significant, and we will look first at the sparse information we have on the failure rate. It is sparse because details on drop-outs especially are hard to establish. We use total figures supplied, based on the annual evidence of students disappearing from the previous year's registration without having passed or failed. These show that in the four years 1968-72, 129 MA students and 64 PhD students dropped out; at the same time, 37 of the former failed outright and 10 of the latter. Allowing for the extreme roughness of such figures, it would appear that an average of about 7% of MA students and about 4.8% of PhD students each year

found themselves unable to proceed; while of the first an annual average of 2% failed, of the second an annual average of less than 1%. In both degree courses the number of drop-outs increased noticeably in the last year, no doubt as a result of the expansion which drew in more students with insufficient means or motivation. These seem to us really very low figures, the failure rate in particular being thoroughly creditable. Insofar as the evidence goes of those who did not last the pace, history graduate programs in the province look very healthy.

46. Much the same conclusions emerge from a study of the system's positive successes. We have already said that the total of graduate students has held up very well: the increase of the period of expansion has shown no real sign yet of even beginning to disappear. Students continue to want to undertake advanced work in history, and proportionately more of them mean by this the PhD than the relatively intermediate MA. The total of advanced graduates produced is also impressive, and it too suggests a steady increase and a shift towards the PhD. Here quinquennial figures are certainly more valuable than annual ones which are readily distorted by the accident of a few people taking more or less time over their dissertations. In the last five years (Table XVI) the province has turned out 751 MAs and 109 PhDs in history, a really striking achievement. (We understand that the total Canadian production of PhDs in sociology since 1964, i.e. in ten years, is about 40, though 28 of these graduated in the last two years.) In sum, the history graduate programs are not underproductive, nor (when comparison is made with the teaching strength available in other social sciences) are the graduate faculty underemployed. If we suppose that the graduate faculty (now 226 strong) has averaged about 190 over the last five years, we arrive at the conclusion that on average every professor has produced close to five higher degrees, a very respectable record.

(d) Sources of Student Supply and Support

47. History graduate students in Ontario universities are overwhelmingly Canadian (Table XVII). Only 94 are landed immigrants and 58 foreigners on student visas. Interestingly enough, the highest proportion of these last is found among full-time PhD students (where they supply 14%), an indication that the Ontario programs attract outsiders at the top of the program rather than lower down. In general, and overwhelmingly among MAs, the universities here serve native needs. This is only what one would expect.

48. Over all, graduate students support themselves in all the usual ways (Table XVIII). 73 (15.5%) rely on their own or their parents' means; about twice that number (142) depend on scholarship money, above

all Canada Council Fellowships. Those wholly supported by Ontario Graduate Fellowships are few - a mere 26. The majority, however, depend on some form of assistantship, mostly teaching, with or without scholarship money: 184, or just under 40%. There is also a very small number of students (24) who are supported as research assistants. What does emerge is the outstanding role of teaching assistantships in maintaining graduate students in their studies. Of course, the teaching assistantship is a well entrenched institution in the North American system, being the product of insufficient numbers of teachers and of the principle that students will endeavour to work their way through college. It has, however, very serious disadvantages which, though usually recognized by those with whom we discussed the point, are nevertheless allowed to exist. At its best, it makes very serious demands on a student's time and energy; it distracts his thoughts and prolongs the time taken over the degree. At its worst - when courses are entrusted to students - it may do harm to both graduate and undergraduate work. We are glad to report that we generally found a responsible attitude in this matter. History departments do not use teaching assistants to lecture to freshmen courses, or indeed to any courses, but strictly to assist course lecturers as tutors and leaders of discussion groups. This practice is usually justified on the ground that it helps the beginner to gain some teaching experience, and that there is something in this may also be deduced from the fact that many graduate students believe the experience to be valuable. We do not believe that the argument justifies the massive interference with a student's first concern - his study and research - which results from his being employed in teaching. The most convincing argument for continuing the practice rests in the fact that but for it too many students would be without financial support. That, no doubt, is true, but should it be? Should research training be financed so overwhelmingly by this means? While some teaching experience during the course of a student's graduate program may well be desirable, the necessity for a student to teach for three or even four years during the course of his or her graduate training must certainly be seriously questioned. (We note with some alarm that at Toronto, for example, there are some teaching assistants who are in their fifth and sixth years of a PhD program.) It is certainly the case that the extreme length of PhD programs in history (on which we comment in paras. 87-88) is at least partly caused by the fact that students must devote a great deal of their time to teaching duties. What we would like to see is a judicious combination of scholarship and teaching assistant support. Thus, in a three-year PhD program, a student might have scholarship support in his first and third years, but get some teaching experience in the second year. We must also note that the system as it is now operated makes it possible for some graduate students, usually the best ones, to get scholarship support throughout their graduate careers, while others must spend a disproportionate amount of time on teaching duties which, after a year or so, become simply chores that must be performed out of financial necessity but add little to the scholarly growth of the performer. A fuller system of support by scholarships is manifestly

preferable. We especially commend the work of the Canada Council, and we suggest that the province could do more in support of graduate students.

49. The policies governing financial support of graduate students are by no means uniform across the province. Considerable differences exist from place to place. Some universities (e.g. Guelph, McMaster, Ottawa, Waterloo) make a commitment of continuing financial support to students who perform satisfactorily; Queen's and Western do in general give continuing financial support to their students, although they make no formal commitment from year to year; at Toronto, continuing support is by no means assured, and (though student numbers have not declined) there has been a decline in the number of fellowships available and a ceiling has been placed on funds available for teaching assistantships. Lakehead and Wilfrid Laurier, which offer only the MA, attempt to support graduate students for one year; Windsor, on the other hand, has not had a strong support program for its MA students. The department there does not use teaching assistants, and until last year there was little money available for scholarships. To overcome some of these disadvantages, the University of Windsor introduced a scholarship scheme last year that should go some way towards rectifying this situation. We note also that most of the departments make some money available to enable graduate students to spend some time working in archives, mostly in Toronto and Ottawa.

50. It is particularly important for the smaller universities to have a good support program if they are to attract and keep their share of very good students. We note that there is now a good deal of concern, particularly in the smaller centres, about the effect which the new policy of the so-called portable Ontario Government Fellowships is going to have. There is a feeling that the best students, once they receive these fellowships, will tend to go to the older and more established universities. It is, of course, too early to say whether this will in fact happen. Since the universities which have only recently introduced graduate work have a good deal to offer to students, it need not happen, and we hope that it will not. But the effects of the new policy should certainly be carefully watched.

51. In those universities in which graduate students cannot be sure that financial support will be continued we found, not surprisingly, a good deal of anxiety among the students who spoke to us. We would recommend that a commitment should be made to students: if their academic work is satisfactory, they should have the assurance that they will be supported in their doctoral program for a set number of years (at least three and preferably four), which would give them a reasonable chance of completing their work and getting the degree. Departments in their turn would have to be given assurance that they could count on a certain number of Ontario Government Fellowships, and where the universities themselves support students out of their own operating revenues they should make commitments to students who have started on their doctoral programs and continue to make satisfactory progress. In this way, at least one of the sources of anxiety to which graduate students are inevitably subject could be eliminated.

Students should in any case be given a clear statement of what they might reasonably expect in the way of financial support. Too often at present the policies governing long-range support are not precisely set down, and there is therefore danger of misunderstanding and conflict between departments and their students.

52. Finally, we note the views of a number of deans who feel that financial support for students in the humanities and social sciences is not really adequate and still lags considerably behind that available in the sciences. One dean felt that a graduate student should have at least \$4000 p.a. in order to sustain himself, but he noted that such support was simply not possible for the majority of students. It ought, however, at least to be a goal to be striven towards.

(e) Employment

53. Table XIX shows the present employment of completed PhD students and of those who, having done all the work except the dissertation, have left the nest (ABDs). Only the figure for 1972/73 is really large enough to deserve analysis and yield meaningful information. The proportion of ABDs (95) in the total of 115 is very high, which suggests that the pattern of employment is unlikely to change in the immediate future. The majority (about 65%) have entered university teaching, dividing themselves approximately evenly between Ontario and the rest of Canada, with a very few elsewhere. Taking the last five years together, the percentage is higher (69.5%): as the table shows, it is only very recently that any considerable numbers have found employment outside the universities, especially in government of whose fourteen recruits ten joined during the last year. We have no figures for finished MAs, but from what we were able to learn by enquiry we would guess that the bulk of them will be found in school-teaching and in civil service situations.

54. The dominance of the university market is not, of course, surprising: the chief function of the PhD degree everywhere is to train university teachers. Ontario universities have recruited marginally fewer of their own products than have the remaining universities of Canada; this again was to be expected because Ontario produces the largest number of PhDs of any province and therefore naturally acts as a source of supply elsewhere. The real problem lies in the future. Everyone is agreed that the market is now very adverse: with the period of expansion at a probable end, and with so many posts filled by recent and therefore youthful recruits, vacancies are going to be few. This is likely to have two effects: PhDs will stand a better chance of academic employment if they specialize in an area in which expansion is still possible (see para. 154 below), and PhDs will increasingly have to rely on other employers. Government service evidently comes highest on the list, and history PhDs will have to

apply themselves more determinedly to that market. By this we do not mean only the obvious jobs (museums, archives, libraries) but also posts in ordinary administration; and we would emphasize that a fully trained history PhD is a man (and woman) useful in any post requiring judgment, adaptability and attention to detail. The other untapped area is industry which has so far shown little interest in history PhDs, or alternatively managed to interest only one such in entering it. We cannot tell whether this abysmal figure reflects reluctance on the part of potential employer or employee, but we have learned from experience that few trained historians anywhere have so far been willing to go into industry. The pressures of the market will probably change such attitudes; there is certainly room for the capacities of highly trained historians in the affairs of companies and factories.

55. Despite the gloom which hangs over the future, however, it should be emphasized that the present position is not bad at all. The total of PhDs known to remain unemployed is only seven (6%), and of these four have only just entered the search for a job. The vast majority of the students in question have found employment, and most of them in the work they want - academic teaching. Even though this includes a significant number of people whose employment at present is temporary, this is a satisfactory record, especially when one remembers that the period of stringency (the world over) really began some two years ago. These facts support the opinions expressed to us by faculty members who, while foreseeing great difficulties in the future, very generally told us that so far they had managed to find posts for just about every one of their PhD students. Up till now, therefore, the programs may be said to have worked well. The market is not swamped with PhDs; rather, production of students has kept well in step with job prospects. The increase in graduate students has been managed responsibly and successfully.

(f) General Comments

56. We have seen some, but not of course even the majority, of graduate students at present at work in the province, and we rather regret that in the massive materials collected for us there were no written statements from students. We well know the care required in evaluating such memorials, but we think we should have found them useful. Impressions derived from necessarily short conversations with such a casual sample will not bear the load of very searching interpretations, but when such conversations produce fairly standard answers one may feel justified in forming an opinion. We therefore think it desirable that we should say something about the attitudes, purposes and states of mind revealed in those discussions.

57. The quality of students naturally varied a good deal, not only because it was bound to do so but also because there is a difference between beginners and the more advanced men and women. The latter tend to talk more and better. Our general impressions were favourable. We found much liveliness, vigour, ease of manner, serious intellectual interest - though we must stress that the circumstances of our interviews amounted to a natural selection of the brighter and more enterprising spirits. By the standards of international scholarship, outstanding performances are few, but the general level is good. The one disquieting aspect in a generally quite happy picture was the widespread feeling of isolation, even loneliness. We recognize that this is an occupational disease for history students everywhere and we know of no infallible remedy. However, there are things that can be done to bring students into closer contact with one another, irrespective of their subject of research. Some of them require initiatives from the students themselves of which we saw too few examples: one wants to see more student-promoted historical societies or social occasions. Teachers can assist by providing more general colloquia or discussion-meetings, and administration can help by supplying common rooms which for the students in question exist hardly anywhere. The usual remedies are well known; we would emphasize that with the increase in numbers the need is now very real and should be attended to.

58. We were in general well satisfied with such evidence as we could obtain of the relations between faculty and students. On the surface, relations were invariably good, and even in private most students expressed themselves as pleased with the treatment they were getting. Hardly anyone complained of inadequate access to professors. The atmosphere was particularly and pleasingly relaxed at Waterloo; but at McMaster we encountered the only express dissatisfaction, derived from the fact that while access was easy enough it seemed only to bring the student into the presence of persons felt to be "aloof". We do not lay much stress on these occasional personality conflicts. The statistical norm would be expected to be higher than the incidence found. At Windsor, the ever open doors of faculty offices were expressly praised. (Some of us feel that ever open doors can signify an excessive willingness on the part of faculty members to neglect their own research, and this is a valid criticism of the North American attitude to office doors!) Even at Ottawa, with its large numbers, the students can only be said to have enthused over their contacts with their teachers. Signs of inadequacy in these respects are usually readily apparent: we saw very few indeed. At the graduate level, departments manage to create in the main the atmosphere of an academic community working together in a common enterprise.

59. Opinions as to the teaching received varied rather more, but this is so subjective an issue that we cannot reduce it to a summary

statement. Some teachers are better at handling graduate students; some are more demanding than others; students react differently and vary enormously in their receptivity for instruction and guidance. We heard some criticism of mechanical teaching and of inadequate handling of written work submitted, but we came across no genuine disasters. At the same time, we ourselves feel that while the instruction provided during the more formal stages of the course is generally good that offered after the student has passed his qualifying examinations leaves something to be desired. This point is discussed more fully below (para. 94).

60. We tried to discover how satisfied students were with the organization of their studies. Once more, approval was more manifest than criticism, with one exception. MA students in general seemed content to do what was asked of them, those whose studies included a dissertation feeling both more excited and more hard-pressed. PhD students were at one about the virtues of actual research, but more divided about the course work and field study asked of them. Few seemed to think that they should be allowed to do nothing but a dissertation; there was general agreement that some measure of wider study was desirable. But we encountered criticism of the degree to which courses were dominated by this wider study. There was some feeling that those who had completed the MA should not have to revert to quite so much extraneous work during their PhD studies, and the comprehensive examinations came under responsible attack. We shall discuss this problem below (paras. 89, 92).

61. Why do Ontario students pursue graduate studies? Those entering for terminal MAs seem to contain a high proportion for whom the chief purpose is professional advancement - the chance of a better job. But even among them one finds many whose real concern, at this juncture, is to improve their understanding of history: they are simply interested in their studies and especially in the research aspect of them. Among PhD candidates this was, we found, the predominant attitude. Pressed about their future, most replied that they would want to do what they were doing irrespective of job prospects. Most admitted that their ambitions concentrated on academic employment, but they usually added that they fully understood the situation and were willing to find work elsewhere - anywhere remotely suitable. In any case, they tended to say, job or no job - they wished to study history at an advanced level and train themselves to handle evidence and analysis. Only at one place was student comment on this topic dominated by understandable bitterness and grave doubt whether they would have come in if they had known beforehand how the market was going to develop. Most reactions were much more resigned. These manifestly sincere attitudes are encouraging. It was good to see that for the better students the intellectual purposes of their work came a long way first; and it is good to know that students are aware of, and ready to exploit, the non-academic employments which, as we have seen (para. 54) so far remain insufficiently explored. We conclude that the narrowing of academic prospects will have only minor effects upon the desire to enter graduate programs in history, and that an increasing number of history PhDs will find other work satisfactory to themselves. We do not wish to sound complacent, but we cannot find it in our hearts to talk in terms of crisis.

(C) MA Programs(a) General

62. With the exception of Brock, every university either offers or intends to offer the degree of MA in history.* There are thus fourteen institutions in the province at which a student may advance to this level. He may wish to use it as a step towards the PhD, but (as student numbers indicate: para. 38) a high proportion treat the MA as a terminal degree. If the present dearth of academic posts continues, it is quite likely that this proportion may again increase, and there are signs that more schoolteachers may return to the university in order to gain the higher qualification which brings advancement in their job. Some institutions have also discovered a demand from quite unexpected sources - middle-aged people dissatisfied with the work of the professions or of business - which they are rightly anxious to satisfy. We believe that the terminal MA is an important aspect of the work of the Ontario history departments and are therefore concerned to see its standards and reputation maintained.

63. One importance of all these MA programs lies in the fact that they provide the only graduate dimension at several universities (Lakehead, Laurentian, Trent, Wilfrid Laurier, Windsor). As was said above, we regard that dimension as essential to the health of a department (para. 11). We therefore welcome the efforts made at the smaller institutions to expand into MA programs and regret the failure of Brock so far to follow suit.

64. The smaller and more isolated universities - especially Lakehead and Laurentian - have an additional responsibility in that they can offer advanced work to people (particularly schoolteachers) who, wishing to improve their scholarly qualifications, can do so only if they are not forced to take leave from their employment or to travel far for their studies. There is here a kind of neighbourhood service which may well have to rely on very limited resources in manpower and libraries but is nevertheless of great use locally. Certainly the opportunities so offered are appreciated, and we would deprecate any steps which, in the interests of economy or rationalization, would reduce the ability of small departments to benefit academically both themselves and their catchment area. At the same time, we would expect such institutions to concentrate on the purposes described and to devise regulations flexible enough for the needs of the kind of student for whom they are most immediately useful. This does not mean lowering standards: on the contrary. But it does mean allowing for the fact that the bulk of the students involved are likely to be part-time.

65. In larger institutions, which operate solid PhD programs, there is always a danger that the MA will be treated as a poor relation - even sometimes as a consolation prize for those who fail the higher degree. Fortunately the regulations of the universities under review

* Brock does not exclude the prospect of offering the degree in due time.

prevent this disaster. It is, in fact, clear to us that all departments, including those that devote much time and energy to doctoral candidates, continue to emphasize the importance of the master's degree in their curricula and in the faculty's concerns. MA students receive full and proper attention.

66. The degree is therefore entirely alive and well wherever it is offered; the question remains whether it maintains its proper purposes and standards.

(b) Structure of the Degree

67. We encountered one unexpected difficulty in our enquiries. Departments use a variety of terms to describe practices that may be the same, and sometimes identical terms for what turn out to be sufficiently different practices. Even the term "course" means different things in different places, while "term papers", "research seminars", "long papers", and even "classes" carried the most unpredictable connotations. We quite understand that the individualism of the scholar resists perfect standardization even of terminology, but historians in Ontario should be aware that their teaching habits differ more widely than the language of official catalogues might suggest. Grand sounding descriptions too often turn out under investigation to hide quite humble practices of only moderate educational usefulness. But, above all, we must preface all further remarks on the MA with a blanket apology for possibly misjudging this or that program on the grounds that we could not fathom what exactly was involved in the work allegedly required. We could have learned fully what was going on only by spending a term in each department and reading dozens of students' papers. Fortunately there was no time for that.

68. All departments base the work for the MA on regular courses, formally taught. At Carleton, McMaster, Western and Windsor it is possible to take the MA solely by such course work and by examination on it, without any original writing. Four courses are required, McMaster will allow the substitution of a dissertation for two of their four courses only in exceptional circumstances.

69. Oddly enough, only Lakehead and Trent seem to know no MA without dissertation; for practical purposes, Guelph also insists on the dissertation though provision exists for obtaining the degree without one. McMaster and Waterloo permit the presentation of a dissertation on rare occasions. Carleton, which allows it to students of Canadian history, demands it of all other MA candidates. The remaining departments all allow the degree to be obtained in this fashion, usually asking for two courses in addition to the original work. The exceptions are Guelph (four semester courses, two of them in historiography), Lakehead (three courses) and Toronto whose demand for four half-year courses in effect amounts to the standard two.

70. Many institutions offer a compromise between pure course work and course work plus dissertation by asking for course work accompanied by some form of lengthy essay or seminar paper, though five departments (Carleton, Lakehead, McMaster, Trent, Western) do not admit this method at all. It is especially popular at Wilfrid Laurier. The number of courses required is usually three (one more than when a dissertation is offered), but Guelph and Ottawa call for four, while Toronto demands five instead of four of its half-courses. Western permits an odd intrusion from the PhD degree by granting MA degrees on comprehensive examinations in three fields; this is presumably designed to assist intending PhDs.

71. This confused situation contains within it some disturbing aspects. The MA degree is a graduate degree and must clearly be seen to differ in purpose and structure from undergraduate work. The most obvious way to achieve this is by demanding a dissertation. The MA dissertation is rightly thought of as relatively short (not more than 100 pages), restricted in scope, often based on work only in printed sources and still quite dependant on secondary materials. At the same time, to be a dissertation, it should call for some original powers in the student (research, synthesis, rethinking, assessment). We have only modest means of judging the quality of dissertations being done at this level, but so far as one can tell from titles submitted, from discussions with faculty and students, and from a quick glance at some samples, we are satisfied that departments in general keep the proper characteristics of this kind of work well in mind. The MA courses which include a dissertation are sound in structure and achieve the necessary purpose of the degree by turning out advanced students.

72. However, by the same token we must call in question all MA degrees obtained without a dissertation. Most MAs in Canadian history from Carleton, and virtually at MAs from McMaster, have reached their status in this way, and it seems problematical whether they can be regarded as anything more than over-developed undergraduates - holders of a better first degree than the BA. No doubt their work has been more demanding and somewhat more profound than would be expected of undergraduates, but it has been much the same in kind. McMaster, for instance, demands "research papers" in each course studied and believes that these compensate for the absence of a dissertation. However, the meaning of "research" apart, a student who thus produces some thirty or forty thousand words in four disconnected bits (and many write far less) is not undergoing the experience of the student who has had to organize some 60,000 words on one theme; and we cannot subscribe to the department's opinion. Western and Windsor at least regularly permit students to attempt dissertations, but still award the degree regularly to some who have not done so. At Western, where alone we got figures, 13 students in 1972 opted for the dissertation against 12 for course work only; for 1973 the numbers are 24 and 10.

This shows an encouraging willingness to tackle the harder and more rewarding road, but still leaves so many people in the courses-only sector that the high production of MAs at that institution (para. 44) begins to look rather less impressive.*

73. The compromise method of course work plus a special paper short of a dissertation has superficial attractions. It demands a little more of a student than he did as an undergraduate and permits a test of his personal abilities. At Wilfrid Laurier, we were persuaded, this (the most popular) method is working well. Nevertheless, we sympathize with the institutions (Carleton, McMaster and Western) that eschew the compromise. There are always problems in deciding what length and standard of such an essay should satisfy the requirement, and the extra course work imposed severely limits the time available for this one truly graduate aspect of the student's work. We do not think the compromise as satisfactory as its widespread use would suggest it is held to be in the Ontario universities.

74. The justification commonly offered for retaining methods alternative to course work plus dissertation are three. It is argued, first, that the inclusion of a dissertation invariably prolongs the time taken over the degree; while most institutions expect the student to finish in one year (more usually a calendar than an academic year), they know that dissertation students can be safely predicted to need eighteen months. Secondly, it is held that many candidates, and especially those working for the terminal MA, wish to improve their knowledge across a spread of subjects because their profession (school-teaching in particular) or their educational ends call for this. And thirdly, it is thought that the level of knowledge and competence obtained by Ontario's BAs is in many cases not such as to justify treating them as genuine graduate students; for them, the MA not only is a better BA but should be that. We see much weight in the first argument and a little in the other two, but they must be considered in relation to the other principles already stated. The MA degree is a graduate degree and should include a component which differs in essence from the undergraduate degree. It should develop and test a new set of abilities: building on the training given to the bachelor, it should take him further not only in mere knowledge but also in intellectual power and its use. The need for real advanced work is greatest for the terminal MA who will not encounter such things at a later stage, and for him the argument against stretching out the time taken is also least convincing: perhaps at least MAs without dissertation might be confined to students who go on to the PhD. As for the point that schoolteachers want to take courses in order to equip themselves for teaching, it should be recognized that they do not really need (in their work) the rather more solid history which MA courses provide: they do need the mental growth which original work stimulates. And

* We recognize that opinions of this non-dissertation research will differ; we have stated our views in this paragraph.

if it is true, as well it may be, that there are a number of students whose attainments as BAs do not yet qualify them to undertake real MA work, we would ask whether they have a place at all in anything properly to be called an MA program. In fact, our personal impression is that quite a few students at present working on courses only could well face the challenge of an MA dissertation, provided the scope is suitably circumscribed. We reiterate our preference for MA courses which include a compulsory dissertation, even more for terminal MAs (for whom this is the only real experience of genuine research) than for intending PhD students (who yet will benefit from a first experience most valuable in tackling the "real" dissertation later on). In consequence, we much regret the fact that nearly everywhere the signs point towards an increasing use of the less satisfactory method and would urge that this trend be reversed. If only because of the need to have some short courses available, the MA by course-work only will have to be retained, but it should become customary to make its use the occasional exception, justifiable in certain individual cases.

75. In this connection we would raise a further fundamental point. It is obviously true that different departments, and different people in one department, will teach their courses differently, and a good deal depends on the number of students taking a course. Yet we found in general that the teaching of MA courses still (and inevitably) resembled the teaching of BA courses in that the student is expected to absorb rather than contribute, to learn from a teacher rather than to learn from his own practice, however stumbling. This is inherent in all formal course work, even though teachers of genius (preferably handling small classes) may manage to break the bonds. Nor do we wish to suggest that a quantity of this kind of teaching and learning is not still appropriate to the MA student: it is. We appreciate that much of what goes on in courses is described in terms of research (seminars and papers), but, with all respect, we regard this use of the term as a form of debasement. No doubt students read selected original sources, but the time allowed and the level attained rarely justify the use of that description for work which in other places (and indeed in some Ontario universities) is regarded as perfectly suitable for undergraduates, too. We must note that these facts and their effects heavily reinforce our doubts about an MA program which relies entirely, or even in very large measure, upon taught courses.

76. To sum up: we approve all existing MA programs which include a dissertation, we hope that those that demand a shorter piece of the student's own writing will insist on its displaying real signs of the qualities one expects to find in a dissertation, and we very seriously call in doubt MAs obtained by course work only. We suggest that all departments that offer this way to the degree should reconsider their practice in the light of these comments.

(c) Areas of Study for Dissertation Work

77. Toronto supervises MA work in every one of the many subjects which

its graduate faculty practise. The only reservation to be made here is that the bias, especially in Canadian history, is towards the traditional political aspects. However, this department effectively covers the main areas of history, also through time, and for the rest of this section we concern ourselves mainly with the other departments.

78. Naturally enough, every department accepts students wishing to work in Canadian history. Waterloo and Windsor confine themselves to the period since 1759, and Lakehead for the present proposes to stick to post-Confederation history. Ottawa, true to its self-identified mission as a bridge between French and English Canada, specializes in New France and French Canada since the English conquest; elsewhere, though ostensibly all Canadian history may be offered, little work is done in the 17th and 18th centuries. Queen's, though it does not restrict itself to Canada, allows that history to predominate. Windsor, for the present content with political history, sticks to the later 19th and 20th centuries. Lists of dissertations show that departments do not believe in confining students to local subjects, but these occur.

79. British (and Imperial) history forms another solid block of course work, but far fewer students specialize in it for dissertation purposes. Lakehead, Laurentian and Ottawa do not admit it at all. Only Guelph, McMaster, Trent and Western feel able to include the middle ages; only Windsor does not go back beyond ca. 1700; the rest cover the modern period from ca. 1450 onwards.

80. American history is also widely studied - Lakehead, Laurentian and Ottawa again forming the exception. Western, Queen's and York include the colonial period; the remainder begin in 1776.

81. In European history, the west gets a good deal of attention (except at Lakehead and Laurentian). McMaster, Waterloo and Western include the middle ages, Windsor once more begins ca. 1700, the rest manage the period from ca. 1500. Courses rarely extend beyond 1945. Ottawa specializes in the history of France and concentrates on the last 150 years. Exactly what is offered, or admitted by way of dissertation subject, depends on the particular interests of the graduate faculty, which means a predominance of French history; but Queen's, Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier promote the era of the Reformation, with particular attention to Germany. There is some interest in Renaissance Italy, almost none in Spain. Eastern Europe receives attention at Waterloo (since ca. 1500), Wilfrid Laurier and Windsor (1500-1945), and Western which begins ca. 1800.

82. Some other fields of study are offered. Ancient history makes its appearance not only at Toronto but also at McMaster and Waterloo. Asian and African history are taught at Waterloo and York, with a concentration on China and Japan; except at Toronto, there is no history of India. No fewer than four departments include courses in Latin American history (Waterloo, Western, Windsor and York). Several