

University of Alberta and the Rockefeller Foundation Wooing the Rockefellers

When the Rockefeller Foundation, in 1919, announced its intention to aid Canadian medical colleges, only two of the Western Canadian universities had existing medical programs: University of Alberta at Edmonton, “a small city newly grown” and University of Manitoba at Winnipeg, the “busy industrial center of midwestern Canada and the so-called gateway to the northwest.” Alberta’s medical faculty was set up only in 1913 and, at the time of the announcement, offered only the first three years of the five-year medical curriculum. By contrast, Manitoba began medical teaching in 1883, first as a proprietary program and then as the medical faculty of the university. University of British Columbia, “situated at Vancouver, important seaport of the Pacific”, would wait decades before establishing their medical program and University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon, “a city of 30,000 inhabitants lying in the midst of the dusty prairie region of central Canada”, started its medical program in 1926.⁽¹⁾ These four universities served a combined population of fewer than three million.⁽²⁾

Soon after the announcement of the Rockefeller gift, eleven universities across Canada began envisioning their potential role as recipients of the five million dollars. They prepared for visits from Foundation President George E. Vincent and Director of the Foundation’s Division of Medical Education, Richard M. Pearce in 1920. After preliminary analysis, Pearce concluded that Canada could be served by seven strong medical schools.

Table 1
Recommended distribution of
Rockefeller Foundation gift, 1920

McGill	\$1,000,000
Toronto	\$1,000,000
Manitoba	\$750,000
Alberta	\$500,000
Dalhousie	\$500,000
Montreal	\$500,000

An undesignated balance of \$750,000 was to be kept in reserve to aid in the development of the seventh

potential recipient, and the only school not yet established in Vancouver.

The announcement – 25 December 1919

In a press release issued by the Foundation office, Rockefeller Sr. was quoted as saying that his “attention had been called to the needs of some of the medical schools in Canada” and he also cited the sacrifices made by Canadians, in terms of resources, men and women, in the Great War.⁽³⁾ Foundation President Vincent added that to meet Rockefeller’s request to aid Canadian medical schools, Foundation Trustees would be asked to make available approximately five million dollars “for the improvement and development of the leading medical schools of the Dominion. From this sum appropriation will be made by the Foundation to medical schools on conditions that they raise additional funds from other sources. It is hoped that \$5,000,000 ... will give a distinct impetus to the development of medical education in Canada.”⁽⁴⁾

Although no promises were made as to the distribution of funds at the time of the announcement, on 21 January 1920, University of Alberta President H.M. Tory wrote Vincent: “I have seen through the press and also through a letter from Dr. McPhedran of Toronto notice of the gift being offered to Canada ... and I am anxious that we should be considered with respect to a portion of this sum. ... In order to meet the needs of this province for medical men, we started a medical school some years ago. We began by making all appointments on a full time basis and limiting the work done to non-hospital subjects. We arranged with McGill and Toronto to accept our men at the end of the third year, thus giving them the full hospital facilities for the fourth and fifth years. This worked out very satisfactorily indeed for a time, but now that the war is over we are making an effort to put up a proper medical building with permanent equipment.” Tory added that he hoped that the Foundation gift would be used as a “fund for the employment of men in the clinical work of the university, men who would not be doing ordinary med-

1. RAC, Bound volume, 14, Medical Education in Canada, 5506.
2. Saskatchewan would set up a medical faculty in 1926 and University of British Columbia only in 1950.
3. Fedunkiwi, Rockefeller Foundation, 41 and for more on Rockefeller connections to Canada see Fedunkiwi, Rockefeller Foundation, 37-41.
4. “Excerpt from Press Release”, RF, RG 427, series Canada, box 6, folder 55A, 2, RAC.

ical practice but would have their time free, beyond certain hours of teaching, for research work."⁽⁵⁾

In a single page letter Tory showed his skills as an administrator and politician. He cited Alberta's relationship with the two leading Canadian medical schools in Toronto and Montreal, spoke of planned growth – past and present – within the medical school, and mentioned the fact that the medical faculty was formed to “meet the needs of this province for medical men”. He also told of plans for a new medical building but deftly suggested that Foundation funds not be used for buildings but to acquire full-time staff to teach the clinical subjects.

In his reply to Tory, Vincent expressed the Foundation's desire “to be thoroughly informed” about the state of Canadian medical education and made it clear that the Foundation would “act with deliberation and only after consultation with a large number of candidates who will give us the various points of view which we hope to have in mind before we reach final decisions.”⁽⁶⁾ Vincent ended his letter with the suggestion that they meet in Winnipeg on 6 March and requested a report detailing the existing state of the medical program and an outline of the proposed extension of the medical school course at the University of Alberta.

Tory's Vision of the Future

Tory submitted a fifteen-page report less than a month later.⁽⁷⁾ He outlined the structure of the University as of February 1920, the operating costs, enrolment, hospital teaching facilities, licensing⁽⁸⁾, and plans for a dedicated medical building and full six-year program. Like Toronto, the University of Alberta was a state institution, supported by and serving the province. Like the university, Edmonton was growing; the provincial capital had doubled in population in five years from 24,900 in 1911 to 53,846 in 1916.⁽⁹⁾

With this general context set, Tory explained how medical teaching fit into the university: “As I stated in my previous letter, there being no medical teaching in Western Canada west of Winnipeg, some years ago, we, almost of necessity, took up medical teaching. We decided to do only the first three years of a five year course and arrange with McGill and Toronto to take our men for the final years. As previously stated under the new arrangement we are now doing four years of the six year course. Their confidence in us was such that they accepted our men without examination and I am happy to say that we more than justified their confidence, as our men have always taken good standing with them in the higher years, one of them last year being Gold Medallist at McGill.”⁽¹⁰⁾

Tory then broke down the cost of running each of ten medical departments. Most departments cost between \$10,000 and \$14,400 to operate, with the minimal investment in medicine and surgery reflecting the little time spent on clinical subjects in the existing program. Tory went on say, however, that, “With regard to our future plans, our work has grown so in the first three years of medicine that is (sic) has become necessary for us to face the putting up of a separate building for this purpose, there being at present one hundred and sixty eight men taking work and further on account of the growth of the medical work in the eastern universities it became necessary for us to face the higher years.”⁽¹¹⁾

The other major issue was potential clinical teaching facilities. Tory explained that the city hospital, Strathcona Hospital, which sat on university grounds, had been taken over during the Great War for military use. The plan was for the military to vacate the hospital within two years, at which time it would be ready for clinical teaching purposes for the current second year class “to continue to the higher years. In

5. Tory to Vincent, 21 January 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 16, RAC.

6. Vincent to Tory, 28 January 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 17, RAC

7. The report is titled, “Memorandum with reference to the proposed development of the medical faculty of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada”, and is dated 24 February 1920. The report is made up of a seven-page letter outlining the structure and budget of the university as a whole as well as a breakdown of the current costs and personnel of the medical departments; a four-page memorandum detailing the current state and future projections for the medical faculty; and a three-page summary of medical department finances coupled with a list of “further financial needs”. RAC, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66.

8. Tory noted that “The right to practice in the province is determined by the board of examiners appointed by the University Senate.” Tory to Vincent, 24 February 1920, “Memorandum”, RAC, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 6. See also Corbet, *Frontiers*, particularly xvi-xviii, 38-9, and 142-3.

9. “University of Alberta Faculty of Medicine: Finances of the medical department”, 24 February 1920, “Memorandum”, RAC, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 2.

10. Tory to Vincent, 24 February 1920, “Memorandum”, RAC, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 2.

11. Tory to Vincent, 24 February 1920, “Memorandum”, RAC, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 5.

addition, the city is planning a large expansion of their hospital work, so we think the hospital difficulty will be solved." Tory was careful to note that, in addition to the city hospital, there were three other hospitals available to the school for a total of four hundred beds "by the time we reach the fourth year."⁽¹²⁾

Tory also stated his intention "to secure in the clinical departments full time men as heads of these departments, using men in practice in the city only as assistants to these full-time heads. This arrangement would make it possible for us to organize research on a definite basis in the university. It is my judgement that a first class school of medicine cannot be created in any other way, nor can it be maintained as a first class school, unless the departments work also as research departments."⁽¹³⁾ On the point of full-time clinical instruction, Tory was falling into line with the Rockefeller Foundation vision. The Rockefeller philanthropies had been advocating the full-time system for more than a decade, often making it a condition of gift.⁽¹⁴⁾

Finally, Tory stated that the new medical building would cost approximately \$750,000 and he hoped that it would be ready that autumn (1920); it would, in fact, take another year to complete. He included the plans for the building which would house the departments of Anatomy, Bacteriology, Biochemistry, Chemistry, Hygiene, Pathology and Physiology including "adequate laboratory space and equipment." Tory closed his letter with a gentle reminder of the medical faculty's youth ("we are only eleven years old with five years of war intervening") and the remarkably "modern" notion of partnering with the Foundation and other Canadian universities in improving medical education in Canada.

Foundation officers visit

On 6 March 1920, Vincent and Pearce met with Tory in Winnipeg. This was the first stop on a tour of Canadian medical schools that also took the Foundation officers to Toronto, Montreal, Quebec City and Halifax.

Vincent made it clear that this first meeting was to gain a better understanding of the current and future needs of the program as it existed within a local context. "May I further add," Vincent wrote, "that we have no preconceived plans which we wish to urge upon you. Our aim is to understand your needs and to work with you in an effort to help you realize your natural ambition to increase the efficiency and usefulness of your institution."⁽¹⁵⁾

Tory adroitly played the 'regional' card, one which also worked well for Dalhousie University.⁽¹⁶⁾ In his diary, Pearce wrote of this visit: "Dr. Tory is very modern in his views concerning the development of regional hospitals and public health centers throughout the Province of Alberta and points out that without a medical school to the west and with the Province of Saskatchewan to the east without a medical school this school has a very definite function in this part of Canada."⁽¹⁷⁾

Pearce met with medical Dean Rankin on 1 and 2 July 1920, during Pearce's second tour of Canadian schools. Pearce saw the university, medical laboratories and city hospitals. It was during this visit that Pearce laid down the conditions which would have to be met by the University of Alberta in exchange for a portion of the five million dollar gift: the new medical building would have to be completed and equipped, now at a cost of \$900,000; \$25,000 must be included in the budget of 1920-21 for develop-

12. Tory to Vincent, 24 February 1920, "Memorandum", RAC, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 5.

13. Tory to Vincent, 24 February 1920, "Memorandum", RAC, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 6.

14. For more on this in the American context as applied by the Rockefeller General Education Board (GEB), see: Ellen Corwin Cangi. "Abraham Flexner's Philanthropy: The Full-Time System in the Department of Surgery at the University of Cincinnati College of Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 56, 2 (Summer 1982), 160-74; Michael Lepore, *Death of the Clinician: Requiem or Reveille?* Springfield: Charles C. Thomas, 1982, specifically the discussion of Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital; Kenneth M. Ludmerer, *Learning to Heal: The Development of American Medical Education*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985; Ludmerer, "Reform of Medical Education at Washington University," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 35 (1980), 149-73; and Ludmerer, "Reform at Harvard Medical School, 1869-1909," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 55 (1981), 343-70.

15. Vincent to Tory, 17 February 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 18-19, RAC.

16. For more on Dalhousie as the sub-optimal school but one worth aiding because it was the only medical school EAST of McGill, see Fedunkiw, *Rockefeller Foundation*, Chapter 5, "Bouncing Back at Dalhousie: A Regional University".

17. Excerpt from Pearce's diary, 6 March 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 23, RAC. Toward the end of explaining the hospital situation in Alberta, after they met in Winnipeg, Tory sent Vincent a two-page memo outlining the present municipal hospital situation, the plan for development of the university hospital and a blue print of the hospital situation in Edmonton. Tory noted that the population of Edmonton had grown to 60,000 and estimated that Edmonton's hospitals had to meet a larger catchment area of 160,000 or the projected figure of 350,000 by 1930. Tory to Vincent, "Memo for Dr. Vincent re the Hospital Situation in Edmonton and the Province of Alberta", 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, 2, UAA.

ment of the clinical years within the new complete medical course; and the yearly maintenance of 200 beds for clinical teaching within the university hospital must be guaranteed. While these conditions were being met, the Foundation would give \$25,000 to \$30,000 in interest made on the proposed principal endowment of \$500,000 toward “developing medical sciences in relation to chairs of medicine, surgery, pediatrics and obstetrics”.⁽¹⁸⁾

When Pearce left Edmonton, Rankin prepared a report which he sent to Tory. The dean told the president that, with the help of the staff, Pearce “was shown everything” and said he was not only impressed with what he saw but that “his already very high opinion of the administration of the University had been increased as the result of his visit.” Rankin also mentioned two of Pearce’s concerns regarding medical education in Alberta: the first was the issue of keeping full-time men in Edmonton for any length of time and the second was the acknowledgement of the “brain drain” to Eastern cities. “He told me,” Rankin wrote, “that one of his strongest points for argument was that comparatively few of our students had returned to the province after completing their education in the East.”⁽¹⁹⁾ With three medical classes having graduated, only one-third or nine of twenty-four graduates, had returned to practise in Alberta.⁽²⁰⁾

Pearce and Tory met next, as scheduled, in Montreal on 31 July 1920. They came to an agreement on three key issues at that meeting: on the issue of how

best to aid the University of Alberta, Tory advocated an annual sum for development which could “be used to force provincial government to support his plans. He thinks he can do more for final support under this arrangement than if he had outright endowment.”⁽²¹⁾ This was in keeping with the Foundation’s stated requirement that contributions from other sources be made as “matching gifts” to any Foundation gift.⁽²²⁾ The second issue was that of facilities and provincial government support: Tory guaranteed the new medical building and requisite laboratory equipment at a cost of at least \$750,000, an annual provincial expenditure of at least \$25,000 toward clinical work⁽²³⁾, and a cost estimate toward maintaining the university hospital was to be borne by the city, province and “others concerned”. Finally, it was agreed that the hospitals would be developed so that the clinical teaching needs for a class of fifty could be met.⁽²⁴⁾ In his confidential eighteen-page document, Pearce acknowledges the University’s “important position” within the expanding Northwest but, “On account, however, of its present incomplete organization, it should receive annual support for a period of years, instead of outright endowment.”⁽²⁵⁾

Like other Canadian schools, Tory was eager to get some sort of assurance of Foundation support which he could use as leverage for additional public and private support. He told Pearce of a discussion with the Provincial Treasurer in which “I was able to assure him that our plans had been so well conceived that they had your approval, and that we had

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18. “University of Alberta - Faculty of Medicine, 1919-1920”, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 1, RAC.
 19. Rankin to Tory, 6 July 1920, 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, UAA. Attached to this one-page letter is a copy of “Memorandum with reference to the proposed development of the medical faculty of the University of Alberta as regards building, equipment and teaching staff”, 24 February 1920, a one-page breakdown of where graduates of the medical program are practising and a chart of the 1911 and 1916 distribution of the three prairie provinces (Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan) by place of birth (ie. Asia, Britain, Canada, Europe including Austria Hungary, Bulgaria and Germany and the United States). In both years, Alberta had the highest percentage of foreign born population (those born outside Britain and Canada).
 20. It was duly noted that it was early days yet to give a definitive number for those of the 1920 graduates who had returned to Alberta -- many students were still completing their clinical training and had not yet decided if they would return to the West.
 21. “Memo for Dr. Vincent: RMP’s Conferences in Montreal - July 31”, 4 August 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 24a, RAC.
 22. “University of Alberta, February 25, 1920”, Rockefeller Foundation minutes, 20024, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 5, RAC.
 23. In the first of two subsequent letters written to Pearce on 16 August 1920, Tory clarified the point that university Board of Governors were responsible for agreeing to the appropriation of \$25,000 rather than the Provincial Government. As Tory explained, “My reason for putting it this way is that there is a General Vote by the Legislature, and the assessment is made by the Board of Governors. In this way, in the case of difficulty in getting the total amount desired, adjustments can always be made to meet a formal obligation.” Tory to Pearce, 16 August 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 25, RAC.
 24. “Memo for Dr. Vincent: RMP’s Conferences in Montreal - July 31”, 4 August 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 24a, RAC. The class limit of fifty was set by Tory.
 25. Pearce, “Summary of Reports on Medical Education in Canada”, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 4, folder 33, 5, RAC. Only McGill and Toronto, the only Canadian schools with a Class “A” rating from the American Medical Association, were deemed worthy of getting the general endowment of those schools definitely recommended for aid. Ironically, it would be Dalhousie, which did not even make the chart of those “definitely recommended for aid” which did, indeed, get its full endowment in 1920. McGill would have to wait until 1921 and Toronto until 1923.

good reason to believe we would have substantial support. I shall be glad if I am able to make a public statement before the legislature meets in January."⁽²⁶⁾

Pearce held out on making any firmer commitment to Tory. The Foundation officer would not make a public statement until the conditions set forth had been met and a firm timeline on "clinical development" had been laid out. In turn, Tory had minimal leverage until he received an official statement of Rockefeller Foundation support. In a letter to Tory while Pearce prepared to sail for China, Vincent explained that, to meet Alberta's needs, the moneys allotted in the potential Foundation gift for clinical development could be used for laboratory space and equipment. The letter ended with the question: "Can you now make an official statement as to when the agreements with respect to clinical development can be met by the University of Alberta?"⁽²⁷⁾

Tory gave everything but a date. He shrewdly wrote about improvements that were underway – such as equipped laboratories and added staff "who will devote their time to the beginnings of clinical work" as well as investigating future clinical appointments – but gave no timeline as requested. Tory did, however, tell Vincent that not less than \$50,000 was being spent on space, equipment and staff that year.⁽²⁸⁾ This seemed to be enough for Vincent. He told Tory that if he received an official letter from Alberta stating that, in addition to monies spent on the new medical building, not less than \$50,000 was being spent in 1920-21 on clinical development, then the Foundation would "be willing to make available \$25,000 as of October 1 of this year."⁽²⁹⁾

Tory put Vincent's request to the university Board of Governors on 29 October 1920. On 11 November, Edwin R. Embree, Secretary of the Foundation wrote to Tory with the good news that the Trustees had: "Resolved that the sum of twenty-five thousand dol-

lars (\$25,000) be, and it is hereby appropriated to the University of Alberta, Faculty of Medicine, for the development of work in clinical branches, during the academic year 1920-21, subject to the following provisions: that the University shall agree to (1) complete and equip satisfactorily the new medical building (estimated cost \$900,000), now being erected, (2) expend not less than \$50,000 during the year 1920-21 for the development of clinical resources and teaching."⁽³⁰⁾ Alberta received the first quarter of the gift in December 1920 and the remaining \$21,375.13 (\$18,750.00 plus an added \$2,625.13 reflecting the favourable Canadian currency exchange rate at the time) in March 1921.

It would be more than four months before Vincent wrote to Tory asking if the improvements were proceeding according to plan. Another grant depended on adequate progress. Tory replied that, indeed, the university was going ahead with an additional year to the medical program during 1921-22, "adopting the McGill programme, beginning 1923 the two years' pre-medical work and five years' medical work"⁽³¹⁾ but held off on making a formal request for another appropriation of funds until later in August 1921. At that point, Tory gave Embree an update. Tory said the medical building had been completed at a cost of \$1,060,000 with an additional \$50,000 worth of equipment yet to be installed. He did not apologize for going over budget, instead writing that, "I hope you will not regard me as boasting when I say that there is nothing finer or better in Canada, and I know the Canadian colleges intimately. The cost has exceeded our original estimate by over a quarter of a million dollars, but in spite of that we have not hesitated to make equipment and machinery complete, as we are resolved to have a first class school."⁽³²⁾

Tory also reported that the university hospital clinical facilities were at the disposal of the medical faculty

26. Tory to Pearce, 16 August 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 28, RAC and 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, 2, UAA.

27. Vincent to Tory, 24 September 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 30, RAC.

28. Tory to Vincent, 30 September 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 31-2, RAC

29. Vincent to Tory, 11 October 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 33, RAC. This would be a retroactive appropriation given that Vincent's letter was written on 11 October 1920.

30. Embree to Tory, 11 November 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 38, RAC. Tory thanked Embree, writing that "We appreciate the extra as a nice Christmas gift", Tory to Embree, 22 December 1920, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 42, RAC.

31. Tory to Embree, 4 August 1921, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 46, RAC. Copies of much of this correspondence also appears in 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, UAA.

32. Tory to Embree, 23 August 1921, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 47, RAC and/or 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, UAA. Tory's statement that he knew "the Canadian colleges intimately" was an understatement. During his career, he had taught on the East Coast, attended McGill University then taught physics and served as an administrator at the Montreal-based institution from 1893. He also helped establish McGill College in Vancouver (which would become part of University of British Columbia) and, of course, had been Alberta's founding president since 1908. For more, see Corbett, Tory.

with the Strathcona Hospital on track to being handed over by the military to the university in January 1922 as well as the fact that ten new men had been recruited in various departments, four of which were full-time appointments. Perhaps most importantly, arrangements were underway to make appointments for men to head up the clinical departments, the first of which had been made in surgery and gynaecology.⁽³³⁾

Tory was asked, again, for a statement showing that no less than \$50,000 was spent during 1920-21 for clinical development as well as a statement that an additional \$50,000 would be spent on further clinical developments during 1921-22.⁽³⁴⁾ Like it did in 1920, the Foundation paid out \$25,000 to the University of Alberta but Embree would not commit to a continued appropriation for three to five years as Tory had requested until he could confer with Vincent and Pearce.⁽³⁵⁾

Tory used his diplomatic skills to continue the dialogue, on behalf of the University of Alberta, with the Foundation – he did not want to appear as though he was being greedy or needy but it was important to maintain a connection. For example, Tory wrote a reply wherein he said the only reason behind his inquiry about a guaranteed longer-term investment was “that as we will be developing very rapidly, it would be a decided advantage if I knew that on fulfilling certain conditions, we would be eligible for the continuation of the Rockefeller Foundation gift. It would make it easier for me to plan ahead a few years. Of course, it (sic) you prefer to handle it as from year to year we have no complaint to make and I hope you will pardon the liberty I took in making the suggestion.” Tory also took the opportunity to mention that the new medical building was being used “full blast” and offered to postpone the building’s official opening until a Foundation representative could attend.⁽³⁶⁾ When Embree replied, he told

Tory that the \$25,000 would be paid out, again, in four equal instalments of \$6,250 during 1921/22 and mentioned that Pearce might visit Edmonton sometime during the next two months.⁽³⁷⁾

Carnegie Foundation gets involved

With Pearce steering clear of Edmonton for a while, the void was filled by a visit from Carnegie Foundation representatives Dr. W.J.G. Gies and “his associates” in May 1922. Tory took the initiative of informing Pearce of their visit as well as attaching a copy of the information he forwarded to Gies. Tory wrote to Pearce, “I was ill at the time and was not able to see them but they left word asking for information concerning possible expansion which made me think that perhaps the information was intended to be communicated to you.” The Carnegie representatives met with Dean William A.R. Kerr⁽³⁸⁾ but it was Tory who sent Gies a two-page letter with information regarding two key questions, the first being the cost of completing the present university hospital and the second being the cost of fully equipping and putting on the two higher years of the dental course.⁽³⁹⁾

In response to Tory’s notification of Carnegie interest, Pearce wrote to Henry S. Pritchett, President of The Carnegie Foundation, to explain how the Rockefeller Foundation had been aiding Alberta for the past two years and to ask for “any information you may be able to give concerning the impressions of your representatives at the time of their visit.”⁽⁴⁰⁾

I would argue that Tory’s continual tabling of longer-term Foundation support coupled with Carnegie interest in aiding the University of Alberta pushed Pearce into action. The same day he wrote to Pritchett, Pearce wrote to Vincent asking the Foundation President to accompany him on a visit to Montreal to “clear up both of these problems which have been on my mind for some time and which must be settled before I go abroad” – support for Alberta and aid to the Université de Montréal.⁽⁴¹⁾

33. Tory to Embree, 23 August 1921, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 48, RAC and/or 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, UAA.

34. Norma F. Stoughton to Tory, 30 August 1921, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 49, RAC.

35. Embree to Tory, 19 October 1921, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 55, RAC.

36. Tory to Embree, 2 November 1921, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 56-7, RAC.

37. Embree to Tory, 14 November 1921, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 58, RAC.

38. Kerr would go on to become President of the university from 1936-41.

39. Tory to Gies, 31 May 1922, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 62-63, RAC. He explained that the hospital was to be taken over from the military “so that we will be in possession of bed space for something like one hundred and forty patients” in addition to the extra one hundred beds available as a result of the City’s new wing of the Royal Alexandra Hospital which cost “a little more than \$300,000”. He also told of the current negotiations for an Isolation Hospital, part of “the hospital scheme which I discussed with Dr. Pearce”.

40. Pearce to Pritchett, 7 June 1922, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 64, RAC.

41. See Fedunkiwi, Rockefeller Foundation, 147-9.

Ultimately, the question of final endowment had to be addressed. Vincent replied with four words, hand written at the bottom of the memo: "OK. I'll join you."⁽⁴²⁾

The deciding visit

In preparation for their visit with Tory, Pearce summarized the Foundations gifts to Alberta to date and asked for answers to five questions:

1. Has the military occupation of the hospital ceased, and has it become a university hospital under a 99-year lease as stated by Dr. Tory?
2. How many beds in this hospital are now available for students?
3. Have plans for the maternity wards and isolation wards in connection with the university hospital materialized?
4. Is the fifth year of the new medical curriculum an intern year, and are the two years preceding the five-year medical course distinctly premedical?
5. Can a detailed budget be presented showing the income and expenses of the school for the current or past year, with a detailed statement of the portion applied to development of clinical work?"⁽⁴³⁾

With the issues clarified, Pearce and Vincent met with Tory in Montreal on 22 June 1922. Tory told the Foundation officers that the military was scheduled to hand over control of Strathcona Hospital to the university on or about 1 October that year. Tory told them that an additional seventy beds were to be added to the existing 140, in the form of a wing dedicated to disabled soldiers, the cost of which to be

borne largely by the provincial government (\$100,000).⁽⁴⁴⁾

On the question of the isolation and maternity hospitals there was both good and bad news to report. The isolation hospital was still scheduled to be built that fall, but no progress had been made with regard to the maternity hospital. The fourth issue, dealing with the medical curriculum, was addressed, too. Tory explained that the present course was one year of premedical subjects and six years medical instruction. That fall, the existing fourth-year class, which numbered eighteen, was set to begin its clinical instruction, representing the first clinical teaching within the new six-year program.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Tory made sure to mention the appointment of a full-time professor of surgery, F.H. Mewburn, who was paid a salary of \$5,000 and who likely made that much again doing consultations within the hospital.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Tory told of how the university hoped to get another full-time man to head up the Medicine Department⁽⁴⁷⁾ and was keenly noted how Collip, now famous for his role in the discovery of insulin, had "returned [from Toronto] and is quite happy and contented" as Alberta's Professor of Pathological Chemistry.⁽⁴⁸⁾

On the budget query, Tory explained that the total university budget was approximately \$560,000, more than 85 percent of which (\$480,000) was an appropriation from the provincial government. The remainder was made up of a combination of tuition fees (\$60,000) and "profits on various sales" (\$20,000). In terms of expenses, almost half (\$300,000) went to salaries for instructors, and \$100,000 went to medical school and public health teaching. The budget

42. Pearce to Vincent, 7 June 1922, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 65, RAC.

43. Pearce, "Memorandum on University of Alberta", 16 (?) June 1922, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 66-7, RAC

44. The provincial government was also committed to giving \$3/day toward hospital maintenance.

45. Earlier classes numbered between twenty and thirty students.

46. This would come to be known as "geographic full-time" or the "Harvard plan". It allowed full-time clinical instructors to retain a percentage of their time for independent consultations. Berliner, System, 163.

47. Egerton L. Pope would, the following year, become the first full-time head of Medicine. He would hold this position for more than two decades, from 1923 to 1944. Mewburn served as Head of Surgery for only seven years; he died in 1929. Although both graduates of McGill University, these two men could not have been more different: Pope has been described as an elegant man, a Greek scholar, "always flawlessly dressed in a cutaway coat, pin-striped trousers and spats" who was driven, by chauffeur, to class in a large limousine. Pope had done postgraduate medical training in London and had taught at the Manitoba Medical College. Mewburn, Corbet writes, was "a colourful character", a man with a formidable temper as well as an exacting, patient-centred surgeon. He had served as a surgeon in Winnipeg during the North West Rebellion of 1885 and with the North West Mounted Police, forerunners of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), in Lethbridge, Alberta. She tells an interesting anecdote about how, aged 56, Mewburn offered his services to the Minister of National Defence when war broke out in 1914. When the reply came back that he was too old, Mewburn wired back, 'Reference your wire -- go to hell! I am going anyway.' He did, and after that he was known as 'The Colonel', *Frontiers*, 32-3.

48. Excerpt from Pearce's Officer's Diary, 22 June 1922, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 68, RAC. Collip would remain in Edmonton until 1928 when he moved to McGill University to take up the Chair of Biochemistry. At 35, he replaced his teacher, A.B. Macallum to lead the "first independent Department of Biochemistry in Canada." At that time, Collip was also being wooed by Drs. William J. and Charles H. Mayo. They wanted him to come to the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota to join Dr. Leonard G. Rowntree's experimental medicine group. Barr and Rossiter, "James Bertram Collip", 244-5.

for the medical faculty that year was given as \$75,000 although Tory estimated that that figure would grow to \$100,000 when the complete program was fully operational.⁽⁴⁹⁾

An “A” for Alberta

Three months later Tory wrote a brief letter to Pearce, ostensibly to provide detailed budgetary figures regarding running costs for the medical school. The most important piece of information in this letter is in the postscript, wherein Tory tells Pearce, “Dr. Colwell is visiting us this week.”⁽⁵⁰⁾ N.P. Colwell was a physician and Secretary of the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association (AMA). He accompanied Abraham Flexner on his visits to all North American medical schools in 1910 that led to the famous “Flexner report”. Colwell himself wrote *Medical Education, 1918-1920*, a bulletin on behalf of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, published in 1921. Schools were inspected and given a rating of A, B, or C. The rating had the potential to affect the quality and number of students who enrolled as well as both public and private funding. It must have been with immense satisfaction that Tory wrote to Embree on 14 December 1922 to say Colwell had granted the University of Alberta medical faculty “A” class standing. Modestly, Tory wrote, “We are, of course, very happy over this, as our school has been running for only a short time and it is some reward for the hard effort we have put in to make it first class as far as we have gone.”

But this was not the end of Tory’s good news. Largely due to Collip’s involvement in insulin and his continued diabetes research, the Alberta College of Physicians and Surgeons had made a special grant of \$5,000 to support further diabetes research. Tory closed this letter with news that the university had purchased, for \$150,000, the remaining control of their main teaching hospital from the city of Edmonton, putting the hospital under the direct control of the university Board of Governors. Plans were underway for a new wing which was expected to be ready within months.⁽⁵¹⁾

Reaping the rewards: The Foundation pays out \$500,000

The Foundation continued to pay out their promised \$25,000 in four instalments through 1922/23. But on 15 June 1923, Pearce wrote to Tory to tell him that the Foundation was considering paying out the principal of \$500,000 in light of “certain progressive improvements” that had been brought about by the university. Key among these improvements were the new medical building, gaining control of Strathcona Hospital and the investment of not less than \$500,000 in clinical resources and teaching. Pearce asked for “a brief statement covering the various developments outlined above and giving your opinion as to whether you think the various changes contemplated have been brought about to the satisfaction of the University authorities.”⁽⁵²⁾

Tory’s reply was a thorough one. Over the course of six pages, he outlined the key developments and future outlook of the medical faculty, now ten years old. “I do not hesitate to say,” Tory writes, “that I think we have fulfilled our undertakings with regard to the development of the Medical School in a fully abundant manner. In fact things have turned out better than my most sanguine expectations and I think better than any suggested promise I made to you.”

Pearce prepared an internal memo wherein he wrote that timing of the payment of the principal was to be left up to Tory. It could be paid out as early as the fall of 1923 or later that year.⁽⁵³⁾ He followed up with a letter to Tory writing, “I agree with you that you have fulfilled all the suggestions that we made and that your plan of development has progressed beyond the most extravagant expectations. We are prepared to pay the capital endowment (\$500,000) at your pleasure.”

On 6 December 1923, Embree sent a telegram followed by a letter stating the Foundation was “ready to pay the sum of \$500,000 on account of this appropriation at once.” The following day, Horace Harvey, Chairman of the Board of Governors and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Alberta, wrote to Embree to express his gratitude for the gift. “Not

49. This would cover everything (clinical laboratories, outpatient service and teaching) except hospital maintenance.

50. Tory to Pearce, 2 October 1922, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 71, RAC.

51. Tory to Embree, 14 December 1922, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 76-7, RAC.

52. Pearce to Tory, 15 June 1923, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 80, RAC. While the negotiations over the principal were being carried out, Embree confirmed that the Foundation intended to pay out another \$25,000 during 1923/24. Embree to Tory, 23 June 1923, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 81, RAC.

53. Pearce to Stoughton, 11 July 1923, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 88, RAC.

merely do we appreciate it for the actual money's worth, which is of a special importance at the present time of financial depression, but we appreciate it especially as an evidence of your recognition of the value of the University's efforts in the cause of Medical Education and for its importance in convincing the Public on which we are dependent, of the same fact."⁽⁵⁴⁾

Progress “beyond the extravagant expectations”

In his letter to Tory, dated 14 December 1923, Embree asked for a letter acknowledging receipt of the funds “with the understanding that it is to be used as permanent endowment for the Medical School of the University”⁽⁵⁵⁾. A gold debenture was purchased from the Government of Alberta in the amount of \$500,000.

Embree did visit Edmonton again, as Director of the Foundation's Division of Special Studies. This 1925 tour took him to British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba to examine “university developments”. Medical enrolment in Edmonton had grown to 158, including nine women, and the faculty now numbered thirteen professors and forty-seven assistant professors or instructors. It is obvious how far the University of Alberta medical school had come in a relatively short time. Following his visit, Embree

wrote to Tory: “The day at the University of Alberta was a delight and an inspiration. The institution is a rare combination of scholarly research, good teaching, and an atmosphere of appreciation of the meaning and value of culture and the arts. How you have achieved so splendid a result in so short a time in the new country of the Far Northwest, I do not know. In spite of the good reports I had had in advance, the visit to Edmonton was one of the surprises of my life. Please give my regards to the many delightful men whom I met⁽⁵⁶⁾ and accept my very best wishes for your continued good health and the prosperity of your important work.”⁽⁵⁷⁾

The half million dollars proposed for each of the medical schools in Alberta and Montreal were intended as capital investments, representing annual contributions over a period of years “until the policy of these schools in connection with their reorganizations should be determined. ... If the Alberta and Montreal schools should not develop properly within the next few years, the additional sum of \$1,000,000 would be added to the present balance of \$750,000 and could eventually be applied either to those schools making the wisest use of the initial gifts, or to the new school at Vancouver.”⁽⁵⁸⁾ As it evolved, the actual expenditures were quite different:

Table 2 - Actual distribution of Rockefeller Foundation gift, 1926

	Recommended to Trustees	Actual gift ⁽⁵⁹⁾	Percentage change
McGill	\$1,000,000	\$1,552,602	+55.0
Toronto	1,000,000	1,123,047	+12.3
Manitoba	750,000	533,784	- 26.0 ⁽⁶⁰⁾
Alberta	500,000	586,044	+17.0
Dalhousie	500,000	550,000	+10.0
Montreal	500,000	376,163	-25.0

- 54. Harvey to Embree, 11 December 1923, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 108, RAC. Tory, who was in Ottawa to attend meetings of the Canada Research Council, wired Embree and followed up with a letter expressing his gratitude. Tory to Embree, 12 December 1923, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 109, RAC.
- 55. Embree to Tory, 14 December 1923, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 112, RAC.
- 56. Among the medical faculty with whom Embree met over lunch at Tory's home or at dinner at the home of John. M. MacEachran that day were: Collip, Mewburn, F.H.H. Mewburn, Pope, Rankin, Revell, Shaner, and Washburn, hospital superintendent. Embree noted in his diary, “Stimulating atmosphere of good teaching and energetic research - splendid university, which appears to be largely result of the personality and work of President Tory.” From RF, RG 12.1, Officers Diaries, Box 14, Embree 1925, 54, RAC.
- 57. Embree to Tory, 29 April 1925, RF, RG 1.1, series 427, box 8, folder 66, 128, RAC.
- 58. RAC, Bound volume, 14, Medical Education in Canada, 5334-5.
- 59. RAC, Bound volume, 21, Medical Education in Canada, 5336.
- 60. The Manitoba case, so promising in 1920, turned into a debacle. The principal endowment of \$500,000 was paid out on 24 May 1922. A decade after the Foundation paid out \$500,000 to the university, the entire endowment was lost through a misappropriation of funds by John A. Macray, Honourary Bursar. Macray was a respected solicitor, Chairman of the University's Board of Governors, trustee of private funds and custodian of provincial funds for the Church of England. He played various funds against each other to cover up his investment errors, eventually losing all value of the investment in worthless land loans in 1932. Charged with theft, Macray confessed, was convicted and sentenced to seven years in prison. This could not have happened at a worse time: the economic Depression of the 1930s exacerbated the effect of the loss. An inquiry, led by J.G. Fitzgerald, Director of the University of Toronto School of Hygiene and Canadian representative on the Board of Scientific

Alberta not only received the third largest amount but the 17% increase also represented the second largest percentage increase from the amount initially recommended. Alberta went from being a school “on probation” with the Foundation to a school whose “plan of development has progressed beyond the most extravagant expectations.”⁽⁶¹⁾

Other Money for the University of Alberta

In addition to the gift given by the Rockefeller Foundation to support medical education at the University of Alberta, throughout the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, the Foundation also gave money to support people and projects as wide ranging as scientists J.B. Collip⁽⁶²⁾, William Rowan and Ruben Sandin to money for administrators to tour North American medical schools. The Carnegie Corporation also extended its financial giving to specific initiatives including Collip's insulin research.

Support for Collip and Insulin Research (1921-1923)

In just two years, Collip received more than \$15,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation⁽⁶³⁾ for insulin-related research. The wind-fall began for the young biochemist with a Foundation fellowship in 1921/22.⁽⁶⁴⁾ He used the opportunity to study in England and the United States. Tory negotiated the fellowship for Collip when he wrote to Vincent on 13 October 1920. Tory and Vincent had met earlier that year and discussed the possibility that one or two men from Alberta might apply for fellowships to study abroad. In his two-page letter to Vincent, Tory said his plans had now “matured” and he put forth Collip's name.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Corbet suggests that Tory took this initiative to “assuage ... hurt feelings -- and the tensions that undoubtedly existed in the physiology and biochemistry departments” that came about as a result of the appointment, in 1920, of Ardrey Downs as professor of physiology and biochemistry. Collip had been responsible for the departments of biochemistry, physiology, and pharmacology since 1917. Collip had been acting head of department for physiology and pharmacology while Heber H. Moshier was overseas. When Moshier was killed in 1918, Collip continued until Ardrey Downs was appointed. Collip interpreted Downs' appointment as a criticism of his abilities as a teacher and researcher.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Tory's letter to Vincent would appear to support Corbet's interpretation. Tory ended his letter with, “Had Dr. Collip been a little more experienced, I would have given him the chair of Physiology but decided that, both in his interest and in the interest of science, the course I have followed would be the wiser one.”⁽⁶⁷⁾

As Corbet outlines, it was Collip's intention to divide his year among London, New York and Toronto as well as to reevaluate his career and whether to return to Edmonton. The University of Alberta gave him the incentive of becoming head of the biochemistry department if he returned. Collip's plans changed soon after he left for his first stop, Toronto, in May 1921. University of Toronto physiology professor J.J.R. Macleod offered Collip a one-year appointment in the pathological chemistry department, a position which Collip accepted despite the admonishments of Dean Rankin and President Tory. As Corbet writes, Rankin and Tory “felt he should ‘go abroad for study to get some experience in an atmosphere wider than Canada [could] give [him].’”⁽⁶⁸⁾

Directors for the Foundation's International Health Division (IHD), led to a report presented to the Foundation in September 1932. Foundation officers expressed their regret at the situation but did not offer to replace the endowment, saying that there was no longer a Foundation program for general support for medical schools. The Foundation had moved on to other projects. The additional \$250,000 cited in the Foundation's original recommendation for appropriations to Canadian medical schools, which was conditional upon the university's raising a matching amount from other sources, was never paid out. For more, see RAC, Bound volume, 14, Medical Education in Canada, 5507-21 and RAC, RG 1.1, Series 427A, Canada, University of Manitoba.

61. RAC, Bound volume, 14, Medical Education in Canada, 5536. From a letter, Pearce to Tory, 7 November 1923.
62. See Barr and Rossiter, James Bertram Collip.
63. In 1923, the Carnegie Corporation gave Collip \$10,000 for insulin research.
64. See Li, J.B. Collip, 18-31 and Corbet, *Frontiers*, 43-8. Downs would remain as head of the dual department until 1948. Downs would also serve one year (1920-21) as the first head of the new department of biochemistry before being succeeded by Collip (1921-28).
65. Tory to Vincent, 13 October 1920, 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, University of Alberta Archives (UAA). The letter also includes a one-page attachment with the titles of five articles by Collip “not yet in print”. See also Pearce to Tory, 28 July 1920, 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, UAA.
66. Corbet, *Frontiers*, 43.
67. Tory to Vincent, 13 October 1920, 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, 2, UAA.
68. Before he began his one-year appointment in Toronto, Collip did get some international experience, spending the summer at Woods Hole Marine Laboratory near Boston, Massachusetts. Corbet, *Frontiers*, 44.

While in Toronto, Collip combined teaching with research, formally joining the insulin team in December 1921. Collip kept Tory apprised of the group's progress, and it was only weeks later that Collip successfully isolated "from the pancreas of animals a mysterious something" that, as he described it in a letter to Tory, "when injected into totally diabetic dogs completely removes all the cardinal symptoms of the disease."⁽⁶⁹⁾ Collip was credited with developing the first-ever extract safe enough to be used effectively on humans. He, along with Banting and Best, was named on the patent and stayed on in Toronto to develop the manufacturing process. Although a deal was struck so that profits from the sale of manufactured insulin were to go the University of Toronto, each of the trio of Banting, Best and Collip received one-sixth of the royalties which were to be used to support further research. Collip's share went to his longstanding employer, University of Alberta, and he returned to Edmonton in 1922.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Nothing breeds success -- and yields donor dollars -- than success. Collip's association with Banting and Best brought him almost \$25,000 in research support during the mid-1920s from the Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation and College of Physicians and Surgeons of Alberta (CPSA).⁽⁷¹⁾ The Foundation gave Collip \$5,000 in 1923 to help administer insulin to those who could afford to pay. Carnegie gave him twice that amount the same year for more research. And the CPSA offered \$9,000.⁽⁷²⁾

Of course, Collip's reputation was assured when Macleod shared his half of the 1924 Nobel Prize in Medicine with the young biochemist.

But the combination of fame and feeling professionally under appreciated led to Collip's leaving Alberta. As Corbet outlines, despite returning to Alberta a hero whose research would benefit humanity for years to come, Collip continued to look Eastward.⁽⁷³⁾ He left Edmonton in 1927 to replace A.B. Macallum, his former teacher, as head of biochemistry at McGill University.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Public Health Units (1928-30) – via IHD

The Foundation also funded a pair of local health units, via its International Health Division (IHD), between 1928 and 1930.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The two units were in the communities of High River and Red Deer, Alberta. Dr Malcolm R. Bow, with the Department of Public Health, Province of Alberta, was the person responsible for the units.

Medical Education Tours (1935-36 and 1948-50)

On 27 September 1935, it was resolved by the Rockefeller Foundation that \$4,000 be made available to "defray expenses" of public health instructors and medical school deans, incurred while visiting North American medical schools. The visits offered an opportunity to investigate different methods, problems and potential solutions to the challenges of teaching and research in preventive medicine. Grants were available for one year, from 1 October 1935.⁽⁷⁶⁾

69. Corbet, *Frontiers*, excerpt from letter from Collip to Tory, 8 January 1922, part of cluster of illustrations between pages 44 and 45.

70. Corbet, *Frontiers*, 45. For more on the discovery of insulin see: Bliss, *Discovery and Bliss*, Banting.

71. Corbet notes how the CPSA gave \$9,000 to the university in the mid-1920s. This was in addition to \$8,000 received in 1925 from royalties, 45.

72. Tory communicated part of this gift to Embree in a letter on 14 December 1922. Tory wrote, "For some time we have had some anxiety about the attitude of the medical profession of the Province -- the old difficulty you know between the "ins" and the "outs". Our recent participation in the work of diabetes research has brought about a change of mind and, yesterday, we received notice that the College of Physicians of the Province had made a special grant of \$5,000 to help us in connection with the continuation of research work, especially for furthering the development of the work on diabetes." Tory to Embree, 14 December 1922, 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, University of Alberta Archives (UAA). The file also contains a summary, dated 23 June 1923 and addressed to Tory, made of the work of the diabetic clinic, being carried out by Collip and H.C. Jamieson at the University Hospital. Tory would use this summary to make a request to the Rockefeller Foundation for added funds to aid in this clinical work. Tory's request was passed along to none other than Dr Simon Flexner, Director of the Rockefeller Institute and brother of Abraham Flexner who evaluated all North American medical schools in 1910. Simon Flexner wrote to Tory on 15 November 1923 offering \$5,000 to the University Hospital to expand insulin treatment and to teach physicians "the proper method of employing insulin in the treatment of diabetes." From S. Flexner to Tory, 15 November 1923, 68-9-20, R63, Rockefeller Foundation, University of Alberta Archives (UAA).

73. Corbet, *Frontiers*, 46.

74. Collip spent twenty-five years at McGill before moving on to become Dean of Medicine at the University of Western Ontario (1947-65) and Director of the Division of Medical Research of the National Research Council. For more, see Li, J.B. Collip.

75. The Rockefeller Archive Center has material on the initial grants (RF, 427J, box 15, folder 144) as well as follow-up material through 1941 (RF, 427), box 15, folders 145-8).

76. RF, 427A, Box 8, Folder 67, Officers' Action, 27 September 1935, RF 35154. Rankin's grant was approved on 2 December 1935. It was signed off by Foundation officers Alan Gregg and Max Mason. By this time, Rankin, the founding Dean of Medicine, had held his post for fifteen years and would continue on as Dean until 1945.

The Foundation officers recommended that Rankin, who had been the founding Dean of Medicine at Alberta since 1920, visit medical schools at the universities of: Cincinnati, Harvard, McGill, Minnesota, Toronto, Vanderbilt, Virginia, Western Reserve, and Yale. Later University of Iowa and Baltimore (School of Hygiene) were added to Rankin's itinerary.

Rankin, however, never took the trip. First illness and then lack of a President at the university as late as September 1936 would keep him in Edmonton. Rankin wrote, "some changes in the staff of the Faculty of Medicine it seems inadvisable to be absent in October" and time ran out on the grant.⁽⁷⁷⁾

In 1949, the medical faculty's third Dean, John W. Scott⁽⁷⁸⁾ was afforded the same opportunity and he took it. Scott, who took on the Deanship in September 1948,⁽⁷⁹⁾ met with Foundation officer Hugh H. Smith and fellow new medical dean Lennox Bell of the University of Manitoba while Smith was touring the Canadian West. In an interoffice memo to Alan Gregg, Smith wrote of Scott, "I believe he has been there since 1912" and continued with, "Both schools are wrestling with the problem of setting up

good departments of preventive medicine and both are searching for men as professors."⁽⁸⁰⁾

The Foundation's idea was to send both Scott and Bell across North America to see how other schools taught preventive medicine. Scott was informed, late in 1949, that \$400 would be made available for these visits in 1950.⁽⁸¹⁾ Scott intended to carry out his tour in the summer and autumn of 1950. Planning, however, began earlier. In April, Scott wrote to Oliver that he intended to visit schools in Boston "the following week", schools in New York state, University of Chicago, Northwestern and University of Minnesota in June, and Universities of Washington and Oregon in the autumn.⁽⁸²⁾ In the end, Scott reported that he visited twelve leading North American universities between April and October and still intended to squeeze in visits to Toronto and McGill Universities in December 1950.⁽⁸³⁾

Other Rockefeller Foundation Gifts Throughout the 1940s

Other Rockefeller Foundation grants to the University of Alberta included: research grants to organic chemist Ruben B. Sandin⁽⁸⁴⁾ in 1940/41⁽⁸⁵⁾ and zoolo-

77. Rankin to Lambert, 22 September 1936, RF, 427A, Box 8, Folder 67.

78. Scott, *History of the Faculty*. In 1963 while Dean, Scott wrote a 43-page monograph, on the occasion of the faculty's fiftieth anniversary, detailing the history of medical teaching at University of Alberta. He does not, however, address his Rockefeller Foundation-sponsored tour.

79. McGugan, *First Fifty Years*, 42-3. In his history of the University of Alberta Hospital to 1964, McGugan gives brief biographical sketches of the first four deans of the medical faculty, Rankin, John J. Ower, Scott, and Walter C. MacKenzie, 41-4 as well as various department heads, 44-87.

80. RF, 427A, Box 8, Folder 67, Smith to Gregg, 3 November 1949. Corbet notes that Scott was the first clinician to serve as Dean. He began his association with the university in 1914 as a medical student in the then-three year program but interrupted his education to join the war effort. When he returned from overseas, he completed his medical degree at McGill University. Scott returned to Alberta where he began his career by opening a practice in Edmonton and teaching biochemistry at the university under Collip who was head of department. Scott augmented his training by studying internal medicine in Britain. Corbet, *Frontiers*, 64.

81. RF, 427A, Box 8, Folder 68, Oliver to Scott, 2 December 1949.

82. RF, 427A, Box 8, Folder 68, Scott to Oliver, 12 April 1950.

83. RF, 427A, Box 8, Folder 68, Scott to Oliver. Between April and October 1950, Scott visited: Albany, Boston University, Cornell, Dalhousie, Harvard, Minnesota, New York Medical College, New York University College of Medicine, Queen's, Rochester, Syracuse, and Tufts Universities.

84. Sandin (1897-1991) took an undergraduate degree in chemistry at University of Alberta. He earned his PhD from the University of Chicago in 1924 but returned to Edmonton to teach in 1922 after a year's work, on a Foundation fellowship, with L.F. Fieser at Harvard University. Fieser (1899-1977), a leading organic chemist, is perhaps best known for his work on napalm. He also helped develop anti-malarial compounds and contributed to synthesizing Vitamin K in 1939.

85. RF, 1.1, 427D, Box 15, Folder 131. FBH to EB and EMS, 13 May 1941. In 1940/41, Sandin applied to the Rockefeller Foundation for a \$500 grant-in-aid for chemicals and supplies for his research. The Foundation gave Sandin the grant and, interestingly, speculated that he would not stay long in Alberta "as he is too good a man for anything that Alberta has to offer him". In fact, Sandin spent more than forty years in Edmonton. He retired as professor emeritus in 1965, counting hundreds of students and teaching awards to his credit. He is known for his work on synthesis of chemical agents for the treatment of cancer, work he pursued with Fieser at Harvard. RF 1.1, 427D, Box 15, Folder 132 includes an itemized list of Sandin's expenditures for the grant.

gist William Rowan⁽⁸⁶⁾, both in 1940/41; drama project applications between 1941 and 1948⁽⁸⁷⁾; and funds for a folklore project, 1943 to 1949.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Carnegie Corporation gifts – Medical Research and Administrative Aid

The Rockefeller Foundation was not the only major American philanthropic organization to recognize the university and its researchers. The Carnegie Corporation also gave money to the University of Alberta, one gift of \$10,000 to Collip in 1923 for insulin research and \$50,000 to the University toward “retiring allowances”.

The gift to Collip was confirmed in a meeting of the Carnegie Corporation board on 30 October 1923. The funds came from “the special fund applicable to Canada” and went to the University of Alberta “to be used for research, under the direction of Dr. J.B. Collip, into the chemical nature of insulin and its production from vegetable sources.”⁽⁸⁹⁾ The money was used, in part, to pay the salary of Dr. O.H. Gaebler as a new research assistant for Collip. Gaebler, who received his PhD from University of

Toronto, worked with Collip in Toronto during Collip’s Rockefeller Foundation fellowship and had been working at Johns Hopkins University.

The other major gift of \$50,000 was made by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to the university on 14 May 1927. The distribution of funds was left up to the university. This gift to University of Alberta was part of a larger initiative by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to assure that teachers could rely upon solid pensions.

The Rockefeller Foundation, and to a lesser extent the Carnegie Foundation, were major donors to the University of Alberta, particularly during the early years. This new university, in a newly established province, received a considerable boost from two of the largest American philanthropies, both in terms of actual monies as well as the leverage these monies brought forth in matching gifts and prestige. The Alberta medical faculty and its researchers, in particular, were set off on the right foot with these gifts, the legacy of which remains still.

86. William Rowan (1891-1957) received a Foundation grant of \$1,500 for research on bird migration. The grant was used toward labour, equipment and supplies. For more on this, see RF 1.1, 427D, Box 15, Folders 133-4 covering the grant and years 1940-42. Rowan immigrated to Canada from Switzerland in 1919. The following year he became the first professor of the Department of Zoology, which he headed until he retired in 1956. His research focused on bird migration patterns and banding studies to trace the cyclical population fluctuations of birds and mammals. In addition to being an ornithologist, Rowan was also an artist whose works were exhibited internationally. His drawing of a whooping crane was chosen for a Canadian postage stamp.

87. See RF, 427R (Humanities and the Arts), Box 28, Folders 283-5.

88. See RF, 427R (Humanities and the Arts), Box 29, Folders 286-9.

89. Keppel to Tory, 31 October 1923, 68-9-23, R 69, Carnegie File, University of Alberta Archives.