

**The Experience of the Second Generation of
Women Students at Ontario Universities, 1900-1930**

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the
University of Toronto

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Abstract

This thesis examines the history and experience of women students at four Ontario universities, the University of Toronto, the University of Western Ontario, Queen's University, and McMaster University, between 1900 and 1930. By 1901, Canadian women's enrolment in Faculties of Arts and Science numbered 740; by 1930 this number had increased to 5633. During this period, a number of changes occurred which profoundly affected the character of education and academic life for women students. From the physical setting of the new women's buildings to the offering of courses designed for women, the opportunities for women students seemed to increase dramatically. The vast majority of women students sought out an arts education. In doing so, these women perpetuated the fear that this area of academe was becoming feminized. Reactions to the increased number of women in the Faculty of Arts varied, as did the women students' strategies to create a space for themselves within the traditionally male university.

This thesis provides an analysis of the experience of women university students in the first part of the twentieth century. The focus moves beyond the early debates around the admission of women students to look at the activities and life of what might be called the second generation of women university students. It specifically looks at the backgrounds of the students, what they studied, the fight to establish residences and other women's buildings, residential life, women students' extracurricular and social activities,

and the importance of religion in student life. Although women's place in institutions of higher learning was still far from completely secure, women were becoming much more comfortable. The changing social norms are clearly reflected in the extracurricular activities of the women. While many women students took seriously their studies and "plugged," others perpetuated the stereotype of the fun-seeking flapper and pushed at the boundaries of societal expectations. Using letters, diaries, student newspapers and other archival documents, this thesis provides insights into the experience of women students in the male-oriented university at the beginning of the twentieth century.

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Introduction

In 1902, Jessie Rowat enrolled at the Western University in London, Ontario. Four years later she had graduated with a Bachelor of Arts and was headed for graduate work in English and history at the University of Chicago and travels in Europe. Not only was Jessie Rowat successful in attaining a degree at a time when few Canadians did so, she was nominated the Valedictorian of her year.¹ In 1901, less than three thousand were enrolled in Arts and Science at Canadian universities. Of these, one quarter or 740 were women. By 1930, 32 per cent of students enrolled in Arts and Science in Canada were women.² Information from the early years of Western University is very sketchy, but it is clear that the numbers of both men and women enrolled at this university were consistently low for the period.³ Between 1895 and 1930, a total of 360 women graduated from Western. Even as late as 1929-30, the number of all students registered at Western's arts college, University College, was under one thousand. During the time Jessie Rowat attended Western, between 1902 and 1906, only seven women graduated with a B.A.⁴ But what is significant is that such a large proportion of women who succeeded in attending university between 1900 and 1930 were enrolled in the Faculties of Arts and Science. Even after the so-called women's courses of Household Science and Nursing were introduced, more women continued to enrol in Arts and Science.

Research has been undertaken on those women who studied Household Science, Education, Nursing and other "professional" courses such as medicine, law, social work and music, as well as specific disciplines such as history, physics, and English,⁵ but relatively little has been done on the majority of women who were enrolled in the general area of Arts and Science between 1900 and 1930. What has been done has focussed on the "firsts" or the exceptions in the group. Paula J.S. LaPierre, for example, focussed on the first generation of women students at Canadian universities and Nancy Ramsay Thompson on the entrance of women to Canadian universities.⁶ Others have looked at women in particular denominational colleges and universities, such as Methodist women at Victoria College and Baptist women at McMaster University.⁷ The focus of this thesis, therefore, will be on the experience of those women students who enrolled in the Faculties of Arts and Science in the four Ontario universities that admitted women during the entire period between 1900 and 1930.⁸

The largest university examined in this study was the University of Toronto which comprised four federated Arts colleges: University, Victoria, St. Michael's, and Trinity, and several professional faculties and schools. This thesis includes only the arts colleges. University and Victoria Colleges were fully co-educational with separate residences for the men and women. Trinity College incorporated St. Hilda's College in 1894, shortly before Trinity itself affiliated with the University of Toronto in 1903. Established as a women's university in 1888, St. Hilda's first offered some separate courses for women students after its affiliation with Trinity, but eventually became a women's residence. St. Michael's College, a Roman Catholic men's college, affiliated with the University of Toronto in 1910. In 1911, two women's colleges, Loretto Abbey College (later renamed

Loretto College) and St. Joseph's College, affiliated with St. Michael's. During the period of this study, both Loretto and St. Joseph's offered courses for women students as well as residential facilities. While the university as a whole was considered non-denominational, three of the four colleges were denominational. Victoria College was affiliated with the Methodist Church and, after 1925, the United Church of Canada, Trinity with the Anglican Church, and St. Michael's (and Loretto and St. Joseph's) with the Roman Catholic Church. University College was considered non-denominational. The second Toronto-based university was the Baptist McMaster University. Much smaller than the University of Toronto, it was located in Toronto at McMaster Hall on Bloor Street (now the Royal Conservatory of Music) until 1929 when the university relocated to Hamilton, Ontario. The third university, also small, was Western University (later the University of Western Ontario) located in London, Ontario, and affiliated with the Anglican Church. Western was composed of two federated colleges in the early years: an arts college, called University College, and a theological college, Huron. In 1919, the Catholic women's college, Brescia College, also affiliated with Western. This thesis will include only Western's two arts colleges, University and Brescia. Finally, the Presbyterian Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, was larger and considered more prestigious than the two younger universities, McMaster and Western, more on a par and in competition with the University of Toronto. Thus, the study includes two small and two large universities; two (one small and one large) located in Toronto and two (again, one small and one large) located respectively in the western and eastern regions of Ontario. Each of these had denominational affiliations of varying degrees of strength and all had at least one college that allowed women to enrol by the 1890s.

The dominant Christian churches originally founded the universities and colleges of Ontario: the Church of England (Anglican), Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Roman Catholic.⁹ The University of Toronto was the exception. Although Toronto came to be composed of federated religious colleges, University College was considered to be non-denominational. It was, however, clearly Christian, if not even Protestant, in orientation. The other colleges and universities established by the different churches had clear mandates to educate the children of their adherents. By the late nineteenth century, there was a body of philosophy that argued for the necessity of higher education for women, which, although not uncontested, opened the way for women to attend the universities. As Johanna Selles argues, it was the idealisation of a separate sphere for women, as sanctioned by Christian doctrine in the Methodist Church that provided the motivation for Methodists to expand women's education.¹⁰ Members of the Presbyterian Church founded Queen's University, while Trinity College and the University of Western Ontario were linked with the Church of England. Catholic women who wanted to attend university had to go to non-denominational or Protestant institutions until 1911 when Loretto and St. Joseph's Colleges affiliated with St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto and 1919 when Brescia College federated with the University of Western Ontario, and when the University of Ottawa first opened its doors to women undergraduates in 1919. Some women may also have attained degrees by attending as extra-mural or part-time students.

By the turn of the century, girls had full access to the high schools and collegiate institutes that would allow them to prepare for university. The number of girls who were able to prepare for matriculation examinations, however, was always less than the number

of boys.¹¹ Whether the lower numbers were the result of economic reasons or because parents did not encourage their daughters to pursue further education, is not clear. For both girls and boys, only those families who could afford to forgo the income of their children were able to send them to high school or collegiate institutes. The majority of high school students were middle class.¹² University tuition fees were the same for men and women, as were admission requirements. Where women would have been at a disadvantage was when they attended high schools or collegiates where they were either not permitted or not encouraged to take all the subjects necessary for either junior or senior matriculation. The grades required for matriculation gradually increased after 1918 as standards were raised.¹³ While women at Ontario universities had access to some scholarships, more were specifically for men.

Historiography

Histories of education have changed dramatically over the past thirty years. The 1960s and 1970s produced a trend in social history that challenged historians of education to include analyses of gender, race, ethnicity, class and religion in their studies. Recently, work in education history has also included issues of sexuality. Revisionist historians of education, however, were slow to include histories of higher education and universities. The perception that universities were elitist seemed to preclude them from such social histories. As a result, the early volumes about higher education in Canada and elsewhere produced in the 1960s and earlier are largely congratulatory and often anecdotal. They were written by established members of particular institutions who argued that their university had progressively improved from humble beginnings. Other histories are semi-

autobiographical, relying on personal memories, with little or no reference to other sources. As such, they are often biased and exclusionary. They usually do not delve into past controversies, are rarely analytical and frequently ignore groups of students, such as women and non-Protestants.

Early institutional histories were written as narratives of obstacles overcome and of significant moments and of progressive movements. A 1921 history of McGill¹⁴, is a good example of this type of history. Although the author, Cyrus Macmillan, does not ignore women at McGill completely, he covers fifty years of their presence on campus in less than ten pages. He sums up this section by stating:

In the half-century that has passed since the formation of the 'Women's Educational Association of Montreal,' with its humble beginnings and its scanty courses for 'Associates in Arts,' the higher education of women has made undreamed of progress.¹⁵

At the time Macmillan was writing, unaware that women would soon lose ground in their access to higher education, it seemed that women had made tremendous progress and would continue to do so. Indeed, the 1920s were a time when women's university enrolment peaked at levels not seen again until the post-WWII period.

Most of these early institutional histories, written by former members of the faculty or administration, also have a tendency to focus on the leaders of the institutions. Mabel Newcomer, however, writing in 1959, prepared *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* for the Vassar College Centenary Celebrations. Rather than portraying a glorious past, Newcomer is quite negative in her narrative. She points out that in the 1920s, at a time when a significant proportion of graduate students were women, very few were able to pursue an

academic career.¹⁶ Newcomer concludes her narrative by stating that although all the old arguments against the higher education of women had been answered and women had proven themselves to be mentally and physically capable, women in 1959 were questioning the value of a college degree. She wonders: "Is the struggle worthwhile for ambitious women when the pleasant alternative of a home of one's own is always there?"¹⁷ Her discussion carries a tone of discouragement, not only regarding the obstacles to women's career aspirations, but also concerning women themselves. At the same time, however, she does not challenge the assumption that women are destined for the home or community service; she does not call for women to overthrow these assumptions. Writing at a time when the United States was on the verge of a radical change in thinking about women, she seems to be feeling the frustrations that brought on the second wave of the women's movement, but is unable to articulate them.

In Canada, several institutional histories were produced in the latter half of the 1970s and early 1980s that were not necessarily much better.¹⁸ For example, A.G. Bedford's history of the University of Winnipeg has been criticized for casting a "rosy haze" over events at the university.¹⁹ It does, however, provide some interesting information as to how the growth of the Icelandic community affected the curriculum offered. However, this phenomenon is not critically analysed, nor is there any gender analysis. An important contribution to the history of higher education in Ontario is A. B. McKillop's *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951*. This volume provides an excellent history of the various Ontario universities and integrates issues of gender, class, race, and religion into the narrative.²⁰

Race, Class and Gender

The social history that emerged in the 1960s introduced a new element into the history of higher education. While the older styles of chronological narratives about changes within institutions and higher education continued,²¹ other historians began to include analyses of race, class and gender. They no longer avoided controversies, and they began to include the experience of students - male, female, and minorities - more fully. Histories from countries other than Britain, the United States and Canada also began to be published with more frequency. In 1968, Philip Altbach wrote about student politics in Bombay. He discussed the difficulties lower class students have in attending university and the founding of one of India's foremost women's educational institutions in 1916.²² Ailsa Zainu'ddin's 1973 article, "The admission of women to the University of Melbourne, 1869-1903," examined the first generation of women students at that university. In her analysis of how events in the United States influenced those in Australia and Britain, she also mentions their influence on the movement towards higher education for women in India and Indonesia.²³

Issues of race, gender and class in the history of higher education were brought together most fully in collections of essays. Some collections were compiled in celebration of a particular individual or institution. Usually these articles continued to be celebratory and superficial,²⁴ while others were more diverse in subject and author. *Gender and Education in Ontario*, by Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, is a good example of the latter. It includes articles about many aspects of education including gender, class and religion.²⁵ Similarly, Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid's edited collection focuses on a

wide range of issues in the history of higher education in Canada. It examines gender and class as well as regional differences across Canada.²⁶ Alice S. Rossi and Ann Calderwood brought together essays, by authors in various disciplines, on the status of women in American higher education. These articles are mainly concerned with the post Second World War era, with the post-1960 period emphasized.²⁷ Another collection of articles published around the same time, *Women in Higher Education*, also focused on women students. Of the thirty-eight articles, however, only two of them examined the relationship of black students with feminism and higher education. They are both brief and only slightly analytical. Although Catherine R. Stimpson included a discussion of the historical relationship of blacks with the women's rights movement, her article was mainly concerned with her own difficulties in dealing with attempts by some minority women to gain some power in the Barnard Women's Centre.²⁸ A good collection of articles is Carol Lasser's *Educating Men and Women Together*.²⁹ This collection is a retrospective look at coeducation in the United States, centred on the history of Oberlin College. While not all of the articles are historical, they do provide an interesting perspective on coeducation. This volume includes one of the few articles that discuss sexuality on college campuses.³⁰

Although discussions of race and ethnicity still tended to be avoided, articles and books on women and higher education gradually became more analytical, and began to question traditional assumptions. Liva Baker's *I'm Radcliffe! Fly Me!* was very critical of the type of education the Seven Sisters provided for their students. Although these women's colleges were born in the era of what Baker calls "intellectual radicalism," their leaders unquestioningly accepted that Harvard and Yale men would continue to control

the country's leadership, and they adopted the academic elitism of the men's colleges to produce teachers, philanthropists, social workers and the informed wife and mother.³¹ She further argues that the Seven Sisters, in fact, retarded women's social and economic emancipation.³² Patricia Graham argues that the early period of women's education, from 1875 to 1925 when there was a variety of praiseworthy institutions for women, was crucial in aiding in the advancement of women. The later emergence of the monolithic research institutions, and the affiliation of the women's colleges with the elite men's institutions, led to a decline in women's participation in academic life. Graham shows that the traditional assumption of progressive advancement in education and opportunities simply was not true for women.³³

Higher Education for Women

In the United States, separate education for women was introduced in the early 1800s. Co-education followed in the 1830s with the creation of Oberlin College for white and Black students of both sexes.³⁴ Much has been written on both types of universities. Barbara Solomon's work, for example, examines the history of American women's higher education, both separate and co-ed, and includes a discussion of the demographics of the women students and their lives after graduation. The history of separate women's colleges and seminaries has also received individual attention. The Spring 1979 issue of the *History of Education Quarterly* contained articles on the Troy Female Seminary and Mount Holyoke College. Anne Firor Scott examined Troy as a source of feminist values and argued that educated women were carriers of feminist ideas.³⁵ David Allmendinger, on the other hand, based his analysis of Mount Holyoke on the changing life cycle of

women and shifting family needs. He argued that the students of Mount Holyoke were still seeking traditional life courses despite the new, five-year segment in the life cycle, and implied that this education did little to alter traditional expectations.³⁶

In Canada, however, most separate women's institutions were colleges, academies and seminaries that were not considered the equivalent of universities. McGill and Mount St. Vincent Universities, St. Hilda's College, and later the Catholic women's colleges at Toronto and Western, were among the few Canadian institutions to provide separate education for women.³⁷ At the University of Toronto, a campaign in the early part of the twentieth century to create a separate college for women failed. A 1977 article by Jennifer Brown shows that despite the rhetoric against coeducation, in 1909 the women students and alumnae of the University of Toronto were adamantly opposed to the separate education of women.³⁸

The 1980s and 1990s have produced an even greater interest in the history of higher education. Although some work has been done which simply integrates race, class and gender into the linear narratives of the history of higher education, many historians now use a more theoretical approach. This constitutes a move away from a narrative of events and involves an increasing emphasis on examining the lives and experiences of women academics and students. Some volumes contain a collection of autobiographical essays. For example, *A Fair Shake*³⁹ was produced in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of women to McGill University. Others, such as Margaret Gillett's history of women at McGill,⁴⁰ have used a variety of sources to examine the history of women at different universities. Susan Leonardi,⁴¹ taking a somewhat different approach, discusses the history of women at Oxford. Leonardi sets the context by

discussing the history of women's struggle to gain access to Oxford then moves on to discuss six women authors who had attended Somerville College between 1912 and 1922. She uses readings of their novels to discuss the cultural assumptions generated by the image of the educated woman.

Martha Vicinus⁴² groundbreaking work on women's communities includes a discussion of women and higher education. She found that a key element of residential colleges for women was the privilege of a private room and a strong sense of a corporate identity. A great change from the experience of boarding school and studying at home, attendance at university resulted in life-long friendships, a rich community life, and a new found sense of freedom. She also noted that "special friendships" were often characterized by sexual passion, if not physical sexuality. Love between friends was spoken of in heterosexual terms; however, as Susan Leonardi states, it is not possible to know precisely how sexually aware the participants were.⁴³ A different perspective of women's communities is presented by Deborah Gorham's work on Vera Brittain.⁴⁴ She argues that Brittain felt stifled by the women's community at Somerville. Gorham also argues that during the period around the First World War, the greater integration of women into the masculine university resulted in a loss of women-oriented tradition at Somerville.

Many of the early articles and books focused on the first or pioneer women attending a particular institution.⁴⁵ Perry Williams, for example, argues that the first generation of women to attend university felt the most dramatic impact on their lives. He provides personal stories about women's attempts to go to college. His focus is on the impact higher education made at a personal level. Paula J.S. LaPierre's dissertation

covers the experience of the first generation of women students at three Canadian universities: Toronto, McGill, and Queen's. She discovered that while women students made close friendships, they lacked the emotional intensity that Martha Vicinus, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, and Patricia Palmieri uncovered amongst British and American women. These friendships, combined with the academic challenges and the sense of autonomy university life provided, made the experiences of this first generation tolerable.⁴⁶ Sara Z. Burke has found that women students at the University of Toronto during the 1895 student strike were willing to join the men in publicly voicing their protest, suggesting that women students were more outspoken than has previously been believed.⁴⁷

Two British articles⁴⁸ show that the culture of femininity was strong at the University of Nottingham in the early 1950s and at teacher training colleges from 1900-1950. Elizabeth Edwards argues that although college culture may have enhanced individual lives, it did little to promote the development of a feminist consciousness. Cultural enrichment, she argues, upgraded women's skills and supported them through domestic difficulties, but it also "distracted women from analyzing these frustrations into a collective feminist critique of the subordination of all women in a patriarchal culture."⁴⁹ Dulcie Groves uses letters she wrote home as a student at the University of Nottingham to reflect critically on her experience. Groves acknowledges that the culture of femininity did influence her early life choices, but in the end, she says, she emerged as an 'equal rights' feminist. What is not clear is whether this change was a result of her early education or in spite of it.

As the numbers of women students at university increased, some historians have argued that academic standards at the universities declined. In Canada, David J. Bercuson, Robert Bothwell and J.L. Granatstein⁵⁰ argued in 1984 that the admissions system was accepting unqualified students and the tenure system was protecting lazy and incompetent professors. Although women and minorities are not specifically named, it seems more than coincidental that as women and minorities were finally gaining admittance in larger and larger numbers the standards of the universities were believed to be falling. In 1991, Michael Bliss argued that Canadian history as a discipline was disintegrating, and, as a result, so too was Canada.⁵¹ The change in composition of the university student body, he argues, coincided with a change in curriculum. There was increased interest in social or private history. He feels that this shift from political and constitutional history to an exploration of the experiences of people based on region, race, ethnicity, class, family, and gender has fostered a sense of difference and grievance among the white, male majority which is reflected in Canadian society as a whole. Bliss argues that it is time to write national histories about people, Canadians, who are united. Although he argues that this national history does need to embrace the multiple identities of Canadians, he denigrates the work that has already been done that will allow this integration. Kenneth H. Ashworth made a similar attack on the state of universities in the United States in 1979.⁵² Ashworth is more blatant in his negative attitude towards women. In his introduction, he quotes a piece of sexist doggerel to emphasize that the university authorities knew what they were doing as they let the universities go downhill. That Ashworth wrote his polemic twenty years before Bliss and fifteen years before Bercuson, et al., illustrates the pervasiveness of such sexist and racist beliefs within the

university. Part of the on-going backlash against the feminist and anti-racist movements,⁵³ this prejudiced point of view sees no value in a curriculum which has shifted from the traditional, patriarchal focus on very narrow definitions of politics, history and economics to a broader definition of these areas which includes anyone other than white men.

Religion and Women's Higher Education

Some work in the United States and Canada has examined the effect of religion on academic life. Lynn Gordon's article "Annie Nathan Meyer and Barnard College: Mission and Identity in Women's Higher Education, 1889-1950" reveals the racism of the administration of Barnard College as it affected Jewish students and Annie Meyer herself.⁵⁴ Susanne Klingenstein's 1991 book on Jewish students in higher education from 1900 to 1940 provides some interesting insights into the dynamics of non-Christians in the American system of higher education,⁵⁵ but the main drawback to this work is that she does not discuss Jewish women academics. She says: "This study presents men (no female academics in the humanities could be found) from a variety of Jewish cultural niches."⁵⁶ The lack of Jewish women academics seems to merit more than a parenthetical reference. It is apparent from other studies and articles such as Gordon's, that Jewish women, like Black and other minority women, faced double and triple barriers to higher education. Not only were they discriminated against because of their gender, but also because of their race, religion, and class. Klingenstein focuses on Jewish academics who entered American English departments at prestigious colleges, such as Harvard, Columbia, and Cambridge, and makes no mention of the affiliated women's colleges. It

is, therefore, not surprising that she found no women academics to include in her study. No similar studies have been done in Canada. The findings of Lynne Marks' study of the experience of Jewish girls at a Toronto high school in the 1920s, however, is relevant here. Marks found that these students assimilated some aspects of Canadian life while still maintaining their ethnic identity.⁵⁷ This suggests that Jewish students who went on to university might have continued this process of assimilation while maintaining their ethnic identity. Much more work needs to be done on the experience of minority students at Ontario universities.

Popular Culture and Women's Education

Women students attending university in Canada, the United States and Britain were portrayed in various ways, often negatively, in the news media, magazines, novels, and films. Susan Leonardi, Lynn D. Gordon and Sherrie A. Inness have incorporated aspects of popular culture into their analyses of women and higher education. Leonardi⁵⁸ uses novels written by women who had attended Somerville College at Oxford. Similarly, Inness⁵⁹ uses fiction to discuss athletics for women college students in the United States. She argues that team sports at the colleges, as depicted in the novels, promoted a community atmosphere as opposed to the emphasis on individual achievement promoted by the sanctioned gymnastics program. Inness also reveals an irony in the physical education instructors' positions:

At the same time that physical education instructors sought to individualize students and categorize them according to particular weaknesses, they also assigned them to the undifferentiated category of future mothers.⁶⁰

Inness argues that these stories provided a subversive potential because they encouraged young women to break out of the feminine mould. Although they should not be taken as depicting a realistic view of women's colleges, they were able to create an image of sports that unified all students, both participants and spectators, and socialized pre-college readers into life at a women's college.⁶¹ In Canada, Helen Lenskyj has documented popular views about women and sport. Although she uses different sources and does not focus on women in the universities in particular, it is clear that negative views on women and sport were promoted in Canada.⁶²

Lynn D. Gordon examines the portrayal of college women in the image of the "Gibson Girl."⁶³ Gordon argues that the symbolism of the Gibson girl and her successors, like the flapper, showed the acceptance of the reality of women's higher education, but at the same time, showed that it need not lead to social change.⁶⁴ Gordon argues that contrary to popular perception, the Gibson Girl was not a radical image. The popular literature of the progressive Era softened the image of educated women by portraying them as "typical, fun-loving, middle-class Gibson Girls."⁶⁵ Gordon and Inness come up with quite different perceptions of how popular literature portrayed college girls. They examine different stories in Abbe Carter Goodloe's short story collection, *College Girls* (1895) and use them to reveal contrary interpretations. Gordon uses two stories from the collection to illustrate the insistence by writers that college girls are surprisingly attractive. Inness, on the other hand, uses a positive story about a college woman who stands up to a man to show the subversive nature of stories about college girls.

Histories of Departments and Colleges

The University of Toronto has generated a large number of histories of individual departments and of the affiliated colleges. A 1990 history of the University of Toronto School of Hygiene and the Connaught Laboratories examines the period 1927 to 1955.⁶⁶ Paul Bator covers not only the history of the school and the Connaught Laboratories in great detail, but he also discusses the rise of the public health system in Ontario and Canada. There is little analysis of events, and the women who were actively involved in the research are rarely mentioned. There is one short section that discusses the women who held the school and the laboratories together during the Second World War. This attitude seems to be fairly common in these histories. For example, Robert Bothwell's account of the history department at the University of Toronto only mentions the female students of the 1920s in his discussion of the need to hire a departmental secretary: "The easiest and cheapest way of hiring a secretary was to hire a female student."⁶⁷

Helen Gurney re-examines the history of women's athletics at the University of Toronto originally written by A.E. Marie Parks, filling in details, often concerning controversies, that Parks either was unable to or chose not to provide.⁶⁸ Sara Burke's examination of the construction of gender roles in social service at the University of Toronto provides important insights into a department and field of study numerically dominated by women but controlled by men.⁶⁹ Heather Murray's *Working in English* explores the history and institution of the discipline of English and includes a chapter on the history of the Margaret Eaton Schools. Both Murray and Anna Lathrop, in her doctoral dissertation on the Margaret Eaton Schools, bring to light the importance of this school for women's higher education. Murray focuses on the early school of literature

and expression, while Lathrop looks at the physical culture aspect of this forerunner to what is now the School of Physical and Health Education at the University of Toronto.⁷⁰

Class and Higher Education

Several historians have linked the university and college system to the creation or reproduction of different classes. Sara Delamont discusses the emphasis placed on conformity by the women in charge of women's colleges in Britain. Mid-nineteenth century feminists publicly supported domesticity for young women, while quietly establishing two new lifestyles for educated women: the celibate career woman and the learned wife.⁷¹ This education for young ladies contributed to the rise of the 'new' middle class. In Canada, Paul Axelrod also argues that, contrary to elitist images in popular culture, female and male students in the 1930s embraced the middle class values of their parents.⁷² In the United States, several studies of the Ivy League colleges have shown a strong effort on the part of those colleges to keep the student population homogeneous and upper class.⁷³ One article that is critical of the elitist and classist atmosphere of university life is "Grandma Went to Smith, All Right, but She Went from Nine to Five: A Memoir."⁷⁴ In it, Patricia Clark Smith discusses her experiences growing up near Smith College where her grandmother worked and where Smith later received her degree. Smith reflects on these experiences and those of her grandmother in the context of her present work as a college teacher.

Another area in which new work has been done is the experience of women as professional scholars. A forthcoming book on the history of Canadian women in the professions will include articles on the experience of women in music, religion, physics,

pharmacy, medicine, accounting and other areas.⁷⁵ Women historians have also warranted attention recently.⁷⁶ Alison Prentice has examined the experiences of women who were able to find academic jobs. Those who did find jobs were often employed in the low status and low paying positions of demonstrator, class assistant, and research associates. She has also used a biographical approach to discuss two women who had academic careers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁷⁷ American historians have done similar studies and have come to similar conclusions about the lack of opportunities and the discrimination women academics faced. These articles provide important insights into the lives of Canadian and American women who pursued careers in academia.

The recent proliferation of articles and books that incorporate gender, race and class analyses can only add to our understanding of Canadian higher education and the experiences of those who have taught and been educated within it. Although some historians may still write all encompassing histories of institutions or of higher education, they now have no excuse to exclude women and minority students from their work. Furthermore, it may now be possible to critically examine the situation of universities today within the context of a more complete history of higher education.

Plan and Contribution of the Thesis

This thesis looks at the experience of women university students in Ontario between 1900 and 1930 from the perspective of the students themselves using student newspapers, yearbooks, diaries and letters written by students, minutes of student societies and clubs, and previously recorded oral history interviews. The papers of some

professors and university administrators, especially those of women deans, are also used where relevant. In using these sources, I have tried to find a balance between the voices of the students and those of the university authorities, while keeping the focus on the students. As discussed later in this thesis, the heavy use of student newspapers as a source tends to emphasize a certain sector of the student population – those students who were perhaps the most outspoken and active on campus. Diaries and letters written by students are few, but they do provide a unique insight into the day to day activities of some students and what they thought and told to parents, siblings, and friends. The oral history interviews I have used were recorded and transcribed as part of oral history projects at Queen's University, the University of Western Ontario and the University of Toronto. Like diaries and letters, these sources are invaluable. They are, however, the memories of women who attended university many years ago. These memories may now be tinted by "rose-coloured glasses" or may omit pertinent information forgotten over the years. Printed sources, such as annual reports, provide important information regarding the numbers of students enrolled, what they took, and, sometimes, religious backgrounds and anecdotal information. The notes and informal reports used to compile the final, printed reports, were often more valuable. Many professors were quite outspoken about their students and the students' progress. Reports by the Deans of Women and Residences also provide interesting information about the students' backgrounds and their lives in the residences.

Students who attended Ontario universities in this era were, for the most part, white, English-speaking, Protestant and middle class. The focus of this thesis is on these students. However, I have tried to include information about those students who were not

members of this dominant group. These include Catholic, Jewish and Black women. Information on these students is difficult to find and access. With the exception of Catholics, minority women were almost invisible in the records unless their attendance became an issue and the authorities recorded comments that specifically noted their colour, race, or religion. More information is available on Catholic women; however, it is not always accessible. At the University of Toronto, material on the two Catholic women's colleges, Loretto Abbey College and St. Joseph's College, focussed mainly on the formation of the colleges. This material is held in the archives of the respective convents and access is carefully controlled by the archivists. Little information about student life was made available. At the University of Western Ontario's Catholic women's college, Brescia, no archive exists⁷⁸ and I was not given any access to relevant documents. I was forced to rely on what little material is contained in Western's Regional Collection as part of the university documents and on a slim volume on the history of Brescia between 1919 and 1979.⁷⁹ As a result, the sections on Catholic women students and other minority groups are not comprehensive. These are certainly important areas for future research.

This thesis is organized thematically, rather than chronologically, with a focus on women students' activities and experiences. As a result, some aspects of the history of the universities may appear to have received short shrift. In particular, the experience of the war years is taken up only in as far as it affected the women students in their day to day activities and when they commented upon the war. Because the men wrote the majority of articles in the student newspapers, opinions on the war largely reflected men's views.

While the war certainly affected the women students who remained on campus in those years, their opinions are more difficult to get at. It is an area that deserves more research.

The first chapter focuses on the integration of feminist theories and historical research. The integration of feminist theories with history can help historians to look at, in this case, the experience of women university students from the perspective of the women themselves. In the second chapter, I closely examine the representation of women students in the student newspapers using three years of the University of Toronto student paper, *The Varsity*, as a case study. Chapter three delves into a statistical overview of the students – the numbers of women who attended university, socio-economic and class backgrounds, religious affiliations, programs of study, and so on. This thesis is not intended to provide a comprehensive statistical survey of all women students at Ontario universities. As a result, I have relied almost entirely on previously published sources for the statistics about the women. Chapters four and five turn to the physical spaces for women provided within the universities. These spaces largely took the form of residences. Chapter four examines the first spaces for women – cloakrooms, reading rooms, unions and temporary residences. Chapter five takes up a discussion of the permanent purpose-built residences and of life within the residences. Chapters six and seven examine the nature of the students' extra-curricular activities. Students at the two larger universities, Queen's and Toronto, were more likely to belong to single-sex societies, while those attending McMaster and Western usually belonged to co-ed clubs. In chapter eight, an aspect of student life that is often ignored – religion – is examined. Religion still played an important role in student life at Ontario universities well into the twentieth century. Although much research still needs to be done on other aspects of

student life and on a complete statistical background of women students, this thesis does provide a picture of the contradictory experiences of early twentieth century women students at Ontario universities. These women often welcomed a degree of separatism because of the exclusion, occasional ridicule, and increasing regulation they faced. At the same time, they made positive use of their opportunities, and even separate clubs and institutions, to push at the boundaries and establish their presence as permanent, if not equal, participants in Ontario university life.

Endnotes

- ¹ "Valedictory," June 1st, 1906. CA9ONROW214 YOS16 4257-4258, Box 2, J.J. Talman Regional Collection, University of Western Ontario (hereafter UWO).
- ² See Appendix 1. Statistics derived from F. H. Leacy, ed., *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2nd edition (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1983): W504-512, W439-455.
- ³ I have compiled the following numbers from various sources: The Western University Announcements for the Arts Department, 1900-1908 (UWO, and Robart's Library, University of Toronto); The Western University (later The University of Western Ontario) Calendars, 1909-1930 (UWO, and Robart's Library, University of Toronto); Registrar's Reports, 1920-1930 (Registrar's Office, UWO, and Fox Papers, various boxes, UWO); President's Reports, 1928-1930 (UWO, and Robart's Library, University of Toronto).
- ⁴ I have not been able to determine how many were enrolled during this period.
- ⁵ Beverly Boutilier and Alison Prentice, eds., *Creating Historical Memory: English-Canadian Women and the Work of History* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997); Elizabeth Smyth, Sandra Acker, Paula Bourne, and Alison Prentice, eds., *Challenging Professions: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Women's Professional Work* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Alison Prentice, "The Early History of Women in University Physics: A Toronto Case Study," *Physics in Canada/La Physique au Canada* 52, no. 2 (March/April, 1996); Prentice, "Three Women in Physics," in *Challenging Professions*, eds., Smyth, et al.; R. D. Gidney & W. P. J. Millar, "Medical Students at the University of Toronto, 1910-1940: A Profile," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 13, 1 (1996): 29-52; Millar and Gidney, "'Medettes': Thriving or Just Surviving? Women Students in the Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto, 1910-51," in *Challenging Professions*, eds., Smyth, et al.; Sara Z. Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Heather Murray, *Working in English: History, Institution, Resources* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Kerrie Johan Kennedy, "Womanly Work: the Introduction of Household Science at the University of Toronto," (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1995).
- ⁶ Paula J.S. LaPierre, "The First Generation: The Experience of Women University Students in Central Canada," Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1993; Donna Yavorsky Ronish, "Sweet Girl Graduates: The Admission of Women to English-speaking Universities in Canada in the Nineteenth Century," Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, 1985; Nancy Ramsay Thompson, "The Controversy over the Admission of Women to University College, University of Toronto," M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1974; Anne Rochon Ford, *A Path Not Strewn with Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto, 1884-1984* (Toronto: Women's Centenary Committee, University of Toronto, 1985).
- ⁷ Johanna M. Selles, *Methodists and Women's Education in Ontario, 1836-1925* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Anne Carmelle Legendre, "The Baptist Contribution to 19th Century Education for Women: An Examination of Moulton College and McMaster University," M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1981; Elizabeth L. Profit, "Education for Women in the Baptist Tradition: An Examination of the Work of the Canadian Literary Institute, Moulton Ladies' College and McMaster University," Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 1987.
- ⁸ The fifth Ontario university functioning at that time, Ottawa, did not admit women until the beginning of the 1920s.
- ⁹ On the origins and early history of Ontario universities, see Part One of A. B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).
- ¹⁰ Selles, *Methodists and Women's Education*, 25.
- ¹¹ See chapter 12 of R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).
- ¹² Gidney and Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education*, 8.
- ¹³ "Admission Requirements of the Universities of Toronto and Western Ontario, Queen's University and McMaster University 1918-1963," *University Historian*, A83-0036/002(Admissions), University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA).
- ¹⁴ Cyrus Macmillan, *McGill and Its Story 1821-1921* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1921).
- ¹⁵ Macmillan, 254-255.

¹⁶ Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1959): 191.

¹⁷ Newcomer, 243-244.

¹⁸ A.G. Bedford, *The University of Winnipeg: A History of the Founding Colleges* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Hilda Neatby, *Queen's University, Vol. I* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978) and F.W. Gibson, *Queen's University, volume II 1917-1961* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983); S.B. Frost, *McGill University: for the advancement of learning, Volume I 1801-1895* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980); H. Hamilton, *Queen's, Queen's Queen's* (Kingston: Alumni Association of Queen's University, 1977); W.H. Johns, *A History of the University of Alberta 1908-1969* (Edmonton: the University of Alberta Press, 1981); C.M. Johnston, *McMaster University: vol. 1, the Toronto years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); C.M. Johnston, *McMaster University, vol. 2, the early years in Hamilton 1930-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); J.G. Reid, *Mount Allison University: A History to 1963* (in two volumes), (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Bert DenBoggende, "The Vassar of the Dominions': The Wesleyan Female College and the Project of a Woman's University, 1861-97," *Ontario History* 85, 2 (June 1993): 95-117; Thomas Carpenter, *Queen's: The First One Hundred and Fifty Years* (Toronto: Hedgehog Productions Inc., 1990).

¹⁹ Nancy M. Sheehan, "History of Higher Education in Canada," *The Journal of Higher Education*, 15, 1 (1985): 28.

²⁰ McKillop, *Matters of Mind*.

²¹ See for example: Claude Bissell, *Halfway up Parnassus: A Personal Account of the University of Toronto 1932-1971*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). On higher education and universities in general, see, Lawrence Stone, ed., *The University in Society, Vols. 1 and 2* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); For Canada, see Robin S. Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

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²³ Ailsa Zainu'ddin, "The admission of women to the University of Melbourne, 1869-1903," in S. Murray-Smith, ed., *Melbourne Studies in Education, 1973* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973).

²⁴ See for example: Helen S. Astin and Werner Z. Hirsch, eds., *The Higher Education of Women: Essays in Honor of Rosemary Park* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978).

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²⁶ Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

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²⁸ W. Todd Furniss and Patricia Albjerg Graham, eds., *Women in Higher Education*, (Washington: American Council on Education, 1974): 271-272.

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³³ Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," *Signs* 3, 4 (1978): 759-773.

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⁴⁶ LaPierre, "The First Generation," 290.

⁴⁷ Sara Z. Burke, "New Women and Old Romans: Co-education at the University of Toronto, 1884-1895," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, St. John's, Newfoundland, June 1997.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Edwards, "The culture of femininity in women's teacher training colleges 1900-1950," *History of Education* 22, 3 (1993): 277-288; and Dulcie Groves, "Dear Mum and Dad: letters home from a women's hall of residence at the University of Nottingham 1952-1955," *History of Education* 22, 3 (1993): 289-301.

⁴⁹ Edwards, 288.

⁵⁰ David J. Bercuson, Robert Bothwell, and J.L. Granatstein, *The Great Brain Robbery: Canada's Universities on the Road to Ruin* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1984). A recent book by J. L. Granatstein also attacks the change in university curriculum. Too much emphasis on "the mistreatment of women, minority groups, and various regions," he believes, is killing Canadian History. See Charles Hou, review of *Who Killed Canadian History*, by J. L. Granatstein, In *The Beaver* (October-November, 1998): 43.

⁵¹ Michael Bliss, "Privatizing the Mind: The Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada," Creighton Centennial Lecture, October 18, 1991.

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⁵⁸ Leonardi, *Dangerous By Degrees*.

⁵⁹ Sherrie A. Inness, "'It Is Pluck But Is It Sense?': Athletic Student Culture in Progressive Era Girls' College Fiction," *Journal of Popular Culture* 27, 1 (Summer 1993): 99-123.

⁶⁰ Inness, 104.

⁶¹ Inness, 107-108.

⁶² Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1986). See also, Cindy Himes, "From Equity to Equality: Women's Athletics at Brown," in Polly W. Kaufman, ed., *The Search for Equity: Women at Brown University, 1891-1991* (Hanover: Brown University, 1991).

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⁶⁴ Gordon, "The Gibson Girl," 226.

⁶⁵ Gordon, "The Gibson Girl," 215.

⁶⁶ Paul Adolphus Bator, *Within Reach of Everyone: A History of the University of Toronto School of Hygiene and the Connaught Laboratories, Volume 1, 1927 to 1955* (Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association, 1990).

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Chapter 1

Feminist Theories and History

The different strands of feminist theories that have developed since the 1960s have provided historians not only with a whole new way of looking at history, but also with a new set of tools with which to analyse history. Current feminist theories stem from the political feminist movement of the 1960s and incorporate critical theories such as post-structuralism, psychoanalysis and Marxism. Although there is considerable diversity among feminisms, there is a common ground. This commonality includes the idea that Western civilization is largely patriarchal and androcentric. Feminist historians and others have revealed the ways in which this androcentricity has been pervasive in history, literature, and science. Feminist scholars have argued that what has been considered great or important has been written by men, for men and has claimed to be about all of humanity, when, in fact, it has been about only men. Feminist theories tend to recognize that gender is socially constructed and that what has been considered feminine or masculine has been generated by these androcentric biases of Western civilization.¹

Early feminist historians began by arguing that gender was a necessary category of analysis. Feminist historians assert that traditional history is partial, distorted and limited because questions about women have rarely been asked. The effort to include women in existing historical accounts has raised new questions about sources, explanatory frameworks, and methodology. The study of gender and the sexes, Natalie Zemon Davis argues, aids in the rethinking of some of the central issues of concern to historians: power, property, social structure, symbols, and periodization.² Feminist theory openly acknowledges its own interests and admits that it is historically, politically and sexually

motivated.³ Thus, a history that draws on feminist theory may be seen as biased. Although patriarchal theory (and history) cannot admit its own masculine interests without risking its status and rationale,⁴ women's history seems to pose a critical threat because it proclaims its politics by asserting that women are valid historical subjects.⁵

Feminism and Poststructuralism

For feminist historians of higher education, the concept of women as valid historical subjects suggested new areas for research. They began by recovering the names and stories of women "firsts" and notables. From there, they moved on to examine the experience of women students and faculty while they were at university, the lives of graduates, and their social and economic backgrounds. The early influence of feminism on the history of higher education, then, was an attempt to view history from a female perspective. Feminist historians now draw on, among other theories, aspects of poststructuralism⁶ (including deconstruction), Marxism, and psychoanalysis to develop more critical analyses of women's history.

While Marxist theory has been useful in highlighting the importance of class analysis in feminist history and of the role of the state in systems of schooling, it is limited in its failure to acknowledge the value of women's work in the "private sphere" and in its Eurocentric focus.⁷ Psychoanalytic theory has been important for providing a way for feminist theorists to identify and fix gender differences, for revealing the social construction of gender, and for helping to demonstrate that subjectivity has been constructed as masculine. Psychoanalysis has shown that women have been seen not as subjects but as "Other, a mysterious and unknowable lack, a sign of the forbidden and irrecoverable maternal body, or some unsavoury mixture of the above."⁸ If, as Luce Irigaray argues, the subject is already always masculine and women cannot be referred to as subjects, then women will always be the "Other." Despite the political problems raised

with the conception of subjectivity as masculine, it does allow feminists to destabilize the subject as a tactic in exposing masculine power.⁹ But does subjectivity have to be always masculine? Perhaps it is possible to reconstruct subjectivity to be neither masculine nor feminine. One's subjective identity does include one's gender, but it may be necessary to destabilize the binary opposition between the "rational" masculine subject and the "mysterious" feminine Other before we can truly understand the history of women as agents rather than as victims.

Poststructuralism is based on the idea that knowledge and experience are constructed and partial. Each individual's knowledge and experience are constructed through language with regard to race, class, gender, and ethnicity. Because knowledge and experience are socially constructed and discursively produced, poststructuralism rejects claims to authoritative accounts. It allows for multiple meanings, based on individual readings of sources, so that there is always more than one interpretation of any event. The meaning of any one sentence is plural, although it is not necessarily subjective. One can understand a word or sentence only within a specific discourse, and that discourse will in turn be a component of subjectivity. It is impossible to find coherent, unambiguous meaning in the world or in experience, unless one ignores the fact that any experience of the world is expressed in language or other discursive forms.¹⁰ As a result, one must interpret each experience, within its cultural context, on an individual basis.

From poststructuralist theory, feminists have borrowed the concept of language as a meaning-constituting system: that is, any system - strictly verbal or other - through which meaning is constructed and cultural practices organized and by which, accordingly, people represent and understand their world, including who they are and how they relate to others.¹¹

Language is a system of differences - it makes "the world intelligible by differentiating between concepts." This differentiation is constructed by language itself.¹² However, because language is often overlooked, meaning is usually seen as transparent or self-

evident. As a result, the differences language constructs may be seen as natural, universal and unalterable.¹³ Since meaning is socially constructed, differences may also be produced by a specific form of social organization, the nature of which requires the marginalization of those who are different, who are outside the norm. Sandra Harding argues that we must study history and other knowledge from the perspective of "all of the lives that are marginalized in different ways by the operative systems of social stratification."¹⁴ One way in which some lives are marginalised is in the use of difference, through implicit or explicit contrasts, to define something. Analyses of meaning must figure out how and whether negations and oppositions are operating in specific contexts. Since fixed oppositions conceal the extent to which things presented as oppositional are, in fact, interdependent, analyses of meaning must deconstruct binary oppositions for the processes they embody.¹⁵ The dichotomy between women as Other and men as subject, for example, must be deconstructed to reveal the underlying power structures it conceals.

For poststructuralists, language defines social life such that there are no 'realities' that are not subject to interpretation. As a result, the cultural construction of sexual difference fundamentally informs history.¹⁶ Joan Scott argues that "conceptual languages employ differentiation to establish meaning and that sexual difference is a primary way of signifying differentiation".¹⁷ Meaning, therefore, can be decoded by gender. Understanding how gender works to construct the meanings of being "male", "female", "masculine", "feminine", and so on, can help in understanding how and why particular groups of women share certain experiences.¹⁸ The experiences of women in the universities may be better understood by examining how the meanings constructing sexual difference worked in the university setting and by contrasting them with the experiences of male students and of women outside of the academy.

One's subjectivity is constructed through language and through "personal, subjective engagement in the practices, discourses and institutions that lend significance (value, meaning and affect) to the events of the world".¹⁹ The latter suggests that women

are agents in the construction of their own subjectivity; they are not passive recipients of a previously constituted gender identity. Thus, we need to ask what educated women did with the discourses and ideas they encountered.²⁰ Were educated women more influenced by dominant thought than uneducated women, as Dorothy Smith and Anna Troger have suggested?²¹ Or, were they more able to see through the gender discourses because of their education? Or, in turn, were they facing greater societal and family pressure (than less highly educated women) to conform to hegemonic notions of femininity because of their already non-conforming acts of becoming educated?

Feminism has allowed historians to ask new questions about women's subjectivity.²² Alison Mackinnon, for example, examined the meaning of higher education for South Australian women at the turn of the century:

I wanted to know if education led women to question their traditional roles, to reject marriage or childbearing, to demand fertility limitation, in other words to challenge the gender order, the pattern of social relations between men and women.²³

This type of project leads to a concern with the way in which gendered subjectivity is acquired. Historians need to "examine the ways in which gendered identities are substantively constructed and relate their findings to a range of activities, social organizations, and historically specific cultural representations".²⁴ Feminist theory accepts that the subject and object of knowledge are continuous and interrelated. It also accepts the complicity of subject and object in knowledge-production and that different subjects of knowledge may produce different forms of knowledge.²⁵ Belsey, drawing on Saussure's theory of language, argues that "the world is intelligible only through discourse: there is no unmediated experience, no access to the raw reality of self and others."²⁶ She further argues that since the subject is a site of contradiction and is perpetually in the process of construction, therein lies the possibility of transformation.²⁷ Thus, we need to look at how women students and faculty constructed their own subjectivity or attempted to transform

their lives, if in fact they did, by examining their writings and activities, as well as the discourses to which they were exposed.

We look to different discourses, historically, socially, and institutionally specific structures of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs,²⁸ in order to discover the meaning of past knowledges, events, and actions. These knowledges must not, however, be taken strictly at face value. They must be interpreted and analysed. Discourses themselves appeal to one another's 'truths,' discoverable through scientific inquiry, for authority and legitimation.²⁹ Harding argues that historians cannot recreate the past only through empiricist strategies. The multiplicity and heterogeneity of subjects implies that "the knowledge produced by such subjects would be multiple and contradictory and thus inconsistent and incoherent."³⁰ So, feminist historians must remember that there is no single, ideal woman's life from which knowledge or thought originates.

Barbara Melosh argues that the discourses of gender, for example, do more than comment upon or mirror sexual difference; "discourses define and create what it means to be female" [and male]. Discourses of gender determine how gender is constructed, but they may also be seen as responses to women's changing social position. Melosh further argues that discourses of gender regulate the social behaviours of women and men in sexuality, work and family, order politics, and maintain hierarchies of all kinds.³¹ At the same time, we must be cautious of simply imposing modern feminist theories on the writings of the past.³² As Ruth Pierson suggests, it is important to "contextualise the individual voices, to reconstitute the 'discursive' world which the 'subjects' inhabited and were shaped by".³³ The self, our individuality, is produced by the social construction of our experiences of embodi(ed)ment and by the particular social and historical conditions in which we live. By recognizing the plurality of diverse selves, which are produced by a highly diverse modern culture, the uniqueness of the self can be discovered. But it is often only women who are seen to be most affected by culture and the social. Men's 'rational' activities, choices and characteristics are not seen as socially constructed and are the norm

against which women's activities are judged and are seen as deficient or restricted by the social.³⁴ Women's lived experience, then, may be recreated through women's own words in diaries, memoirs and oral testimony and should be compared with men's lives only with caution. Feminist historians have valorised these types of sources, but they also caution against accepting them at face value. Women's texts are not necessarily purer or more correct than officially constructed documents or texts, and are just as likely to have been shaped by dominant discourses and hegemonic explanatory theories.³⁵

A feminist poststructuralist practice is historically specific and sees subjectivity as a process.³⁶ Feminist history, then, can provide the context in which discourses were operating, allowing historians and theorists to look at discourses in operation and to see whose interests a discourse serves at a particular moment.³⁷ A feminist history should take into account a contextualization of experience and an analysis of its constitution and ideological power.³⁸ Histories of women and higher education need to consider the ways in which women's experiences as students and faculty were constructed both within academia and beyond. But because of the unstable nature of the category of "women," women's experiences themselves need to be analyzed cautiously. Denise Riley argues that the historical temporalities of the category "women" means that there is always some characterisation or other eternally in play. She believes that it is up to a feminist history to determine whose characterisation is in play in any given period, and what its effects are.³⁹ One can see, for example, the changing characterisation of the woman student from the Gibson girl⁴⁰ of the late nineteenth-century to the flapper in the 1920s, and in the sometimes contradictory negative characterisations of women's athletics, studiousness, and frivolity.⁴¹ In the 1920s, the negative representation of women students was one that portrayed them as overly frivolous. These representations need to be deconstructed and analysed within their specific historical contexts.

Deconstruction is useful for feminism because it offers "a method of decentring the hierarchical oppositions which underpin gender, race, and class oppression and of

instigating new, more progressive theories."⁴² Furthermore, deconstruction reveals the figurative nature of ideology and exposes the artifice inherent in such categories as "nature" and "gender." Deconstruction involves analysing the operations of difference in texts. By reversing and displacing binary oppositions, one can analyse the ways in which meanings are made to work.⁴³ Deconstruction makes room for the idea of the "in-between" which allows for the dismantling of binary thinking and enables one to rethink power and identity and to perceive their fragmentary quality.⁴⁴

Feminist theory itself occupies the middle ground excluded by oppositional categories. Because feminist theory is neither subjective nor objective, neither relativist nor absolutist, it may subvert or reinscribe the theoretical traditions out of which it has developed by using the intertextual effects of misogynist discourses against their own aims.⁴⁵ By applying feminist theory and by deconstructing accounts of historical events, we can demystify those events. The rhetoric of university administrators and other authorities on the topic of women and higher education can be analyzed to reveal contradictions in attitudes and actions. Women's voices and actions can similarly be analyzed to reveal the contradictions and ambiguities with which they lived while pursuing their education and careers. Deconstruction may reveal the struggles at the heart of the subjugated knowledges produced by women. Foucault argues that in subjugated knowledges "lay the memory of hostile encounters which even up to this day have been confined to the margins of knowledge."⁴⁶ By looking at higher education through the eyes of women, those with the least power invested in it, we can perhaps see how power operated within the system of higher education. If power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation in which individuals are the vehicles of power,⁴⁷ we may also see how women both collaborated in and resisted their oppression. In taking this approach, one must bear in mind that "woman" is itself a complex category with race, class and sexual orientation creating multiple perspectives.

Gender, part of one's subjectivity, is constructed through family relationships, the economy and the polity, and it is a primary way of signifying power relationships.⁴⁸ Questioning, altering, or straying outside of accepted gender boundaries threatens the system of power, and causes anguish or terror.⁴⁹ Lynn Gordon, for example, has shown that when American women in the nineteenth century had finally attained some degree of success at university, a cultural backlash appeared in the guise of, among other things, "muscular Christianity" (or the "cult of manliness" after the mid-1880s),⁵⁰ the Boy Scouts, and quotas for female admissions to colleges and graduate schools. Maternal feminism, based on the idea that women had a special role to play in improving society, had an impact on the experience of women university students. Careers in social work and as missionaries became more acceptable. Still, unmarried career women seemed threatening, so marriage was usually seen as the appropriate first choice for college women.⁵¹ Concerns about the lower likelihood of university women marrying led to fears that if they did not maintain a certain standard appearance, these women would never marry.⁵² In fact, in Canada at least, some university women seemed to have participated in maintaining their own subordination within a patriarchal order and isolation outside of the university classroom.⁵³ By creating separate clubs and societies rather than insisting on full participation in co-ed clubs, women may have been participating in their own subordination. That said, separate clubs allowed women to explore issues of interest to them without the interference of men students, to gain experience in the organizing and running of such clubs, and to protect their right to higher education by conforming to societal expectations about women's activities.⁵⁴ Examining gender relations in the university setting allows historians to see how the construction of gender has changed for educated women and how women have challenged or accepted those gender constructions. Nicole Neatby, for example, found that 18 of the 23 women graduates of Queen's University (from the 1920s) interviewed had expected to go to university after high school. Although these women were, in fact, exceptional, they took a university

education for granted.⁵⁵ Gender, however, cannot be studied in isolation because gender intersects with identities which are constituted discursively through race, class, sexuality, ethnic and regional identities and because gender is not always constituted consistently or coherently in different historical contexts.⁵⁶

Rethinking Approaches to the History of Women and Higher Education

One of the more controversial issues historians have had to deal with is the demise of the belief in objectivity. As a result of feminist, poststructuralist and postmodernist theories, historians have had to accept the idea that there may be more than one interpretation of an event or an era; they have had to accept that pure, "scientific" objectivity is impossible. Drawing on Michel Foucault, Elizabeth Grosz argues:

Within the humanities and social sciences, the ideal of objectivity and substitutability becomes meaningless, given the impossibility of repetition or independent confirmation of 'experiments' - that is, the impossibility of establishing control experiments, and of accounting for all variables in any given social and individual object of analysis - the irreducibility of history and contingent events, and the particularity and concreteness of the results obtained. In interpreting a text, developing a philosophy, analysing a social arrangement, assessing another culture, the conclusions are unique, specific, incapable of independent external or 'objective' judgement.⁵⁷

Historians have attempted to achieve objectivity through empirical analyses of history. Foucault questioned the assumption that the past could be accurately reconstructed through empirical examination of documents and records.⁵⁸ He instead argued that all interpretation and imposition of order on "the chaos and disorder of events"⁵⁹ was arbitrary, and necessarily excluded and silenced some voices. Foucault names these voices "subjugated knowledges".⁶⁰ Subjugated knowledges are those historical events or contents that have been buried and disguised in the formal, systematic, traditional interpretations of history. But these subjugated or local knowledges are also those which have been

disqualified by being named inadequate, naive, insufficiently elaborated, or based on experience rather than rational investigation; those voices that have lacked the required level of scientific authority or rationality and have been seen as popular knowledge.⁶¹ Knowledges produced by women have long fallen into this category of subjugated or local knowledges.

From subjugated knowledges "emerges a genealogy, or a multiplicity of genealogical researches, a painstaking rediscovery of struggles together with the rude memory of their conflicts".⁶² This concept of genealogy suggests that women's struggles will also be rediscovered. However, Judith Butler criticizes Foucault's genealogy for refusing "to search for the origins of gender, the inner truth of female desire, a genuine or authentic sexual identity that repression has kept from view".⁶³ Instead, Butler argues, genealogy is concerned more with the political stakes in designating identity categories as an origin and cause when, in fact, those categories are the effects of institutions, practices, and discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin.⁶⁴ Despite this criticism, the general premise of decentring hierarchical knowledge and institutions is sound and can be used in feminist analyses. But before we do so, however, we must question Foucault's desire to dispense with the subject.

Foucault sees genealogy as a form of history that can show how knowledges, and discourses are constituted without reference to a subject.⁶⁵ For feminist historians who are finally able to have women as the central subject of their histories, this concept of a history without a subject is troubling. Just as historians are beginning to take notice of women, women themselves are decentred in a history that focuses on the institutions (largely created by men) that produce knowledges and discourses rather than on people. Other feminists criticise Foucault because, although he acknowledges that rationalizing discourses may be sites of resistance, he rarely analyses such discourses and virtually ignores those by women. He thus marginalises women's discourses of resistance in his own texts by focusing almost exclusively on works by men, the voice of power.⁶⁶ Joan

Scott sees value in Foucault's work if it is taken as warning against simple solutions to difficult problems. His work, then,

provides an important way of thinking differently (and perhaps more creatively) about the politics of the contextual construction of social meanings, about such organizing principles for political action as 'equality' and 'difference'.⁶⁷

So how can feminist historians approach the history of women and higher education? Is history the representation that constructs experience such that new histories are written to give new meanings to experience understood in new ways, as Joan Scott argues? Or is history, as Linda Gordon claims, a relatively accurate account of recoverable experiences?⁶⁸ Perhaps representations have an ontological status of their own, as Mary Poovey suggests. In this case, representations play an analogous role for historians of gender as experience does for historians of women.⁶⁹ But Lynn Hunt argues that objects of historical study must be established as being like those of literature and art in order for them to be analyzed as representations.⁷⁰ If representations are defined as cultural constructs or ideological products of a particular era which "serve mainly to reproduce, confirm, and propagate the power-structures of domination and subordination which characterize a given society,"⁷¹ and if history is a representation of experience, then one cannot take history at face value. History and historical texts must be deconstructed to reveal what power structures are at play. Even if history is composed of "recoverable experiences," experience itself is embedded in the culture and discourse of the particular era.

Catherine Belsey states that there is no unmediated experience of the world: knowledge is created through the categories and the laws of the symbolic order, and meaning is produced out of the available system of differences.⁷² I see this relationship as being dialectical. Those writing in student newspapers, for example, were constructing a discourse - based on an accepted symbolic order and system of difference - through their experience. At the same time, the experience of those reading the papers was being constructed by that discourse and the same symbolic order and system of difference. However, Belsey also argues, that "at any given moment the categories and laws of the symbolic order are full of contradictions, ambiguities and inconsistencies which function as a source of possible change."⁷³ This line of argument suggests that a particular discourse or experience will affect each individual in a different way - there is no simple reading of any experience.

Rethinking the concept of history from a feminist perspective has required a new approach to traditional periodisations. Appropriate periods may depend upon not only regions or countries, but also the gender of the subjects. For feminist history, Foucault's history of resistances is important. His history is not one of dates, but one of ruptures. Because history remains dispersed, split, random, he argues, the history of resistances is not clearly marked by dates.⁷⁴ As a result, historians studying similar periods and areas may define those periods in different ways. For example, some historians of women and higher education, such as Barbara Solomon, have defined three generations of women students: 1865-1890, 1890-1910, and from the 1910s onward. Lynn Gordon, however, combines the second and third eras into one, 1890-1920, as being a transitional generation, a bridge between the Victorian and modern eras. The second generation of women college students was distinguished by their attempts to combine gender consciousness with their life on campus and with plans for social activism, a shift from separatist to egalitarian feminism, and a simultaneous interest in marriage.⁷⁵ Although many of the same sentiments and experiences characterised the first generation of women university students

in Canada as those in the United States, they experienced them fifteen to twenty years later.⁷⁶

Feminist theories have forced a rethinking of the methods of historical research. Not only have sources been redefined, but so too has periodisation. Foucault's genealogy has required historians to look at marginalised voices as well as dominant ones. In doing so, hierarchies were decentred and the focus shifted to experience and representations. Feminist theories also brought into focus the interplay of the social construction of gender with the power structures that are the framework of our world. Poststructuralist feminist theory emphasizes the multiplicity of meanings and subjectivities and points to the importance of deconstructing and interpreting the meaning of experience and representations. The more natural an event or experience may seem, the greater the need for deconstruction and interpretation. The construction of gender and subjectivity is influenced by power structures, so any study of the history of women and higher education should use feminist theories to examine issues of gender and subjectivity in order to understand the power structures that underlie the various experiences and events that make up the history of women and higher education. Historians of women and higher education have produced good narratives of women's experiences at university, but those experiences need to be re-examined, using feminist theories, in the context of the power structures that framed their lives at the university.

Endnotes

- ¹ On feminism in history, see Judith P. Zinsser, *History and Feminism: A Glass Half Full* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993); on feminist criticism in literature, see for example M.H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, sixth ed. (Orlando: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1993); on feminist research in sociology, see Margrit Eichler, *Nonsexist Research Methods: A Practical Guide* (New York: Routledge, 1988).
- ² Natalie Zemon Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case," *Feminist Studies* 3, 3/4 (Spring-Summer 1976): 90.
- ³ E.A. Grosz, "The in(ter)vention of feminist knowledges," in *Crossing Boundaries: Feminisms and the Critique of Knowledges*, eds., Barbara Caine, E.A. Grosz, and Marie de Lepervanche (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1988): 101
- ⁴ Grosz, p. 100.
- ⁵ Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988): 5-7; Jane Lewis, "Women, Lost and Found: The Impact of Feminism on History," in *Men's Studies Modified*, ed. Dale Spender (Oxford and Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1981); and Jane Lewis, "Women's History, Gender History, and Feminist Politics," in *The Knowledge Explosion: Generations of Feminist Scholarship*, eds. Cheri Kramarae and Dale Spender (New York: Teacher's College Press, 1992).
- ⁶ Although there are parallels and some overlap between poststructuralism in linguistic and literary theory and postmodernism in literature and the arts, they are not identical. By subverting the foundations of our accepted ways of thinking and experience, postmodernism seeks to reveal the 'meaninglessness' of existence and the underlying 'abyss,' or 'void,' or 'nothingness' on which any supposed security is seen to be suspended. Poststructuralism, however, attempts to subvert the foundations of language to show that meaning is indeterminate, or "to show that all forms of cultural discourse are manifestations of the ideology, or of the relations and constructions of power, in contemporary society." See Abrams' *Glossary of Literary Terms*, p. 120, cited above. For the purposes of this thesis, I will focus on poststructuralism, which, I believe, is more useful for feminist history.
- ⁷ Pavla Miller, "Education and the State: The Uses of Marxist and Feminist Approaches in the Writing of Histories of Schooling," *Historical Studies in Education* 1, 2 (1989): 283-306; Jane Flax, *Disputed Subjects: Essays on Psychoanalysis, Politics and Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1993): 13.
- ⁸ Judith Butler, "Gender Trouble, Feminist Theory, and Psychoanalytic Discourse," in *Feminism/Postmodernism*, ed. Linda J. Nicholson (New York and London: Routledge, 1990): 326.
- ⁹ Butler, "Gender Trouble," 326-327.
- ¹⁰ Catherine Belsey, *Critical Practice* (London and New York: Methuen, 1980): 54, 63; see also, Joan W. Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, The Uses of Post-Structuralist Theory for Feminism," in *Defining Women*, eds. Linda McDowell and Rosemary Pringle (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).
- ¹¹ Scott, "Deconstructing," 254.
- ¹² Belsey, pp. 38-40.
- ¹³ Belsey, p. 42.
- ¹⁴ Sandra Harding, "Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What is 'Strong Objectivity'," in *Feminist Epistemologies*, eds. Linda Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter (New York and London: Routledge, 1993): 60.
- ¹⁵ Scott, "Deconstructing," 255-256.
- ¹⁶ Barbara Melosh, ed., *Gender and American History Since 1890* (London: Routledge, 1993): 5.
- ¹⁷ Scott, *Gender*, 45-46.
- ¹⁸ Louise M. Newman, "Critical Theory and the History of Women: What's at Stake in Deconstructing Women's History," *Journal of Women's History* 2, 3 (1991): 59.
- ¹⁹ Alison Mackinnon, "Male Heads on Female Shoulders? New Questions for the History of Women's Higher Education." *History of Education Review* 19, 2 (1990): 38.
- ²⁰ Mackinnon, 38.
- ²¹ Cited in Mackinnon, 38.

- ²² Some feminist psychoanalytic theorists have called into question whether women can be subjects, if subjectivity has always been constructed as masculine and the 'Other' as feminine. For an overview, see Judith Butler, "Gender Trouble." [Discussions of gendered subjectivity must also take into account the material conditions of everyday lives, not just discourses. This is a pitfall of post-structuralist theories.]
- ²³ Mackinnon, 37.
- ²⁴ Scott, *Gender*, 44.
- ²⁵ Grosz, p. 101.
- ²⁶ Belsey, p. 61.
- ²⁷ Belsey, p. 65.
- ²⁸ Scott, "Deconstructing", p. 254.
- ²⁹ Scott, "Deconstructing", 255.
- ³⁰ Harding, 63.
- ³¹ Melosh, 4-6.
- ³² Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1985): 49.
- ³³ Ruth Roach Pierson, "Experience, Difference, Dominance and Voice in the Writing of Canadian Women's History," in *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives*, eds. Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson and Jane Rendall (London: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1991): 94.
- ³⁴ Lesley Johnson, *The Modern Girl, Girlhood and Growing Up* (St. Leonards, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 1993): 17-18.
- ³⁵ Pierson, 91.
- ³⁶ Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1987): 87.
- ³⁷ Weedon, 111.
- ³⁸ Weedon, 125.
- ³⁹ Denise Riley, "*Am I That Name?*" *Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988): 98.
- ⁴⁰ Lynn D. Gordon, "The Gibson Girl Goes to College: Popular Culture and Women's Higher Education in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," *American Quarterly* 39, 2 (Summer 1987): 211-230.
- ⁴¹ See for example, Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1986); and Sherrie A. Inness, "'It is Pluck But Is It Sense?': Athletic Student Culture in Progressive Era Girls' College Fiction," *Journal of Popular Culture* 27, 1 (Summer 1993): 99-123.
- ⁴² Weedon, 165.
- ⁴³ Scott, "Deconstructing," 256-257.
- ⁴⁴ Mary Poovey, "Feminism and Deconstruction," *Feminist Studies* 14, 1 (1988): 59.
- ⁴⁵ Grosz, 100.
- ⁴⁶ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980): 83.
- ⁴⁷ Foucault, 98.
- ⁴⁸ Scott, *Gender*, 44-45.
- ⁴⁹ Scott, *Gender*, 48-49; Judith Butler, "Variations on Sex and Gender," in *Feminism as Critique*, eds. Seyla Benhabib and Priscilla Cornell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987): 132.
- ⁵⁰ On the "cult of manliness" see, McKillop, 244-245. After the mid-1880s when women students began to attend universities in Canada in greater numbers, manliness became an attribute of male student life.
- ⁵¹ Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990): 38. See also Gordon, "The Gibson Girl"; Sue Zschoche, "Dr. Clarke Revisited: Science, True Womanhood, and Female Collegiate Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 29, 4 (Winter 1989): 545-569; and Alison Mackinnon, "Interfering with Nature's Mandate: Women, Higher Education and Demographic Change," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 1, 2 (Fall 1989): 219-237.
- ⁵² Susan J. Leonardi, *Dangerous By Degrees: Women at Oxford and the Somerville College Novelists* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989): 28.

- ⁵³ Paula J.S. LaPierre. "The First Generation: The Experience of Women University Students in Central Canada," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1993): 12, 289.
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- ⁵⁶ Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, (New York: Routledge, 1990), 3.
- ⁵⁷ Grosz, 98.
- ⁵⁸ Melosh, 3. See also. Joan N. Burstyn, "Narrative versus Theoretical Approaches: A Dilemma for Historians of Women," *History of Education Review* 19, 2 (1990): 1-7.
- ⁵⁹ Melosh, 4.
- ⁶⁰ Foucault, 81.
- ⁶¹ Foucault, 82-83.
- ⁶² Foucault, 83.
- ⁶³ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, x-xi.
- ⁶⁴ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xi.
- ⁶⁵ Foucault, 117.
- ⁶⁶ Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby, "Introduction," xvi. and Frances Bartkowski, "Epistemic Drift in Foucault," in *Feminism and Foucault*, eds. Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988): 44-45.
- ⁶⁷ Scott, "Deconstructing," 255.
- ⁶⁸ Cited in Newman, 62.
- ⁶⁹ Cited in Newman, 63.
- ⁷⁰ Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): 17.
- ⁷¹ Abrams, 249.
- ⁷² Belsey, 45.
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- ⁷⁴ Bartkowski, 47.
- ⁷⁵ Gordon, *Gender*, 1-5.
- ⁷⁶ LaPierre, 10.

Chapter 2

Representations and Experience¹

In the 1920s, popular media in Canada and the United States portrayed university students, both male and female, as being more interested in frivolous activities than in serious study. Students, however, were annoyed by both the Hollywood caricature of youth which, they thought, distorted the reality of student experience² and the constant refrain of authorities who said that the standards of youth were too low, that young people were losing their moral sense, and that they were "generally going to the dogs."³ The editorials and the articles in *The Varsity*, the University of Toronto student newspaper, show that students were interested in more than simply having a good time. By using student newspapers, it is possible to gain some insight into what students thought was important. As Paul Axelrod has noted, "we can learn more about university life by listening to students and by taking them seriously, than we can from those ageing observers who romanticize, denounce, dismiss, or in other ways distort the student experience."⁴ Even as historians look to the student press for this information, they must question how both discourses and experiences were constructed. With the limitations inherent in newspapers, are they useful sources? Do they represent the experience of student life accurately?

To try to understand how students' experiences were constructed and represented by the student press, a close examination of three academic years (October to April of the

years 1919/20, 1924/25, and 1929/30) of *The Varsity* was undertaken. *The Varsity* was one of the oldest student newspapers used here. It was published regularly between 1900 and 1930, sometimes once a week, or twice a week, or even daily. As a result of the sheer number of issues available to the researcher, three academic years were chosen for a close study. For the remaining years of this thesis, the newspaper clippings files in the University of Toronto Archives were used. The drawback to using the clipping files is, of course, that the researcher relies on what someone else found important enough to clip out. The three other universities included here, Queen's, Western and McMaster, also had student newspapers. These were published more erratically than *The Varsity*, and were often monthlies. A general reading of these papers revealed that, while some differences particular to the individual universities were apparent, the conclusions drawn from the close reading of *The Varsity* still pertain to these other papers. This chapter, therefore, focuses on three years of *The Varsity*. The examination includes how gender relations were represented in the student paper and how the paper can be used as an historical source. To do so, a combination of content and discourse analysis and theories of gender history is used.

Content analysis allows historians to discover what was "news" on campus during any given period and to look for biases in the reporting of the activities and issues of the students. Discourse analysis allows for a more in-depth examination of newspapers. It is both a theoretical and methodological way of understanding language and language use; it is an integration of text and context.⁵ Discourse analysis is "part of an attempt to understand the relationship between language, social institutions, subjectivity and power"⁶ by doing a close reading of texts to try to identify and decode the ideological

frameworks underlying the media messages.⁷ A combination of content and discourse analysis seems to work well together in the analysis of student newspapers. An examination of the discourse of gender is particularly important when interpreting experience. Indeed, the experience of students at the University of Toronto in the 1920s, as revealed by *The Varsity*, seems to have revolved around gender relations.

While discourses of gender determine how gender is constructed, they may also be responses to women's changing social position.⁸ Because *The Varsity* reporters were probably writing under a certain amount of constraint imposed, directly or indirectly, by the university, individual voices must be contextualised by the discursive world in which the subjects lived.⁹ The 'discursive' world of the students in the 1920s was constituted, in part, by *The Varsity*. The discourse of *The Varsity* was both constructing and constructed by the experience of at least some of the students. Experience is not stable; it is mediated by power, authority, the multiple positions of the subjects, and language. But language is also mediated by power, authority and subject position. Joan Scott describes the relationship between experience and discourse as being inseparable: "[s]ince discourse is by definition shared, experience is collective as well as individual. Experience is a subject's history. Language is the site of history's enactment. Historical explanation cannot, therefore, separate the two."¹⁰ As the above suggests, this relationship between discourse and experience is dialectical. Those writing in *The Varsity* were constructing the discourse through their experience. At the same time, the experience of those reading the paper was being constructed by that discourse. Although it cannot be assumed that the discourse contained in *The Varsity* had such a relationship with all students at the University of Toronto (some students, after all, may never have read the student paper), I

think the individual and collective experiences of some students were related to the discourse in *The Varsity*.

The Newspaper as a Source

Examining the composition of the editorial board and staff may help to determine what groups of students were represented in *The Varsity*. It may also allow for a deeper analysis of the reports in *The Varsity* which were mediated by the opinions and ideological position of those editors and writers. However, beyond the gender, determined by names, to know who worked on the paper is difficult. Keith Walden, for example, argues that the establishment of student newspapers allowed "collegians [to] pontificate at length about their circumstances," and suggests that we should not necessarily take the opinions stated in the newspapers as reflecting the views of all the students.¹¹ Although individual articles did not have by-lines, from the masthead it is clear that both women and men students from various colleges and faculties were reporters. The Chief Editor was always a male student, but there was also a Women's Editor and a Women's News Editor. However, the student editors of *The Varsity* themselves acknowledged the impossibility of trying to represent all the students. The editors in 1929/30 felt that there were "not a large number of students in the university with opinions worth representing" and that to try to please all of the students would create a mediocre newspaper "on a par with that of a mail order catalogue."¹² This editorial also highlighted the editors' biases – they felt themselves to be superior to the average student whose opinions were based on "ingrained prejudice, environment and faculty."

In the context of the university community, those with the most power, the university administrators and professors, were not the authors of the texts found in *The Varsity*, although they may have exerted control over its contents. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz would probably class the students involved in the production of the student newspaper amongst the "College Men and Women" who were involved in fraternities, sororities and other clubs: those who may have come from classes accustomed to a certain amount of power.¹³ If this in fact were true, then the ideas represented in the newspaper would be those of the students most involved in campus life. The students who resisted or ignored organized activities, outsiders and rebels in Horowitz's terms, would be silent. A survey of the newspaper shows that this was generally the case. The university events most frequently reported in *The Varsity* were those sanctioned by the university such as club meetings, chaperoned dances, sporting events, and guest lectures.

The paper provides some evidence, however, of a number of students who would not fall into Horowitz's narrow category of "College Men and Women." Reports of some meetings, which contained complaints about the small number of students who turned up, illustrate that not all groups were popular. There were also reports of some groups that, although sanctioned by the university faculty, would have been peripheral to the mainstream groups. For example, meetings of the "Free Lances", women students who worked part-time throughout the school year, and the Menorah Society, a Jewish students' organization, were reported on only periodically throughout the 1920s. I have classed these two groups as being outside of the mainstream since their members probably did not take part in many, if any, activities other than those provided by these groups because of a lack of time or money, or due to religion.

The main drawback to using the student newspaper as a source, then, is the lack of representation of all students. But, it is also important to be aware that the student editors were required to be self-censoring. Although *The Varsity* was published by the Joint Executive of the (Men's and Women's) Students' Councils, it is not clear if the students' councils had more influence over the content than the university authorities. There were reports of editors of other student newspapers being censored or even fired for the opinions expressed in their papers. Axelrod notes that two editors of *The Varsity* lost their jobs in 1931 for acknowledging that petting and atheism existed at the University of Toronto.¹⁴ In 1930, a change in the governance of *The Varsity* took place. The change was seen by at least one editor as making *The Varsity* the "mouthpiece of the Joint Executive" of the Students' Council. In the following issue, the Chairman of the Joint Executive of the Students' Councils, Allan H. Ferry unilaterally changed a headline, because he felt it was untrue. After much debate, the Advisory Board of Student Publications unanimously stated that the editor was responsible for what was printed and that the students' councils could only intervene after something libellous was printed.¹⁵ In the end, it was clear that the editor was free to print whatever he wanted, but his job was in jeopardy if he went against generally accepted attitudes. Despite these problems, *The Varsity* is too rich in information to be dismissed.

Words to Live By

The choice of specific words in an article may signal the attitudes and ideologies of the writer¹⁶ as they help to construct the experience of the readers. The use of the term "co-ed" is a prime example of the way in which language can illustrate attitudes and

construct experience. In 1924, a writer in *The Varsity* noted that while co-ed was used because it was less bulky, it raised the image of a frivolous girl. A co-ed "thinks lectures are either 'fun' or a 'bore' and college means to her the acquirement of a certain amount of miscellaneous knowledge and a ripping good time in all sorts of social activities." The term "women undergraduates," however, had more serious connotations. The writer stated that this term was originally used when women first were admitted to the university. These women concentrated on their work and paid little attention to men. Although most modern women students were not overly concerned with school, the writer thought that there were still some serious women students who could be called "women undergraduates."¹⁷ The fact that some *Varsity* reporters were aware of the frivolous connotation of "co-ed," combined with its frequent use, indicates that women at the university were believed to be there for a good time. "Woman undergraduate" was rarely used, while men were simply referred to as undergraduates.

The language used to discuss the issue of co-education and the role of women at the university, issues examined several times in *The Varsity* over the period, further illustrates gender relations on campus. Co-education has meant different things, from identical education of men and women together to education of each in co-ordinate colleges.¹⁸ At the University of Toronto in the 1920s, men and women were educated largely together. Yet, despite women's attendance at the University of Toronto since the 1880s and their success in winning scholarships and awards,¹⁹ women were seen, by some, as mere nuisances on campus, and by others, as simply ornaments. In 1919 and 1920, a column called "The Bass Drum" ran a series of articles that were overtly misogynist. Hostile attitudes were demonstrated through comments such as "a skirtless

university, O what perfect felicity"²⁰ and references to women as invading male spaces. For example, when some women debating teams organized a series of intercollegiate debates the headline read "Men's Field Again Invaded."²¹

Even in the 1929/30 school year, the attack continued. That year there were several debates and articles on the role of women and the viability of women's emancipation. But women's roles were not the only ones being criticized. These articles also illustrated the roles men were expected to take on. In December 1929, the debate centred on an editorial entitled "Back to the Kitchen." The editor felt that "observation [would] verify our suspicion, that the masculine tribe is realizing the peril, and [would] soon adopt drastic measures before becoming utterly dominated abroad by women, as it is now at home."²² This editorial spawned further articles that claimed that women would never succeed in reaching the heights men had reached and that the main benefit of having women on campus was that they "tended to increase men's enjoyment at class parties due to a wider range of selection."²³

In the following edition, the opinions of the women students were printed. The women argued that they were at university to stay and that without educated women society would become morally corrupt. One student, Eileen Harrison, was quoted in *The Varsity* as saying: "Men come to Varsity because women are there, and if girls weren't educated, society would become degraded - women would soon be in slavery."²⁴ Some argued that "good behaviour on the part of educated girls was stressed, because not nearly as much can be expected of others who are less fortunate."²⁵ Others questioned whether it was fair to set a double standard of morals, but it was generally expected that women would lead the way and that men would follow. Women were to be responsible not only

for their own morals, but also for those of men and less educated women. This series of articles, and others, illustrate the ambiguous position of women at the university and show the discourse of the student paper to be more regulatory than rebellious. The student editors and reporters were defining standards and roles for the rest of the student body.

In the New Year, women students were accused of being responsible for the decline of intellectual standards. Trinity College men debated topics such as the resolution that "this house views with alarm the emancipation of women." Although the resolution was defeated and the emancipation of women was upheld, the headlines still announced "Women Charged with Lowering Intellectual Standards of the World."²⁶ Mossie May Kirkwood, the English Professor and former Dean of Women at University College, came out overtly in support of co education in the next issue. She claimed that co education was here to stay, but also argued that the lack of restricted entry to the university had lowered intellectual standards.²⁷ Her comments came shortly after Victoria College had announced plans to restrict the enrolment of women because "the quality of the men entering the ministry [was] being lowered."²⁸ The implication was that women were not serious students.

The Varsity articles told students that "[a] country never rises above the level of its womanhood" and that "too much familiarity on first acquaintance, drinking, motoring with strangers and the telling of obscene stories frequently end in police court appearances."²⁹ Sara Delamont locates the debates about women's education in two issues: the changing relationships between domesticity and careers, marriage and celibacy; and in fears about pollution of the sexes and their spheres.³⁰ Delamont argues

that anything that disrupts society's classification system or weakens the boundaries between categories tends to be seen as dirty, dangerous, unnatural, sinful and threatening.³¹ The reactions to the new freedoms enjoyed by women in the 1920s illustrate that they were indeed seen as dangerous. In the early years of women's education, separate social functions were held for women; and any time they came into contact with men, they were strictly chaperoned.³² By the 1920s, although mixed sex social functions at the university continued to be chaperoned throughout the period, barriers between women and men in informal settings were being weakened by their access to cars, which allowed them to travel further from campus without chaperones and encouraged fears about the morality of university students.

The messages contained in *The Varsity* seem to be largely prescriptive. But it is questionable whether articles were written in reaction to particular events and experiences on campus or in an effort to prevent change from occurring. The censorship of the editor in 1930 was clearly a response to an event,³³ and the language used in the articles placed the event in the context of world affairs. The use of "co-ed" and the language of the debates over women's place in society and the university are, however, more troubling. These articles seem to be intended to regulate women's and men's behaviour. Women students, in the end, are portrayed as morally superior, but intellectually inferior to men. How did this image affect the experience of women students reading *The Varsity*? How did it affect the men? While it is difficult to know exactly how students felt, these attitudes were prevalent throughout Canadian society, so they would have seemed normal. Although the women's responses indicate a certain amount of acceptance,

particularly regarding moral superiority, they also seemed to be resisting the image of intellectual inferiority.

Fads in Fashion and Moral Decay

The morality of students was of great concern in the 1920s. Almost everything students did was scrutinised by the authorities and some students to determine what effect it might have on them. The changing styles of female dress were a constant source of concern for both authorities and some of the students. Delamont argues that the British pioneers in women's education adopted the strategy of ensuring that their students were conservatively dressed in public at all times and that this continued even until 1929 when the students of Girton College were warned to stay inconspicuous and to wear hats if they went near Cambridge.³⁴ Both Leonardi and Delamont describe a fear that women would not be allowed an education if they dressed or behaved inappropriately.³⁵ In the 1919/20 school year, when skirts and dresses became shorter and scantier, complaints about women's clothing also emerged in *The Varsity*. One editorial commented that the more revealing evening dresses demonstrated that women wearing this style did not "think". This (unnamed) writer argued that although women were believed to spend too much time on their clothing, the dresses that had appeared at recent dances showed that many of the women were in fact not spending enough time considering about what they were wearing. The writer further argued that although women students did not have enough time to make their own dresses and that shopkeepers provided no alternatives, it was up to university women to establish a "standard of dress which [would] have some other recommendation than that of mere scantiness."³⁶ Nellie McClung had expressed similar

sentiments five years earlier, also focussing her arguments on women's mental power – or lack of mental power: "If women could be made to think, they would not wear immodest clothes, which suggest evil thoughts and awaken unlawful desires. If women could be made to think, they would see that it is women's place to lift high the standard of morality."³⁷ Paula Fass argues that American male editors who discussed the change in women's fashions were giving latent approval for these new fashions by their interest.³⁸ Both *The Varsity* and Nellie McClung seem rather to be prescribing socially acceptable standards for women students and demanding that they be role models for less educated women who were supposedly more vulnerable to the standards of fashions being set by merchants motivated by "purely commercial considerations" and less capable of "thinking" rationally about the consequences.³⁹

In 1924, women's clothing was still being discussed. In November of that year, a woman reporter set out to discover if flappers still existed on campus. She found that the dress of some students indicated that flappers were still around "in a more intellectual and pleasing guise."⁴⁰ The writer of the column "Mood of the Mode" also noted that women's fashions had been the butt of jokes over the past few years.⁴¹ One response to the co-eds' clothing was a proposal to have women students wear academic gowns while on campus. The University College Women's Undergraduate Association (WUA) at the University of Toronto announced an Academic Day and asked women to wear the gowns to create an academic atmosphere. While some women felt conspicuous wearing them, others argued that they looked very dignified. The WUA seems to have wanted the women to adopt the gowns as everyday apparel. The gowns were described as convenient and comfortable, and women were reminded that they would save on clothes.⁴² One editor asked whether

this move to introduce academic gowns was to give co-eds a "more monastic flavour" and suggested that it was perhaps a result of the continuing controversy over co education. The editor wondered if the women hoped "to make themselves less objectionable by becoming more 'academic.'"⁴³ The day was not seen as a success since the giggling of the women and the staring of the men spoiled the 'academic' atmosphere. The deadening of originality by the wearing of the gowns was also decried.⁴⁴ Within the University of Toronto, the issue seemed to only concern women students at University College. As late as 1921-22, a University College regulation had stipulated that all undergraduates were expected to wear "the prescribed academic costume" while on campus.⁴⁵ The following year, this regulation disappeared. In the 1922-23 Announcement, Loretto Abbey College stated that caps and gowns were mandatory for students.⁴⁶ The wearing of caps and gowns on a daily basis was not always mandated in the university *Calendars*. They were often worn as a matter of custom rather than regulation, to set the students apart from members of the surrounding community. The introduction of regulations around this issue suggests that students may have been beginning to refuse to wear gowns to classes. Gowns were certainly worn at all the colleges for special occasions and for formal photographs. The wearing of caps and gowns varied among the colleges. Students at Trinity College, for example, continue to wear gowns at meals. Where regulations were not printed in the *Calendar*, the students of those colleges like Trinity where gowns were worn throughout the period were probably not resisting the tradition so that no regulation was required.

At McMaster, the issue of wearing gowns also arose. An article in the *McMaster University Monthly* described the history of wearing gowns, noting that in the late 1890s

the authorities had left it up to students as to whether they would wear the gowns on a daily basis or not. In 1921-22, the article claimed that among women students "gowns were the exception not the rule."⁴⁷ The following year, the Women's Student Body passed a resolution making the wearing of college gowns compulsory by the women students, arguing that since the gowns were worn on official occasions, they should be worn every day. Although the women chose not to adopt the academic gown for regular wear, the issue highlighted the fact that women's appearances played an important role in how they were perceived and treated on campus.

By the 1929/30 school year the length of skirts was beginning to fall. This shift met with approval from students and faculty; however, women students apparently opted to wear the longer skirts only for more formal occasions. One reporter described women wearing the new fashions as slinking "more or less gracefully in the new long, swathing silhouette." What is more interesting is that the men of Wycliffe College, the low Anglican divinity college, felt the need to debate the proper length of women's skirts. One debater believed that "the great wave of immodesty that was sweeping the country was in some way connected to the short skirt." In the end, the men voted in favour of the longer skirts as being more feminine. Despite the pressure to wear longer skirts, many of the women resisted the "dominion of insidious fashion headlines" and kept their skirts at a comfortable length for attending classes.⁴⁸

'Ladies' up in Smoke

The expectation that women would behave in a lady-like manner restricted much of their lives on campus. In 1919/20, *The Varsity* put the controversial issue of women

smoking on the front page with a negative portrayal of women who smoked. Headlines declared that "Women Flatly Deny Smoking Charges [and] Men Prefer Non Smoking Women,"⁴⁹ and that smoking was "An Unwomanly Practice."⁵⁰ The double standard is blatantly evident in the discussion; it was acceptable for men to smoke, but for women it was "disgusting and repulsive."⁵¹ It was argued by many of the men that, by smoking, women lowered themselves to the level of a man and thereby lost "one of their chief charms."⁵² Smoking eroded a tradition that viewed women as morally superior because it implied a "promiscuous equality between men and women and was an indication that women could enjoy the same vulgar habits and ultimately also the same vices as men."⁵³ Buried in this article on smoking were some opinions that it was acceptable for women to smoke as long as they did so gracefully. Most of the arguments supporting the equal right of women to smoke were trivialized by their opponents as being shallow.

For American and British women in the twenties, according to Paula Fass, smoking was a symbol of liberation and a way of proclaiming their equal rights with men. Canadian women may have made similar use of smoking. However, there was a fear that women who smoked were crossing the line from the feminine to the masculine and that women were contaminating themselves by smoking. Fass suggests that, because smoking was both morally value laden and sexually suggestive, many of the students and faculty reacted strongly against smoking. While some American students later in the 1920s would reject the idea that some behaviour was worse for women than for men,⁵⁴ the students writing in *The Varsity* in 1920 were, for the most part, vehemently opposed to women smoking.

In 1925, women students were being warned that "[t]oo much intimacy with Lady Nicotine" was a sign of a lack of seriousness in "girl students" and that smoking would put them in danger of failing.⁵⁵ By 1929, the tone of the articles on women smokers was one of resignation. *The Varsity* announced that "Smoking by Women Cannot Be Stopped" and "Man Couldn't Stop Woman From Doing Whatever Heart Dictates." The Methodist Church apparently had suggested that men could coerce women into stopping smoking. Although, the general consensus was that it could not be done, one woman stated that women would give up smoking if all the men made a stand against it. However, she went on to say that it would never happen because the men "could never all make up their minds to make women do anything."⁵⁶ For this student, concerted action by the men would influence her decision to stop smoking, but until then men's opinion could be ignored. In response to a comment by a woman that many smokers were trying to look nonchalant, a male student replied that a woman smoking looked absurd and asked "how can one possibly look superior and nonchalant at the same time, especially if one happens to be a woman?"⁵⁷ In general, women who smoked were treated even less seriously as students than other women.

In the New Year, the issue re-emerged in the midst of a debate over allowing beer to be served on campus. In one letter, a student suggested that a campaign should be launched "against the evil practice of smoking, especially among young women." He suggested that women who smoked were not only unpleasant to kiss, but that they were so immoral that they would easily go beyond simply kissing. This letter spurred others to respond both in support and in opposition. A few letters opposing him questioned the double standard that allowed men to smoke, but not women, and wondered if smoking

really did have an effect on women's morals. Most of the letters, however, referred to the moral influence women had on men and called it women's duty to abstain from smoking.⁵⁸ It would appear from the flurry of letters that women on campus were smoking. Yet, Dr. Edith Gordon, the medical examiner for women at University College,⁵⁹ stated that only twenty five per cent of women students smoked, and that those who did only smoked three cigarettes a day.⁶⁰ A study at Bryn Mawr similarly showed that less than half of their students smoked. However, by 1930 American society seemed to have become more tolerant about women smokers since a smoking room was set aside in the women's dormitory at Bryn Mawr.⁶¹ By the 1929/30 academic year, *The Varsity* was regularly printing cigarette advertisements showing women smoking. Women's smoking was threatening because the entrance of women into one more traditionally male area upset societal norms. But some Canadian university women were nevertheless keen to break this barrier.

Politics and Women Students

The image of women portrayed in *The Varsity* was ambiguous throughout the three periods studied. Leonardi points out that Oxford men, on the one hand, ridiculed female frivolity, and on the other, scorned and feared female seriousness.⁶² In *The Varsity*, the frivolous image of women students as portrayed by discussion of their dress and whether or not they should smoke was often contradicted by the reports of their involvement in political debates. One editorial in 1919 called upon women students to make themselves familiar with the issues of an upcoming referendum and to exercise their right to vote.⁶³ The paper also reported on debates like one held by the Victoria

Women's Literary Society in February 1920 that discussed the topic "Resolved that non-party government is impossible."⁶⁴ Despite the success of the suffragist movement and some women's interest in politics at the beginning of the decade, *The Varsity* still focused attention on women's right to vote in the two later periods of 1924/25 and 1929/30.

The issue resurfaced in the 1929/30 school year when the students debated whether or not women were interested in joining political clubs. The first article that appeared commented that women were not interested enough in politics to sustain their own clubs, so they should join the men's. This was followed by an article that claimed that women were not wanted by the men's political clubs because politics was "foreign to the nature of [the] weaker sex." The women responded by arguing that women were more intelligent than men and could form their own clubs, so there was no reason to worry about whether men would allow them into their clubs. One woman even stated that men did not belong in the Arts and should "stick to business." The students of the Social Science Department, apparently mostly women, responded concretely by forming a Community Club for the discussion of social and political issues.⁶⁵

Mary Vipond has noted the ambivalence in the portrayal of Canadian women in the mass media during this period,⁶⁶ an ambivalence also reflected in *The Varsity*. Despite the many changes that occurred throughout the decade, Vipond argues, Canadians tended to cling to traditional values and institutions. The stereotype continued to be of women who were delicate and morally superior, but who were also easily excited and irrational.⁶⁷ That politics was seen to be base and to require emotional stability therefore precluded women from participating. Women students proved their interest in politics not only by forming their own clubs, but also by travelling great distances in

order to vote in the 1929 elections. Yet, even in the reports that illustrated women's seriousness, there were derogatory comments. For example, a report of women gathered to celebrate the ruling that made women "persons"⁶⁸ contained the comment: "The new ruling has little apparent effect. No one has been found who admits a change in manner of living, appearance, or way of thinking, traceable to the ruling."⁶⁹ This attitude diminished the importance of the ruling in suggesting that women were no better off. The more positive images were thus negated by each disparaging comment that worked to show that women were not fit for the responsibility of enfranchisement. Even if a woman student had entered university full of confidence, the discourse in *The Varsity* may have chipped away at it, bit by bit.

Sports: A New Frontier

One area in which women in the 1920s were overtly resisting the roles defined by discourses such as those found in *The Varsity* was sports. Women and men from all the colleges and faculties took part in a variety of sports. For women, opportunities to play increased dramatically throughout the decade and included teams from tennis to basketball and ice hockey. During the early part of the 1919/1920 year, there was minimal reporting of women's sports. The return of the men students after the war seems to have played a role in the apparent lack of interest in women's sports. An editorial in October, 1919, about the Ladies' Tennis Tournament raised the question of the whereabouts of the women players. From this editorial, it is apparent that the women had filled the void in university sports created by the war by initiating sporting events for women and that these events were both well attended and successful. However, the

return of the men from the war had revived the old system of Varsity athletics and had possibly displaced the women's events. What is not clear is whether there was a conscious effort to exclude the women from participation or if the focus on the revival of the men's activities had simply caused the women's teams to be overlooked. The author of this editorial also set the women against the men to prove that women were as enthusiastic and as dedicated as men, and called for women to prevent the men from taking all the honours. The women quickly responded by joining a variety of teams.

Throughout the reporting on sports in *The Varsity*, the men's teams consistently had larger headlines than the women's. The style and the language of the reports on women's and men's events also varied. On the one hand, the descriptions of the men's games usually focused on the different plays during the game and the manner in which the games were played. The women's reports, on the other hand, focused on physical characteristics and problems faced by the women players. In one issue, the results of both the women's and the men's ice hockey teams were given. The men, who lost due to poor playing, still had big headlines. The women, who had to overcome considerable adversity, won and nevertheless had much smaller headlines.⁷⁰

Despite the sometimes condescending language of these reports and the difficulties the women often faced in finding facilities in which to play and practice, the women's teams persevered at a time when it was still not fully acceptable for women to participate in sports. Stewart has noted that women's participation in sports and athletics was perhaps the most conspicuous challenge to accepted norms of femininity. She also argues that, while the language used to describe women in sports seems to trivialise their accomplishments, it was also a measure of the women's perseverance against the odds.⁷¹

The variety of women's teams and wide participation across the different faculties and colleges illustrates the importance sports had for many of the women students. The women played against teams from other universities, but the most active seem to be the inter-college teams. Even women from the faculty of medicine found time to participate.

Conclusion

The era following the Great War was a time of high expectations, a time when many women appeared to be taking on new roles in public life. Higher education was but one area in which women were making their presence felt. Indeed, one editorial in 1919 claimed that a new era had dawned.⁷² The discourse in *The Varsity* about women's and men's activities can be read to determine not only how women were viewed, but also how women's and men's roles were seen. This discourse reveals the ambiguity that both women and men experienced at the university. It also illustrates that attitudes towards gender roles did not necessarily reflect the new roles that women, at least, were taking on. Despite claims of intellectual inferiority, for example, women continued to study and attend classes. It is important to remember that discourses are constructed by the experiences of those creating them, in this case by the reporters and editors, and that discourses may also construct the experiences of those reading the newspaper. But the experiences of the readers of the student newspapers may also be constructed by their reactions to that discourse. As a result, historians must pay attention to more than simply the content of the discourse. The language used, the context in which discourses were created, and the responses to those discourses all must be questioned. In doing so, the

construction of gender, the power structures of society and the ideologies underlying them are also interrogated.

As sources, student newspapers, such as *The Varsity*, are valuable. But, as with any source, a certain amount of interpretation, contextualization and verification is needed. While some historians, like Axelrod, Fass, and Horowitz, may not agree upon the ultimate value of newspapers as sources, there is a vast amount of information available in student newspapers. Methods of discourse and content analysis allow historians to use the information in *The Varsity* to determine the views of some students as they were articulated in their own era without the re-interpretations that sometimes occur with retrospective accounts. The value of student newspapers, however, is somewhat restricted by the nature of newspapers themselves. The students were required to be self-censoring, to conform to societal norms in order to keep their jobs at *The Varsity*. Thus, the opinions and views contained in the newspaper were working chiefly to perpetuate the norms of mainstream culture and the university authorities. Van Dijk points out that for news to be effective, meanings must be formulated "in such a way that they are not merely understood but also accepted as truth or at least a possible truth."⁷³ The views concerning women's and men's roles and gender relations overall, then, were presented as truth. They were more often overtly contested in letters to the newspaper than within the context of the discourse of *The Varsity* writers and editors. Where contradictions are apparent, the students may have been wrestling with the older views of the university authorities in the context of the newer attitudes towards women's rights. Yet, one wonders if women students could have achieved more if the attitudes represented in the student newspaper, their 'discursive world,' had been more positive.

Endnotes

- ¹ A version of this chapter was originally published as an article, "The Experience of Students in the 'New Era': Discourse and Gender in *The Varsity*, 1919-1929," *Ontario Journal of Higher Education* (1994): 39-56.
- ² Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990): 16.
- ³ *The Varsity*, January 23, 1930.
- ⁴ Paul Axelrod, "Student life in Canadian universities: the lessons of history," *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 20, no. 3 (1990): 26.
- ⁵ A. Bell, *The language of news media* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991); O. Handlin, "Using historical sources," in *Clio's Craft: A primer of historical methods*, ed. T. Crowley (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988): 25-41; G. J. Robinson, "The media and social change: Thirty years of magazine coverage of women and work (1950-1977)," *Atlantis* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1983): 87-111; T. Van Dijk, *News as Discourse* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988).
- ⁶ C. Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1987): 38.
- ⁷ Bell, 214-216.
- ⁸ Barbara Melosh, "Introduction," in *Gender and American History since 1890*, ed. Barbara Melosh, (London: Routledge, 1993): 4-6; Toril Moi, *Sexual/textual politics: Feminist literary theory* (London: Routledge, 1985): 49.
- ⁹ Ruth Pierson, "Experience, difference, dominance and voice in the writing of Canadian women's history," in *Writing Women's History: International Perspectives*, eds. K. Offen, et al., (London: Macmillan, 1991): 94.
- ¹⁰ Joan W. Scott, "Experience," in *Feminists Theorize the Political*, eds. J. Butler and J.W. Scott (New York: Routledge, 1992): 34. For a discussion of Scott's article, see K. Canning, "Feminist History after the linguistic turn: Historicizing discourse and experience," *Signs* (Winter 1994): 368-404.
- ¹¹ Keith Walden, "Hazes, hustles, scraps, and stunts: Initiations at the University of Toronto," in *Youth, University, Canadian Society: Essays in the social history of higher education*, eds. Paul Axelrod and J. G. Reid (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989): 94.
- ¹² *The Varsity*, September 27, 1929.
- ¹³ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate cultures from the end of the eighteenth century to the present* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1987): 303. She argues that Paula Fass' research on American students is distorted because her primary sources, undergraduate newspapers, were largely controlled by fraternity men.
- ¹⁴ Paul Axelrod, "The student movement of the 1930s," in *Youth, University*, eds. Axelrod and Reid, 224.
- ¹⁵ *The Varsity*, January 30, 31 and February 3, 1930.
- ¹⁶ Van Dijk, 81
- ¹⁷ *The Varsity*, November 18, 1924.
- ¹⁸ Lee Stewart, "Women on campus in British Columbia: Strategies for survival, years of war and peace, 1906-1920," in *Not Just Pin Money*, eds. B. K. Latham and R. J. Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984): 186.
- ¹⁹ The University of Toronto *Calendars* listed the prizes and awards won by all the students each year.
- ²⁰ *The Varsity*, December 3, 1919.
- ²¹ *The Varsity*, November 12 and 17, 1924.
- ²² *The Varsity*, December 9, 1929.
- ²³ *The Varsity*, December 10, 1929.
- ²⁴ *The Varsity*, December 12, 1929.
- ²⁵ *The Varsity*, December 12, 1929.
- ²⁶ *The Varsity*, January 20, 1930.
- ²⁷ *The Varsity*, January 21, 1930.
- ²⁸ *The Varsity*, October 18, 1929.

- ²⁹ *The Varsity*, December 12, 1929 and October 30, 1929.
- ³⁰ Sara Delamont, *Knowledgeable Women: Structuralism and the reproduction of the elites* (London: Routledge, 1989): 132.
- ³¹ Delamont, 20.
- ³² Delamont, 75.
- ³³ See above.
- ³⁴ Delamont, 80-82.
- ³⁵ S. J. Leonardi, *Dangerous by Degrees: Women at Oxford and the Somerville College Novelists* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989): 28.
- ³⁶ *The Varsity*, February 13, 1920.
- ³⁷ Nellie L. McClung, *In times like these* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992; originally published 1915): 34.
- ³⁸ Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977): 282.
- ³⁹ *The Varsity*, February 13, 1920.
- ⁴⁰ *The Varsity*, November 19, 1924.
- ⁴¹ *The Varsity*, November 27, 1924.
- ⁴² *The Varsity*, December 16, 19, 1924 and January 8, 1925.
- ⁴³ *The Varsity*, January 12, 1925.
- ⁴⁴ *The Varsity*, January 13, 1925.
- ⁴⁵ University of Toronto Calendar, 1921-22, p. 351. This regulation was written into the Calendar for University College, but none of the other colleges had a similar regulation written in the Calendar. This does not, of course, mean they did not also wear the academic gowns while on campus.
- ⁴⁶ This regulation was in the Announcement for Loretto Abbey College, but not in the University of Toronto Calendar. Announcements, 1922-23 and 1928-29. College, Academic organization & promo/(1), LAA.
- ⁴⁷ M. Jeanette Reddick, "That College Gown," *McMaster University Monthly*, (December, 1922): 100-101.
- ⁴⁸ *The Varsity*, October 1, 1929 and January 20, 1930.
- ⁴⁹ *The Varsity*, March 5, 1920.
- ⁵⁰ *The Varsity*, March 1, 1920.
- ⁵¹ *The Varsity*, March 1, 1920.
- ⁵² *The Varsity*, March 5, 1920.
- ⁵³ Fass, 294.
- ⁵⁴ Delamont, 155; Fass, 293-294, 300.
- ⁵⁵ *The Varsity*, March 10, 1925.
- ⁵⁶ *The Varsity*, November 28, 1929.
- ⁵⁷ *The Varsity*, October 25, 1929.
- ⁵⁸ *The Varsity*, February 27, March 3, 4, 5, 14, 1930.
- ⁵⁹ The colleges and universities often had a medical examiner or advisor for women students. Different women occupied the various positions at each college or university throughout the period.
- ⁶⁰ *The Varsity*, March 5, 1930.
- ⁶¹ M. Schudson, "Women, cigarettes, and advertising in the 1920s: A study in the sociology of consumption," in *Mass Media Between the Wars*, eds. C. L. Covert and J. D. Stevens (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984): 73.
- ⁶² Leonardi, 24.
- ⁶³ *The Varsity*, October 8, 1919.
- ⁶⁴ *The Varsity*, February 4, 1920.
- ⁶⁵ *The Varsity*, October 21, 24, 25 and December 4, 1929.
- ⁶⁶ Mary Vipond, "The image of women in mass circulation magazines in the 1920s," in *The neglected majority: Essays in Canadian women's history*, eds. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977): 116.
- ⁶⁷ Vipond, 122.
- ⁶⁸ In 1929, five feminists from Alberta – Emily Murphy, Irene Parlby, Henrietta Muir Edwards, Nellie McClung, and Louise McKinney - went to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to argue for women to be recognized as "persons" according to the British North America Act and, thus, the right to be appointed to the Canadian Senate. See Veronica Strong-Boag, *The new day recalled: Lives of girls and*

women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1993; originally published 1988): 202.

⁶⁹ *The Varsity*, December 4, 1929.

⁷⁰ *The Varsity*, February 2, 1920.

⁷¹ Lee Stewart, "It's up to you": *Women at UBC in the early years* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990): 117-118; see also, Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, sport and sexuality* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1986); and Helen Gurney, *A Century to Remember: The Story of Women's Sports at the University of Toronto, 1893-1993* (Toronto: the University of Toronto Women's T-Holders' Association, n.d.).

⁷² *The Varsity*, October 3, 1919.

⁷³ Van Dijk, 83.

Chapter 3

The Students and their Studies

The vast majority of students who attended all four universities, Toronto, Queen's, Western and McMaster, were white, English-speaking, Protestant and from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. In terms of religion, a significant number were Roman Catholic or, in smaller numbers, Jewish. The University of Toronto appears to have had a greater mix of students than the other universities, but Queen's, Western and McMaster had their share of students from different religions, classes, ethnicities and nationalities.

In Ontario, at the turn of the century, nineteenth century science supported not only acceptance of gender differences, but also Anglo-Saxon superiority over other races. As a group, white people were believed to have more character than people of colour. Among white people, those of British descent were superior.¹ Ethnic stereotyping affected all aspects of Canadian culture. Efforts to "Canadianize" non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants were strong at the beginning of the twentieth century. Household Science classes in the schools and in the settlement houses, for example, were used to help train young women and girls to become "'real' Canadians [who] ate roast beef and potatoes not spaghetti and tomato sauce."² Among workers, ethnicity caused divisions when efforts were made to create a cohesive labour movement.³ In the universities, Jewish students and students of colour often faced discrimination if they wished to study medicine or

other fields involving contact with members of the public in hospitals or clinics.⁴ Despite the negative atmosphere, a very few students of colour, Jewish students and others enrolled in the universities during this period.

In order to discuss the numbers of women students enrolled at all four universities, their backgrounds, religions, and course of study, I have relied largely on previously published material; primarily, annual reports, presidents' reports, deans' reports, and the like. In addition, I have used theses, books and articles on the history of higher education, such as, A. B. McKillop's *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951*, Charles M. Levi's recent doctoral dissertation on student leaders at Toronto's University College, Paul Axelrod's *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties*, and Paula J. S. LaPierre's thesis on the first generation of Canadian women university students. Levi's thesis is particularly helpful because of his extensive statistical analyses on various aspects of the students involved in University College's literary societies. The intent of my discussion here is to set the background. How many women attended the universities? Where did they come from? Did they travel far to attend? How did they pay for their education? Where did they live? What religious and socio-economic backgrounds did they have? What did they study? What were their future plans? My analysis of these areas is far from complete. A comprehensive statistical database of women students in Ontario was far too large an undertaking for one researcher. Such a database, however, would be invaluable. My reliance on annual and other reports means that the flaws inherent in such reports may be reflected in my use of them. Reporting processes, indeed the items reported, changed over the years, so that in some years the reports provided very interesting breakdowns of, for example, geographical origins.

Some reports differentiated the women from the men, but many others did not. Each university's, and each individual's, reports varied greatly, making comparisons across the universities difficult. In spite of these challenges, I believe that the information provides a good general overview of who the students were.

The Students

The number and percentages of women enrolled at Ontario's universities in the Faculties of Arts and Science increased gradually over the thirty-year period. In Canada as a whole, the percentage of women enrolled in Arts and Science increased from 25% (740) in 1901 to 33% (5,628) in 1930, while the percentage of women attending university (all faculties and departments) increased from 12% to 23% over the same period.⁵ At the University of Toronto, the percentage of women in the Faculty of Arts between 1900 and 1911 rose from approximately 30% (250) to 49% (574). After 1911 and until 1929, the percentages hovered in the mid-40% range, but the numbers rose from 574 to 1,666.⁶ At McMaster between 1899 and 1911, the percentage of women increased from 12% (25) to 28% (64). The percentage of women students at McMaster between 1911 and 1930 hovered around 30% for the most part, but was higher at 40%, in 1916/17.⁷ Statistics for Western are less complete, but in the 1920s the enrolment of women students ranged between 44% in 1920/21 and 47% in 1930/31, with a high of 58% in 1921/22 and a low of 38% in 1924/25.⁸ At Queen's University, the percentage of women students in Arts and Science moved from 37% in 1910/11 to 42% in 1929/30, but reached highs of 50% and 60% during the war years.⁹ These numbers refer mainly to full-time (or intra-mural) women students. However, sometimes the reports did not

differentiate between intra-mural and extra-mural (or part-time, non-credit) students. The numbers may also include women who were taking the Education course, not the Arts and Science, for the same reasons.

At all the universities, the enrolment of men students dropped significantly during the war years. At McMaster, for example, up to April 1, 1916, 41 of a total male registration of 176 (23%) for the 1915-16 year had enlisted. In addition, 11 men from the previous year's registration, 12 former undergraduates and 47 graduates had also joined the war.¹⁰ For women students, this meant that they were no longer in a significant minority position. The percentage of women enrolled at the universities during this period increased dramatically, although the numbers remained quite stable.¹¹ The year 1916/17 was a peak year for the percentage of women students at most universities, with 49% of students women in the Faculty of Arts at Toronto in that year, 40% at McMaster, and 60% at Queen's.¹²

Students tended not to travel very far to attend university. All four universities drew on their local communities, the city in which they were located and the surrounding area, for students. That said, however, some did travel from great distances to attend. Most of the statistics available are not broken down by sex. A 1919/20 comparison of the number of students originating from the cities in which the four Ontario universities were located illustrates that few students travelled from their home city to attend a university in another city. Indeed, no students from Toronto, Kingston or Hamilton attended Western in 1920/21.¹³ Similarly, only one student from Kingston attended the University of Toronto in 1919/20, and none went to the other universities. Forty-five students from Toronto went to Queen's University and seven to McGill University in Montreal.

Twenty-seven London students went to the University of Toronto and three went to McGill. The other city selected, Hamilton, sent eighty-three students to the University of Toronto, six to McGill, twenty to Queen's four to McMaster and none to Western. What this suggests, of course, is that students were more likely to attend the nearest university.

This trend would probably be even more dominant for women students. Between 1895 and 1900, 35% of the women at Queen's came from Kingston, and 40% from Eastern Ontario. A further 21% came from the rest of Ontario.¹⁴ In 1911/12, 30% of women students at Queen's came from Kingston. By 1929/30, this percentage had declined to 19%. This decline was due to a general increase in the number of women students attending the university; the number of women students from Kingston hovered between a low of forty-six in 1916/17 and a high of seventy-nine in 1911/12 and 1927/28. Over the same period, the number of women students at Queen's increased from 187 in 1911/12 to 316 in 1929/30.¹⁵ At Victoria College's Annesley Hall in 1919/20, sixty-nine of the eighty-six women students came from Ontario, with thirteen from other Canadian provinces, two from the United States and one from each of Japan and China. The latter two women were daughters of missionaries.¹⁶ Between 1891 and 1921, about one-third of the officers of University College's Women's Literary Society came from Toronto and the surrounding area. Another 45% came from the rest of Ontario. Five or fewer students came from various places in the rest of Canada or outside Canada.¹⁷

The high number of Women's Undergraduate Association officers born in Toronto continued in the period 1922 to 1958.¹⁸ At University College in 1935, 334 of the 540 women students (or 62%) were residents of Toronto.¹⁹ These students lived at home during the school year. Of the remainder, 141 lived in residence and sixty-five were

living in boarding houses. Some of those boarding lived with relatives and twenty-two stated that they preferred not to live in residence. That eleven women were listed as being Jewish, implies that their religion was the reason they were not living in residence. The poet Miriam Waddington remembered not being allowed to live in the University College residence in the late 1930s because she was Jewish: "Before World War II Jewish girls didn't usually think of living in residences such as Whitney Hall for the simple reason that they would not have been welcome there."²⁰

At the University of Toronto in 1908/09, 33% of the students came from Toronto, with 54% from Ontario and 12% from other places.²¹ These numbers fluctuated within a range of 10% between 1908 and 1931. As the percentage of students from Toronto increased to the mid-40% range, the percentage from the rest of Ontario decreased to the upper-40% and from elsewhere to 9 and 10%. At the University of Western Ontario in the early 1920s, the vast majority came from Western Ontario.²² In 1923/24, for example, 508 of the 639 students came from the immediately surrounding communities.²³

McMaster's students also came from the local community, but it was also more likely to attract students from slightly further afield because of religion. Baptist families may have been more likely to send their children away to their denominational university than to the University of Toronto or elsewhere where no Baptist college existed.²⁴ For the late 1920s at McMaster, we can compare the women with the men in terms of geographical origins. In 1926/27, 90% of the women students and 92% of the men came from Ontario and Quebec. These percentages remained fairly consistent for the following two years, thus reinforcing the view that regional universities allowed local students the opportunity to attend university. Axelrod also found the tendency for students to attend

university close to home for the 1930s. In 1934-35, four-fifths of the students in Ontario and Quebec stayed in their home provinces. In Western Canada, this trend was much more pronounced with more than nine-tenths staying close to home.²⁵

Very little information has been found regarding students of colour. Most of the very few students of colour seem to have come to Canada from mission schools. Most of those who did attend university were men. Reactions to students of colour were mixed. None of the universities seem to have excluded them outright, but nor were they welcoming. Where such students were encouraged to attend, it seems to have been only if they were enrolling in programs that did not have the practicum-type components that medicine and physiotherapy did. Students of colour were also not welcomed in the residences and fraternities.²⁶ The American women's colleges were similarly unwelcoming to Black women. Only one college, Wellesley, stated that it did not discriminate in admittance or housing. This did not mean that all professors felt this way. When Black students could not find housing at Smith College, for example, the Greek professor, Julia Caverno, would take them into her home.²⁷ I found no examples of this kind of generosity in the Ontario universities. This is most certainly an area that needs more systematic research.

At the University of Western Ontario in the early 1920s, an application to the medical school was received from a male student in Burma. The initial response from the Dean of Arts, W. Sherwood Fox, was encouraging: "We hope earnestly that it will be possible for us to be of real assistance to you. I am sure that you would be very much happier in Canada as part of the British Empire than in the United States."²⁸ A few months later, the Acting Head of the Faculty of Medicine, Dr. P.S. McKibben, wrote to

Fox to say that they must take into consideration the colour of the student's skin:

"although he might get along very well in our laboratories he might find the situation difficult with the work in the wards on account of his colour."²⁹ McKibben went on to say that this was a problem constantly encountered with the students from the British West Indies and should be avoided, if possible. Although the fate of the student is unclear, Dean Fox wrote to several other Canadian universities to see if they would take him on as a medical student, but all declined.³⁰ His final suggestion was for the student to take a science course instead of medicine, thus avoiding the problem of working on the hospital wards. Despite the rejection of the student from Burma, Western did enroll another male student of colour. He, however, planned to go to the United States to complete his medical studies.³¹ Attitudes such as these were not uncommon at all of the universities.

The only woman student of colour about whom I found any documents attended Trinity College, with her brother, in 1905. The only reason that there is any written evidence about these students is because someone (apparently a fellow student), Miss Millie Bennett, wrote to the Provost of Trinity College, Rev. T.C. Street Macklem, to complain about Miss M. A. Burgess' presence in the residence.³² To his credit, Macklem refused to consider asking Miss Burgess to leave the residence after being admitted. However, he did admit that had he known that the sister and brother were "coloured," he probably would not have accepted their applications for residence in St. Hilda's College and Trinity College. There was evidently no indication on their applications that they were not white, nor did their testimonials make reference to it. Macklem states:

In the first place then let me say that if I had known that Mr. and Miss Burgess were coloured before I enrolled them as undergraduates, it is not at all likely that I

would have accepted their applications for residence in Trinity College and St. Hilda's College respectively. [...] I knew nothing of the colour of Miss Burgess until after I had accepted her as a resident student of St. Hilda's College. I had admitted her on the strength of the best possible testimonials as to her character etc. from the Clergyman of the Parish, and the Bishop of the Diocese, where she lives. I may add that I knew her also to be a barrister's daughter. As to intellectual requirements, she forwarded to me school certificates which were satisfactory. In a word Miss Burgess, apart from the single question of colour into which I did not inquire [sic], satisfied all the requirements with which we are careful to safeguard admission to our residences.³³

Macklem went on to describe in detail the reasons why they could not now ask her to leave. The elaborate rationalizations make them worth quoting at length.

Now, as I need hardly remind you, it is not consistent with principles of British justice, or with the teachings of our Christian religion, to make any person suffer persecution on account of his [sic] colour. Equal rights are by British law accorded to, and by the teachings of the Bible demanded for, all persons alike irrespective of colour. Miss Burgess having been admitted to residence in a country where the Union Jack waves as the symbol of these British rights, and in an institution which exists for the exercise and inculcation of the principles and teachings of the Christian religion, is clearly entitled to claim exemption from any discrimination against herself on the ground of colour. If she should prove herself in other respects unworthy of the privilege of residence in St. Hilda's College, she will doubtless be required to leave the College, as others not of her colour have been required to do before her, and as others of whatsoever colour may be required to do in the future. But if the only charge is that she is coloured, it is not at all likely that she will be asked to leave. If any of her fellow Collegians do not wish to remain there with her they are at liberty to withdraw when they will. I venture to hope, however, that no member of the College will be so unmindful of the foundation on which it is erected, and of the obligations of the Christian religion which all of us here profess, as to deny the truth of the equality of all persons in Christ Jesus, or the principles of justice as interpreted and declared by British law.

From the foregoing remarks I think you will readily see that I for one am not at all likely to recommend that Miss Burgess be required to leave St. Hilda's, and as far as I know all the authorities of the College feel as I do in the matter. Of course if Miss Burgess should desire to leave of her own free will, that is another matter. But this would be an evasion rather than a solution of the problem. What I would much rather see, is the frank acknowledgement of the principles referred to above all by the students, and their consequent acceptance of the present situation.³⁴

Macklem used a two pronged attack in making his arguments for not asking Burgess to

leave. Macklem drew on both British law and Christian principles, thereby making it very difficult for an alternative argument to be made. In spite of his case for allowing Burgess to continue to live at St. Hilda's College, it does not seem likely that Macklem would have used these arguments to admit Burgess to the women's residence in the first place had he known that she was Black. While her brother, Wilmot Amos Burgess, graduated from the general course in 1908, after her first year Miss Burgess became an occasional student and continued her education at Trinity until 1910.³⁵

The University of Toronto probably had the greatest mix of students from different cultures and religions. In 1921, for example, there were about fifteen Japanese students who organized a Japanese Students' Club.³⁶ In 1930, a *Varsity* report stated that the seven Japanese students at the university had met to revive the club that had been dormant for the previous year.³⁷ Jewish students received much more attention. In 1929, A. B. Fennel, the Acting Registrar, reported to the President of the university that there was a total of 413 Jewish students (female and male) registered at the University of Toronto. In the Faculty of Arts, there were 188 Jewish students, with 186 of these at University College and two at Victoria College. The next highest was at the Faculty of Medicine with 118 registered. Dentistry, Applied Science and Pharmacy followed with 32, 23, and 22 respectively. Only three Jewish students were registered in the Faculty of Household Science and four in Social Science. There were also twelve students registered in graduate studies and eight in the Department of Extension.³⁸ At University College in 1935, there were only 11 Jewish women registered as students.³⁹

Jewish students seemed to have faced similar types of discrimination as Black students. A 1931 letter from the Director of the Department of Extension and Publicity to

the President outlined concerns about having a Jewish woman enrolled in the Physiotherapy course. In the previous year, there had been one Jewish student in the course who did massage work on patients at the Toronto General Hospital with only a few patients refusing to have her work on them. With four Jewish students enrolled in their first year in 1931, Dunlop wrote that there had been "an intimation from the Head of Physiotherapy that there may be trouble ahead [as] Jewesses [sic] are not accepted as nurses-in-training and she fears that if Miss Gunn notices these Jewish students, the rule against Jewesses [sic] in the Hospital will be enforced."⁴⁰ Dunlop asked the President's advice since, he stated, he could not refuse to accept Jewish students if they met the entrance requirements, but if they could not go into the Hospital, they could not do the course work. This restriction against Jews in the hospital seems to have been only applied to the women since there had been over one hundred Jewish students registered in the Faculty of Medicine only two years previously.

In their study of medical students at the University of Toronto, R. D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar found that between 1910 and 1932, 22 Jewish women and 351 Jewish men applied to the Faculty of Medicine.⁴¹ These students came largely from the business and working classes – merchants (ranging from peddlers to storeowners), tailors, artisans, and so on. Prior to the First World War, most Jewish medical students were immigrants. By 1920, 29 per cent listed Toronto as their place of birth; in 1925, 58 per cent; and in 1932, 73 per cent.⁴² Although these details are about medical students at the University of Toronto, it is likely that they also pertain to Jewish students in the other faculties. Overt anti-Semitism came into play once quota restrictions were introduced. Quota policies restricting the admission of Jewish students were first introduced by McGill in 1924/25.⁴³

Other universities followed suit in the 1930s and later. Although formal restrictions were not used at Ontario universities during this period, informal ones were clearly used against individual students.

Students at the four Ontario universities were largely from Protestant backgrounds. When the Catholic women's colleges opened at Western and Toronto, Catholic students may have felt more welcomed and encouraged to attend. All the universities and colleges had denominational roots even though most eventually severed their ties with their respective churches. As a result, the majority of students came from the denominations affiliated with the college or university they attended. Hence, in 1919/20, Annesley Hall, the women's residence for the Methodist Victoria College, housed 74 Methodist students, eight Anglicans and four Presbyterians. Axelrod found for the 1930s that students' religious affiliations mirrored that of English Canadian society as a whole, with the exceptions of Jews and members of the United Church who were represented in the universities beyond their proportionate representation in the population. Although students from various religious denominations were enrolled at all the universities, Christian students from middle-class backgrounds predominated.⁴⁴ The issue of religion and women students is discussed more fully in chapter six.

That women students came from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds is clear from a number of pieces of evidence. There is little written by the students themselves that talk about their struggles to attain the education they desired. Some women seem to have taken their opportunity for a university education quite for granted. Others, however, worked throughout the summers, took time off to teach for several years and earn the money to return, or received loans to help make ends meet. Between 1895 and

1900 at Queen's University, 68% of women students had fathers in higher status occupations, as compared with 48% of the men. Fewer women were from farming and working class families. Marks and Gaffield hypothesize that less affluent families were more likely to send their sons than their daughters to university. For the more well-to-do families, it was less of a hardship to send their daughters as well as their sons.⁴⁵ For the 1935/36 academic year, Axelrod found that students' fathers tended to work at more prestigious jobs, classed as professional, than what was represented in the population as a whole. Although these students were relatively privileged, they were not necessarily affluent. Students were largely from modest middle-class backgrounds.⁴⁶ Axelrod discusses the difficulties inherent in trying to categorize class backgrounds based on occupation. For example, the daughter of a farmer could well be more affluent than the daughter of a storeowner or merchant. Ministers' and teachers' daughters, who made up a significant proportion of the student body, were very often less well off than other students. This trend seems to hold true for the earlier period as well. Students living at Victoria's Annesley Hall in 1919/20, came largely from families with commercial and professional backgrounds.⁴⁷ Most women students seem to have come from somewhat more affluent families than their male colleagues.⁴⁸ However, it is clear from the establishment of loan funds that this was not the case for all women students.

University College in Toronto maintained a loan fund for their women students in the 1920s. Established by Margaret Wrong in 1920 with two contributions of \$500 each from Mr. Hume Blake and Mrs. H. D. Warren, loans of \$100 or less were made to 38 women students between 1928 and 1950. When Mrs. Warren made her donation to the fund, she wrote that she could not promise to make a similar donation every year. She

went on to say that although she felt the funds given to the students should be called a loan, she thought "it should be very indefinite, as girls who avail themselves of it may, in all probability, marry before they have an opportunity of paying the whole or any part thereof, and it would be a pity to mortgage the future of a young couple for the education expenses of one of them – Don't you think!"⁴⁹ Her odd concern, based on her heterosexist and sexist assumptions, seems misplaced. One might expect that a married couple could more easily repay a loan than a single woman could at that time. Concerns about repayment were unwarranted, since by 1950, thirty-three of the thirty-eight loans had been repaid in full, four were current and outstanding, and only one was long overdue.

Applications for the 1929 War Memorial Scholarships in the Ontario College of Education also provide interesting details about the financial needs of two women students. Born in 1888 in London, Ontario, Mrs. Pearl Beatrice McNiven graduated from Victoria College in Moderns in 1911. Her husband had graduated from the School of Practical Science in 1910 and enlisted in 1916. After being in France for eighteen months, he was wounded. He died in 1928, leaving his wife with three children and her mother dependent on her. She required the scholarship in order to attend the College of Education, planning to teach High School. McNiven's application was at the top of Dean Thomas Pakenham's list of recommendations.⁵⁰ The second woman recommended by Pakenham was Catherine E. Burch whose father had been killed in action in 1917. Born in 1907 in Winnipeg, Burch had received her B.A. in 1928 at the University of Manitoba. Her mother and two younger brothers were dependent on her earnings.⁵¹ These two cases illustrate that after receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree, these women felt their best career option was teaching.

The Victoria College Women's Association maintained a scholarship fund for students living in residence. The amounts given any one individual ranged between a high of \$82.00 and a low of \$5.00, with very few going above \$50.00. Between 1903-04 and 1909-10, a total of 72 women received a scholarship.⁵² These students were often daughters of ministers or missionaries needing support. In 1909-10, five women were daughters of Methodist ministers, while one student was "helping herself through."⁵³ In 1911, four recipients were teachers, with the remainder apparently daughters of ministers. In 1927-28, seven daughters of missionaries, two from India, one from Korea and four from Japan were recipients of loans. Seven others were daughters of ministers on small circuits and one was listed as a "needy student." Two, however, were foreign students: a Japanese student and an "Indian student from Madras."⁵⁴ The fact that these students were given a scholarship does not necessarily mean they did not face racism at the college. Their education may have been seen as further spreading Christianity to the "savage" nations and as aiding in other missionary endeavours.

While some students like Catherine Burch and other women students needed to help support younger siblings, other students received the support of older siblings.

Elizabeth Laird wrote to her brother, George, during her graduate studies in Germany:

I thank you for your generous offer, it makes me feel less of a stranger in a strange land when I realize what good friends I have in you and Annie, and this time I appreciate your kindness the more because of your sacrifice last fall. I have had it on my conscience ever since, and especially when I made my trip and thought of what you missed for lack of time. In this case however it is not necessary, for my fellowship money will keep me here the full year and pay the traveling expenses of one way, so that between my own income for this and the coming year I could stay almost another twelvemonth [sic] without encroaching on even the small savings I made at Whitby.⁵⁵

Elizabeth Laird received support, both financial and moral, from her siblings. George, a

professor of physics and chemistry at the University of Manitoba, provided some financial support for Elizabeth's graduate studies and accompanied her to Europe to help her get settled. Annie, who later became head of the University of Toronto's Faculty of Household Science, stayed at home to care for their younger brother, James. Elizabeth herself had taken time away from her schooling to care for James while Annie continued her education. After being excluded in 1896 from receiving a scholarship (University of Toronto's 1851 Exhibition Scholarship) for graduate studies abroad because she was a woman, Elizabeth worked at Ontario Ladies' College in Whitby in order to save for graduate school at Bryn Mawr in the United States where she received a fellowship in physics. Elizabeth went on to have a long career in physics at Mount Holyoke College in the United States and, from 1940 to 1953, at the University of Western Ontario.⁵⁶

Some students, like Florence Richardson Mooney, did not have to work their way through university. Mooney was fully supported by her parents. Indeed, her father refused to let her work during the summer even when she wanted to. Mooney was expected to help her mother at home with younger siblings.⁵⁷ Some students such as Harold A. Innis attempted to support themselves, but had to turn to their families for additional assistance. Innis wrote in an undated autobiographical essay that when he first went to McMaster University in 1912, he attempted to meet all the costs from his own savings from teaching. He quickly found, however, that his savings were insufficient to meet all the costs and had to severely ration his food.⁵⁸ By the second term, he had lost so much weight that he had to turn to his parents in order to complete the year.

Innis was fortunate that he was able to turn to his family for support. Not all students were able to. Caroline Blampin, an instructor for one year at the University of

Western Ontario, wrote a long letter to Dean Fox describing her struggles to continue her education in response to her dismissal as an instructor.

My parents supported me until the end of my first year in High School. [...] After this year my parents were obliged to withdraw their support and since that time I have looked after myself. At first I taught a few months, then entered the Normal School for the training of teachers for a 4-mos. course. I led the class, won the governor's medal and displayed, according to the report, unusual ability for teaching. I was now 17 years old.

I then taught one year and returned to the Normal entering the Model School Class. This course presupposes matriculation or its near equivalent. My previous record at the Normal gave me entrance to this class. The work was, of course, much in advance of my preparation but I was able to keep up. I found out that by taking extra Latin and Greek and 75% in the examination one could gain entrance to McGill University. I did this, (taking 88% on the whole) reading two extra Latin Books and one Bk [sic] of Xenophon, and so gained my entrance to College and a small scholarship, tenable for two years. (I may mention here, not to spare yourself nor myself the horrible details, that my one year teaching had not financed me very efficiently for this 9-months' course in the Model School class. I calculated that if I lived on one meal per day, and a frugal meal at that, my funds would suffice. This I did and my money just lasted out. The only disturbing element being that I grew to faint away quite frequently).

I mention that my scholarship was tenable for two years. I therefore taught school one year and entered McGill University the following year. I considered myself the luckiest and happiest person on earth. My preparation was such that I could take only the General Courses. [...] Again I was financially doomed to one meal a day – a trivial detail – but owing to it I began to give way and during the last part of the Session I borrowed some money and thereafter indulged in two meals per day. [...] ⁵⁹

Blampin continued to describe her story, outlining the breaks in her education to teach and earn money to return, then to support younger siblings who also wished to attend university. Through these years she continued to study, eventually took her M.A. at McGill University, worked for year at Western as a physics instructor before leaving to study during the summer in New York. While it is not clear exactly why Blampin was dismissed from Western, it seems her teaching skills were not up to par.⁶⁰ Two weeks later she was replaced by Willena Foster (M.A., Toronto). Blampin's written response to her dismissal was very outspoken and provides much information about her education and

life. Another student who was short of funds was Sister St. Michael Guinan (Winnifred Guinan), one of the first students at Brescia College. She was only able to attend university because she received scholarships from both Brescia and Western. Even with this support, she still had to teach music all day Saturday and Wednesdays from 3:30 p.m. to 9 p.m. in order to make ends meet.⁶¹

At British universities, the backgrounds of the students varied depending on the university they attended. The older Oxford, Cambridge and London universities were more likely to attract students from the upper or professional classes than were the newer civic universities. Julie Gibert found that of a group of 224 women who attended the universities and colleges in Manchester, Bristol and Birmingham between 1877 and 1907, most had fathers in the "semi-professions" or who were manufacturers or merchants (27% and 31 % respectively). Another 18% had fathers in the professional or upper classes, 16% who were skilled workers and tradesmen, and 8% classified as working class.⁶² At Oxford's women's colleges, of the 959 women who attended between 1881 and 1913, 52% of students' fathers were classified as professional or upper class, 4% as semi-professional, 22% as manufacturers and merchants and 3% as skilled workers and tradesmen (19% was not known). Although it is difficult to compare Canadian and British student backgrounds, these numbers suggest that Canadian universities were more like the civic universities than the older Oxford, Cambridge and London universities.

In the United States, the number of women enrolled in universities was much higher than in Canada. The situation in the United States was much different because of the larger population overall and because women had the option of attending either coeducational or separate women's colleges. There were many more colleges and

universities for American women to attend than women in Canada. Lynn Gordon argues that between 1890 and 1920, coeducation was the fastest growing segment in higher education. The percentage of women enrolled in institutions of higher learning who attended coed universities increased from 70.1% in 1889/90 to 82.9% in 1929/30.⁶³

Their Studies

At all four universities, women typically enrolled in the Arts and Science Colleges or Faculties from the time they were first admitted. While women students studied a wide range of subjects, the vast majority attending university in this period took Arts courses – languages, English, history, and the like. Additional programs of study were added throughout the first thirty years of the twentieth century. Several of these new courses were aimed directly at women: household science, nursing, dental hygiene, hygiene and public health nursing. Other courses, such as social work, quickly became popular among women even though they were not purposefully created to attract women. Several women took classes in physics, mathematics, chemistry, and the other sciences. A tradition of women in science clearly existed,⁶⁴ but relatively few studied science between 1900 and 1930. As the number of women students increased over the thirty-year period, concern over the preponderance of women in certain courses spawned comments that women were driving the men out. Indeed, women were believed to dominate courses such as modern languages⁶⁵ and education to such a degree that university officials commented frequently on the matter. In 1922, the French professor at McMaster commented in his annual report that "the study of languages is considered by students as suitable only for women."⁶⁶ The number of McMaster's men students studying French

declined to zero in the upper year courses. Susan N. Bayley and Donna Yavorsky Ronish argue that classics as a subject was seen as "masculine" while modern languages was "feminine." Modern languages had long been a part of female education with the ability to speak foreign languages seen as an accomplishment. After 1860, educational reform marked the transition of modern languages to become academic subjects in a liberal curriculum.⁶⁷ Education was also seen as becoming dominated by women. In 1926, the president of the University of Toronto, Robert Falconer, stated that although there was a need for women teachers, "teaching must be attractive enough to retain a proper proportion of men in its ranks."⁶⁸ Comments such as these worked to discourage women from attending university. If women did not take up so much space in the arts classes, they suggested, men would be more inclined to take those courses. There were few places where women were really welcomed and that was in the "women's" courses like household science and nursing.

Women students composed a large part of the student body in the Western Arts Department. Few women enrolled in courses outside of the Arts Department at Western and the so-called 'women's courses' were not introduced until the 1920s. Nursing was introduced in 1924, the secretarial course in 1926, and domestic science, the epitome of 'women's courses', in 1936.⁶⁹ Brescia College, the affiliated Catholic women's college, introduced Home Economics in 1936. Within the Arts Department, women students took the same courses as the men, although women tended to choose language courses rather than sciences. For example, in 1929, over 30% of the women students had enrolled in modern languages. In the same year, 28% of the women students had taken the General Course, 16% had taken Honours English and history, and 12% secretarial science. The

remaining 12% had taken Honours biology, science, or classics.⁷⁰ In other years, of course, some women had enrolled in courses such as mathematics and economics and in graduate programs. In 1904, Jessie Rowat, for example, was described in the student newspaper as having enrolled in advanced courses without blinking an eye, and in 1905, as being brilliant at math and prose, while still having a proclivity for fun and being the 'boss' of the women students' room.⁷¹ In 1916, Lily Bell (B.A. 1915) wrote an article for the *Western University Gazette* describing her graduate research work on early Canadian literature undertaken during a summer spent at the National Archives in Ottawa.⁷² In the 1924 yearbook, Mary Routledge was described as courageous for "being the only girl in the economics course."⁷³ In general, women and men students attended the same classes, with the exception of physical education and of some classes at Ursuline (later Brescia) College after its affiliation in 1919.

At the University of Toronto, the trend was no different. In 1908/09, 50% of the women students at the three denominational colleges accepting women (Victoria, Trinity and University) were taking Honour Arts courses. A third were taking the general courses and between three and seven percent were enrolled in science classes. Victoria had the highest number enrolled in household science at 10%, while U.C. and Trinity had five and one per cent respectively. By 1917/18, the percentages enrolled in Arts classes had dropped to about one-third at all of the colleges, including St. Michael's which had begun accepting women in 1911 through St. Joseph's and Loretto Abbey College. For the most part, the change seems to be due to an increase in enrollment in household science. Victoria still had the highest percentage in that department with 30% enrolled. University College followed with an increased enrollment from 5% in 1908/09 to 21% in 1917/18.

Only nine percent of Trinity women students took domestic science and two per cent of St. Michael's (Loretto and St. Joseph's College) women.⁷⁴ Women at St. Michael's College, however, were more likely to take the General Course (separate from the men) than women at the other colleges.

At Queen's and McMaster, well over half of the women attending were enrolled in Arts courses in the 1920s.⁷⁵ At McMaster in 1924/25 and 1925/26, just under a third of the women took science courses. At Queen's in 1925/26 and 1926/27, much fewer women took sciences with only 11%. At McMaster, several women took theology courses instead of sciences or arts. At Queen's, several took commerce. Neither offered household science as an option.

A small number of women students entered the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Toronto in these years. Gidney and Millar have found that from one woman in 1910, the numbers slowly increased: five in 1911; ten in 1914; thirty in 1918. The peak in 1918 was not reached again until the mid-1940s.⁷⁶ Prior to 1930, there were no formal quotas for either women or ethnic minorities, but informal ones kept the numbers low. Women entering medical studies, Gidney and Millar argue, came largely from the professional and business classes, with less than ten per cent from the working class until the 1940s.⁷⁷

Women attending the University of Toronto after 1904 had the option of taking the household science course at the Lillian Massey School instead of Arts and Science. The standard view was that this program was the most appropriate one for women students. That not all students agreed is clear from the numbers who enrolled, but also in the changes in curriculum over the years. By 1913, for example, a new course of

"Physiology and Household Science" was introduced, composed of fewer General Arts subjects and more science. This course had been added in order to meet the needs of students who were considering Honour science rather than Honour household science.⁷⁸

There was indeed overlap in the household science and Honour science courses as evidenced by the use of the same questions on the exams, but the view that household science was not "real" science persisted. Household science may have seemed too familiar for many students and faculty to see it as being elevated to a scientific level.⁷⁹ At Queen's University in 1917, Wilhelmina Gordon wrote a report on the possibility of introducing household science as part of the Bachelor of Arts course. While she agreed that it was "useful and necessary" for every woman to know something of household science, she believed it would be unfair to both the B.A. and domestic science courses to introduce it into "a distinctly arts course." She argued that they should be encouraging girls in "intellectual adventure" rather than focussing on subjects of apparently immediate value or use:

Political Science and History are more necessary than ever for women now, when they have the opportunity of taking an active part of political life. And to train the mind and broaden outlook we need Philosophy and languages, Classic and modern.⁸⁰

Gordon's view is clearly that domestic or household science should be considered a technical course, not one that would lead to a degree. Although she repeats her claim that domestic science was important, she felt that it really only warranted a one-year, post-B.A. course, like the education program. McMaster University did not have a domestic science program during the years under study⁸¹ and Western's Brescia College introduced it only in 1936. Western's Dean of Women, Ruby Mason, was uninterested in promoting

the new women's courses such as domestic science. Mason instead argued for funds for laboratory equipment, scholarships for scientific research, and for the exchange of graduate women students between the University of Western Ontario and "the great universities both in America and abroad."⁸²

From the students' point of view, feelings about domestic science were mixed. While some, such as Edna Park, were enthusiastic about entering the household science program, others were decidedly not. Edna Park chose to enter household science over the objections of her father who wanted both Edna and her sister to take a full Arts course in English and history or moderns. Influenced by Lillian Massey-Treble's work, Park and her sister felt household science would be "the most wonderful course" and so won out over their father.⁸³ The two sisters may have insisted on this course because "they like[d] science" and their father was encouraging them into an Arts program. Edna Park went on to become an instructor, and by 1946 (27 years later), associate professor in the Faculty of Household Science, while her sister Ruth had a career as a dietitian. Yet, Kerrie Kennedy found that women who might otherwise have gone into science were being deflected into household science.⁸⁴ That many women students did not wholeheartedly embrace household science is evidenced by the lower number of women enrolled in it during these years, as compared to arts courses. In Canada in 1911, less than 20% of all women at university were enrolled in household science. In 1920, that percentage dropped to less than three percent and to less than nine percent in 1930.⁸⁵

Once settled into the routine of classes and studying, the women students were not hesitant to voice their opinions on the programs offered and the work assigned. A Western student, Helen R. Harvey, for example, wrote to President Braithwaite in 1916

that the work in the English and history course with the moderns option was much too heavy. The gist of the argument was that too much time was spent on French and German, rather than on the English and history in which they were meant to be specializing. Harvey reminded President Braithwaite that the University of Toronto had changed their course so that there was less French and German and argued strenuously that Western make similar changes. Although previous students had completed the course, she felt that they were unable to do as good a job as possible and said "[w]e also know how near they were to physical breakdown."⁸⁶ Braithwaite's reply stated that the matter had been presented to the Faculty and a committee had been appointed to investigate it.⁸⁷ In 1917, Blanche Tancock's English professor, A. Buckley, wrote on her behalf recommending that she not be required to take mathematics. Buckley stated that Tancock was "the most brilliant student" in his English class, but that she was not planning on continuing at the university because she said "she has no use for mathematics & isn't going to waste her time on the subject [sic]."⁸⁸ As proof of her ability, Buckley stated that there was "something more than memory work" in her papers: "There are thought, native judgement, a marvellous instinct for the right word – for the fine art of expression & emotional color."⁸⁹ He felt that the time was approaching that mathematics would be made optional and believed that it was now time to raise the issue. The remainder of his letter focussed on the work of his other students, of whom the six women and one man were doing excellent work, especially Miss Wrighton, who, he said, had "brain power." The theological students, however, seemed "short of grey matter."⁹⁰ Tancock went on to complete her degree, although it is not known if she was exempted from mathematics. She became very involved in student activities, writing for the student

newspaper and participating in plays. In 1921, Tancock petitioned for credit to be given for some of her extra-curricular writing. She asked that she be given credit in some or all of several course essays for "the constructive work she [was] doing in college journalism."⁹¹ Although the results of her petition are not known, it is likely she received some credit since she had the support of several of her professors.

Women students consistently won awards and prizes for their academic achievements. Some were even the valedictorians for their year. At Western in 1904, for example, both of the two women graduates won awards for highest average throughout the course and for general proficiency.⁹² Several women at Western became valedictorians. In 1903, Bessie Graves was Western's second woman valedictorian. In her speech, Graves called for a women's gymnasium and encouraged both undergraduates and graduates to maintain a loyalty to the university.⁹³ Three years later, the valedictorian was Jessie Rowat, followed the next year by a Miss Ovens.⁹⁴ This trend continued into the 1920s, when Eunice Moorhouse was valedictorian in 1925, and Helen L. Clarke in 1927.⁹⁵ In 1929, two University of Toronto students, Charlotte L. Dinnick and Nora M. Doran, tied for the history department's Armstrong Scholarship. The examiners wrote that the general standard of the examinations was higher than the previous year and that Dinnick and Doran stood out above the others. They recommended that "since each of them handed in papers of high quality and neither was noticeably better than the other, the prize be divided equally between them."⁹⁶

Not all students, however, were academically successful. At Western in the 1920s, extensive reports on student progress, especially for first year students, were kept. These reports provide some insight into how women students were perceived

academically, as well as how they behaved in class. Mary Turner, a third year Brescia student, was reported as being a mediocre student, but she was also "very destructive on laboratory apparatus, the cost of which has probably by now exceeded her laboratory deposit."⁹⁷ Isabel Marshall drew the ire of the outspoken chemistry professor, Gunton, who asked that she withdraw from the course. On March 27, 1925, Gunton reported: "there [was] no possibility of her passing [Chemistry 11]. She has probably had poor preparation and makes no effort to improve this lack. Her attitude of inattention has been very annoying and has disturbed the other members of the class." Four days later, Professor Gunton sent a memo to Dean Fox stating: "She has caused Mr. Russell a great deal of annoyance in his laboratory section by her frivolous actions and inattention to the work at hand. She was absent from the recent test. We will appreciate having her removed from the course for it will have a very beneficial effect on the other women members of the class."⁹⁸ On April 2, 1925, Dean Fox wrote to Professor Gunton stating that he had asked Marshall to withdraw from Chemistry 11.⁹⁹

The supposed influence women had upon each other was a concern expressed by other members of Western's faculty. Three students in 1925, Helen Myrick, Helen Benson, and Miriam Smith, prompted such comments in their reports. Helen Myrick was considered to be "clever enough," but if the German instructor did not keep at her to work, he felt she would do nothing. The instructor, R.A. Allen bluntly stated at the conclusion of Myrick's report: "unless she grows up and steals or borrows a few serious ideas she is not the type we want in the upper years. At present she seems to be only a frivolous, irresponsible child."¹⁰⁰ On Helen Benson's report, Allen commented that she was in the same class as Helen Myrick, noting that she seemed clever and might have

more sense, but stated that she gives no proof of it. He went on to say: "The trouble with them is not a lack of ability but not one of them gives any sign of having the remotest conception of study as a serious thing."¹⁰¹ Dean Fox even went as far as writing to T.C. Benson, presumably her father, stating that he had to warn her "that unless she and one or two of her constant associates radically change their attitude towards their work in German 100 and French 100, their honor subjects, they will be asked at the end of the year to transfer to general course."¹⁰²

Miriam Smith was reported as being "a little cleverer than Helen Myrick and looks as if she might have more sense."¹⁰³ Allen repeated his comments from the other two reports. These negative reports might be seen as being biased, since other reports like Smith's from Dr. Kingston's mathematics class were good. It is possible that the three students simply did not get along with their German instructor, that Allen was biased against them because they were women, or that they were ill-prepared for university. However, all three students' reports for their French class were also negative. The instructor, Mrs. Méras reported that they were all casual in their work and unprepared for class. Helen Benson's completion of the course was even noted as "doubtful." Méras stated: "Her attitude toward her work has been nonchalant and careless since the last warning, and I have one clear instance of copying a prose paper from someone else. She has been almost insolently indifferent when I talked it over with her."¹⁰⁴ It certainly seems as if these three students were not the serious students that one might hope for.

Few of the other reports contain the amount of detail collected on Benson, Myrick and Smith. Isabel Butler, was noted as being "under the influence of Miss Cowley and has not been working."¹⁰⁵ All but her mathematics report, where she had received 76% on a

test, were also negative, with Professor Gunton stating in a separate memo: "Likely to fail; shiftless; notebook not in regularly; cuts lab; exam 46."¹⁰⁶ Professor Gunton reported that Margaret Cowley "[w]ill probably pass. We will rejoice."¹⁰⁷ Cowley had earlier had some very mixed reports, doing well in math, library science and public speaking, but likely to fail Latin and chemistry. Indeed, she eventually withdrew from Chemistry 11, which must have pleased Gunton no end. Professor Gunton also commented forcefully on Aileen Anderson's progress: "She made an average of 50 on the first term's work and we will duplicate it on the second term's work if she will promise never to come inside the department again. Want to get rid of her."¹⁰⁸ Anderson was also doing poorly in physics, "lacks concentration" and "[l]ets her working partner do all the work," and geology, "always late."¹⁰⁹

Although few of the professors were as outspoken as Dr. Gunton, others did make similar comments. Dr. Neville, the Latin professor, described Ione Gatfield as "boy crazy" and Kathleen Yeates as a "scatter brain – nervous, high strung."¹¹⁰ It is important to note that these were only a few of the first year students, who may not have been adequately prepared for university level studies and who may have been living away from home for the first time. These students' views on their course work are not available.

There is significantly less similar information on students at McMaster University. In 1901, however, the French instructor, M. S. Clark reported that of the four students in his fourth year class, the two women, Miss McLaurin and Miss Clemens, "were out of sight ahead of [the men]." In spite of this, he felt that neither of them had worked as hard as he had expected.¹¹¹ In 1924-25, the Physics instructor, H.F. Dawes, reported that he was "more than pleased" with his students and mentioned in particular two, both women,

Miss Currey and Miss Clarke, who had done exceptionally well.¹¹² These comments stand out because very few reports directly mention individual students; most comment about each class in general.

At Queen's University, although reports were made on the students who were failing, they were not made in the same anecdotal and outspoken way as at Western. In February 1912, the Committee on Failures reported to the Senate that in 1909-10, 94 students failed in three or more examinations of whom 37 were women. In 1910-11, this number rose to 108, of whom 44 were women.¹¹³ The report went on to recommend that these students be warned by a written notice that they were in danger of failing and that an automatic process for warning students be put in place for the future. Even the seven students who had failed three or more courses in two consecutive years were to be given a warning.¹¹⁴ In spite of this apparent decision to warn students of impending failure and subsequent dismissal, in 1925 the Alma Mater Society wrote to the faculty complaining about the dismissal of a number of students. They argued that it was unfair to inflict the extreme penalty of dismissal in the case of students whose work at the Christmas examinations was not satisfactory"¹¹⁵ when no notice had been given to the students that they were in jeopardy of failing. The letter goes on to outline several arguments regarding the shortening of the term and less time to write the examinations, culminating in the statement that "the lack of any systematic check on students' work and outside activities, especially in the case of freshmen during their first term is detrimental to their academic efficiency and is the cause major [sic] of present conditions."¹¹⁶ It is clear that at least some students felt that inadequate supervision of students was among the causes of the problems. But this letter also makes clear that the students did not hesitate to challenge

the university authorities about what they viewed as unfair practices. It was around this time, however, that Queen's formally introduced "Freshmen advisers." In the 1929-30 Principal's Report, the system was described as being three years old and still in its early stages. The faculty had mixed feelings about its efficacy; although many students had seemed to benefit from the increased contact with their professors, many others had shown no apparent benefits.¹¹⁷

The Queen's University Senate Council Minutes recorded not only reports of failing students, but also petitions from students, both women and men, for special considerations regarding course work and other issues. They were usually, however, simply spare descriptions of the facts without commentary on the individuals in question. One interesting petition in 1914 by Grace Hamblin and eleven other women was for the establishment of a medical course at Queen's for women students. The report by the Medical Faculty stated that it was impossible for them to grant the petition because "separate courses of clinics and lectures would be essential in some subjects in order to provide adequate instruction for women students" and that the resources of the Faculty were already overtaxed.¹¹⁸ The argument that university resources were inadequate to meet the needs of students other than white, Protestant males was common. In the case of Black students, it was claimed that because patients objected to being treated by them the university could not provide the clinical experience required for graduation.¹¹⁹

Students attending Western University prior to 1924, when the university buildings were constructed, attended most of their classes at the old Huron College building. All Arts classes were held there, while those taking science had to go to different buildings around the city. Helen Battle attended Western from 1918 to 1923,

received an M.A. at Western in 1924, and her Ph.D. from the University of Toronto in 1928, before going on to become Professor of Biology at Western. Battle took the General Course in her first year during which she took one biology class. In her second year, Battle decided to specialise in biology. As one of only five science students (female and male), she became close friends with one of the other women, Helen Berdan who later pursued a career in botany at Western. In an interview in 1982, she described a typical day:

A typical day as a second year student was started in Huron College [with] a lecture in history from Professor [A.G.] Dorland, who was a magnificent lecturer. Modern History. And then we moved over to the barn and we had a lecture in physics there, and I think we had some Botany in between too with Professor Hart. And then we went over onto St. James Street and where the St. James Court Apartments are now, there was a three-story rickety old brick place [...]. And I think we had scientific French or scientific German there or something like that. Then we walked down to Richmond Street and there were about four or five of us that did this you see, we were science students, and we took the Richmond car down and we got a transfer. I think our tickets were about six for a quarter. And we went into where Simpson's is now which was Smallman and Ingram and they had a very nice little lunch place at the rear where you could – sat down in a booth and you got a big course lunch – I think it was for 35 cents – and if you were very hungry you went up to 45 you see. And picking your transfer, then you dashed out in front and took the Dundas car down as far as Waterloo Street, getting our money's worth. And then we had to walk down to Waterloo and York, where the central fire hall is and it was the so-called old medical school. And there was some physics, and you took some lectures there, whatever you happened to be in, I think it was geology and chemistry we were taking, and then we had to get out then and between lectures theoretically, we walked from there, [...] to the so-called new medical school, which is on the southeast corner of South Street and Waterloo. [...] And we went in and we took a lecture there, I think some biochemistry we took there. [...] And then we went across from the new medical school to what was the Institute of Public Health which has only been coming down in the last three or four years. It was a provincial health department. And we went over there and took one of our chemistry courses, organic chemistry over there and qualitative and quantitative analysis. Everybody had to take a course in public health and bacteriology. An unpractical course you see, but you sat and listened to lectures on how to look after your health. It was demanded of all university students. [...] Well, on top of this one day when we started out in the old barn and worked our way through every place right down, we were down at the Institute of Public Health, we were supposed to go back to the Oxford Street

gymnasium for our physical education, as though we hadn't had enough physical education that day. There weren't many of us ever got back [...] until we got hauled up in saying you had missed so many you've got to do this. So we had to go up there and jump on horses and things like that.¹²⁰

Battle did not feel she was discriminated against while she was at Western. One summer Professor Robertson invited her and another student to take part in an oyster study in Prince Edward Island. This experience spurred her interest in marine biology which she later pursued at the graduate level.¹²¹

Some notebooks and essays are still extant from this period, providing some insight into topics for essays and details of classes. Charlotte Whitton's papers at Queen's University Archives include such records. In these, there are a few comments or notes about remarks made by the professor, as well as the usual lecture notes. In her animal biology notebook, following some lecture notes on protein, fat, and carbohydrates, Whitton wrote: "Prof. Knight looked around this a.m. & said 'There are too many lean ones among us' and gave a very critical glance at us girls. The boys stamped."¹²² Attention was thus drawn to the women students, placing them on display based on their appearance and encouraging the male students to view the women as objects. Whitton's papers also contain a collection of essays with grades and, in some cases, comments written on them. The essays from 1915-16 were largely on European and English history and English, including topics such as "The Importance of the Magna Carta in English History" (B++), "Imperial German Policy" (A+), and "The Evolution of Keats' Mind (Mary Suddard)" (no grade noted).¹²³ The following year, there were again several history papers, one English essay, and two others on "Mental Philosophy" and "The Stages of Mental Growth." On one paper on "A Turning Point in German History," Professor Sage complimented Whitton on her work, in particular her writing skills, and

concluded by stating: "The historian who can combine vision and inspiration with accuracy and common sense, and in addition can write smoothly, clearly and convincingly is par excellence the great interpreter of his race [sic]."¹²⁴ From this comment, and others, and her grades, Whitton seems to have impressed her professors with her abilities.

Another Queen's student who graduated in 1915, Lilyan Cochrane Wiley, chose to study science based on the advice of her high school teacher. She later said she was glad that she did so because there were so many people taking languages and English at that time and it allowed her to pursue a career in the Department of Agriculture.¹²⁵ Edith Chown Pierce (B.A. 1913), like Whitton, kept some of her school notebooks and essays. One of them was a Political Science paper on "The Basis of Suffrage."¹²⁶ In it, she clearly supports suffrage for women. Using maternal feminist arguments, she states that excluding women is undemocratic and tyrannical and that granting women the vote would bring into public life "enobling, purifying and refining influences."¹²⁷ Grace Weese Kuehner, graduated in 1922 from Queen's, would have preferred physics and mathematics, but enrolled in English and history because the former would have been more expensive with the lab costs. In spite of this, she still enjoyed her university studies.¹²⁸

Although women students most often took Arts courses, they often explored a wide range of issues and subjects. Several women at all four universities took opportunities to branch out into sciences instead. While there is evidence that not all women took seriously their right to the university education that the first generation had fought so hard for, the majority seem to have appreciated their opportunity and worked

hard at their studies. Other women, it is clear, struggled financially for their education, working summers and leaving for several months or years to earn enough to return. These women certainly had career goals beyond marriage and children.

Role Models, Careers and the Future

Women entering university in the first part of the twentieth century had few career opportunities beyond teaching and marriage. There were few role models either within or outside the university, but there were some. Careers other than teaching became a focus of some lectures presented to women students. The few women who had achieved alternative careers encouraged women students to look beyond the usual options. Some of these women were a part of the students' daily lives as deans, lab assistants, medical examiners, and in a few cases as instructors. Women students attending the Catholic women's colleges would have had the most exposure to such women since women religious taught many of their university courses as well as running the colleges and residences.

Women graduates, both married and unmarried, often struggled to carve out careers for themselves. In 1906, Mary Louise Bollert received her second Master of Arts degree from Columbia University in New York. A graduate of Victoria College, she received her B.A. in Moderns in 1900. After graduation, she went on to the Ontario Normal School and then taught at Alma College in St. Thomas, Ontario. In 1902, she was awarded her first M.A. from the University of Toronto and then was appointed Dean of Literary Studies at Alma College. In 1904, she became Lady Principal at Alma. The following year, however, she resigned this position to accept a fellowship at Columbia University, which culminated in her second M.A. degree in 1906. She then taught English at Columbia and "at one or two other colleges in New York City." At Regina College in Saskatchewan, she organized courses for women, then spent a year at a state

college in Chicago before returning to Toronto to work as the director of the education department of the Robert Simpson Company. Then, in 1917, Bollert became the superintendent of Sherbourne House, a residential club for businesswomen and girls in Toronto. Four years later, she began a twenty-year career at the University of British Columbia as Dean of Women and Professor of English. Throughout her career, Bollert was also active in a number of organizations including the Canadian Federation of University Women, Big Sisters, and the Pan-Pacific Women's Organization.¹²⁹ Bollert's early career illustrates the way in which many young women achieved graduate degrees. By getting a teaching certificate and teaching for several years, she was able to return to university to pursue graduate work. Her later activities outside academe provided the necessary experience and reputation to finally attain a university position. But, like many women graduates from Canada, she first had to go to the United States to get university work. In the end, she was more fortunate than most since she was eventually able to find a position in a Canadian university.¹³⁰

Isabel Murphy Skelton married after graduation and carved out a career as a literary critic and historian. Skelton attended Queen's University between 1897 and 1901, graduating in 1901 with an M.A. and the medal for history. Three years later she and Oscar Skelton married. Isabel was unable to pursue her own intellectual interests until her husband's career was well underway and they could afford to hire help for child care and housekeeping. Isabel started her career by pursuing literary criticism because it was easier to do at home while she was pregnant. She eventually turned to writing Canadian history and biography. In all her efforts, she was constrained by family responsibilities.¹³¹

Bollert and Skelton's careers, while they may not be typical of women university graduates' lives, do illustrate the degree of perseverance needed for a woman in this period to carve out a career for herself. Most women at this time did not plan a career beyond teaching and, for some, marriage. A number of women university graduates in

Australia and the United States never married and when they did marry they had few, if any, children.¹³² Mackinnon found that 40% of the women who graduated from the University of Adelaide between 1885 and 1922 never married. Solomon found a similar pattern in the United States.¹³³ Similar studies on women graduates in Canada have not been done. Charles Levi found that for the officers of the Women's Literary Society and Women's Undergraduate Association at Toronto's University College between 1891 and 1921 almost 21% are not known to have married and of those who did marry, 35 % had no children.¹³⁴

Women who attended graduate school took a variety of courses. Several, such as Elizabeth Laird, Annie Laird, Helen Battle, Helen Berdan and others, took graduate degrees in the sciences. More, however, followed the trends found for undergraduate students and took arts courses. At McMaster in 1925/26 and 1926/27, for example, almost all of the women in the M.A. programme took arts courses and none took sciences as graduate science degrees were not available at McMaster. In 1925/26, a few took education.¹³⁵ In Canada in 1920 and 1930, 22% of Master's degrees went to women. Doctoral degrees awarded to women increased from 4% to 15% over this period, but it is not known in which areas they were.¹³⁶ At the University of Toronto, the number of women enrolled in graduate programs varied from 13 in 1900, 54 in 1911, and 42 in 1929 for Masters degrees and from 1 in 1900 and 1911, and 21 in 1929 for doctorates.¹³⁷ A significant percentage of women graduate students at the University of Toronto took Masters or doctoral degrees in the sciences.¹³⁸ For many of these years, Toronto was the only Ontario university to offer graduate degrees in the sciences.¹³⁹

Between 1900 and 1930, a time when female enrollment was rising in all four universities, there were few women employed in academic positions. The University of Toronto provided the most opportunity for women to work in academe. At the University of Toronto, one woman was listed in the calendar as being on the faculty for the 1900-01 academic year. By 1930-31, 117, including four assistant professors, seven associate

professors and two professors, were listed.¹⁴⁰ Some of these would have been Loretto and St. Joseph's sisters teaching in their colleges. Alison Prentice has shown that, at the University of Toronto from 1920 to 1940, the vast majority of women employed in research and teaching positions were in the medical and natural sciences. This seems somewhat ironic when one considers that most undergraduate women enrolled in arts courses.

At McMaster University, a much smaller institution, the numbers are correspondingly smaller. For the thirty-year period, only 15 women were employed in teaching or research positions, with the first appointed in 1917-18.¹⁴¹ Nine of these women never moved beyond the rank of assistant. But in 1930, two women were employed as assistant professors, and one woman was promoted from Lecturer to Associate Professor of Biology. At the University of Western Ontario, seventy-one women were employed over the thirty years. The first two women were hired in 1915, one as a lecturer in French and the other as an instructor in public speaking. The first two professors, hired in 1919, taught French and history, both at Brescia College. These women were also Ursuline sisters. Most of the women were listed as either assistants or instructors, followed by demonstrators and lecturers, with a total of five women listed as professors.¹⁴² At Queen's University, ninety-five women were employed in teaching positions over the three decades. The first four were hired in 1913 as tutors in French, Greek, and history, with a fifth hired as the Adviser of Women (later Dean of Women). Apart from the deans, only ten women moved beyond the rank of tutor, none of whom moved beyond the rank of instructor. In the Queen's situation, the majority of women were employed in the arts courses: sixty-three in arts, twenty-seven in sciences, three as physical training instructors and one as a dean (the second dean also taught in the arts).¹⁴³

From this quick overview, one can see that although women were employed in the universities in a variety of fields, few gained positions of power. Except for the University of Toronto, more women taught arts courses than science, at approximately a

ratio of two to one. The higher number of women teaching sciences at the University of Toronto may be the result of its evolution into a large research institution. Where science courses needed classroom assistants and demonstrators, arts courses did not. At both the University of Toronto and Western, several women would have been teaching at the separate Catholic women's colleges after their affiliations.

But the faculty women did more than simply teach and lecture. They were also asked, if not expected, to serve on committees, to act as chaperones of events and to serve as honorary members of the many women students' organizations. The women on faculty worked alongside the alumnae and faculty wives, taking a keen interest in the activities and lives of the women students and helping the students to maintain active organizations. The wives, alumnae, and women faculty were also instrumental in organizing and carrying out the fund-raising for a variety of causes, but especially for the new women's residences.¹⁴⁴

The women who are not mentioned in the student press, but must have been present during most, if not all, of the women's events, were the servants. Even in the extensive descriptions of Annesley Hall only one reference is made to the servants' quarters, accessed by the back stairs, but there is no indication of how many were employed nor of their duties, never mind their interactions with the students.¹⁴⁵ The women most in contact with the women students however, were perhaps the "Lady Superintendents" or Deans of Women. These women, such as Laetitia Salter, Margaret Addison, Mossie May Kirkwood, Hilda Laird and Caroline E. McNeill, dealt with the daily lives of the women students. Underappreciated and often underpaid by the administration, they were often the ones most remembered by the students. Laetitia Salter, for example, served as Lady Superintendent at University College for 32 years, from 1884 to 1916, at a terribly low rate of pay.¹⁴⁶ The women graduates, however, fondly remembered her sympathy and encouragement as well as her role as the "official chaperon[e]," and gave her an "very substantial gift" of a winter in sunny California when

she retired.¹⁴⁷ Ruby Mason at Western accepted a drastic cut in pay to become the Dean of Women.¹⁴⁸ At the Catholic women's colleges, there were also the sisters who taught and did the housework and cooking.

The women students were in constant contact with women faculty and employees, the alumnae, and the faculty wives who did not restrict themselves to work inside the home. But what did women students think about women's employment after graduation? Nicole Neatby's work on Queen's University has shown that a large portion of the women enrolled at Queen's in the 1920s were intent on pursuing a career after graduation. Although many of them did not know exactly what career they wished to pursue, they were certain that they would go on to work as graduates.¹⁴⁹ Judith Fingard has similarly shown that Dalhousie women graduates were also intent on careers.¹⁵⁰ Most women with career plans expected to teach.¹⁵¹ The concern over women's work comes out quite clearly in the student press. As early as 1899, University College women debated whether women were justified in entering the professions¹⁵² and in 1901 students at McMaster University debated the issue of equal wages for women in the same occupations as men.¹⁵³ Although the 1899 debate illustrated the conflict women faced between choosing a career or marriage, those writing in the student press usually favoured the idea that women had the right to paid employment after university. Indeed, in some instances, it sometimes seemed as if they were expected to fulfill their duty to society by working before they were married.

Some women students did have career goals when they began university. At Western in 1922/23, 68% of the women students stated that they had a vocational plan when they entered university. The list of proposed careers, however, was not separated by sex.¹⁵⁴ Out of the forty women who said they had a plan, as many as twenty-nine may have expected to go into the typically female areas of teaching, household science, dietitian, nursing, and possibly journalism. This is the maximum number of those responding who could have chosen these fields. If any men planned to enter teaching or

journalism, the number of women would be decreased. It does suggest that at least eleven women must have expected to go into the sciences, business, law, medicine or something else.

According to Neatby's research, women students rarely worked during the summer. One of the first tastes of work for some women students, however, was the result of the First World War. During the war, women university students were among the over 2000 young women employed on the farms and the thousands who worked in the factories.¹⁵⁵ This work was viewed by the women students as part of their contribution to the war effort. The women worked hard and expected to be treated and paid fairly. At the University of Toronto, in April 1916, an employment bureau was set up to allow women students at University, Victoria, and St. Hilda's Colleges, and in Medicine, to register for war service.¹⁵⁶ In October 1917, both the *Rebel* and the *University of Toronto Monthly* reported on the work of 75 women students who had signed up to pick fruit in the Niagara district as a form of national service. Edith Alexander wrote an article for the *University of Toronto Monthly* describing their experiences.¹⁵⁷ It is clear from this article that some of the women felt they were being treated unfairly. Despite high expectations of working for a noble cause, the students were met with disillusionment caused by poor planning and unethical practices. In the end, the women felt they had been exploited and considered themselves lucky if they had covered their expenses:

We had been willing to make a sacrifice for the benefit of our country, but we did not like to have our enthusiasm and inexperience exploited - as in some degree they were - for the advantage of any one person's pocket.¹⁵⁸

But at the same time, Alexander argued, the women came away with a greater appreciation of both the farmers' difficulties and the hardships of the regular farm workers. What is not clear is whether the women felt exploited because their middle class values were upset or if they felt that all farm workers were exploited. There is no hint in

this article that a class or gender consciousness was developing. There was more a sense that they were taken advantage of because they were inexperienced.¹⁵⁹

After the war ended, some women students continued to undertake summer jobs and pursue careers. Guest speakers, such as Mary Louise Bollert and Charlotte Whitton, spoke about opportunities for women in various careers. Students were lectured on issues such as "The Choice of a Life Work" and "Women To-day and To-morrow."¹⁶⁰ Most important may have been the inauguration of conferences and lecture series on work or vocations for women university graduates. Throughout the 1920s, these lectures and conferences encouraged women students to consider careers other than teaching, such as journalism, nursing, business, scientific research and so on. While some of the speakers warned of the trials of the "Cold, Cold World," others stressed that opportunities had been barely touched and that the women faced "a future of unknown possibilities."¹⁶¹ The conferences were planned to allow women students to explore the many possibilities that awaited them. In 1924, the Alumni Association was running an employment bureau which, for example, helped to place women university students in families where room and board was given in return for services.¹⁶² In 1925, *The Varsity* reported on a group of women called the "Free Lances" who worked during the school year as well as during the summer to pay for university. These women were gathered together by Mossie May Kirkwood, Acting Dean of Women at University College, Dr. Margaret Gordon, medical adviser for women students, and Nora Cochrane (as yet unidentified).¹⁶³ By 1929, *The Varsity* was reporting that "Fair Co-eds" had found "Numerous Summer Jobs" including "waitressing on the high seas," reporting and editorial work in Toronto, chauffeuring, teaching, and working in offices and stores.¹⁶⁴

Despite the obvious concern of women students to pursue serious work, the perception persisted that women students were at university in order to find a husband and to marry.¹⁶⁵ It was accepted without question that women wished to marry and have children. This attitude existed in spite of arguments that educated women would not

marry. Studies in the United States and Australia have shown that birth and marriage rates for women graduates were lower than that of the general population.¹⁶⁶ The *McMaster University Monthly*, for example, described the activities of a graduate who had: "What every woman counts her due - Love, children, happiness."¹⁶⁷ A university education was certainly seen as providing women with an improved temperament for marriage, so much so that it was claimed that women with a college education had a lower rate of divorce.¹⁶⁸ In 1919, when Marjory MacMurchy spoke to the students on "Women To-day and To-morrow," she argued that the employment of women would not lower men's wages and that homemaking would, in the future, be recognized as skilled employment. Although she was strongly in favour of women's employment outside of the home, she seemed to feel that women still preferred "home life" and that women most enjoyed helping others to do their best work. MacMurchy concluded that "[s]ocial advances cannot be made unless women contribute their full share of thought, study, and effort."¹⁶⁹

The lower marriage and birth rates among women contributed to the fears around the degeneration of the Anglo-Saxon race, race suicide, in Canada, the United States and Australia. Educated women were one of the primary targets because statistics seemed to show that educated women married later, if at all, and bore fewer children. In Canada, there was also a movement towards the creation of a distinct Canadian identity.¹⁷⁰

Writing at a time when fears about race suicide were common, Ruby C. E. Mason, Western's Dean of Women, argued in a 1928 fund-raising pamphlet that the financial support of women's higher education was necessary because the standard of living of every community was no higher than that of its women. Western, she argued, was organised to give equal opportunities to women and to men. She called upon the residents of the surrounding communities to support graduate scholarships and travelling

fellowships for research work by women graduate students, summer school courses for women in industry, residences for women students, and facilities for women's physical education. She concluded with the statement:

All money expended for the betterment of womanhood is expended for the betterment of the race. To see to it then, that the women of Western Ontario may continue to be mother of a great people, that her children may be to-morrow as they are to-day and have been yesterday, leaders through this broad Dominion, is the great opportunity and proud privilege of every Western Ontario citizen. To these an appeal for increased opportunity for education of women needs no argument.¹⁷¹

Ruby Mason drew upon the sense of pride in the achievements of the region's people, in the importance of the region, and in the university itself. Mason used the rhetoric of eugenicists to invoke the image of 'race suicide', and of nativists to invoke the sense of the historical importance of Western Ontario. In using this language, Mason appropriated the arguments frequently used against women's higher education and turned them around to show the importance of women's higher education in creating and strengthening a Canadian identity. Although the ideas of race suicide and educated motherhood were prevalent in Canada and the United States, Dean Mason was one of the few to use these concepts in her discussion of women's education at the University of Western Ontario. Prior to her arrival at the university, the idea that the women graduates of Western Ontario needed higher education in order "to be mother of a great people"¹⁷² had never been emphasised.

Conclusion

Women students at the four universities during this period were largely white, middle class, Protestant and English-speaking. Most attended the university nearest to their homes. Many supported themselves while at university, often with the intention of being able to support other family members after graduation. Some also entered the university with the expectation of pursuing a career.

Both the alumnae and student publications provide information about what some of the students did after graduation. While many of them married and had families, others pursued a variety of careers. Of those who worked after graduation, most seemed to have become teachers. But others looked beyond teaching. Like M. L. Bollert, some of the graduates won scholarships and fellowships and went on to graduate school in Canada, the United States and Europe. A few of these women went on to teach at a variety of universities, including American women's colleges like Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke and Barnard. Of the women who became doctors, many pursued their careers as missionaries in India, China and elsewhere. Others became women religious, deaconesses, nurses, journalists, and lawyers.¹⁷³

Although women's opportunities for work continued to be largely restricted to the so-called feminine jobs, some women stretched the boundaries of that conception. Missionary work, for example, may be classed as a 'caring profession,' but it allowed both single and married women to travel widely and to take on new responsibilities. Although many women continued to prefer or feel restricted to teaching as a career, others used teaching as a way to earn the money to pursue graduate degrees and seek different opportunities. Many of the women, who were mostly from the middle classes, seem to have pursued higher education in order to attain higher paying jobs. In many cases, women worked their way through university and required well-paying positions after graduation in order to support aging parents or younger siblings.

Endnotes

- ¹ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991): 104.
- ² Veronica Strong-Boag, *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988, 1993): 20.
- ³ Linda Kealey, *Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).
- ⁴ R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, "Medical Students at the University of Toronto, 1910-40: A Profile," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 13, 1 (1996): 37-41.
- ⁵ See Table 1, Appendix A.
- ⁶ Between 1900 and 1911, these figures included only University, Victoria, and Trinity Colleges. After 1911, the figures also include Loretto and St. Joseph's Colleges. See Table 2, Appendix A.
- ⁷ See Table 3, Appendix A.
- ⁸ See Table 4, Appendix A.
- ⁹ See Table 5, Appendix A.
- ¹⁰ Chancellor's Report for 1915-16, May 9, 1916, Baptist Archives (hereafter B.A.).
- ¹¹ See A. B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994): 270-277.
- ¹² See Tables 2, 3, and 5, Appendix A.
- ¹³ See Table 6, Appendix B.
- ¹⁴ Lynne Marks and Chad Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University, 1895-1905: A 'Little Sphere' All Their Own?" *Ontario History*, 78, 4 (December 1986): 339.
- ¹⁵ See Fig. 7, Appendix B.
- ¹⁶ See Fig. 8, Appendix B.
- ¹⁷ Charles Morden Levi, "Where the famous people were? The origins, activities and future careers of student leaders at University College, Toronto, 1854-1973," Ph.D. diss., York University, 1998, 289.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 457.
- ¹⁹ See Table 9, Appendix B.
- ²⁰ Miriam Waddington, "The House on Hazelton," chap. in *Apartment Seven: Essays Selected and New* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989): 9.
- ²¹ See Table 10, Appendix B.
- ²² See Table 11, Appendix B.
- ²³ See Table 12, Appendix B.
- ²⁴ See Table 13, Appendix B.
- ²⁵ Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990): 30.
- ²⁶ Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, "Introduction," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education*, Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds. (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989): xx.
- ²⁷ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1993; first published Alfred A. Knopf, 1985): 155-156. The first Black sorority in the United States, Delta Sigma Theta, was established in 1913. See, Paula Giddings, *In Search of Sisterhood: Delta Sigma Theta and the Challenge of the Black Sorority Movement* (New York: Quill, 1988).
- ²⁸ Letter to Mr. Moug Ngwe Gaing from W. Sherwood Fox, October 22, 1920. CA9ONFOX114/5 10M36, University of Western Ontario (hereafter UWO).
- ²⁹ Letter to Dr. Fox from Paul S. McKibben, February 2, 1921. CA9ONFOX114/5 10M36, UWO.
- ³⁰ Letters, dated February 7, 1921, February 14, 1921, February 15, 1921, February 16, 1921, February 17, 1921, February 18, 1921, February 22, 1921, two dated February 25, 1921, March 5, 1921, March 8, 1921, March 30, 1921, April 18, 1921, June 27, 1921. CA9ONFOX114/5 10M36, UWO.
- ³¹ Letter to Dr. Dearle from Dean Fox, October 25, 1921. CA9ONFOX114/5 10M36, UWO.

- ³² A similar case occurred at Smith College in the United States in 1913. A Black student, Carrie Lee, was unknowingly accepted into the residence. As soon as her roommate complained, Lee was barred from the college housing. Julia Caverno took Lee into her home. (Horowitz, 155.)
- ³³ Copy of letter to Miss Millie Bennett from Provost T.C.S. Macklem, November 21, 1905. MS120 Cartwright Family Papers, Box 10 (SHC Correspondence 1905-08), Trinity College Archives (hereafter TCA).
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ *Torontonensis*, 1908, 136; Trinity College Student Directory in the University of Toronto Calendar, 1906/07, 1907/08, 1908/09, 1909/10.
- ³⁶ Clipping, no newspaper name, February 5, 1921. Japanese Students' Club, Office of the Registrar Papers, A73-0051/249(45), University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA).
- ³⁷ Clipping, *Varsity*, October 22, 1930. Japanese Students' Club, Office of the Registrar Papers, A73-0051/249(45), UTA.
- ³⁸ Letter to the President of the University of Toronto from A. B. Fennel, Acting Registrar. November 12, 1929. University Historian, A83-0036/002(admissions, Jewish students), UTA.
- ³⁹ UC Dean of Women, B74-0011/003(5), UTA.
- ⁴⁰ Letter from W.J. Dunlop, Director of the Department of Extension and Publicity, to the President, October 20, 1931. University Historian, A83-0036/002(admissions, Jewish students), UTA.
- ⁴¹ Gidney and Millar, "Medical Students," 40.
- ⁴² Ibid., 40.
- ⁴³ Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 33-34.
- ⁴⁴ Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 30-31.
- ⁴⁵ Marks and Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University, 1895-1905," 338-339; Lee Stewart had similar findings for the University of British Columbia. Lee Stewart, *'It's Up to You': Women at UBC in the Early Years* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990): 97.
- ⁴⁶ Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 23-30. Charles Levi had similar findings for women who were officers of the Women's Literary Society and Women's Undergraduate Association at Toronto's University College ("Where the famous people were?" 290, 457).
- ⁴⁷ See Appendix B. Dean's Report for the Senate of Victoria College. Fonds 2069, 90.064V, Box 3, File 3, Victoria University Archives (hereafter VUA).
- ⁴⁸ Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 29.
- ⁴⁹ Letter to Margaret Wrong from Mrs. H. D. Warren, August 23, 1920; "Report to College Council, February 3, 1950, On University College Women's Loan Fund." UC Dean of Women, B74-0011/003(12), UTA.
- ⁵⁰ Scholarship Applications, February 1929. Falconer Papers, A67-0007/118a, UTA.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Untitled memo listing donors and amounts given. Fonds 2069, 90.066V, Box 3-3, VUA.
- ⁵³ Letter to Chancellor Burwash, October 14, 1909. VWRE&A Papers, Fonds 2069, 90.066V, Box 3-3, VUA.
- ⁵⁴ "Bursaries, 1927-1928." VWA, Fonds 2069, 90.066V, Box 3-6, VUA.
- ⁵⁵ Letter to George [Laird] from Lizzie [Elizabeth Laird], June 8, 1899. Laird Family Papers, CA9ONLAI628 V2P14, Box 5034, File: Letters to George, 1898-99. UWO.
- ⁵⁶ Laird Family Papers, CA9ONLAI628 V2P14, Box 5034, File: Letters to George, 1898-99. UWO. Alison Prentice has written about the education and career of Elizabeth Laird. See, "The Early History of Women in University Physics: A Toronto Case Study," *Physics in Canada/La physique au Canada* 52, 2 (March/April, 1996) and "Three Women in Physics," in *Challenging Professions: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Women's Professional Work*, eds. Elizabeth Smyth, et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
- ⁵⁷ Transcript of oral interview by Judith Mooney, August 1978. Oral History Project, Queen's University Archives (hereafter QUA).
- ⁵⁸ "Autobiography," pp. 37-39. H. A. Innis Papers, B72-0003/36(01), UTA.
- ⁵⁹ Letter to Dean Fox from Caroline Blampin, May 15, 1922. Fox Papers, CA9ONFOX114 10M36, Box 6, UWO.
- ⁶⁰ Letter from Dean W. Sherwood Fox to Miss Caroline Blampin, May 22, 1922. Fox Papers, CA9ONFOX114 10M36, Box 6, UWO.

- ⁶¹ Sister St. Michael Guinan, as told to Norma Rudy, *Meandering with memory* (London: Brescia College, 1995): 23.
- ⁶² Julie S. Gibert, "Women students and student life at England's civic universities before the First World War," *History of Education* 23, 4 (1994): 407. Gibert classified the occupations listed by the students or their parents, but as with the Canadian situation it does not give a clear idea of income. See also, Janet Howarth and Mark Curthoys, "The Political Economy of Women's Higher Education in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain," *Historical Research* 60, 142 (June 1987): 208-231; and Carol Dyhouse, *No distinction of sex?: women in British universities, 1870-1939* (London: UCL Press, 1995).
- ⁶³ Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990): 6-7.
- ⁶⁴ See Alison Prentice, "The Early History of Women in University Physics: A Toronto Case Study," *Physics in Canada/La physique au Canada* 52, 2 (March/April 1996); Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley, ed., *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science* (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990).
- ⁶⁵ Women did make up a significant proportion of the language classes, and in some cases, they may have "dominated" the classes numerically. At Western in 1929, eight of the nine students taking Modern Languages were women [see Table 14, Appendix c]. At McMaster in 1917/18, more than half of the students enrolled in French and German were women [see Table 19a, Appendix C].
- ⁶⁶ Report of the French Department, 1921-22. Chancellor's Reports, 1910-24, BA.
- ⁶⁷ Susan N. Bayley Bayley and Donna Yavorsky Ronish, "Gender, modern languages and the curriculum in Victorian England," *History of Education* 21, no. 4 (1992): 363-382.
- ⁶⁸ Robert Falconer, "The Opportunities for Teachers," in *The Advance: The Official Organ of the Ontario Public Schools Men Teachers Federation*, IV, 2 (June, 1926): 4. Falconer Papers, UTA. Cited in Marni DePencier, (unpublished paper): 39, University Historian, A83-0036/1, UTA. See also, Susan Gelman, "The 'Feminization' of the High School: Women Secondary Schoolteachers in Toronto: 1871-1930," in *Gender and Education in Ontario*, eds. Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991): 71-102.
- ⁶⁹ For a history of Brescia College, see Patricia G. Skidmore, *Brescia College, 1919-1979* (London: Brescia College, 1980).
- ⁷⁰ See Table 14, Appendix C. Minutes of the Meeting of the Faculty of University College of Arts, May 30, 1929. CA9ONFOX114 10M36, Box 14, RCO.
- ⁷¹ *In Cap and Gown*, November 1904 and November 1905, UWO.
- ⁷² "History Research Scholarship," *Western University Gazette*, (Feb. 1916): 19-22, UWO.
- ⁷³ *The Year Book*, 1924, p. 42, UWO.
- ⁷⁴ See Tables 15 to 18, Appendix C.
- ⁷⁵ See Tables 19a, 19b, and 20, Appendix C.
- ⁷⁶ W.P.J. Millar and R.D. Gidney, "'Medettes': Thriving or Just Surviving? Women Students in the Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto, 1910-51," in *Challenging Professions*, eds., Smyth, et al.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁸ Kerrie Johan Kennedy, "Womanly Work: The Introduction of Household Science at the University of Toronto," (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto: 1995), 63.
- ⁷⁹ Kennedy, 71.
- ⁸⁰ W. Gordon, "Report of the Committee on Household Science," ca. 1917. Queen's University Alumnae Association, box 3. A.Arch 3627, QUA.
- ⁸¹ McMaster University seems not to have ever had a Household Science or Domestic Science programme.
- ⁸² Ruby Mason, "The Education of Women," *The University of Western Ontario* (The Golden Jubilee Endowment Fund Campaign, 1928): 4.
- ⁸³ Transcript from oral interview with Edna Park by Barbara Byers, May 3, 1974, 2. B74-0043, UTA. Cited in Kennedy, 92.
- ⁸⁴ See Kennedy, "Womanly Work."
- ⁸⁵ See Table 1, Appendix A.
- ⁸⁶ Letter to President Braithwaite from Helen R. Harvey, November 20, 1916. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/2, UWO.
- ⁸⁷ Letter to Helen R. Harvey from President Braithwaite, November 29, 1916. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/2, UWO.
- ⁸⁸ Undated letter, ca. 1916-17, from A. Buckley. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/2, UWO.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Letters to Dean Fox from Professor Tamblyn, March 8, 1921 and March 24, 1921; Letter to Dean Fox from B. Tancock, March 5, 1920. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/5, UWO.

⁹² May 25, 1904, clipping. Scrapbooks, Vol. 1. UWO. Other awards were listed in the Senate Minutes each year, for example, Vol. IIA, (June 1, 1905), pp. 103-104, when the Fox Gold Medal went to Miss Dearness, and other women won prizes for special standing. UWO.

⁹³ "A Striking Honour – Miss Bessie Graves, Western's Second Lady Valedictorian," [May, 1903], clipping. Scrapbooks, Vol. 1. UWO.

⁹⁴ "Degrees Conferred Western University," *London Free Press*, June 2, 1906. Scrapbooks, Vol. 1. UWO; May 31, 1907, Senate Minutes, Vol. IIA, p. 127. UWO.

⁹⁵ "L.A.", May 20, 1925; "Endowment Fund of \$12,000 Given by 'U' Graduates," [no newspaper name], May 27, 1927. Scrapbooks, Vol. 2. UWO.

⁹⁶ Armstrong Scholarship, October 8, 1929. Department of History, A90-0023/002(16), UTA.

⁹⁷ March 27, 1925, "Report on Students from Brescia Hall." CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

⁹⁸ Report, March 27, 1925; Memo, March 31, 1925. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

⁹⁹ Memo, April 2, 1925. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰⁰ "German 100," ca. March, 1925. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰¹ "German 100," March 17, 1925. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰² Letter to Mr. T.C. Benson from Dean Fox, March 17, 1925. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰³ "German 100," March 19, 1925. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰⁴ Memo, ca. April, 1925, "French 100." CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰⁵ "Chemistry 11," ca. 1926. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰⁶ Memo, n.d., CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰⁷ "Chemistry 11," ca. 1926. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰⁸ "Chemistry 11," ca. 1926. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹⁰⁹ "Physics 100" and "Geology," ca. 1926. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹¹⁰ "Latin 10," ca. 1926. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/15, UWO.

¹¹¹ April 22, 1901, to Chancellor Wallace from M. S. Clark. Chancellor's Reports & Reports to Him, 1901-1909/Professors to Chancellor, BA.

¹¹² Department of Physics report for 1924-25. Chancellor's Reports, 1925-26, BA.

¹¹³ February 28, 1912, Minutes, Senate Office (May 30, 1911 – October 13, 1913). A.Arch. 1240, QUA.

¹¹⁴ March 29, 1912, Minutes, Senate Office (May 30, 1911 – October 13, 1913). A.Arch. 1240, QUA.

¹¹⁵ Letter to "The Members of the Faculty of Arts" from [signature illegible] President of the Alma Mater Society, January 12, 1925. Principal's Office, A.Arch 1250, Box 3 (AMS 1919-44), QUA.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ *Principal's Report*, 1929-30, Queen's University. QUA.

¹¹⁸ October 14, 1914, and November 24, 1914, Minutes, Senate Office (October 13, 1913 – August 8, 1917). A.Arch. 1240, QUA.

¹¹⁹ It was decided to no longer admit Black students to medical studies at all. January 25, 1918, Minutes, Senate Office (September 19, 1917 – May 21, 1924). A.Arch. 1240, QUA.

¹²⁰ Transcript of interview of Dr. H. I. Battle, by Caroline Bazley, January 15, 1982. President's Committee of Oral History, History Department, University of Western Ontario, pp. 12-16.

¹²¹ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

¹²² Charlotte Whitton Papers, Box 4, File 21. A.Arch. 1106, QUA.

¹²³ Charlotte Whitton Papers, Box 4, File 26. A.Arch. 1106, QUA.

¹²⁴ Charlotte Whitton Papers, Box 4, File 27. A.Arch. 1106, QUA.

¹²⁵ Transcript of oral history interview by Jodi Button, June 8, 1978. Oral History Project, QUA.

¹²⁶ "The Basis of Suffrage," n.d., Edith Chown Pierce Papers, 2001c, Box 17, QUA.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 5.

¹²⁸ Transcript of oral interview by Jodi Button, July 21, 1978, p. 5. Oral History Project, QUA.

¹²⁹ Graduate Records, clippings files, A73-0026/032(34), UTA; and *The University of Toronto Monthly*, July 1900, p. 37, June 1902, p. 255, July 1906, p. 254. Lee Stewart in *"It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years* gives different dates for Bollert's degrees.

¹³⁰ The *University of Toronto Monthly* (hereafter UTM) provides evidence of a significant number of women graduates who went to the United States to study and work in American universities. Alison Prentice has found a similar trend among women historians in Canada. See "Western Women Historians: The Early Professional Period, 1920-1950," paper presented to the Conference "BC and Beyond: Gender Histories" at the University of Victoria, June 16-18, 1994.

¹³¹ Terry Crowley, "Isabel Skelton: Precursor to Canadian Cultural History," in *Creating Historical Memory: English-Canadian Women and the Work of History*, eds. Beverly Boutilier and Alison Prentice, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997): 164-193.

¹³² See Alison Mackinnon, "Interfering with Nature's Mandate: Women, Higher Education and Demographic Change," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 1, 2 (Fall 1989): 219-237.

¹³³ Solomon, 119-122.

¹³⁴ Levi, "Where the famous people were?" 294.

¹³⁵ See Table 25, Appendix C.

¹³⁶ See Table 1, Appendix A.

¹³⁷ See Table 2, Appendix A.

¹³⁸ See Table 26, Appendix A.

¹³⁹ McKillop, 343.

¹⁴⁰ Alison Prentice, "Bluestockings, Feminists, or Women Workers," *Journal of the CHA* (1991): 240.

¹⁴¹ In this case, however, more women taught in the arts. Only five women were in the sciences, one of whom also taught in the arts, while the rest (10) taught arts courses. The numbers of women working in McMaster University were derived from the McMaster University Calendars, 1900-1930.

¹⁴² The courses taught by women at UWO were largely in the arts, but the sciences were not far behind. 41 women taught arts courses, while 28 taught sciences, and six physical training. Derived from UWO Calendars.

¹⁴³ The numbers of women working in Queen's University were derived from the Queen's University Calendars, 1900-1930, QUA.

¹⁴⁴ See, *The Varsity*, Nov. 18, 1903, p. 8; UTM, May 1919, pp. 252-253; *McMaster University Monthly* (hereafter MUM), May 1901, p. 366; MUM, December 1907, p. 130; MUM, December 1927, p. 131; Report of the President, University of Western Ontario, 1929-1930, p. 17.

¹⁴⁵ UTM, May 1902, p. 222. An interesting American article on women's employment as servants in institutions of higher learning is Patricia Clark Smith, "Grandma Went to Smith, All Right, But She Went from Nine to Five: A Memoir," in *Working Class Women in the Academy*, 126-139.

¹⁴⁶ McKillop, *Matters of Mind*, 132. Salter's first name was also spelled "Letitia" on occasion.

¹⁴⁷ UTM December 1916, p. 112, and February 1919, pp. 110-11.

¹⁴⁸ Dean W. Sherwood Fox wrote: "Like myself, the Governors feel a certain timidity in tendering the position to you at a salary which is so far short of the salary you have received in the past and which you can still command elsewhere." Letter to Ruby Mason from W. Sherwood Fox, April 17, 1926. Fox Papers, CA9ONFOX114/5 10M36, box 12, UWO.

¹⁴⁹ Nicole Neatby, "Preparing for the Working World: Women at Queen's during the 1920s," in *Gender and Education in Ontario*, eds. Heap and Prentice, 329-351.

¹⁵⁰ Judith Fingard, "College, Career, and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, eds. Axelrod and Reid, 26-50.

¹⁵¹ Marks and Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University," 340-341.

¹⁵² *The Varsity*, November 15, 1899, p. 55.

¹⁵³ MUM, Feb. 1901, p. 228.

¹⁵⁴ See Table 24, Appendix C.

¹⁵⁵ On women's work during the First World War, see Prentice, et al, eds., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988): 139-141.

¹⁵⁶ UTM, May 1916, pp.386-387.

¹⁵⁷ UTM, October 1917, pp. 21-27. See also, UTM, October 1917, p. 37; three articles on work in the Munitions factory, fruit picking, and a honey farm in *The Rebel*, October 1917, pp. 19-20, 24-26, 26-27.

¹⁵⁸ UTM, October 1917, p. 26. See also, a letter regarding the difficulty some women had in obtaining their pay, UTM, November 1917, pp. 58-59.

¹⁵⁹ UTM, October 1917, p. 22.

¹⁶⁰ UTM, February 1919, p. 104; *The Varsity*, February 16, 1920, p. 4; Principal's Report, Queen's University, 1925-26, p. 65; Principal's Report, Queen's University, 1930-31, p. 34; MUM, Jan. 1918, p. 177; UTM, April 1919, pp. 212-213.

¹⁶¹ *The Varsity*, Feb. 11 and 16, 1920.

¹⁶² *The Varsity*, Oct 1, 1924.

¹⁶³ *The Varsity*, Jan. 15, 1925, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ *The Varsity*, September 30, 1929.

¹⁶⁵ *The Varsity*, March 3, 1925, p. 1

¹⁶⁶ Mackinnon, "Interfering With Nature's Mandate," 219-237; Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). See also Alison Mackinnon, *Love and Freedom, Professional Women and the Reshaping of Personal Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁶⁷ MUM, April 1908, p. 327.

¹⁶⁸ UTM, December 1911, p.54.

¹⁶⁹ UTM, April 1919, pp. 212-213.

¹⁷⁰ Valverde, *The Age of Light*, in particular chapter 5; Patricia A. Palmieri, "From Republican Motherhood to Race Suicide: Arguments on the Higher Education of Women in the United States, 1820-1920," in *Educating Men and Women Together: Coeducation in a Changing World*, ed. Carol Lasser (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press and Oberlin College, 1987); Mackinnon, *Love and Freedom*, chapter 2.

¹⁷¹ Mason, "The Education of Women."

¹⁷² Mason, "The Education of Women," 6.

¹⁷³ Every issue of UTM listed the activities and addresses of graduates, as did most issues of MUM and *Acta Victoriana* (AV) from 1900-1930. Although these sources provide a wealth of information, they are incomplete since not every graduate informed the editors of their activities or whereabouts.

Chapter 4

Spaces for Women (Part I): Unions, Colleges and Temporary Residences¹

When women first officially arrived at Queen's and Toronto in 1880 and 1884 respectively, little provision was made for them beyond access to a separate sitting and cloakroom. Indeed, at all four universities, a separate "Ladies Room" was usually the first concrete sign of women's presence as students. With their admissions, debate ensued over whether the best method of education for women was co-educational or separate. This question would reappear periodically well into the twentieth century, even today in the late 1990s. In Ontario, at the turn of the century, however, the issue turned on the lack of funding necessary to provide women with a separate university or college. Once the idea of co-education was accepted, however tenuously, attention turned to providing residence space and other facilities for women students. Although the debates over co-education really only occurred at Toronto and Queen's, all four universities under study here sought to provide separate protected space for the women students. Although some of the women's residences started out with the idea of providing separate classes for women as well as living space, such as St. Hilda's College, only one, Brescia College, was able to maintain its status as a women's teaching college to the present day. None, however, held degree-granting powers in their own right. Once the universities began to grow dramatically, the issue of separate colleges for women was revisited, at least in Toronto. In this chapter, the issues of women's rooms and unions, colleges for women, and the temporary women's residences are examined. Chapter 5 turns to the permanent, purpose-built residences and residential life. In Chapters 4 and 5, the term "residence" is used to

refer to both permanent, purpose-built facilities and to the temporary renovated houses used by the colleges and universities to accommodate women students.²

Women's Rooms and Unions

The physical spaces provided for women illustrate the way in which women students were viewed by the university authorities and the women who helped to raise funds and build the facilities. The first stage of the development of a separate culture for women students was the designation of a room for use by the women students. From this, women students developed the separate clubs and societies. While all the universities provided a separate room for the women to wait between lectures, hold meetings and eat lunch, Western's very inadequate facilities meant that the women there relied even more heavily on this room than at the other universities. As a result, the women at Western wrote more about this separate space.

At Western, this room ("No. 6") was decorated by the women students. Room No. 6 was used for formal meetings and as a gathering place between classes where the women could eat lunch and prepare hot drinks. Since conversations among students were discouraged in the halls, most socialising had to be done in rooms set aside for that purpose. The most prominent result of having a separate room was the sense of community it promoted. After the women were given new meeting rooms in 1909, there was discussion about the need for a women's association. In January, the editor of the 'Western Girls' column blamed the lack of enthusiasm for a women's association on the fact that there was too much excitement over other things – although she did not specify what these things were. The editor went on to say that there was a lack of co-operation among the women in almost everything they undertook, and therefore, an organisation was needed to provide cohesion. She also indicated, however, that there was a lack of co-operation amongst the students as a whole and that there should be a club for all students.³ This was, apparently, an early suggestion for a form of student government to oversee all

of the students' activities, as well as a suggestion for a separate women students' government.

Two months later, another article stated that the lack of enthusiasm for a women's association was still a problem. This time, however, the problem was also due to the unsettled conditions of No. 6. Again, the details were not given, but the writer argued that with the increasing number of women students there would be a need for a stronger unifying force than the women's room to promote a loyal college spirit.⁴ In the end, a women's organisation was not established until 1927.⁵ Despite the claims of lack of cohesion, there was a definite sense of community amongst the women students. In March 1913, an article appeared in the student newspaper that described life in No. Six. This article, entitled "Life in Number Six," emphasised the sense of community, with seniors smoothing over "tiffs," and a playful spirit which produced impromptu water guns made from fountain pen fillers.⁶ In 1913, there were about 23 women registered as students, a year later there were 43.⁷ It was not until the 1920s that the number of women students rose into the hundreds. With the small numbers before the 1920s and assuming similar backgrounds,⁸ it may have been possible to maintain a sense of community in an informal way.

Separate rooms were also provided for women at the other universities. At Queen's, in the early years, the women were given a classroom in the old arts building in 1890-91. It was here that the Levana, the women's association, was first formed in an effort to create the camaraderie among the women that existed among the men.⁹ Later in 1902, Levana was located in a south-facing room on the second floor of the New Arts Building, then later in the "Red Room".¹⁰ At University College in Toronto, a cloakroom was provided from 1885 under the supervision of the Lady Superintendent, Laetitia Salter.¹¹ Perhaps because of the greater number of women or because of somewhat better facilities at the University of Toronto, a women's union was provided by 1916, the room allocated to women did not seem to have taken on the symbolic importance that the rooms

did at the other universities. University College's room seems to have been little more than a cloak room, while McMaster's, Queen's and Western all seemed to have more of a reading room, sometimes with light cooking facilities for lunches and snacks. Like No. 6 at Western, Queen's "Red Room" is frequently referred to in the women's columns in the student newspaper and in reminiscences.

The development of the Women's Union at University College was significant. Members included both undergraduates and graduates. Fees of \$5.00 and \$3.00 were paid by the students (members of the Athletic Association and graduates paid reduced fees). In the first year, 200 of the 350 women undergraduates and 53 graduates belonged. Facilities included a dining room where breakfast, lunch, afternoon tea, and dinner were served. Lunch was the most popular meal. A library, a common room, and a guestroom were also provided. The library included over 1000 books. Meetings of the various women's associations, both UC and cross-college, met regularly in the union. Unlike Hart House, co-ed meetings were welcomed. Even in the first year, conditions quickly became inadequate with the kitchen and storage space too small to meet the demand of the high volume of students using the facilities.¹² The following year saw an even greater increase in the number of women using the Union. A compulsory fee was introduced so that all undergraduate women were automatically members. A new kitchen and laundry room had improved the facilities, but there were still complaints that there was inadequate space for all the meetings that were held there.¹³ In 1918-19, the annual report noted that the library was too small since it was in constant use and was the only college library open at night to UC women. During the influenza epidemic that year,¹⁴ the Union also served as an infirmary for women students living in boarding houses until they were well enough to return to their families. Because the Union was not as busy as usual, the maids were used to prepare food for the University Settlement and for the senior medical women students and the undergraduate women who were well enough to go out to nurse the ill. Food for these women was provided at any hour, whenever they came off duty.¹⁵ The following

year, students living in boarding houses and in the temporary women's residences were able to buy meal tickets to take all their meals at the Union.¹⁶ The Union also came to include a theatre for plays. It soon became the centre of activity for University College women. Mossie May Kirkwood, the Head of the U.C. Women's Union and Acting Dean, wrote in the 1923-24 report that the Union helped to foster a sense of cohesion and responsibility among the women students.¹⁷

With the gift to Victoria College in 1925 of the original 'Wymilwood' by Mr. and Mrs. E.R. Wood, women students at Victoria were provided with magnificent facilities for a Women's Union. A second gift of \$50,000 from Lady Flavelle, given on the condition that a similar amount could be raised by the VWA, allowed for the renovation of Wymilwood so that a Students' Union could be housed on the ground floor, residence space could be provided on the two upper floors, and it could be furnished throughout.¹⁸ The establishment of a union also provided facilities for non-resident women students to have a hot meal at lunchtime, as well as a place for all women students to gather between classes and in the evening. It went a long way to helping with Margaret Addison's, the Dean of Women, goal of encouraging a collegial atmosphere among all of the Victoria women. When the earlier women students' union at Victoria (established in 1917 through the conversion of part of South Hall) displaced many of the third year women, it had been argued that a union allowed all women outside of residence to find "a home-like, social centre and three good, substantial, nourishing meals a day."¹⁹ Like UC's women's union, Victoria's Wymilwood quickly became a social centre for women students.

Colleges for Women

The development in the University of Toronto is such that all the Arts Colleges are full and some of them overcrowded. University College, with more than one thousand students, is so unwieldy as to be almost unmanageable, and a second State College will soon be an urgent necessity. The most natural solution of a difficult problem would be to organize women into a separate College. The present conditions do not do women justice. The special needs of women's education are not adequately studied; the courses are designed for men and for men's careers. Moreover, as matters stand, there are almost no women instructors in the Arts Faculty. With a College for Women this handicap of women engaged in educational work should be removed. A women [sic] would be at the head of the College and in time women would naturally be appointed to the teaching staff.²⁰

The University of Toronto most seriously considered a separate college for women, but the women graduates and faculty fought the idea. Foremost among their concerns was the fear that women would be short-changed in their education by being placed in a segregated, all-women space. With facilities for women already funded on a shoestring and campaigns to raise more money always struggling, they feared that a separate college would meet a similar fate and be inadequate to meet the needs of the increasing numbers of women students.

With the 1909 report by Professor George M. Wrong, the debate over women and higher education returned to a serious consideration of separate education for women. When women's admission into Ontario's universities was first being considered, Canadian educators, politicians and academics had examined the systems in place in Britain and the United States. Three models of women's education had been carefully observed by Canadian academics and educators in the 1870s: separate non-degree granting women's colleges, such as the British colleges Somerville, Girton, Newnham, and Lady Margaret Hall; independent degree-granting women's colleges; and co-education in the already established universities.²¹ With only a few women enrolling in the early courses offered, it was felt that a separate institution would not be feasible.²² At University College, as at McGill University, the issue focussed on whether women should be educated separately

from or together with the men. While McGill eventually established a separate college for women, University College implemented co-education over the objections of the Principal, Sir Daniel Wilson.²³ Unlike Toronto, Victoria and Queen's Universities admitted women to the Arts programs with relatively little dissension. Queen's and Victoria both admitted the first full-time woman student to their arts classes in 1880.²⁴ At Trinity College, women were first allowed to write examinations, but could not attend classes or receive degrees. It was not until 1885 that Trinity granted degrees to women and 1887 that women were allowed to attend some lectures at Trinity.²⁵ Here co-education was originally not an option. Instead, a separate women's residential college, St. Hilda's, was organised and in operation by 1888. Between 1888 and 1894, St. Hilda's functioned as a separate college with Trinity professors repeating their General course lectures and women going to Trinity for the Honours classes. As a result of financial difficulties in 1894, separate classes for women were abolished and St. Hilda's began to operate primarily as a women's residence.²⁶ By the turn of the century, all the Ontario universities except the University of Ottawa and St. Michael's College, both Catholic, had admitted women to their arts programs.

In 1907-08, the system of co-education was once again seriously questioned at Toronto. The increased number of women students and the general sense of overcrowding provided an excuse to reopen the idea of a separate college for women. While the main reason given for the proposal was overcrowding, assumptions regarding the proper type of education appropriate for women also played a significant role. Additionally, the overwhelming success of women students in winning academic prizes may also have had an impact.²⁷ Overcrowding and increasing numbers would also lead the Dean of Arts of the University of Western Ontario, W. Sherwood Fox, to enquire in 1922 into the feasibility of a separate department for women. In the Western case, the idea was never formally investigated.²⁸ In an informal letter to the President of the University of Rochester, Fox asked for information on the financial foundations of such a department.

He felt that the expected increase in the number of students would mean some sort of division of the students into smaller groupings and that providing separate classes, at least Arts classes, would be a logical division. To avoid the expense of having to duplicate equipment, he thought laboratory classes would continue to be co-ed.

In the Toronto case, the appointment of the Senate committee to investigate the matter led to the University Women's Club (UWC) establishing a committee to provide input from the women of the university. The members of the UWC were all university-educated women, but not necessarily graduates of the University of Toronto. It is part of the International Federation of University Women (IFUW). The University Women's Club committee set out certain principles that were felt to be essential for the success of any such women's college. First, a women's college would have to be equal in every way with the men's colleges, including personnel and staff, finances, equipment, and opportunities for the students. It would also have to include equal representation with the other colleges on the governing body of the university. Also important was "the principle that appointments to the staff of the proposed college [...] be open to well qualified and distinguished University women as well as to well qualified and distinguished University men, and that the Head [...] be a woman who would rank with the Heads of other Colleges in the University." The committee felt that a residence for the women was indispensable and that the residence heads should be members of the faculty. Finally the committee believed that the College must have a religious (Christian) basis.²⁹ A separate article by one member of this committee, Maud C. Edgar, argued in favour of a "Co-ordinate College" in which the women would follow the same course of study, take the same exams, and proceed to the same degrees as the men, but would attend classes separately from the men. Both co-education and separate colleges, she felt, were faced with intellectual and social difficulties. She emphasised, however, that such a co-ordinate college would have to be equal in every way with the men's colleges and would require an "equal proportionate" amount of money.³⁰ This proposal differed only slightly, but

significantly, from the report that George Wrong eventually wrote. Both agreed that separate classes should be held, but the Wrong Report felt that the course of study for women would evolve to meet their special needs. The University Women's Club report also made it clear that they expected women to retain control over any women's college and that it would not be side-lined in favour of the men's colleges. The final report from the Senate Committee, the Wrong Report, outlined several reasons why a separate college for women was necessary, but the focus was on both the overcrowded state of the university and the special needs of women's education. Little attention was given to how such a college would be funded and organised.

The various Alumnae Associations of the three colleges, University, Trinity and Victoria, and of the Medical School quickly refuted the arguments given and drew attention to the lack of guarantee of adequate financing and equipment. In particular, the Alumnae Associations argued that the "courses leading to an Arts degree [were] designed in the first instance, as it seems to us, to furnish that liberal education which we hold to be necessary for women and for men." They also feared that a separate college would result in "a curtailment of library and laboratory privileges in the case of women, such as prevails at Radcliffe." An addition to the existing university building, they argued, would be a better remedy for overcrowding than a women's college.³¹ The Principal of St. Hilda's College, Mabel Cartwright, responded in *The University Monthly* several months later arguing that some of the "ills" of co-education were not necessarily caused by co-education. Indeed, she questioned whether co-education was even complete when women did not share in the teaching as well as the learning. She concluded with the general sense that, despite the problems, co-education at least ensured that women received "the best standard of instruction and attainment that is available."³² George Wrong's response to Cartwright's article returned to the argument that the university was overcrowded. He refuted the fears that such a college would lower standards arguing that a women's college would be exactly the same as any of the other federated colleges. Yet, he still concluded

with the idea that a women's college would eventually broaden its curriculum to meet women's "special needs."³³ In the face of such strong opposition, however, Wrong and the Senate withdrew their proposal for separate education.³⁴ The incident illustrates the growing strength of women graduates who were not afraid to stand up for the rights of women students.

Although the proposal for a completely separate college for women was dropped, there was still a lingering sense that co-education was not truly accepted. Ongoing in the background were the negotiations for the establishment of the Department of Household Science. The Senate passed approval for such a department in 1902; by 1911, a separate building for the department was opened. This was seen by some as a de facto separate women's college.³⁵ Helen McMurchie, a Toronto graduate, wrote in 1913 that co-education was meant to encompass all of student life rather than just sharing classroom space. She felt that at Toronto an "imperceptible barrier separate[d] men and women in college," where although women and men attended the same classes and studied the same material, they sat well apart in gender-segregated groups and studied in separate rooms in the library.³⁶ There was even an informal suggestion³⁶ in 1911 that all the women's residences be located in the same area, well apart from the men, in order to bring about unity among women of the university as a whole.³⁷

After the evolution of St. Hilda's College into a women's residence, the closest that Ontario's universities came to providing a separate women's college was in the formation of the Catholic women's colleges, Loretto Abbey College, St. Joseph's College, and Brescia College. While some teaching was carried out at all three, and continues today at Brescia, none were degree-granting in their own right. Loretto and St. Joseph's were directed to affiliate with the University of Toronto through St. Michael's College, even though they would have preferred separate affiliation.

Both the St. Joseph's and Loretto Sisters pursued the goal of separate affiliation with the University of Toronto at the same time. The compromise solution was that both

orders affiliated with St. Michael's College, rather than operating as colleges independently affiliated with the University of Toronto.³⁸ In 1911, the two Catholic women's colleges affiliated with the University of Toronto through St. Michael's College. Until that time, any Catholic women who attended the university did so through University College or one of the other colleges. By affiliating with St. Michael's College, both St. Joseph's and Loretto Colleges came into being as separate teaching colleges for Catholic women students.³⁹ Both Loretto and St. Joseph's provided some university courses as well as women's residences.

Ursuline (Brescia) College, created in 1919, provided a separate college for Catholic women students at the University of Western Ontario.⁴⁰ Although not the first teaching college for women at Ontario universities, it is the only one to survive as a teaching and residential college for women university students in Ontario. The college was physically isolated from the university community, but Brescia students were active in both university and college activities. They participated in many of the centrally organised activities and attended some classes at Western, but they also established their own organisations, held their own parties, and attended some lectures at Brescia College.⁴¹ Unlike the other women students at Western, those enrolled as residential students at Brescia lived and studied in the same building.⁴² Students living in Brescia Hall, although not unduly restricted in comparison with other contemporary women's residences, were probably more confined in their social activities than those living in boarding houses or at home were. It is likely, however, that those at Brescia, as at other women's residences, found ingenious ways to circumvent the regulations.⁴³ Open to non-Catholics as well, Brescia College provided an option for even greater separation from the larger co-educational community and a facility for a more intense female culture. Close ties were still maintained with the larger university community allowing Brescia students access to the athletic and cultural activities open to all women students at Western.

Temporary Residences

Although women at Trinity and Victoria Colleges had proper residences quite early, women at all the colleges and universities had to deal with temporary measures for quite long periods of time. Women at University College only knew makeshift residences, including the group of houses collectively known as Queen's Hall, until 1930 when Whitney Hall was built. Both Annesley Hall and St. Hilda's College were quickly outgrown and the overflow was housed in temporary accommodations for a number of years. Similarly, Loretto and St. Joseph's Colleges used temporary measures for an extended period until they built specifically designed residences in the 1950s. Some students also lived in the residences of the convent boarding schools. Queen's used remodelled houses until 1923 when Ban Righ Hall was built. Women at McMaster lived at Moulton College, then at Wallingford Hall after 1920-21 and until the move to Hamilton. At Western, women lived in boarding houses, sororities, Brescia Hall or at home until 1928 when Alpha House was created from a private home. Temporary measures are considered to be houses that were renovated to provide accommodation for the women students, as opposed to buildings constructed specifically as university residences. Although these houses sometimes lacked even the modern conveniences as basic as electricity, they were sometimes originally quite beautiful, large family homes.

The need for a women's residence for University College was discussed quite early. In 1894, for example, efforts to provide a women's residence at the University of Toronto were reported in the Toronto newspapers. One article pointed out that in Toronto, Trinity University had St. Hilda's and McMaster had Moulton College, while the "provincial university" had none at all. A women's residence was supported because the "co-education principle, which has been so successful, [was] not to be abandoned, wholly or partially."⁴⁴ However, it was not until the 1930s that a residence was built specifically for women students at University College.

At Toronto, in order to alleviate some of the difficulties faced by the women students living in boarding houses, a lunch room was set up in 1900; and in 1901, the student newspaper *Sesame*, reported that Miss Salter, University College's Lady Superintendent, had rented a house and taken in a few women students.⁴⁵ Then in 1904, the university took possession of the Howland residence at 7 Queen's Park and renovated it for use as a women's residence, eventually known as Queen's Hall. Donations were received for the furnishing of the house and Mrs. John Campbell, the widow of a McGill professor, was appointed as superintendent.⁴⁶ In 1911, the old medical library at 9 Queen's Park was taken over as an annex to Queen's Hall.⁴⁷ Soon after, Queen's Hall also referred to the house at 4 Queen's Park. However, only a small portion of the women students could be housed there. Even in 1908, *The Globe* reported that only fifty of the 238 women registered at University College could be accommodated in Queen's Hall.⁴⁸ In the fall of 1918, a new women's residence opened at 100 Queen's Park with the name Argyll House. It was established through the efforts of University College and the Faculty of Medicine and had room for 31 women. The university loaned the building, but left its furnishing in the hands of a "committee of interested women." In 1923, it was taken over by the university to house women in Arts, Medicine and Science. Argyll House was torn down in 1930 in order to provide room for the Museum Annex.⁴⁹ Hutton House was opened at 94 St. George St. in 1919, and by 1930, had extended to include 92 St. George St. The University of Toronto Faculty Residence at 85 St. George St. became the University College Women's Union in 1916. Finally, in 1930, Whitney Hall was built in that space and the Women's Union moved to 79 St. George Street.⁵⁰

In the meantime, while the campaign for a women's residence continued, many University College women continued to live in boarding houses. Newspapers reported the great inconvenience women students faced in having to find a new boarding house every year. Lists of boarding houses were compiled by the YMCA and, by 1911, also by the wives of University College professors. In addition, Miss Salter, the Lady Superintendent,

continued to maintain a list of approved boarding houses for women students at University College.⁵¹ The facilities at the temporary residences were overcrowded quite quickly, especially in the post-war years. At 94 St. George St. in 1920-21, for example, 41 women were accommodated in a space designed for 36 by placing five students in rooms meant for three.⁵²

St. Hilda's College used temporary facilities at three times: initially, the college used various houses in the vicinity of Trinity College from the time it first opened until the main St. Hilda's building was constructed in 1899; from 1912 when the main building had become too small; and again in 1925, when Trinity and St. Hilda's moved from Queen Street to the main university campus on St. George Street. By 1912, there were 53 students residing in St. Hilda's. With the main building too small, the students were distributed between it and two nearby houses. The students in the two houses used the library, dining and reception rooms in the main building. Because they were anticipating the future move to the main university campus, the administration did not want to spend money on additions to St. Hilda's College. Mabel Cartwright expressed great dissatisfaction with the arrangement, but seemed resigned to its necessity as a temporary measure.⁵³ Temporary measures were to be the fate of St. Hilda's students until 1938. When Trinity and St. Hilda's finally moved north to join the rest of the University of Toronto in 1925, the women resided in houses on St. George Street until the new residence was finally built on Devonshire Place. Although the facilities were adequate, they not only lost the privacy of the gardens which had surrounded their former home, but also many of the pleasant features of a building specifically designed as a residence for college women such as well-planned dining and common rooms, as is discussed further in Chapter 5.⁵⁴

University authorities at that time continually complained about the number and types of activities in which the students participated, so St. Hilda's proposed move to St. George Street caused concern over more than simply the problems of creating a new

residence. In an undated memorandum, the St. Hilda's Alumnae Association expressed concern that such a move would make St. Hilda's considerably inferior to other women's residences by exposing the women students to greater temptations and thereby reducing the more intimate family-type atmosphere. They listed three concerns. First, they felt the women would be compromised

... not only by proximity to the thousands of men students frequenting the University buildings, but much more by its very close quarters to the hundreds living in Trinity and Wycliffe Colleges, in the University dormitories, in the Fraternity House, and to the multitudes constantly passing to and from the Athletic Field. The publicity and increases of restrictions necessitated by such a situation, must exercise an injurious effect.

Second, they felt that the number in residence (50) had reached the maximum that could be handled with efficiency. Finally, the memorandum supported the decision by the authorities not to allow sororities into the residence.⁵⁵ The St. Hilda's alumnae were clearly reluctant to expose the women undergraduates to the temptations of the larger university community. The 1899 St. Hilda's residence had been quite secluded from the rest of the university, so the move to St. George St. would indeed bring them into much closer contact with the rest of the undergraduate student body. There seemed also to be a fear that they were tampering with a good thing. The alumnae felt that the system in existence was the best, arguing that, as a result of the 1899 arrangements,

[w]e can point to a loyal and united body of graduates and undergraduate members; to a number of graduates doing excellent work throughout the country in positions of great responsibility; to a good bill of health for the residence; to a high standing in the class lists; above all to an admirable and distinctive type of young womanhood.⁵⁶

The alumnae concluded that St. Hilda's had developed a system of residence that was admired by and provided a model for other women's residences. Its loss, they felt, would place St. Hilda's students at a disadvantage.

At Victoria College, the need for temporary accommodation became increasingly urgent as the numbers of women students grew and Annesley Hall became overcrowded.

Between 1906 and 1930, additional residence space was acquired through the rental, at different times, of at least six neighbouring houses. These houses, while supervised by Margaret Addison, were managed daily by women graduates or other "suitable persons." In October 1906, the Drynan residence, 75 Queen's Park at the corner of Park Drive, was opened as the Annesley Hall Annex (later called South House) under the supervision of Mary Sheffield. It had space for 23 students, but four of the spaces were taken by Professor and Mrs. Reynar who occupied the large drawing room and paid what four students would have paid.⁵⁷ In 1910, there was further discussion about the advisability of renting more houses or trying to build an entirely new building.⁵⁸ In September 1912, the Bloor House Annex opened at 97 Bloor St. W., under Miss Patterson. By 1913, ten years after the opening of Annesley Hall, the Victoria Women's Association (VWA) continued to maintain a list of approved boarding houses, but only a few were good enough to be included. In that year, Miss Addison reported that there were 95 women students living in the four residences: 58 in Annesley, 23 in South Hall, 9 in Bloor House and 5 in the Annex on Charles Street.⁵⁹ Residents ate at both Annesley Hall and South Hall. However, women students living in boarding houses continued to be a concern. In January 1914, when it was reported that 24 students were living in unsatisfactory boarding houses, the Victoria Women's Association decided to have individual members befriend one or two of the students and give them the personal attention that was not available at a boarding house.⁶⁰ The members of the VWA were perhaps concerned that the women students were coming under inappropriate influence from the women who ran the boarding houses or the other residents. There was a desire to ensure that the women both did not suffer and were not negatively influenced because they were away from the supervision of their parents. The increasing number of women at Victoria, however, caused something of a dilemma for the Victoria Women's Association. On the one hand, they tried to include all Victoria women in their sphere of influence by encouraging those in boarding houses to share meals

in the Annesley Hall dining room. On the other hand, it was felt that this increase in numbers resulted in the loss of a "family spirit."⁶¹

Although collegial or familial spirit may have been disrupted by the separation of students into rented houses, the sense of family may have been easier to maintain in the Annexes where fewer students were housed. In 1914, Miss Patterson's language when she thanked the committee for her appointment as head of the Annesley annex indicates that the rhetoric of the family was pervasive even beyond the organising committee. She assured them that she had "derived very great pleasure in the performance of [her] duties as mother of this very large family of eight."⁶² In 1918, Oak Lawn at 113 Bloor St., the former residence of Margaret and Nathanael Burwash, was opened as an additional residence. In 1920, the head of Oak Lawn was Cornelia Harcum, who had come to Toronto to work at the Royal Ontario Museum. Although she was wary of taking on too much work, she found the "offer of such a comfortable home with college girls [...] difficult to resist."⁶³ In the summer of 1922, the Committee decided to again rent the 'Annex', 81 Charles St., for five years and to take over 79 Charles St. W.⁶⁴ By 1923, there were 277 women enrolled at Victoria College,⁶⁵ and in 1926, there were 313 women students with 152 in residence.⁶⁶ In 1928, the number of women at Victoria had risen to 405, with 209 in residence.⁶⁷ Then, in 1930, with 540 women students in the College, an additional building, Pugsley House, was rented so that 213 women could be in residence.⁶⁸

In 1913, Victoria College erected a men's residence and dining hall. Built to the north and east of Victoria College in a late Gothic Revival style with rough grey stone, they were designed by the architectural firm of Sproatt and Rolph and resembled the traditional style of men's residence. However, this men's residence was also quickly outgrown. The women living at South House and the Annex were displaced in 1926 and 1927, respectively, by the men. Some thirty of the women were accommodated in the newly opened Wymilwood, but it is unclear where the remainder were housed.⁶⁹ Little

comment was made in the student paper beyond pointing out that the opening of Wymilwood really did not provide additional housing for the women.

The women's residence at Victoria College was intended to provide the young women with an example of a wholesome, but cultured, Christian home that would ultimately benefit themselves personally and Canadian society as a whole when the women graduates went out to work and eventually set up homes of their own. Margaret Addison lauded the achievements of the women's efforts in creating a successful women's residence. In 1908, at an open meeting of the Victoria Women's Residence & Educational Association (VWR&EA), she claimed that Annesley Hall was an institution of which Methodism might be justly proud. It was successful both financially and in attracting residents, and more importantly, in providing a "wholesome home atmosphere and religious spirit."⁷⁰ In 1909, the Dean of Residence reported that a pleasing feature in the life of the residence was

the democratic spirit in which the rich and poor share alike in societies, and which causes those who have had greater opportunities share them with those of lesser ones. The moral tone has exceeded that of previous years, the young women acquit themselves well. The number of religious organisations seem, however, rather to dull than to inspire the deepest spiritual life.⁷¹

By 1910, the VWR&EA was trying to raise funds in order to provide scholarships to enable more women to live in residence. At one meeting, a Miss Carman outlined the story referred to earlier of the young woman who lived in a boarding house while studying in Toronto. Carman used this story to illustrate the need for a scholarship fund to make residence in the Hall possible for every woman student in Victoria College, to protect them from similar fates, and to "give our girls every advantage of a cultured, Christian home."⁷² Later that year, a speaker at a VWR&EA meeting argued that there was "no safer place spiritually than Victoria College."⁷³

It was not until 1911 that Catholic women had a residence of their own affiliated with the University of Toronto. The establishment of Loretto Abbey and St. Joseph's

Colleges as separate women's colleges provided a space for both living and learning for Catholic women students. In their preparation for the establishment of women's colleges, the Sisters of both orders, like the Methodist and Anglican women, spent much time gathering information about other similar colleges in Canada (including St. Hilda's College and its affiliation with Trinity College), the United States and Britain.⁷⁴ They received visitors from other communities, as well as travelling to visit established Catholic colleges.

In the Loretto Abbey College (LAC) Annual Report for 1913-14, there were 18 Loretto students enrolled at St. Michael's College. The university students shared the residence of the secondary school students. Residential accommodations, it was reported, had been improved in 1913-14 by setting aside a corridor in "St. Theresa's House," Loretto's secondary school, for some of the university students. This area contained "a common room and several private or semi-private rooms" which allowed for increased comfort and liberty, and improved conditions for study. A small dining room was adequate for the college students, but they anticipated a need for greater accommodation for the coming year when numbers were expected to increase.⁷⁵

Loretto suffered several temporary homes before it had a residence built in the 1950s. When LAC was first affiliated with St. Michael's, it was located on Wellington Place. Between 1912 and 1922, the college was housed in several buildings on Wellington Street West. The LAC Announcement for 1920-21 described the new building on Brunswick Avenue as leaving nothing to be desired in terms of rooms, light, heat and general comfort. In 1923, college students lived at both Wellington St. and at Brunswick Avenue. By 1930, the college had sole possession of the Brunswick Avenue buildings.⁷⁶ It was not until 1937 that two houses on St. George Street began to be used, and 1959 that the residence on St. Mary Street was built. For students resident in the College on both Wellington Street and Brunswick Avenue, the distance of the college from the university continued to be a major disadvantage, but apparently, one that was accepted

cheerfully.⁷⁷ The LAC students on the university campus also used the Newman Club for Catholic students for meetings.

In the 1951 Centennial Issue of the St. Joseph's Lillies, the student annual, one student listed the college residences: they were first housed at the Convent; then, in 1917, at 25 Queen's Park; in 1922, at 66 St. Alban's Street; in 1923, at 89 Breadalbane Street; and in 1928, at "the lovely present home on Queen's Park Crescent."⁷⁸ Unlike the Loretto Abbey College students, those at St. Joseph's College (SJC) were never far from the centre of university activity. Students reminisced in the Centennial Issue about dancing in the common room after supper, sneaking food from breakfast up to a late sleeper, about roommates and classmates, and dances. From these accounts it certainly seems as if the Catholic women students had as active a social life as their counterparts at the other University of Toronto colleges. Even those at Loretto, physically separated from the rest of the university community, created an active social life. Sister Kathleen McGovern, IBVM, believed that because there were so few Loretto students, they had "to be good to survive -- or even be noticed." In those days, she argued, life was never dull because so few were involved in so much.⁷⁹

At Queen's University, no residence was provided for women until 1901-02 when Principal Grant approved an experiment of renting a furnished house for seven months. Ten students resided there under the supervision of "a lady." The house was self-governing and the students' fees covered the expenses, with the exception of the rental of the furnishings. Although the residence was a success, not all members of the residence committee were in favour of such an experiment. Elizabeth Shortt received a letter from one member [her name is illegible] outlining the reasons why she was not in favour. Interestingly, she was against it largely because a residence would take away from the responsibility and freedoms of the women residents.

¹ The residence would emphasize feminine faults if it were patronised and all the girls gathered together.

- 2nd Annoying and hindering restrictions of an institution on an energetic student.
- 3rd Want of finances to make a perfect success.
- 4th Primitive and chaotic state of Household Economics no suitable person could be found fit in all the requirements to run it.
- 5th Loss of personal responsibility on the part of the women so provided with an institution.⁸⁰

She felt instead that a restaurant for students could be started or even "well appointed and sanitary flats built where congenial groups of students could have a home together." She knew that these were perhaps radical ideas, stating "I suppose I shall utterly shock the good ladies who are led by Mrs. [Grundy ?]."⁸¹ The success of the first house at 64 William Street led to the rental of a larger one, at 174 Earl Street, which could accommodate 20 residents. With the decision to continue to provide residential space, more attention was paid to the living conditions. In 1902, Alice Chown, sister of G.Y. Chown, Registrar of the University, wrote that the

[r]esidence [would] aim to provide the best conditions for maintaining the physical life of the students. The house that has been leased stands in spacious grounds, so the sun will have access to every room, the sanitary conditions are receiving due consideration, the plumbing is new and the plans for heating and ventilation are complete. Much care will be given to the proper selection and dainty serving of the food.⁸²

Not only was the physical well being of the women to be cared for, their moral and spiritual life would also be nurtured. Indeed, Chown went on to argue that

[t]he aspiration of the Residence would be to inculcate that in conduct as in religion, the highest incentives are inward, to provide an environment where there will be an intellectual appreciation of beauty and a spirit that seeks its expression in the details of daily life, rather than the observance of social forms and to unite the women who feel the need of working out a higher home life than is possible in the average boarding house. The idea of the value of environment is not a new one; the old Greek educator never conceived of intellectual training separated from a harmonious environment for the student; beauty of thought found expression in the aesthetic relations of everyday life.⁸³

The Earl Street residence, derisively named the "Hencoop," was home to sixteen residents, with fourteen others, called "grubbers," coming in for their meals. Describing the house as "old and gloomy," the members of the Queen's alumnae worked hard to whip

it into shape. They volunteered to clean it and sought out used furniture from friends and auction sales. To run the house, under the supervision of the alumnae, a housekeeper was first hired who turned out to be "not the type of person we wanted." Although she was only paid an honorarium, Lillian Mowat was eventually hired and stayed for ten years. The person hired to replace Mowat, Mrs. Norman Fraser, stayed until Ban Righ Hall was opened in 1925. These women not only supervised the students; they also did all the housekeeping.⁸⁴ The rooms were sparsely furnished with a camp cot, a small table as a desk, a straight kitchen chair, a tiny bookshelf, and hooks for clothes behind a chintz curtain. Other comforts were purchased by the residents themselves or brought from home. Meals were no-nonsense, but nourishing and substantial. The Warden,⁸⁵ Lillian Mowat, ensured that the women abided by "rules of conduct becoming to a young lady."⁸⁶ Lunch and dinner were ceremonies:

Promptly at the hour Miss Mowat sailed out of her room, residents and grubbers who had gathered in the hall sprang to attention, Miss Mowat bowed to us, went into the dining-room followed in proper order by seniors, juniors, sophomores and freshies. She stood until we had all filed in; she sat, we sat, and not a word was spoken until grace was said and food was put before us. Miss Mowat carved and served all thirty-odd of us though there were separate vegetable dishes on the second table, managed by the seniors in rotation.⁸⁷

The second Warden, Mrs. Norman Fraser, was similarly conscientious about propriety. She kept up with the interests and activities of the residents and was remembered as being "very much in loco parentis when necessary."⁸⁸ The smallness of the residence group created a sense of "family responsibility." Help could be had for study and preparation for exams. The pairing of freshettes with seniors ensured that freshettes had pleasant introductions to college life.⁸⁹

Although the Queen's alumnae had been planning and saving towards a new residence for women students, by 1917 they realised that one could not be built until after the end of the war. A large problem at the time, of course, was the increasing pressure on the small residence. Only sixteen could be accommodated out of approximately 156

women students requiring rooms. In 1917, the alumnae looked for a stopgap and found a rooming house available for rent, the Avonmore. This time there was more support from the Queen's Board of Trustees who gave one thousand dollars towards furnishings and upkeep and agreed to pay the summer rent. Economies were still necessary, however, and the alumnae once again cleaned the building, painted, made drapes, and shopped for second-hand furniture.⁹⁰ Originally two houses, the dividing wall in the front hall was knocked out so that on the ground floor it had the appearance of a single house. On the upper floors, the building was divided into two. Between nine and eleven students lived on each side of the two upper floors, with one bathroom on each side. A strict schedule for the use of the bath was maintained. There was only one sitting room for receiving male visitors, so couples would usually go out for walks or to a movie.⁹¹ Although a purpose-built, permanent residence for women students was finally built in 1925, two nearby houses continued to be rented to provide additional space.

At McMaster University in Toronto, the men students lived in McMaster Hall, but the women had no provisions made for them. Some graduates of Moulton College could continue to live there.⁹² It was not until 1919 that a donation enabled the Alumnae Association to purchase a house on St. George Street.⁹³ The Alumnae Association assumed responsibility for the running of the residence and raised funds to furnish the building and to hire a dean. Wallingford Hall allowed the women of all years to come together; creating a more unified sense of community that was enjoyed at other universities. It was first opened in 1920-21, under the watchful eye of the new Dean of Women's Residence, Mrs. Ellen Freeman Trotter. With an elegant reception room, dining room and library, the women were enthusiastic about its potential for providing surroundings conducive to study.⁹⁴ By 1929, this space was outgrown and an Annex was acquired near McMaster Hall that had room for about twelve women and a resident Dean.⁹⁵ McMaster faced a continuing problem of providing for the "day students" who

did not live in residence. Although attempts were made to incorporate them into the life of the residents, it made for little privacy for those who did live in.⁹⁶

At Western, no women's or men's purpose-built residences were provided until after World War II. The new Dean of Women, Ruby C.E. Mason, made a brief attempt in 1928 to provide some housing for women students. She established Alpha House in her own home at the corner of Kent and Ridout Streets. Twenty-one students could be accommodated. The following year she organised Beta House on Albert Street for nineteen more women. In a promotional pamphlet about the women students at Western, Mason wrote with concern about the increasing number of women who were required to live away from their homes in order to attend. For these women, she felt, a college residence was desirable:

Residence life develops group loyalty, gives opportunity to study human nature and so helps to develop good judgement, creates the opportunity to make lasting friendships, contributes to character building through developing capacity for team work, evolves a sense of social responsibility, directs energies into socially acceptable channels, offers recognition for tasks successfully performed, and induces forte for leadership.⁹⁷

Mason, formerly Dean of Women at the University of Illinois, University of Indiana, and Ward-Belmont College and therefore already well experienced in this type of position, clearly felt a women's residence would have many benefits. In 1927 there were rumours about boarding houses where women and men were residing together. The Dean of Arts, W. Sherwood Fox, wrote to Mason asking her to investigate the rumours. Mason was to get any women in such boarding houses to move elsewhere. It appears that this was an unwritten rule since he comments at the end of the letter that "it [would] be well for us to establish a definite policy regarding boarding houses and to follow the practice of announcing to all landlords and landladies that the University will only approve solely those homes where men only or women only are taken as residents."⁹⁸ This is unusually late for a university to be establishing guidelines regarding boarding-houses and suggests

that most students prior to 1927 were still residing in their own homes or in the homes of relatives. The fact that Mason established Alpha House shortly thereafter implies that there may have been difficulty in finding adequate boarding houses for the women students.

Mason's organisation of Alpha and Beta Houses, while not officially sanctioned as university residences, still met with approval from Fox. Beta House, however, apparently ran into some difficulties. In 1930, Fox wrote to Professor Fred Landon regarding "the affairs of Beta Hall." Beta Hall was apparently not in very good condition. Fox felt that the owner, Mr. Kingsmill, had not "lived up to his promise to make the house comfortable and habitable." Heating was prohibitively expensive since the furnace required forty tons of coal. He felt it would be better to have two smaller houses rather than to rent the Kingsmill house again.⁹⁹ He also reported to Landon that he had suggested to Mason that she seek out another house, but then goes on to say

[w]e must be very careful not to allow her to repeat the mistake, or mistakes, that were made last year. We must have a satisfactory house. It must be in order weeks before the opening of school and the girls who reside in it must be given a greater measure of independence and responsibility than was accorded them last year.¹⁰⁰

That Mason was overly strict is also suggested by historian Ross Baxter Willis, who comments that "Dean Mason had interesting ideas about young ladies and felt that those who lived in residence should regard themselves as the equivalent of students in a preparatory or finishing school."¹⁰¹ Professor Leola Neal, faculty member in the Psychology Department and Dean of Women in the late 1940s, remembered Ruby Mason as the one who really organised the women students at Western. She suggests that Mason took women students into her home in part because she was on a "miserable salary."¹⁰² Indeed, it is clear from the letter offering Mason the position of Dean of Women at Western that she took a pay cut in order to stay in Canada.¹⁰³ Lillian Benson, graduate of Western in 1933 and former assistant librarian, believed that Mason "sank a lot of money into Alpha House."¹⁰⁴ The combination of inadequate facilities in houses run seemingly

single-handedly suggests that Western lacked commitment, financial or otherwise, to the establishment of women's residence. Mason apparently received no backing or assistance beyond some general advice and admonishments. In this case, and under these circumstances, it is no wonder that women's residences arrived so late at Western and that sororities eventually filled the gap.

Catholic women at Western were provided with residential space from 1919 when Brescia College was first formed and affiliated with the University of Western Ontario. In the first year of operation, the college (then called Ursuline) held its classes in Chatham at the Ursuline of Chatham Union's motherhouse, The Pines. That year, the university students had to follow the boarding school rules and so missed out on the fun of university life.¹⁰⁵ Under the direction of Reverend Mother Clare Gaukler, land was purchased near Western's future site and arrangements were made for the second year in London until permanent buildings could be erected. The order purchased a large three-story house at 556 Wellington Street opposite Victoria Park. It was capable of holding twenty people. Six sisters of the order worked for a month remodelling the home:

In the main house, the top floor had to be finished off, the walls calcimined, bathrooms, wash basins and toilets had to be provided, radiators and electric light to be installed. The unfinished attic had to be transformed into comfortable bedrooms. The floors throughout had to be stained and varnished. The former owners had been 'brave in colours' and the reds, blues and greens of the mural decoration required toning down. Every inch of floor and woodwork needed cleaning... The garage behind was even further from its finished state...¹⁰⁶

Even the garage was utilised as an annex with bedrooms.¹⁰⁷ As a student, Sister St. Michael Guinan (Winnifred Guinan) remembered that the sisters were so poor one "slept on bed springs laid across a bath tub."¹⁰⁸ Like the temporary residences of the other universities, furnishings were donated and scavenged from closed convents and rummage sales. Nineteen students lived in the residence in the 1920-21 term. In 1923, the Ursulines purchased more land contiguous to that previously purchased and began planning for the future permanent building. By 1924, registration at Brescia had grown such that they

rented a nearby house on Wolfe Street as an annex.¹⁰⁹ Life in the home on Wellington Street was remembered as having a family spirit where everyone shared triumphs and troubles. But there was also a sense of adventure as the residents sought ways to circumvent the strict, but not unusual, house rules.¹¹⁰ Like the other universities, efforts were made to make Brescia a centre for non-resident students as well as those in residence.

Even when the women lived in temporary residences, themselves originally built as large family homes, an effort was made to maintain a sense of “family.” The family-model was a patriarchal one of an ideal middle-class, Christian family in which the parents provided moral guidance and physical protection for the children. In the residences, the parental role model was filled by the women deans or supervisors like Margaret Addison at Victoria and Mabel Cartwright at St. Hilda’s. Alice Chown felt that appropriate residence life would help students in their later careers as homemakers as they dealt with the problem of creating a “helpful, healthy environment” in the industrial age; “the problem of creating conditions physical, mental and moral, that will develop the best citizens.”¹¹¹ The familial model was also apparent among the students in the designation of the first-year students as little sisters and those in the upper years as their elders. Class status was protected by discouraging the women from mingling with the servants and in the provision of servants to take care of some of the daily chores, such as cooking and cleaning that the women would have been expected to do if they lived at home. At Queen's, residents of the “Hencoop” were remembered as being “not too well-off, but comfortable. Certainly none of them was dazzled by the luxury of the Residence so they returned discontented to their homes.”¹¹² In most respects, of course, residence life could not truly emulate family life. With twenty or more young women living together, there was little real resemblance to most families. Indeed, increasing numbers caused laments about the loss of the “family spirit.” The number of rules imposed was often greater than what the women might have faced at home or in a boarding house. At the same time, however, there is some

suggestion that it may have been easier to circumvent those rules than if they had lived at home. In general, the "family spirit" referred to the provision of a congenial atmosphere in a refuge from the demands of daily life, regular, wholesome meals, and physical supervision and moral direction by a parental figure. The reliance on temporary measures merely emphasised for the women the need to continue planning for future buildings.

Sororities

Unlike Queen's where sororities were banned or frowned upon, sororities at Western were introduced largely to allow for the provision of living accommodation for women students. Although there is some indication that sororities and fraternities made an appearance at Western as early as 1922,¹¹³ it was not until the late 1920s that any were officially formed. In 1926, Western's Board of Governors gave permission to the Executive Committee of the Deans to regulate and control fraternities and sororities at Western. It was not until 1928 that the first four sororities were approved. One year later, two more sororities petitioned for permission to form. It was noted in an article in the Western U Gazette that a significant aspect of sorority life was sacrifice and responsibility in service, deeper friendships, and broadened horizons.¹¹⁴ In another article at the beginning of the 1929-30 academic year, five sororities were listed with the comment that they were founded "in some measure for the purpose of establishing girls' residences at Western."¹¹⁵ The regulations for joining a sorority or fraternity were quite stringent. A student could not join until after one complete year's work was credited without failures or unremoved supplementals and students had to have at least a "C" average or higher in half their credits and had to maintain this average to retain membership. The names of all prospective members had to be submitted for approval by the Dean of the Faculty concerned and the Administrative Council reserved the right to refuse approval.¹¹⁶ The Registrar's Office also kept track of the grades of members of sororities and fraternities, both individually and as a group.¹¹⁷

Sororities and fraternities met with mixed reception at the other universities. Opinions were readily exchanged between university authorities regarding the appropriateness of sororities. Sororities were sometimes seen as another way of creating community, especially at large universities. They were also often seen as a good way of providing residential space for women students at universities like Western where no residences existed. Queen's University did not allow sororities at all. St. Hilda's had one early one that was eventually disbanded. Victoria and University Colleges both had some sororities, but the college authorities supervised them and limited their numbers. A letter from some students to Mabel Cartwright in 1908 notified her that their sorority, which had not been approved, was voluntarily disbanding because they had come to agree with Cartwright's view that sororities would not benefit St. Hilda's. A similar situation arose in 1911 and two other unauthorised sororities also disbanded.¹¹⁸

In the mid-1920s, the University College Dean of Women collected a number of letters regarding sororities at other universities. Concerns generally centred on the sense of division among the students that sororities engendered. Gertrude L. Rutherford, a graduate of Victoria, wrote in 1924 about having been invited as an undergraduate in 1918 to join the Kappa Kappa Gamma fraternity at Victoria College. Although the invitation was flattering and somewhat appealing, she decided not to join for the following reasons:

1. The whole principle of the thing seemed wrong. I could really see no justification for the organization itself – a group of some twenty-five girls, out of possibly two hundred or more, who joined themselves together in solemn vows of friendship and who of themselves presumed to sit in judgement on all other girls in the College. Girls who passed the critical examination were then taken into the group. Having become a member it seemed she no longer retained her individuality but now acted, always, as one of that group. I saw no reason why I should be a party to that sort of thing.
2. I preferred to choose my friends on the basis of my own judgement whether they were members of a fraternity or not, and I saw that the wearing of a fraternity pin would cut me off from many girls in the college.
3. It seemed to me that in a College, such as Victoria, there was no place for a sorority. We were small enough to be a unit and the sorority was really a disintegrating force.

4. I couldn't afford to join the sorority. I had neither the time nor the money required.¹¹⁹

In the end, she concluded that while a sorority might benefit some individual students, there was no benefit for the college as a whole. Evelyn Albright, graduate of Victoria College and professor of English at the University of Western Ontario, wrote to Margaret Addison in 1925 about her views on sororities. She was opposed because of their exclusiveness. Albright had very negative memories of the Victoria College sorority:

... they are a sign of wealth and position in a place where, if ever, people ought to be made to feel on an equal footing. I do not think they are kind; the memory of the sorority at Victoria is one of the most unpleasant that I have, and that despite the fact I thought a great deal of the girls in it. Perhaps it was that that made the whole thing hurt so much.¹²⁰

Albright went on to state that Western had no sororities, not suspecting that within four years they would be introduced to remedy the lack of residences.

Mabel Cartwright, Principal of St. Hilda's College, also wrote in 1924 that in a college where a residence was available, a sorority had no place. With private initiations and secret activities, sororities fostered an atmosphere of suspicion. The arbitrary method of selection of new members and the lack of internal control over them weakened the college by allowing in some external authority and by sapping the enthusiasm and energies of often the ablest women in the college. Cartwright concluded that in colleges where no residence was provided or where only a dormitory without a sense of community existed, there might be a need for sororities. Otherwise, they only had a detrimental effect.¹²¹

Margaret Lowe, writing to Addison in 1925, remembered the St. Hilda's sorority as "silly." She had been about to withdraw from it when it disbanded, in her view, because of the ill feeling it caused in such a small college.¹²² It is clear that sororities were seen as filling in gaps where equipment and space were lacking, creating smaller groups within larger universities without adequate social, recreational, and residential centres for students. It was reluctantly concluded that there was a place for sororities in University College as

long as there were inadequate residences and students remained scattered among boarding houses.¹²³ Western seems to have been the only Ontario university to really welcome sororities simply because they filled a need in providing accommodation for students. At Queen's and Toronto, where residences, however temporary or inadequate, were provided, there was less pressing need to allow sororities to form.

Conclusion

Facilities for women students were minimal at best in the early years. The women's rooms first provided were usually simply cloakrooms or, if the women were fortunate, lunch rooms. As numbers grew, these rooms quickly became too small for meetings. Only University and Victoria Colleges provided Women's Unions for their students. These unions became centres of most social life, providing more space for meetings, hot meals, reading rooms, and libraries. These were the closest that women came to having the equivalent of University of Toronto's Hart House for men. Hart House, of course, was considerably larger and provided athletic facilities as well. Women were not allowed to use Hart House, except on special occasions, until the 1970s. Separate colleges for women were also considered during this period, but only the Catholic women's colleges were established as full teaching and residential spaces. St. Joseph's and Loretto Colleges eventually devolved into residences, while only Western's Brescia continued as a teaching college. In order to meet the needs of the women students faced with inadequate boarding and rooming houses, the colleges and universities rented or purchased large homes to renovate into temporary residences. These stopgap measures continued even after the permanent residences were built. The next chapter examines these permanent, purpose-built residences.

Endnotes

¹ Parts of chapters 4 and 5 were presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, June 1996, Brock University, Ontario, and will be published as an article, "Centres of 'home-like influence': Women's Residences at the University of Toronto", in *Material History Review*, forthcoming Spring 1999. I would like to thank Helen Lenskyj, Alison Prentice, Elizabeth Smyth, Lisa Panayotidis and Sara Burke for their comments on aspects of this chapter.

² At various times, I use residence to refer to a single building, and at other times, to a series of houses that, together, were seen as the residence, for example, of Victoria College women.

³ *Western University Gazette*, January 1909, p. 9.

⁴ *Western University Gazette*, March 1909, p. 164.

⁵ *Occidentalia*, 1928, p. 38.

⁶ *Western University Gazette*, March 1913, p. 109-110.

⁷ I could find no enrolment statistics prior to 1920. Wm. Ferguson Tamblyn states that in 1913 there were 23 women registered, and in 1914, 43 women were registered in a total enrolment of 110 [*These Sixty Years* (London: Univ. of Western Ontario: 1938): 16].

⁸ Detailed data on family backgrounds of the women students at Western is not available. However, the vast majority of students at Western came from London and the surrounding counties and a 1929 newspaper report listed the following regarding the family background of all students at Western:

"Farms 22.54%
 Professions 15.55%
 Educational work 2.54%
 Religion 5%
 Commerce 38.38%
 Merchants 11.22%
 Labor 14.04%
 Civil Service 3.77%
 Retired 2.07%"

"Many Students Come From Farm," *London Free Press*, July 9, 1929. DBWCO Scrapbooks, v. 4, UWO.

⁹ McKillop, 145.

¹⁰ "Levana, Then and Now," *Uncrowned Jubilee* (February 15, 1963): 5.

¹¹ McKillop, 131, 279.

¹² Report of the University College Women's Union, University College, Dean of Women, B74-0011/001(Ann. Report 1916-17), UTA.

¹³ Report of the University College Women's Union 1917, 1918, University College, Dean of Women, B74-0011/001(Ann. Report 1917-18), UTA.

¹⁴ All the universities were affected by the outbreak of Spanish influenza between 1918 and 1920. Queen's closed for several weeks in 1918-19, while fewer than 25% of the students attended lectures at the University of Toronto. (McKillop, 295.)

¹⁵ Report of University College Women's Union 1918, 1919, University College, Dean of Women, B74-0011/001(Ann. Report 1918-19), UTA.

¹⁶ "Report 1919, 20 University College Women's Union," University College, Dean of Women, B74-0011/001(Ann. Report 1919-20), UTA.

¹⁷ Report on the Union, 1923-24, University College, Dean of Women, B74-0011/001(13), UTA.

¹⁸ Residence Extension Committee Minutes, May 24, 1925, Annesley Committee of Management, box 2, file 2A, VUA; *Victoria College Bulletin* (1925-26).

¹⁹ Report to the VWA by M.H. Skinner, Head of Union, November 1917, Women's Associations, box 2, file 18, VUA.

²⁰ "Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire in Regard to a Possible College for Women," George M. Wrong, Chairman of the Committee, March 10, 1909. MS 120 Cartwright Papers, box 10, SHC corr. File 1909-20. TCA.

²¹ LaPierre examines this in Chapter One, "The First Generation."

²² LaPierre, "The First Generation," 57.

- ²³ Paula J.S. LaPierre, "The Academic Life of Canadian Coeds, 1880-1900," in *Gender and Education in Toronto*, eds. Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991): 308-310.
- ²⁴ McKillop, 130.
- ²⁵ LaPierre, "The First Generation," 58-61; McKillop, 128-32.
- ²⁶ LaPierre, "The Academic Life," 316.
- ²⁷ "Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire in Regard to a Possible College for Women," George M. Wrong, Chairman, March 10, 1909. Cartwright Papers, MS 120, Box 10, SHC Correspondence, file 1909-20. TCA; M. Jennifer Brown, "'A Disposition to Bear the Ills...': Rejection of a Separate College by University of Toronto Women," (Toronto: Women in Canadian History Project, OISE, 1977): 8.
- ²⁸ Letter, Jan. 31, 1922, to president Rush Rheiss, University of Rochester, from W. Sherwood Fox, Dean of Arts, Fox papers, CA9ONFOX114 10M36, Box 6. UWO.
- ²⁹ Report, "Committee of the University Women's Club appointed to confer with the Committee of the Senate of the University of Toronto on the proposed College for Women," MS 120 Cartwright papers, Box 10, SHC Corr., file 1909-20. TCA; and in *The University Monthly*, v. 9, 8 (June 1909): 286-289. The members of this committee included Margaret Addison, Clara Benson, Mabel Cartwright, Helen MacMurchy, M.D., among other prominent women.
- ³⁰ Maud C. Edgar, "The Higher Education of Women," *The University Monthly* v. 8, 7 (May 1908): 225-230.
- ³¹ "To the Senate of the University of Toronto," n.d. MS 120, Cartwright papers, box 10, SHC corr., file 1909-20. TCA; and "Reply of the Alumna," *The University Monthly*, v. 9, 8 (June 1909): 289-291.
- ³² M. Cartwright, "A College for Women," *The University Monthly*, v. 10, 1 (November 1909): 1-4.
- ³³ George M. Wrong, "A College for Women," *The University Monthly*, v. 10, 1 (November 1909): 4-7.
- ³⁴ LaPierre, "The First Generation," 107-110.
- ³⁵ See Kerrie Johan Kennedy, "Womanly Work: The Introduction of Household Science at the University of Toronto," (University of Toronto, MA Thesis, 1995).
- ³⁶ Helen McMurchie, "What is Wrong with Co-Education in the University of Toronto," *The Arbor*, v. 4, 4 (February 1913): 193-201.
- ³⁷ A.B., "Some Problems of the University of Toronto: The New St. Hilda's," *The Arbor*, v. 3, 2 (December 1911): 77-80. It is not known who "A.B." was.
- ³⁸ Smyth, 179-182.
- ³⁹ The first class to graduate from St. Michael's College was in 1911. Prior to this, the men enrolled at St. Michael's had to register with University College if they wanted to pursue a university arts program. Smyth, "The Lessons of Religion and Science," 179.
- ⁴⁰ Patricia G. Skidmore, *Brescia College, 1919-1979* (London: Brescia College, 1980).
- ⁴¹ Skidmore, 13.
- ⁴² Skidmore, 28.
- ⁴³ Skidmore, 50.
- ⁴⁴ Untitled clipping, June 6, 1894. Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/220(18), UTA. It is important to note that although Moulton College allowed McMaster women to live in, it was in fact the Baptist preparatory girls' school, not a women's residence or university-level college.
- ⁴⁵ "Editorial," *Sesame* (1901): 74, quoted in LaPierre, 229.
- ⁴⁶ Various newspaper clippings, 1904 and 1905, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/220(18), UTA.
- ⁴⁷ *World*, Sept. 13, 1911. Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/220(05), UTA.
- ⁴⁸ *The Globe*, 21/10/08. Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/220(10), UTA.
- ⁴⁹ Various clippings from the *Varsity*: Oct. 2, 1918; Jan. 6, 1926; Jan. 16, 1929; Oct. 20, 1930. Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/220(10), UTA. Margaret Wrong, U.C.'s adviser for women students and daughter of the history professor, George Wrong, was involved in this committee and donated \$1000 to get the residence underway, B74-0011/003(9), Notes on the History of Argyll House, by Mrs. Leila Howard, Aug. 1, 1950, UTA.
- ⁵⁰ University of Toronto *Calendars*, 1900 - 1930; and Toronto Directories for 1905, 1914, 1920, 1930.
- ⁵¹ LaPierre, 224-229.
- ⁵² "94 St. George Street," University College, Dean of Women, B74-0011/001(11), UTA.

- ⁵³ Letter to The Secretary, Congress of the Universities of the Empire. March 29, 1912. MS120. Cartwright Family Papers, Box 10, TCA.
- ⁵⁴ Typescript draft of chapter by Cartwright for *A History of Trinity College*, ed. T. A. Reed (University of Toronto Press, 1952). MS120 Cartwright Family Papers, Box 10 (SHC History), TCA. In this draft, Cartwright pays tribute to the hard work and devotion of the house superintendents and assistants who worked in St. Hilda's College over 33 years. This tribute did not make it into the final version of the chapter for the above book.
- ⁵⁵ Memorandum from S. Hilda's Alumnae re: Removal, n.d. MS120 Cartwright Family Papers, Box 10 (SHC Removal), TCA.
- ⁵⁶ Memorandum from S. Hilda's Alumnae re: Removal, n.d. MS120 Cartwright Family Papers, Box 10 (SHC Removal), TCA; A.B., "Some Problems of the University of Toronto, The New St. Hilda's." *The Arbor* 3, no. 2 (December 1911): 77-80.
- ⁵⁷ January 9, 1907. Annesley Committee of Management, box 3, file 15; October 1906, Women's Associations, VWR&EA Minute Book, box 1, file 3, VUA.
- ⁵⁸ December 8, 1910. Annesley Committee of Management, box 1, file 1, VUA.
- ⁵⁹ April 24, 1913. Women's Associations, VWA Minutes, box 1, file 4, VUA.
- ⁶⁰ January 13, 1914. Women's Associations, VWA Minutes, box 1, file 4, VUA.
- ⁶¹ Victoria Women's Association, Annual Report 1912-13, pp. 10-11. Fonds 2069, 90.066V, boxes 2-6. VUA.
- ⁶² January 8, 1914. Annesley Committee of Management, box 3, file 17, VUA.
- ⁶³ Letter to Miss Addison, from Cornelia G. Harcum, August 19, 1920. Annesley Committee of Management, box 4, file 4, VUA.
- ⁶⁴ June 22, 1922. Annesley Committee of Management, box 2, file 1, VUA.
- ⁶⁵ April 25, 1923. Women's Associations, VWA Minutes, box 1, file 5, VUA.
- ⁶⁶ April 28, 1926. Women's Associations, VWA Minutes, box 1, file 5, VUA.
- ⁶⁷ April 25, 1928. Women's Associations, VWA Minutes, box 1, file 5, VUA.
- ⁶⁸ April 30, 1930. Women's Associations, VWA Minutes, box 1, file 5, VUA.
- ⁶⁹ *Acta Victoriana*, 52, no. 1 (1927): 39-40; 50, no. 30 (1925): 30-1; 50, no. 4 (1926): 33.
- ⁷⁰ November 18, 1908. Women's Associations, VWR&EA Minutes, box 1, file 3, VUA.
- ⁷¹ March 11, 1909. Annesley Committee of Management, box 1, file 1, VUA.
- ⁷² April 24, 1910. Women's Associations, VWR&EA Minutes, box 1, file 3, VUA.
- ⁷³ October 26, 1910. Women's Associations, VWR&EA Minutes, box 1, file 3, VUA.
- ⁷⁴ Smyth, 176. See also correspondence, "College: Academic organization & promotion, box 3 Loretto College History", 1911, Loretto Abbey Archives (hereafter LAA).
- ⁷⁵ Annual Report, 1913-14. "College: Academic organization & promotion, box 1 Loretto College History", LAA.
- ⁷⁶ Toronto Directories for 1901, 1905, 1912, 1920, 1922, 1923, 1930.
- ⁷⁷ "Loretto College, 1912-1937," "College: Academic organization & promotion, box 1, file 1, Loretto College History", LAA.
- ⁷⁸ These were basically the sides of the same block. Mrs. F. James Carson (Victoria Mueller), "St. Joseph's College, A Tribute," *St. Joseph's Lilies*, Centennial Issue, 40, no. 2 (1951): 163-4. Archives of the Sisters of St. Joseph's, Morrow Park (hereafter ASSJ). Exact address, 29 Queen's Park, located in the Toronto Directory for 1928. See also Shook, *Catholic Post-Secondary Education*, 158, footnote 45.
- ⁷⁹ Kathleen McGovern, I.B.V.M., "Outline of the History of Loretto College," Paper read at the annual dinner in honour of Mary Ward, January 22, 1976. LAA.
- ⁸⁰ Copy of letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Shortt, Jan. 5, 1901. 3627, box 1, file E16 1901-02. QUA.
- ⁸¹ Copy of letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Shortt, Jan. 5, 1901. 3627, box 1, file E16 1901-02. QUA.
- ⁸² Alice A. Chown, "The Women's Residence," *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. 10, 1 (July 1902): 81.
- ⁸³ Chown, "The Women's Residence," 82.
- ⁸⁴ Mary McPhail Chown, Arts '17 and Maud Brownlee Harkness, Arts '13, "The Hencoop," in *A Generous Loyalty: The Queen's Alumnae Memory Book*, eds. Mary Chown, Melva Eagleson and Thelma Boucher; edited for re-publication by Margaret Gibson (Kingston: Queen's Alumni Association, 1992): 7-8; Annie

Campbell Macgillivray, Arts 1891, "Old Residences," in *A Generous Loyalty*, 3-4. Annie Campbell, BA and German medallist, 1891, was also the wife of the professor of German, John Macgillivray.

⁸⁵ The term "Warden" was used by British universities and colleges and was adopted in North America by, for example, McGill's women's college and Bryn Mawr, as well as Queen's.

⁸⁶ McPhail, Chown and Brownlee Harkness, "The Hencoop," 8.

⁸⁷ McPhail, Chown and Brownlee Harkness, "The Hencoop," 8.

⁸⁸ Gwen Gauley Sellar, Arts '20, "The Residence, 1916 to 1920," in *A Generous Loyalty*, 13.

⁸⁹ Gauley Sellar, 13.

⁹⁰ Wilhelmina Gordon, Arts 1905, "History of the Avonmore," in *A Generous Loyalty*, 15-18.

⁹¹ Lorraine Shortt, Arts '20, "Memories of the Avonmore," in *A Generous Loyalty*, 19-22.

⁹² Moulton College was established by Susan Moulton McMaster, wife of the founder of McMaster University, Senator William McMaster. An agreement was made between the college and the university that graduates of Moulton would be eligible for admission to McMaster. See, Elizabeth L. Profit, "Education for Women in the Baptist Tradition," Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 1987, 68-69.

⁹³ Charles M. Johnston and John C. Weaver, *Student Days: Student Life at McMaster University from the 1890s to the 1980s* (Hamilton: McMaster University Alumni Association, 1986): 37; Baptist Yearbook, 1920, 144.

⁹⁴ R.P. Graham, *The Residences of McMaster University* (Hamilton: McMaster University Press, 1987): 6-7.

⁹⁵ Graham, 7.

⁹⁶ Johnston and Weaver, 37.

⁹⁷ Ruby C.E. Mason, M.A., "The Education of Women," *The University of Western Ontario* (The Golden Jubilee Fund Campaign, 1928): 5.

⁹⁸ Letter, October 6, 1927, to Dean R.E.C. Mason, from W. Sherwood Fox. Fox Papers, box 13, file D1. UWO.

⁹⁹ Letter, July 3, 1930, to Landon from Fox.

¹⁰⁰ Letter, July 3, 1930, to Professor Fred Landon, from W. Sherwood Fox. Fox Papers, box 16, file L 1929-30. UWO.

¹⁰¹ Willis, *Odds and Ends*, 95-96

¹⁰² Transcript of an interview with Dr. Leola E. Neal by Carrie Portis and Jan Trimble, July 23, 1986. Oral History Project, Dr. Jan Trimble, UWO.

¹⁰³ Letter, to Ruby Mason from W. Sherwood Fox. April 17, 1926. Fox papers, box 12. UWO.

¹⁰⁴ Transcript of interview with Lillian Benson by Jan Trimble, November 17, 1986. Oral History Project, Dr. Jan Trimble, UWO.

¹⁰⁵ Guinan, 23.

¹⁰⁶ Sister St. Michael Major, Ursuline Annalist. Cited in Patricia G. Skidmore, *Brescia College, 1919-1979* (London: Brescia College, 1980): 10.

¹⁰⁷ Mother M. Mercedes, O.S.U., "The History of the Ursulines of Ontario," (M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1937): 118.

¹⁰⁸ Guinan, 23.

¹⁰⁹ Mother M. Mercedes, 125.

¹¹⁰ Skidmore, 50-51.

¹¹¹ Chown, "The Women's Residence," 82.

¹¹² Gauley Sellar, 14.

¹¹³ Letter to Miss Edith Anderson, from W. Sherwood Fox, April 22, 1922, indicates that a petition was received by Fox from Anderson regarding the formation of a sorority. Fox comments that the Faculty was not yet prepared to answer the request since the regulations had not yet been drawn up. Fox Papers, box 6, UWO.

¹¹⁴ "Fraternity Members and their Duties," *Western U Gazette*, Saturday, April 20th, 1929, 6.

¹¹⁵ "Of Interest to Women," *Western U Gazette*, Friday, October 11th, 1929, [page number illegible].

¹¹⁶ "Regulations Concerning Fraternities and Sororities in the University of Western Ontario," July 2, 1930. Principal's office, A. Arch 1250, box 10 (Fraternities). QUA. Queen's University was investigating sororities and fraternities and had documents from Western in the files.

¹¹⁷ "Comparative Academic Standing of Fraternity and Sorority Groups, 1931-32," Registrar's Office, August 1932. Principal's office, A. Arch 1250, box 10 (Fraternities). QUA.

¹¹⁸ Letter. to Miss Cartwright, from Adna Nevitt, et al., April 22, 1908; Letter. to Miss Cartwright, from Gladys Crane, April 23, 1911; Letter to Miss Cartwright, from Marguerite Burnett, May 2, 1911. MS 120 Cartwright Family papers, box 10, SHC corr. (sororities). TCA

¹¹⁹ Letter to Mrs. R.G. Dingman, Sec. Of the Comm. On Sororities, from Gertrude L. Rutherford, Student Christian movement of Canada, April 28, 1924. UC Dean of Women, B74-0011/002 (09). UTA.

¹²⁰ Letter to Miss Addison from Evelyn Albright, University of Western Ontario, January 23, 1925. UC Dean of Women, B74-0011/002(9). UTA.

¹²¹ Letter, "Dear Sir," from M. Cartwright, April 14, 1924. UC, Dean of Women, B74-0011/002 (09). UTA. Other letters are in the file from May Perkins Wallace, Dean of Beloit College, Wis., W.S.W. McLay, McMaster University, Margaret Wrong, graduate of UC and Head of the UC Women's Union, Mossie M. Kirkwood, Cornelia Harcum, Assistant Professor of Archaeology, Royal Ontario Museum, Mary L. Bollert, Dean of Women at University of British Columbia, and Charlotte Gurside, Acting Warden at Royal Victoria College for Women, McGill University, and Caroline E. McNeil, Queen's University.

¹²² Letter to Miss Addison from Margaret Lowe, Dalhousie University, February 11, 1925. UC Dean of Women, B74-0011/002(9). UTA.

¹²³ Notes, n.d. UC Dean of Women, B74-0011/002(9). UTA. In Toronto, a number of sororities were founded between 1887 and 1913:

Kappa Alpha Theta	1887
Alpha Phi	1906
Pi Beta Phi	1908
Kappa Kappa Gamma	1911
Delta Gamma	1913

Handwritten notes, "Founding Dates in Toronto." UC Dean of Women, B74-0011/002(9). UTA.

Chapter 5

Spaces for Women (Part II): Residences and Residential Life¹

Women students living away from home were seen as being in need of protection from the world and guidance from the Christian, well-bred, white, middle class women who were hired as the deans or wardens of the residences. Life in the residences was modelled after a middle class patriarchal family, with the "fathers" absent and the deans serving as the representative of the university authorities. Students, however, pushed at the boundaries imposed upon them by the rules and regulations of the residences. The power struggles between the students and the deans show that the students viewed themselves as being capable of looking after themselves and making their own decisions around social activities. The history of the residences and colleges for women illustrates the efforts to provide spaces for women students within the masculine universities undertaken by alumnae, women faculty, members of the University Women's Club and wives of the male faculty. This chapter examines the permanent residences for women, the plans and struggles of the committees that fought for them, and student life within the residences.

Residences for Women

In 1910, at a meeting of the Victoria College Women's Residence and Educational Association (VWR&EA) the members were given a graphic description of a young woman student of Victoria College: "She came to Toronto, a stranger, and entered an ordinary boarding house. Through neglect and unwholesome surroundings she became a physical wreck and went home to die."² Stories such as this circulated around

the University of Toronto, and the other universities, from the time women were first admitted. Although concern was expressed over the lack of accommodation for women students and their welfare, provision of adequate residential facilities for women students progressed slowly. That women students were viewed in ways quite different from the men is clearly illustrated by the built environment, by the structures used to house the women.³

There has been little written on the history of Canadian university residences. When the residences were first built, they were celebrated and described in architectural and university journals. Then, in the 1960s when the universities were expanding rapidly, studies were done on existing residential facilities in order to determine the best way to proceed with new ones.⁴ The studies conducted in the 1960s discussed, above all, the purpose of residential facilities on a university campus. Foremost was the perceived need to provide shelter for students, especially in areas where there were few alternatives like boarding houses. In addition, there was often a sense that the universities had to morally and physically protect female and male students (although women students needed more protection) who were away from the direct influence of their parents for the first time. Finally, in the case of the University of Toronto at least, there was the desire to emulate the designs of Oxford and Cambridge as residential universities.

Although it is difficult to directly compare the residential facilities in Ontario's universities with those in the United States and Britain, two similarities stand out. Women's residences in the early years were planned, first, to provide the security, safety and comforts of a home. Second, they were designed to provide women students with a space free of domestic responsibilities, to allow them to pursue their studies without distraction. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, for example, has examined the design of American women's colleges in her book *Alma Mater*.⁵ In it, she links the variations in design to the changing perceptions of women in general and college women in particular. The women's colleges in the United States were substantially larger than those in Canada

and had much greater resources. Despite the similarities, this difference makes any direct comparisons of the impulses behind particular designs difficult. Carol Dyhouse's study of women at British universities brings to light the emphasis there on the "home-like" qualities of turn-of-the-century and early twentieth century halls of residence for women students.⁶ Even at Toronto's settlement houses effort was made to ensure that the atmosphere was a combination of a proper middle-class home and a women's college.⁷ Canadian architectural historian, Annmarie Adams, has argued that the nurses' residences of Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital illustrate a carefully negotiated compromise of private and public space and were heavily influenced by middle-class domestic design.⁸ The women's buildings at Toronto and Queen's that were built specifically as residential space similarly reflect the careful planning of public common rooms, for receiving male guests, set well apart from the bedrooms. The two turn-of-the-century residences, Annesley Hall and the first St. Hilda's College, were also designed to resemble a large family home. While it is not clear whether the American or British women's colleges had greater influence, the various women's building committees did consult the plans of women's residences in both countries.

A residence for women students was seen as essential not only to ensure the safety of the women, but also to provide moral and social guidance and to encourage collegial feelings. Life in a residence was intended to emulate the ideal of a middle-class family with the head of the residence supplying the supervision that the student's parents might normally have provided. The idea of higher education for women was made concrete by the physical structure of a building for women students. One student writing in the University College women students' newspaper, *Sesame*, in 1900 linked college dormitories to the movement for women's higher education. Dormitories, she argued, were necessary as "centres of home-like influence bringing comfort and social pleasure to brighten the lives of the students during those marked years of strenuous mental growth."⁹ Others saw residences for women as essential for their protection. One 1903 editorial in

the student paper *Acta Victoriana* commented that because young women could not rough it like a man in the boarding houses, residences were required to minimise the dangers of life away from home.¹⁰ Even in 1929, a graduate of Victoria College wrote in the *University of Toronto Monthly* that while a residence for men was hardly more than a dormitory, a residence for women should be a real home.¹¹ Although the rhetoric regarding the physical and moral protection of women students was dominant in discussions regarding residences, some women students rejected the opportunity to live in residence because they felt they would lose the freedoms they had in boarding houses.¹² The next two sections focus on the public rhetoric of those who fought to provide residences for women and the physical results of those efforts. The records detail the varying views regarding residences for women and the steps taken to provide such facilities. Expressed throughout was the desire to provide a home away from home for the women students.

The First Residences at Ontario's Universities¹³

The biggest differences between the men's and women's residences appeared on the exterior. In terms of size, the men's residences were usually substantially larger and used styles similar to the traditional Collegiate Gothic or Romanesque styles set by the original buildings. Perhaps reflecting the desire to provide a home-like atmosphere for women students, the early women's residences were built on a smaller scale than the men's and more closely resembled houses. Apart from the size, the general floor plans of the men's residences were much the same as those of the women's, with the exception of the original University College men's residence, which followed a quite different plan. A second difference was in the increased common room space for the women. In examining these differences, it is important to keep in mind both the architect and the period during which each residence was built.

The University of Toronto (U. of T.) was originally planned as a residential college. A small number of men students were still occupying this original residence in the 1880s when women students were first admitted. After the residence was closed in 1899 because it was no longer habitable,¹⁴ the men joined the women in the yearly rounds of boarding houses.¹⁵ The University of Toronto never regained the position of truly being a residential university – it was only during U. of T.'s very early years that all students could be housed within the confines of the university. The men's residence for University College was not replaced until 1926 when 73 St. George St, former home of Sir Daniel Wilson, was purchased for the men's use.¹⁶ The University of Toronto residence on Devonshire Place was opened in 1908 for men in all of the university's faculties. Victoria College had had a men's residence in its early years in Cobourg, Ontario. With the college's move to Toronto in 1892, the Victoria men were no longer provided with accommodation. In the meantime, women students at Victoria College had a new residence, Annesley Hall, by 1903, and University College women resided in Queen's Hall after 1905. From its founding in 1888, St. Hilda's College provided a residence for women attending Trinity College, which already had a men's residence. Although some Catholic women lived at Loretto and St. Joseph's convent boarding schools while attending University College or one of the other affiliated colleges, Catholic women students did not have facilities of their own until after Loretto and St. Joseph's formally affiliated with St. Michael's College in 1911. For several years at Victoria and University Colleges, women had residences when the men did not. Men students at Queen's University could live in a university-run boarding house from 1844 until 1854. For the next 100 years, the men lived in local boarding houses, while the women were provided with space in remodelled homes, boarding houses and, eventually, Ban Righ Hall. McMaster Hall had space for about fifty-four (later seventy-five and eighty-five) men in suites of two-bedrooms with a study in between. There were a few small suites for two residents, but most were for four students. The women, on the other

hand, knew only temporary residences until McMaster moved from Toronto to Hamilton in 1930. No purpose-built residences, other than Brescia College, were provided at Western, for men or women, until after the Second World War. Even when the permanent women's residences were built, they were not done on the same scale as the men's and they were quickly outgrown.

The external appearances of the first University of Toronto women's residences were quite different from those of the men's. It was not until new residences were built in the late 1920s and 1930s that any similarities in style become apparent. The original men's residence at University College was built as part of the college in the 1850s. This first university building was designed by Cumberland and Storm in a Romanesque style.¹⁷ It drew on an eclectic mixture of other styles which, in the end, produced, as Anthony Trollope described, "a manly, noble structure."¹⁸ The grandeur of University College reflects the importance placed on education in the middle of the nineteenth century and the aspirations to model the University of Toronto on British universities.¹⁹ The residence rooms were generous in size, contained stone mantelpieces and built-in closets, and had the luxury of a watercloset in the basement. The residence design followed the traditional English plan for college rooms with multiple staircases that did not allow for internal circulation from staircase to staircase.²⁰ No other residence at U. of T., for either the women or the men, was ever built along these lines.

St. Hilda's College, founded in 1888, held its own charter and was intended to provide higher education for women in affiliation with the Anglican men's college, Trinity.²¹ At first, women students attended honours lectures at Trinity and pass lectures at St. Hilda's, which was located in a series of houses near Trinity College. In 1894, Trinity opened all of its lectures to women and St. Hilda's became a residential and social centre for women attending Trinity College lectures.²² St. Hilda's College built its first 'permanent' residence in 1899 – one of the first in Canada built for that specific purpose.²³ After Trinity and St. Hilda's moved from Queen Street West to the St. George campus in

1925, it was thirteen years before another residence for Trinity women was built, and an additional two before the Trinity men's residence was built in 1940. St. Hilda's first purpose-built residence was located within the Trinity College grounds on Queen Street West near Gore Vale. Designed by Eden Smith "with suggestions from Mary Elizabeth Strachan,"²⁴ it is a good illustration of Eden Smith's style of house, often described as 'English cottage.' Unfortunately, floor plans for St. Hilda's College dating from these early years are not available. The only ones extant for that building are retrospectives, dating from 1983, almost 90 years after it was built. The 1983 plans, however, do show a classical floor plan with bedrooms off a central hallway.²⁵ The building was described by Mabel Cartwright, the second Dean of Women at St. Hilda's, in this way:

Situating on the northwest corner of Trinity's grounds, the windows of its long front looked south, so that the sun poured into many of the rooms, while north and east sides looked out upon the picturesque Gore Vale ravine. A distinctive feature, adding much to the sense of spaciousness of the whole building, was the main staircase, a gift from Dr. Jones. The student's rooms, well lighted and comfortable, many with attractive small fire-places, were naturally the centre of much of the social life of the undergraduates; the L-shaped dining room and common rooms with their folding doors could easily be thrown into one; while the large, well-lighted kitchen and pantry, opening from the dining room, were efficiently planned for the serving of meals.²⁶

In addition, there was an infirmary, library, students' common room and a chapel. From the outside, the residence had the appearance of a large private house.²⁷ In 1912, St. Hilda's principal stated that the aim had always been to preserve the atmosphere of the home.²⁸ The architect, Eden Smith, was a prominent Anglican and his designs were very popular in Toronto at that time. This, combined with his revolutionary style, makes it unsurprising that he was chosen to design St. Hilda's College. Eden Smith's designs were considered revolutionary in Toronto because they ignored the traditional floor plan of the English detached house. His houses usually were planned to maximise exposure to the sun and access to the gardens²⁹ – a plan that seemed perfect for St. Hilda's setting in Gore Vale. This home-like style was very much in contrast with the much more ornate Trinity

College, so much so that it caused comment. The Reverend C.B. Kenrick, in 1903, described the style of St. Hilda's as severely simple in comparison to the Tudor style of Trinity College with its "graceful pinnacles and cupolas" which gave it such charm. He nevertheless felt that it was "in every way suited to its purpose as a home for young ladies attending lectures at Trinity."³⁰ Indeed, the new hall was small enough to preserve a "home-like" atmosphere and to maintain personal contact with the students.

The image of a "home" in the design of St. Hilda's is emphasised when compared with Eden Smith's other university residence, the University's men's residence on Devonshire Place. Originally built in 1908, plans dated 1917 show Eden Smith as the architect. This residence is much larger than St. Hilda's, and although not as ornate as the some of the other men's buildings, it is more imposing than any of the women's buildings. It is composed of three houses surrounding a courtyard. The fourth side of the court is Devonshire Place. Inside, it has a central corridor like the women's residences. Off it were some study-bedrooms and, unlike the women's buildings, some suites were also built. The suites consisted of a study and two bedrooms off the study. The main floor had a common room with a fireplace. The corresponding rooms on the upper floors were double bedrooms with a fireplace. In comparison with the women's residences, there was less emphasis on providing communal space.³¹ New common rooms were, however, built in 1923 and 1924.³² It is interesting to note that in 1913, a resident wrote that most men preferred not to share a suite, even though each had their own bedroom. As a result, several of the suites were eventually converted into single rooms. He also complained that the benefits of a residence were limited because so few men could be accommodated, and because there was little opportunity for the socialising that could be provided by a residence dining room.³³ Criticisms such as these may have influenced the designs of the later Toronto women's residences since none of them had suites and all had dining facilities. These two buildings by Eden Smith were designed almost ten years apart in two very different locations. St. Hilda's College was located in a park-like setting quite

apart from the Trinity University buildings. When the men's residence was built, it was located just north of the main Toronto university buildings and was probably planned to resemble those buildings. Although this residence was much like others for men, only two years after it was built, Professor V.E. Henderson commented that the buildings were both hideous in colour and lacking in style.³⁴

The Victoria College women's residence, Annesley Hall, was built in 1903, eleven years after the move from Cobourg to Toronto, but ten years before the Victoria men's residence in Toronto was constructed. From the time that planning for a Victoria College women's residence finally began with the formation in 1897 of the Barbara Heck Memorial Association³⁵ by prominent Methodist women, such as Margaret Proctor Burwash, wife of Victoria College's Chancellor, all aspects of the lives of the women students came under scrutiny. The members of the association aimed to generally promote the interests of the college and to advance the cause of women's education within the Methodist Church.³⁶ But they also intended to provide the guidance that they felt the students were missing by living away from home. After Hart Massey bequeathed \$50,000 to the Board of Regents of Victoria College for the erection of a women's residence, they examined the buildings of many other women's residences across Canada, the United States and England, including Toronto's St. Hilda's College and Cambridge's Newnham College. The resulting plans illustrate the desire to provide a safe, home-like space for the women to live in.

Designed by George M. Miller, Annesley Hall was a domestic-looking, red brick and cut stone, Jacobean building located on the east side of University Avenue, just south of Bloor Street. Two residences examined by the women, St. Hilda's College and Newnham College (in England), although quite different in style, leaned more towards the domestic style of architecture than the institutional Gothic that was popular at the time. Some aspects of Newnham's Queen Anne style seem to be reflected in Annesley's design.³⁷ Newnham, like Annesley, was designed to be aesthetically pleasing and

comfortable. Annesley Hall was planned to be more than simply a residence; it was to become a centre for all women students at Victoria College. In 1905, non-resident women were encouraged to use Annesley Hall by lowering the cost of meals for Victoria women living outside the residence in 1905.³⁸ Every effort seems to have been made to make the students comfortable and to provide adequate facilities. On the north side of Annesley were a lawn and facilities for playing tennis, croquet and basketball. The Victoria College Athletic Field lay to the east, and Victoria College and Queen's Park were to the south. Exposure to light and sun were maximised. Forty single rooms and eight doubles were provided on the second and third floors. The ground floor of Annesley Hall contained offices, sitting rooms, a library and a kitchen, as well as rooms for receptions, assemblies, dining, and music. The students' rooms were designed to be both a study and a bedroom. There were no suites of rooms. To compensate for the lack of adequate university facilities, Annesley also had a small gymnasium in the basement, and an infirmary on the second floor.

The students were not provided with luxuries or waited upon by the staff beyond major cooking and cleaning. Students were warned not to expect maids to wait upon them in their rooms. At both Annesley and St. Hilda's, although basic furniture and bedding were supplied, students had to provide their own towels, curtains, and napkin ring. They were also advised to bring a silver teaspoon and a glass for use in their rooms. The fees for Annesley Hall, \$132.00 for double rooms and between \$165.00 and \$200.00 for single rooms, included the cost of a doctor's examination and physical culture classes. Students were expected to do a minimum amount of housekeeping. The students took care of their own laundry (not including bed linen), either by using the Hall laundry facilities on Saturdays or by making arrangements to send it out.³⁹ They were also expected to keep their own rooms neat and tidy. The household staff took care of the more time-consuming tasks, but the students were admonished not to impose on them. There was concern, too, that students not spend too much time with the servants. In the

Annex in 1907, the Superintendent, Mary Sheffield, reported that the laundry arrangements brought the students into too close a contact with the maids, encouraging "an undesirable intimacy" and making it difficult to keep the students out of the kitchen (where the ironing was done) at other times. She recommended that the students not be allowed the use of the laundry in the future.⁴⁰ There were very clear class lines established between the students and the staff.

Although the women planning and running the residence argued that they wanted to create a home away from home for the students, it is clear that the type of home being provided was intended to be of an upper-middle class standard. The style of the building was much grander than what most of the students would have called home.⁴¹ With this in mind, it is interesting to compare the style of Annesley Hall with that of the Household Science Building. Although built for different purposes, the same architect designed both only a few years apart for women students. While Annesley Hall reflects the idea of women's buildings being a home away from home, the Household Science Building was quite different. It is in a Greek style with Ionic pillars to give it "a simple but dignified appearance,"⁴² but it seems very far from the image that might be expected for building used to train women for their work in the home and as domestic science teachers. The building is both beautiful and imposing. Its founder, Lillian Massey Treble, believed that the beauty of the building would help students appreciate beautiful things and its grandeur "would give to the study of household the dignity and standing it deserved."⁴³ The women who came together to plan all of these buildings were often from the more prestigious Toronto families. They came with the intention of raising the standards of the women students, their denomination, and, ultimately, Canadian society as a whole.

The Second Generation of Women's Residences

At all the colleges and universities, the women's groups continued to plan and raise funds for new residences and other facilities. These buildings, planned and built in the 1920s and 1930s, no longer reflected the external image of a home. While still not usually as ornate as some of the men's buildings, they were more imposing in a Georgian style with walls facing the streets and private inner courtyards. At Queen's, planning for the new women's residence, Ban Righ Hall,⁴⁴ was begun in earnest in 1910-11. Early correspondence with the Board of Trustees outlined the need for a women's residence, citing in particular the lack of space in the rented house and the preference of many parents to send their daughters to universities where residence accommodation was available.⁴⁵ Interrupted by the war and post-war rising costs, serious consideration was not given to the matter of the residence until 1919. The 1914 estimates, however, were severely inadequate. Fund-raising and negotiations with the university ensued, with the Trustees promising to match up to \$80,000 to be raised by the women. Once the goal had been neared, the alumnae set out to establish their rights over the management and control of the residence. After much discussion, negotiation, continuing rising costs, fund-raising, and cost cutting, the residence was finally opened on November 9, 1925, with a bare minimum of furnishings.⁴⁶

In the planning of Ban Righ, the women examined the plans of other women's residences. From this study, it was decided "to adopt the principle of a central union and dining-room with some dormitory accommodation but with smaller houses grouped about the main unit."⁴⁷ Although cost cutting was necessary, the alumnae still kept many of the elegant details. Charlotte Whitton described the new residence in the following way:

Ban Righ Hall is built of grey Kingston limestone, in two great wings, running south and west, and rising from a four square central tower. The main entrance lies through the tower. The south wing contains a great oak-panelled Common Room, with spacious stone-mullioned windows, opening on the glorious stretch of Lake Ontario. Five great triple windows front east on the University campus and five on the quadrangle. The west wing contains the Eliza S. Gordon Memorial

Dining Hall, thus named in honour of the late Mrs. D.M. Gordon, wife of Principal Emeritus Gordon. This room will accommodate 186 students at one time. The kitchens and cloakrooms are located in the basement, as are the excellent maids' dining room and sitting room, dietitian's [sic] office, and store rooms. The slope of the ground has been utilized to afford doors and windows of full height on the quadrangle face of the basement of both wings. Office, reception rooms and committee rooms, are provided on the first floor. The other floors are entirely devoted to bedrooms, with special suites for the Dean and Dietitian. Each floor has a kitchenette, sacred to the chafing dish 'feeds' of undergraduate life. The whole building is heated from the central heating plant of the University.⁴⁸

The main building could accommodate approximately 60 students and annexes were used to house more women. Once again the annexes were remodelled homes, but they were adjacent to the new residence and the students used the new dining room and common rooms at Ban Righ.

The first set of plans drawn up in 1920, ordered by the Alumnae Association but not authorised by the University Trustees, show a central hall plan with bedrooms on either side. It shows single and double rooms and one triple room, with one shared bathroom on each floor of each wing. Even then, the alumnae were looking forward and planning future buildings, including a larger dining hall. The first two wings were to be built in a sort of crooked "L" shape. The future buildings would extend the long part of the "L" and add another wing to make a horseshoe shape, with the quadrangle in the middle. The larger dining hall was to extend up from the foot of the "L", leaving a substantial space between it and the new wing.⁴⁹ These plans were never implemented.

In 1923, these unauthorised plans were revised; the building was turned around to

take advantage of the slope to the lake for 'sub-level' service units, and to give the common room a campus view, instead of a north 'light' on Alice Street [now Queen's Crescent]. [The new Committee] also insisted on a spacious 'tower entrance' *and* a larger dining room. [original emphasis].⁵⁰

Plans dated March 1938 show both the existing buildings and the planned new wing. The original sections were once again in a "L" shape fronting Queen's Crescent and University Avenue with a quadrangle in the rear. The dining room juts out from the

long side of the "L" into the quadrangle and a common room formed the short side. The basement contained the maid's rooms, kitchen and storerooms, and, beneath the dining room, a recreation room. The ground floor contained, in addition to the dining and common rooms, offices and reception rooms. The two upper floors were laid out along a central hall plan with bedrooms and shared bathrooms along either side. The proposed extension, stretching from the top of the long side of the "L" mainly consisted of bedrooms on all the levels, including eight maids' bedrooms in the basement level.⁵¹ In spite of these early plans for expansion, a new wing was not erected until 1952 and 1960 when Adelaide Hall and Chown Hall respectively were opened.⁵² The details of these plans illustrate that the alumnae had intended to provide women students with residential facilities that were more than simply adequate. That they were unable to do so was the result of lack of funds and support from the university.

In planning the administration of the new residence, the Queen's Alumnae Association gave due consideration to the needs of the women. Indeed, the residence committee recommended that they keep in mind the importance of "co-relating the life of all the women students, residential and non-residential, and of thereby attaining a certain solidarity which will be of inestimable value to the University in years to come." They went on to state that while the smaller residences should be allowed to retain their individuality, they felt the new residence should become the centre of the community life of all the women students. The Head of Residence and Union, they felt, should not only have academic standing and outstanding ability as a teacher, but her personality should also be "sufficiently impressive and sympathetic to attract the women students to consult with her regarding all problems, academic, social or personal."⁵³

At Western, Brescia College provided the first permanent residence for women students in 1925. The Ursuline order purchased about eighty acres of land (and another twenty-five in 1930) near the planned site of Western University. In 1923, planning for the new college was begun. A four-story, stone building in a Gothic style was decided

upon. It was to hold at least seventy students. There was to be a chapel, a marble rotunda and a grand 252-foot frontage. A large room was set aside for day students.⁵⁴ Brescia Hall was furnished in such a way as to provide an "environment of beauty" to inspire the women "who should prepare for cultural leadership."⁵⁵ This residence was perhaps the only one that was too large for the thirty-nine students initially registered. It was not long, however, before the numbers began to grow. The grounds of Brescia College were high on a hill overlooking the city and the University campus. Careful attention was paid to the beauty of the surrounding environment. The plans for the gardens were laid out immediately with the hill in front of the building terraced and a long lane winding eastward to the University. In 1930, thousands of trees were planted, and among them, sheltered alcoves were created. The landscaping continued throughout the 1930s, while many acres continued to be devoted to farm production as Brescia produced much of its own food until 1962.⁵⁶ The college building served as a combination teaching and residence facility and as a convent for the sisters on the teaching and domestic staff.

At the University of Toronto, once the Queen's Hall residence was well established, the University College women divided their attention between promoting general purpose women's buildings and dormitories. By 1919, proposals for University College women's buildings were becoming increasingly elaborate. One plan called for buildings arranged in a quadrangle with residence space divided into houses, one or two dining rooms, as well as reception rooms, common rooms and other recreational facilities. In addition, they felt that a new Union should include a large hall and library where student meetings, assemblies and larger social functions could be held. Allowance was also made for non-residential students so that they could get hot meals in the dining room.⁵⁷ One alumna, Edith Henderson, wrote in 1921 that both St. Hilda's and Victoria Colleges had considered it essential to protect their women students by accommodating them in residences or in houses connected with the residences. Women at University College, by comparison, she felt, were "laboring under difficulties no girls should be

asked to meet." She went on to describe those difficulties and the dangers of living in a boarding house in the city, calling on alumnae and the public for help in raising funds.⁵⁸ Toronto was seen by many as a dangerous place for women on their own. The influx of single working women had created concern among middle class women about the morals of working class women.⁵⁹ The provision of a supervised residence was seen as a way of protecting women students from the perceived perils of the city. Women living in boarding houses were essentially on their own once they finished their classes for the day. Rules and regulations could be more readily ignored when there was little or no authoritative supervision. There was also little security residing in a boarding house; a resident could be evicted with little notice. Many did not take women boarders. Nice, clean, and warm houses were apparently hard to find. All these difficulties contributed to the impulse behind the residence movement.

Another group began meeting as a Dean's Council in 1928. This became the University Women's Building Committee that eventually drew representatives from all the colleges and others involved in the lives of women students. It was formed to discuss ways and means of considering, in particular, the needs of women students not affiliated with a college who therefore had no access to residences or recreational facilities. However, by 1930, they had had little success in achieving their goals despite their vigorous efforts. Their main roadblocks seem to have come from the university administration and from a lack of funds. In April 1930, the Property Committee of the Board of Governors reported that the building the University Women's Building Committee had outlined was more than the university could maintain, even if it could be acquired, and would require a prohibitive fee from the women students. If a larger building were acquired, they would also have to have an endowment to maintain it.⁶⁰

The Methodist women also had grander plans for the Victoria College women students than simply renting temporary houses as annexes to Annesley Hall. In 1919 and 1929, plans for an addition to Annesley Hall were commissioned. Both were designed by

Sproatt and Rolph, the architects of the men's residence, and have features more similar to the men's residence than to the other women's residences. The 1919 plan has the addition circling around the Hall. New residence space and a kitchen wing were set in front of the Hall with a courtyard in between. A students' union curved around from the south side to the rear, again with a courtyard in the rear between the two buildings. The addition was attached to the Hall on the south side and on the northwest corner.⁶¹ The 1929 plan was more detailed. The addition was only to the rear of the Hall and focused on providing residence accommodation and a kitchen wing. By this time the women students had been given Wymilwood as a Union, so the student's union was no longer part of the proposed plan. This plan is similar to the men's residence in its division into houses. It shows plans for a wing stretching from the northeast corner containing a new dining room and accommodation space for 22 students. This house (House #6) was the only one attached to the Hall. On the east side of the Hall, a long rectangular building was planned. It was divided into three houses able to accommodate a total of 57 students. On the south side, between the Hall and east wing, another long building with two more houses was planned, each holding 18 and 19 students. The buildings surrounded a central courtyard. Each wing was three storeys and contained common rooms, reception rooms and a don's suite. The bedrooms lined both sides of a central corridor. Between each building an archway was to be built. The total accommodation was for 116 students. This plan allowed for relatively easy supervision, yet still promoted an atmosphere of community through central common rooms, a central courtyard and a dining room able to serve 144 students.⁶² A "home-like" facade seems not to have been attempted in the exterior design of these plans, probably because of the need to accommodate many more women. This change in design is apparent in the larger women's residences.

St. Hilda's College similarly had plans for larger accommodation. Mabel Cartwright wrote to the Provost in 1928 describing possible arrangements that would allow all the residents to be housed under one roof. Using 99 St. George St. as a centre

for social life, she proposed a new wing which would include between 80 and 85 single rooms, 16 bathrooms, separate servants quarters, a basement gymnasium, a chapel, a dining room with a good pantry and hot table which could be used in conjunction with the existing kitchen, a trunk room, a dumb waiter and a staff common room. The existing building was to be redesigned so that the dining room could be used as a students' common room, the servants' quarters as an infirmary, two or three of the bedrooms could be used as year sitting or common rooms, "as the new students' rooms would be too small to admit of their being used for these little gatherings." The rest of the bedrooms in 99 St. George St. would continue to be used as student rooms, but would hold two instead of three students. Cartwright felt that having all the students under one roof would encourage an improved student life without the cliques that separate houses encouraged. She also felt that non-residents would have more opportunity to participate in college activities with the increased space.⁶³ Cartwright was very concerned with creating links between all the students and also with the alumnae of St. Hilda's. In 1927, in a letter to the Provost of Trinity College, she had proposed that 101 St. George St. might be made into a Graduate House for St. Hilda's which would, in particular, provide housing for graduates just leaving college, serve as a club for graduate activities, and serve as a bond between graduates and undergraduates. She even felt that such a house could provide some much needed revenue.⁶⁴ Another undated wish list evokes an image of grand plans. Cartwright proposed two connected dining rooms, an assembly hall with a small stage, a gymnasium and a chapel, as well as office space and a waiting room for gentlemen callers. She proposed having all single bedrooms, but that each would be slightly different with alcoves or little irregularities. In addition, there would be a sitting room for each year, an alumnae suite, guest rooms and staff rooms.⁶⁵ There was a clear effort to create pleasant and interesting surroundings for all the residents.

It was not until the 1930s that University and St. Hilda's Colleges were able to realise their grand plans to build permanent residences. It was even longer for Victoria,

St. Joseph's and Loretto Colleges. They did not build, or in Victoria's case, build again, until the 1950s. By the 1930s, however, the plans for the University College and St. Hilda's College residences were much larger. They less resembled houses but still were not as grand and imposing as the men's residences. Whitney Hall, built in 1930 for University College women, is a "self-conscious Neo-Georgian" building.⁶⁶ Like the Victoria and U. of T.'s men's residences, it is divided into houses. However, it is different because there is access between the houses. It follows a classical floor plan with a central corridor and rooms opening on either side. Once again, no suites were built. The ground and first floors provide common rooms, reception rooms and lounges, laundry facilities, and a dining room and kitchen. The first, second and third floors hold both single and double rooms and rooms for the servants.⁶⁷

The 1938 St. Hilda's College residence is also Georgian in style built with red brick and white limestone trim. Once again the floor plans follow a classical style, but is smaller than Whitney Hall and is not divided into houses. *The Varsity* noted that a "special feature [would] be fireplaces in the larger bedrooms, where students [could] gather for feasts and discussions."⁶⁸ This suggests that unlike some of their American counterparts, the St. Hilda's administrators did not see a problem with having female students socialise with one another in their rooms. In response to fears about race suicide as a result of sexual friendships among women, as described by Havelock Ellis and Sigmund Freud, residences at the American women's colleges like Smith College began to be designed so that all socialising among women students was done in public spaces such as common rooms.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, at St. Hilda's, communal space still had more emphasis than in the men's residence. The 1940 Trinity men's residence was built as an addition to and in the same style as the main Trinity building. It was built as two separate houses, with only single rooms. Some sitting rooms were built, but the larger common rooms were in the main building.⁷⁰ The architects George and Moorhouse designed both of these buildings. The men's residence was clearly planned to fit with the pre-existing

building. While we might wonder why the women's residence was not also designed to resemble Trinity College, the differences suggest that women's buildings were perceived to have a different purpose than the men's. It is likely that cost was also a factor in the exterior design of the women's residence since brick was less expensive than cut stone. This, in itself, seems to highlight the greater importance given to men's buildings. The interiors of the women's buildings were more inviting; women were encouraged to truly "live" in the residence, to treat it as their home. Even though the exterior designs were less like houses than the earlier residences, the larger bedrooms and common rooms and the division of the larger residences into "houses" suggest that attempts to create a "home-like" atmosphere would continue.

Residential Life

Life in the university residences, while supervised and regulated, generally appeared to be quite congenial. Regulations were fairly consistent across residences and all evolved with the passage of time. Life was regulated by both the university in the person of a Dean or Head and by the students themselves. The rules were wide-ranging and were intended to aid both in the smooth operation of the facility and in ensuring the protection of the residents. The Dean or Head acted *in loco parentis* in both moral guidance and discipline. The students picked up on the familial model to create a hierarchy with the seniors as the wiser older sisters and the freshettes as the younger sisters or children. This model appears to have worked for the most part because the residents were relatively homogeneous. Where self-government ran into problems was when the residence was new and incorporated both new and returning students. The latter students, who had lived in boarding houses in previous years, often resented the increased restrictions involved in living in a supervised residence. Other problems arose when cliques were formed among students. These cliques, one might suspect, may have arisen out of cultural differences between the residents. Although residents in the non-Catholic

residences were usually white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, there were some differences in socio-economic backgrounds.⁷¹ Yet, although there were occasional exceptions, a strong sense of community seemed to have developed at many of the residences. This sense of community would probably have varied from year to year depending on the personalities of the students and their interactions with the dean and each other.

From the minutes of the various residence students' associations, it is clear that self-government was taken very seriously. When rules were broken, the students enforced them amongst themselves. Where one might expect the students to band together to defy the rules and to protect each other from punishment, transgressors were turned in and punished. While this may seem harsh, punishment was usually meted out by the students themselves in the form of "gating" (like being grounded) or fines. At Annesley Hall, proctors or monitors in the residences were usually required to report offences to the Executive Board of the Annesley Student Government Association (ASGA). The minutes of ASGA meetings detail the fines imposed.⁷² There is a difference, I think, between turning a fellow student in to a court of one's peers versus turning her in to the Dean. It is not clear how often, if at all, students turned transgressors over to the Dean or if the Dean caught miscreants herself. One suspects, however, that in serious cases or when a particular student persistently broke rules that the Dean would be informed. If the students did not, they would probably have lost the right to self-government. It is clear that co-operation between the deans and the students often ran into problems, particularly when the dean was new or the students unused to stringent regulations.

At St. Hilda's College, activities and regulations corresponded closely with those of the other women's residences. St. Hilda's Principal reported in 1902 that the various college organisations, such as the Literary Society and Athletic Club were well supported. In addition, the provost had held a Bible class on Wednesday evenings and a sewing party in support of St. John's Hospital was also held. Guests also came to speak on various

academic and missionary topics.⁷³ Regulations at St. Hilda's College were quite extensive. Permission was needed to leave the College buildings after dinner or for dinner or for any evening appointments. Late leaves were granted for any activity that went later than 10:30 p.m., with the curfew time dependent on the type of activity. For example, theatre leave went until 11:30 p.m., while a dance leave went no later than 1:00 a.m. Details of the activity, including the name and address of the hostess, had to be left in the Leave Book in which the student signed in and out. Chaperones were required for most activities and students were required to attend Sunday morning church service. The numbers of late leaves were based upon the year of the students. "Gating" (or grounding) was the penalty for breaking these regulations. The regulations included a long list of "House Rules of Order" in which every student was asked to, among other things, "do her share in preserving the neatness and order, both in her room and in the buildings."⁷⁴ These rules covered everything from being punctual at meals to refraining "from whistling, calling, or any unnecessary noise." The timetable for the residence was also carefully regulated with bells to wake the students at 7:00 a.m. for study period and to warn that it was almost time for lights out. Times for Chapel, prayers and so on were all laid out.⁷⁵ The rules and regulations were, in 1918, much the same. In advice to the freshettes, the sense of a patriarchal family was emphasised. Respect for the staff and loyalty to the college were predominant as the freshettes were reminded not to gossip about college affairs with outsiders.⁷⁶

In 1904, an issue arose regarding the reputation of St. Hilda's College. In a letter to a student, Cartwright wrote that she felt that the reputation of St. Hilda's had not been good for two years. She felt, however, that the students themselves had played a significant role in perpetuating this problem: "In a college, the seniors must always be very largely responsible for the tone, and particularly so in a transition period when the official reigns of government are passing from one person to another."⁷⁷ She felt that the residents had formed exclusive cliques that prevented them from creating a collegial

community. In addition, the seniors had shown a lack of respect for the regulations of the college. For a college such as St. Hilda's to function properly, Cartwright argued, co-operation and confidence between the seniors and the principal was necessary. She felt that since she had arrived, she had only been met with resistance from the seniors as a group. Cartwright continued to feel insecure about her role as Dean when the new term started that September. Indeed, she seems to have been considering resignation if she was unable to secure the co-operation and respect of the students that term.⁷⁸ Another undated letter "[s]igned by all the resident students"⁷⁹ suggests that co-operation between the students and the principal was an on-going problem. The students argued that while student self-government does require co-operation between the students and the principal, self-government meant "that all regulations concerning work & quiet & pleasures & all matters of a like character should be approved or & enforced by the students." Only the advice of the principal was desired. On the reverse of letter are some hand-written notes that includes a notation: "I am responsible & must bear any blame – they cannot take this position – They must understand that slf-gov = a committee to co-op. with me, but that I am bound in no way to accept its motions, & am at liberty to make any [regulation] at any time that I think necessary."⁸⁰ In these first years of self-government at St. Hilda's College, the students clearly had higher expectations for their role in the government of the residence. Taking the term at its literal meaning, the students expected to have complete control over the social aspects of residential life. Cartwright, on the other hand, maintained that since she was ultimately responsible for their well being, she was required to set the rules and only consult with the students as she saw fit. The students and the dean interpreted self-government in different ways. The dean saw her role as being in place of the students' parents, while the students saw themselves as being adult enough to create their own rules.

In June 1906, Margaret Addison noted in her report to the Committee of Management that although discipline problems were less severe that year and that the

students were exercising some self-government, many of the students were very young and could not be allowed to go out unaccompanied to concerts or other entertainments. The use of latchkeys had been tried, but was unsuccessful. The students resented the idea of chaperonage and felt "they should be allowed to go in groups to entertainments or with young men, and even to ice-cream parlours after 10 p.m."⁸¹ For young women who may have had greater freedom at home, the rules of residence must have seemed stringent. Indeed, there must have been some problems. In October 1906, Annesley students petitioned for another chance at self-government. The Senate agreed that the students could draw up an agreement with the Dean of Residence, Margaret Addison, defining the powers of the Students' Government Association.⁸² Negotiations over the rules and regulations occurred regularly. Another 1906 petition requested that guests be allowed to stay overnight sharing the student's bed without a charge, that a gas lamp be provided for each of the upper two floors, and that for every three meals missed with due notification one guest could be entertained.⁸³

Rules were continually broken, as evidenced by the fines collected. Fines were often in the range of 5 to 50 cents, so when the fines collected totalled \$36.99 in 1915-16, the number of infractions must have been high.⁸⁴ Proctors, who were in charge of reporting offences, were appointed each year at Annesley Hall. Infractions usually consisted of coming in late from parties either without permission or past the late leave curfew, not signing in correctly or at all, and other similar things. In 1919, Jean Smith was fined for going out to eat after skating without permission. Three other women were gated for going to a restaurant to eat after a late theatre.⁸⁵ In 1924, Peggy Henderson who was in residence on probation, went to a dance without signing out or in. She was gated for a month and was to abide by "Soph rules" until Christmas the following year.⁸⁶ In 1928, a serious offence occurred when a senior student took five freshettes to a party at a fraternity: "She did not sign in correctly herself, she told the freshies not to sign in correctly, she took them without permission. She afterward used methods to cover up her

tracks by asking [a] freshie to change the signing of the leave book."⁸⁷ The senior, Clare McCallum, was gated for a month and a half except for one late leave. The freshies were fined 25 cents each for not signing in correctly. This incident was considered serious because it set a bad example for the new students. While some infractions may not have been particularly rebellious, they still suggest that the students expected greater freedoms than the regulations allowed, and that they took some freedoms as they desired. A large part of the management of the student life and self-government in the residences relied on honour and trust. The seniors were considered to be responsible enough to act as chaperones for the younger students at certain events, so actions such as McCallum's could be very detrimental to the reputation of the residences and cause parents to not send their daughters. When Mossie May Waddington Kirkwood came to be Dean of Women at University College in 1923, residents of Queen's Hall, for example, apparently had a reputation of being "naughty or loose."⁸⁸

At the Queen's University residences, regulations were also often discussed. Normally, the front doors might be locked at 10 or 10:30 p.m., with those having late leaves being allowed to return later. Students were assigned turns to wait at the door until everyone had signed back in. Once a telephone was installed, turns were also take to answer the phone. Students were required to notify the Dean or Head of Residence when they expected to be late or to miss a meal. Study hours were set, usually from 7:30 to 11:00 p.m. In the smaller temporary residences, lack of adequate facilities required a schedule to be drawn up regarding bath times. Rules were also drawn up for a fire committee, with a touch of humour inserted as the committee was instructed to lead "a graceful retreat in case of fire, and to instruct others how to do so likewise."⁸⁹

Women students who did not live in residence may have had greater personal freedom in their daily activities. However, they also faced greater inconveniences than those living in residence. Lilyan Cochrane Wiley, Arts '15, for example, often lived in one house and went to another for her meals. Wiley remembered, though, that there was

not the temptation to stay out too late even without the regulations: "There were a few 'dos' at the University, but most of the students spent their time studying and working together."⁹⁰ Others may have taken advantage of the lack of restrictions and attended every function possible.

At Loretto Abbey College, first opened in 1911, students faced strict regulations. Comments in 1913-14 suggest that earlier rules were especially stringent: "A code of rules suitable for women, not children, was adopted last October, and has proved so far quite satisfactory."⁹¹ That certain freedoms were unusual is also suggested in the report on a retreat for the College students: "All followed the exercises with great fervour, and in spite of the total absence of surveillance, observed strict silence and recollection."⁹² Even as late as 1928-29, the announcement for Loretto noted that students were "allowed to dress according to individual taste, but extremes of fashion are not permitted." Although uniforms were not required, caps and gowns were.⁹³ A degree of self-government was introduced in 1920-21. This measure was, however, subject to the general jurisdiction of the Faculty.⁹⁴

At McMaster University's Wallingford Hall, an urgent need for well-supervised residence space was filled. In the first year it was opened, 29 women were housed. Of these 17 were under the age of 21, with the eldest being 26. In this year, the students came from across Canada: British Columbia, Calgary, Kenora, the Ottawa Valley and many places in between. While general religious activities continued to be held at McMaster Hall, the residence provided space for visits from missionaries and other guests from around the world. There is some suggestion from Ellen Trotter's, the Dean of Wallingford Hall, report in this first year that adjustments to residential living had to be made: "[t]o adjust one's self happily to other people in close quarters makes a constant demand for unselfishness and self-control."⁹⁵ Certainly the introduction of residence regulations curtailed the late hours that McMaster social events seemed to have kept. On the benefit side, however, the Hall provided additional space as a social centre for all the

women undergraduates and for the Alumnae. By the end of the second year, students were coming from Quebec and New York as well as British Columbia and across Ontario. More activities seem to have been introduced by the women, including debates and a Modern Literature Club. Talks were still given by visiting missionaries and other local women. The Student Government of Wallingford, introduced in the first year, continued successfully. The Student Government Association organised the seating and waiting at tables, arranging the room for Vespers and the reading twice a week, the telephone duty schedule, the appointment of Monitors, arrangement of social functions, and so on.⁹⁶ A Vesper Service was held after the evening meal each day and was led twice a week by the women themselves. The Vesper Service was seen as an integral part of residential life "as a means of cultivating a spirit of reverent worship and raising the standard of our family life."⁹⁷ Details about the beginning of student self-government at Wallingford Hall are not available, so we do not know if the same power struggle occurred there as they did at other residences.

Towards the end of the 1920s, incoming McMaster students were reputed as being less serious than in previous years. Where in previous years several of the students had been self-supporting as teachers, the new students in 1926-27 were "inclined to look upon University life as a perpetual picnic." A meeting of all the students, without the Dean, helped to improve the "general spirit of [their] home life." There it was agreed "that there should be a more serious attempt to live up to our highest ideals."⁹⁸ The following year, 21 of the students were under the age of 22. In 1928-29, the Dean commented that the first year girls were very young and immature, some of them seeming to never have "done anything they didn't want to."⁹⁹ Communal living was apparently seen as providing students with a sense of responsibility towards others and more discipline than they may have been used to. In 1929-30, the number of women seeking space in the residence had increased enough to warrant the opening of an annex. Under the supervision of Dr. Lulu Odell Gaiser, graduate of the University of Western Ontario and a new appointment to the

faculty of McMaster, 13 additional women were accommodated. Some complaint against the "very mild restrictions" must have occurred in this year since Trotter commented that "these girls were not sure that the advantages of residence life compensated for having to be in at 10:15 on Sunday night."¹⁰⁰ All but one of them, however, registered for the following year.

All of the women's residences were only implemented through the dedication of supporters of women's higher education, the women religious of Loretto, St. Joseph's and Brescia, former students, wives of professors, and the very few women faculty members.¹⁰¹ That these facilities often struggled for funding even after being successfully opened is illustrated by the on-going fund-raising and cost-cutting measures. Students were usually required to provide some furnishings for their rooms, but the amount varied by residence. When students arrived at Loretto Abbey College, they were expected to bring the following:

- 2 pairs sheets and pillow cases
- 1 pair woollen blankets
- 1 comforter, 1 bed spread
- ½ dozen table napkins
- Table silver – knife, fork, spoon and napkin ring¹⁰²

It was not unusual at this time, especially in the temporary residences, for students to provide at least some of these items, but this is an extensive list by comparison. Convent boarding schools often had similar lists to the Loretto one. It is clear that this was one way that the colleges kept costs down to allow more women to attend and live in the college. Students living at St. Hilda's were supplied with basic furnishings: bed with bedding, one pair of blankets, one bath towel, chest of drawers with a mirror, a cupboard for clothes, a table and shelves, and two chairs. Students were expected to bring extras such as a rug, curtains, and a napkin ring.¹⁰³

Conditions in the various temporary residences could be appalling. The early Queen's University residences seem to have been the worst. The minutes of the

Residence House Committees for the various Queen's women's residences provide an outline of residential life. The meetings of the committee dealt with any number of issues from the adoption of the first constitution, welcoming new students, collecting money for a cocoa fund, to the discipline of students, complaints about the food being served, and discussion over increases in the fees for the residence. At Queen's, as at many of the other women's residences, some students ("grubbers") did not live in, but came daily for their meals. In December of 1903, the issue of the cost of board was raised. It was found that at the end of each week the residence was in debt \$4.00. The alumnae wished to meet this deficit by raising the board. The students suggested instead that "Miss Mowat should be given \$4.00 less for the running expenses of the house during the month of January to see how it worked." At a special meeting four days later, it was reported that "the Ladies [the alumnae] found it impossible to take the \$4.00 off Miss Mowat's allowance."¹⁰⁴

While no final decision was recorded, complaints about the quality of the food were raised regularly. In 1904, there were complaints that the bath water was not always hot and that lunch needed to be served on time. In 1907, a motion was passed "that an improvement in the quality and quantity of the board be requested and that a protest be entered against the short notice given of the change in rate. It was also noted that the rooms were not warm enough."¹⁰⁵ The minutes of the regular meetings show a mix of complaints and jokes that suggest that the residents made an effort to make the best of a less than desirable situation. In 1911, for example, there was a motion to appoint a freshette to watch each rat hole and to petition for a new carpet or a patch. That other references to rat holes occur in the minutes suggests that mice, if not rats, may have shared the residence with the women. But the minutes also include references to the creation of a committee to "write Miss Henderson's French proses" and that "no freshette be permitted to wear a hat of more than 1 yard or 3 feet wide."¹⁰⁶ In 1915, discussion

around the types of food being served and the cleanliness of the residence returned in full force. The following suggestions were made to Mrs. Fraser:

Cleanliness: Stairs cleaned weekly, Drawing room cleaned, Table in good order, Lamps cleaned, Cob-webs removed, Margins of floors cleaned.
Menu: Cereals occasionally, Salads occasionally, No boiled mutton, Early breakfasts.¹⁰⁷

Other more substantial problems were also recorded. At the Hencoop, as late as the 1920s, Audrey Judge and Grace Jeffrey Miller both remembered being frightened by having to use oil lamps and gaslights for the first time. Their homes in Prescott and Ottawa, respectively, had electricity. Little work was done on the residence since Ban Righ was already in the works.¹⁰⁸ There were always references to the fear of gas leaks and fires in these years, leading to fireproofing measures being implemented at all the purpose-built residences.

At Loretto in the early years, the college students shared the same building as the young women attending the high school. However, separate rooms were set aside for the college students. Among the students, a spirit of comradeship and mutual respect was apparent and was promoted by various inter-class activities. Spiritual life may have been enhanced through attendance at daily Mass and a weekly conference and benediction. Students that year had also begun to take an interest in Settlement work and to show a "zeal" for study.¹⁰⁹ Graduates of St. Joseph's College remembered college life as having "much to love and to enjoy." Bernita Miller recalled in 1951 that she "liked to bundle a breakfast roll and a banana in the sleeve of my gown for a late sleeper, liked using a late leave up to the last minute."¹¹⁰ Others remembered learning the new dances, such as the 'Collegiate,' the Charleston, and the 'Flee Hop' (sic), with fellow students in the Reading Room.¹¹¹ Queen's University's "Hencoop" had its own yell that originally was from "culture" spelt backwards, but devolved into a sound that was related to the name of the residence: "Erucluck, Erucluck, Eru-Eru-Erucluck, H-E-N-C-O-O-P. Hen Coop! Hen Coop! Cluck, Cluck, Cluck."¹¹²

At the University of Toronto's University College, Mossie May Kirkwood remembers that there was an antagonism between the residents of Queen's Hall and Hutton House.¹¹³ She felt that she was able to overcome the divisions there once she became Head of the Union because she had not been previously affiliated with University College. The various Deans, whether they were Deans of the Residence or Women, usually fulfilled multiple roles: disciplinarian, parent, role model, and guide in matters both academic and moral. At McMaster, for example, the Dean of Wallingford Hall, although filling some aspects of the role of a Dean of Women, was not seen as replacing that position. In 1924, the Dean of Arts, W.S.W. McLay, wrote to Chancellor Whidden that he felt the women students needed "a guide and counsellor in social matters."¹¹⁴ He noted, however, that in addition to the Dean of Residence, that some of the wives of the professors had taken an interest in the lives of the women students. The Deans or Heads of the residences all had to work with students from sometimes very different backgrounds to create a cohesive community.

While the majority of the women living in all the residences were white, English-speaking, usually Protestant, Canadians, there were some that came from various countries around the world. Very little information survives about the few women who lived in residence who were not in the dominant group. In 1900, for example, a woman from Japan lived at St. Hilda's during the Lent (or Spring) term. Ichimura San took a special course in Divinity and English. She apparently was a student of Newnham College, Cambridge, who had come to Canada for undisclosed health reasons.¹¹⁵ An American student at St. Joseph's remembered being roommates with two other American women and a woman, Cuca, from Puerto Rico. They hit it off from the beginning and "laughed themselves to sleep that first night away from home instead of crying."¹¹⁶ Not all students were so fortunate. As discussed in Chapter 2, a complaint was made in 1905 to Trinity College's Provost, the Reverend T.C.S. Macklem regarding the admission of

two Black students, a brother and sister, into the Trinity and St. Hilda's residences. What life was like for the very few minority students is not known.

Conclusion

Women's residences at Ontario's universities and student life within the residences were styled to resemble the patriarchal family. While the physical structures of women's residences and the other women's buildings made the idea of women's higher education more concrete even while the debate over co-education continued, the residences were designed to emphasise the ideal of the white, middle class, Christian family in order to keep the concept of university education for women palatable. The exterior designs and interior layouts combined with the rules and regulations reassured parents of their daughters' well being, both physical and spiritual. The purpose-built women's residences drew on the contemporary movements in domestic and institutional architecture that promoted good health through improved architectural design, as well as providing a space conducive to study and collegialism. What stands out in the records of these residences is the emphasis on small, domestic-style residences for women, the constant use of temporary facilities while plans for more permanent measures were constantly put on hold by either (or both) the university or college administrations, the continual struggle for adequate funds and space for women's facilities; and the modification of grand visions. Expressed consistently throughout the records was the desire to provide a home away from home for the women students.

In providing a home away from home, the residence committees utilized two styles, both of which allowed the authorities to maintain surveillance over the students. The early residences closely resembled large homes, while those built later used a Georgian style with central common rooms and mostly single bedrooms. The various women's building committees seem not to have ever considered the seminary-type colleges or residences used by the first American women's colleges that expected the

students to do household chores as well as study. Although the early residences, Annesley Hall and the original St. Hilda's College, certainly reflected the influences of domestic middle-class architecture, similar to the nurses' residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital, the women students living in them were freed from the daily chores that women living at home might have been expected to perform, which so often hampered women's intellectual pursuits.¹¹⁷ For American colleges, Horowitz argues that it was only in the 1920s that the college planning manuals began to suggest that socialising should be moved out of the upstairs bedrooms and into the downstairs common rooms and parlours by recommending smaller single rooms lining a central corridor in order to keep students from socialising together in too much privacy.¹¹⁸ Annesley Hall, however, was designed with mainly single rooms and main floor common rooms well before the 1920s. In the Canadian case, the emphasis on main floor common rooms can also be interpreted as the result of complaints that meetings in student rooms were too noisy for those trying to study. Indeed, an editorial in a 1925 *Acta Victoriana* argued that a completely separate women's union was necessary:

When parties wax hilarious in the Annesley common-room toward the hour of midnight, the resident who has, for the nonce, gone to bed early, may groan and protest, but, since there is no union where such parties may be held, protest in vain.¹¹⁹

At all times, there was an effort to establish the women's residences as centres for all women students in order to provide safe spaces for those boarding as well as for those living in residence.

In the 1930s, University College and St. Hilda's adopted the Georgian design of some of the 1920s American colleges. Like the residences built by Smith College in the 1920s, for example, both Whitney Hall and the 1937 St. Hilda's College had brick walls fronting the street and private inner courtyards. For the University of Toronto, these larger residences finally acknowledged that large numbers of women needed to be accommodated. Residences styled as large homes were no longer practical. Although

finances certainly had a great deal to do with the type of residence built, it is doubtless that the planning was also influenced by the styles of women's residences in the United States and England. Even when the increased number of women students made the family model less practical, attempts were made to adapt this model.

By using the model of the family for the government of the residences, the alumnae and university authorities attempted to keep the students in the role of children. In spite of students' academic ambitions and abilities, they were forced to maintain the femininity and child-like image of nineteenth-century womanhood. An alternative model was available. Bryn Mawr College's M. Carey Thomas rejected the concept of family governance for the college. Instead of having the women faculty act as deans of women, she hired young graduates as wardens and had graduate students live amongst the undergraduates to provide scholarly examples. Bryn Mawr introduced student self-government in 1892, whereby students enforced the rules although they did not make them. To encourage the scholarly model, Bryn Mawr's buildings were modelled on the men's buildings rather than the earlier women's colleges.¹²⁰ By adopting the family model instead of the scholarly model of residential life, Ontario universities worked to decrease the independence of the women students. The emphasis by university authorities on maintaining a "home-like" atmosphere reinforced patriarchal assumptions that women students needed more protection and supervision than their male counterparts. These assumptions were manifested in the built environment of the women's residences at Ontario's universities.

Endnotes

¹ Parts of chapters 4 and 5 were presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, June 1996, Brock University, Ontario, and will be published as an article, "Centres of 'home-like influence': Women's Residences at the University of Toronto", in *Material History Review*, forthcoming Spring 1999. I would like to thank Helen Lenskyj, Alison Prentice, Elizabeth Smyth, Lisa Panayotidis and Sara Burke for their comments on aspects of this chapter.

² Minutes, April 24, 1910. Women's Associations, Victoria Women's Residence and Education Association (VWR&EA) Minutes, box 1, file 3, Victoria University Archives (VUA).

³ The importance of the physical environment of the schoolhouse in the teaching profession has been demonstrated by Alison Prentice. See "From Household to School House: The Emergence of the Teacher as Servant of the State," *Material History Bulletin* 20 (Fall 1984): 19-29.

⁴ See for example: Howard Adelman, *The Beds of Academe: A Study of the Relation of Student Residences and the University* (Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, 1969); John Bland and Norbert Schoenauer, *University Housing in Canada* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966); Jack Klein and Henry Sears, *Room to Learn: A Study on Housing for the Canadian Student* (Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1969). More recently, Annmarie Adams has examined the nurses' residences at a Montreal hospital in "Rooms of Their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," *Material History Review* 40 (Fall 1994): 29-41.

⁵ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater, Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, Second Edition (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993).

⁶ Carol Dyhouse, *No distinction of sex? Women in British universities 1870-1939* (London: UCL Press Limited, 1995): 100. Many other similarities are also apparent regarding the experiences of women at Ontario and British universities.

⁷ Cathy Leigh James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation: The Role of Toronto's Settlement Houses in the Formation of the Canadian State, 1902-1914," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1997): 147.

⁸ Adams, "Rooms of Their Own," 30, 37. See also, Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

⁹ Luri Hamilton, "Women's Residences," *Sesame* (March 1900): 7.

¹⁰ *Acta Victoriana* (November 1903): 99-100.

¹¹ Dean N.W. DeWitt, "The Ideal Women's Residence," *University of Toronto Monthly* 24, no. 7 (April 1929): 258.

¹² In 1935, a list of the women at University College, broken down by the number living in and out of residence, indicated that 22 of the 65 boarding (and not living at home) were doing so because they preferred not to live in residence. Eleven others were not living in residence because they were Jewish. U.C. Dean of Women, B74-0011/003(5), University of Toronto Archives (UTA). A similar, but much more extreme response occurred among women at Aberdeen University, Scotland, where a women's residence opened in 1896 remained empty for two years before it was rented to a family. Lindy Moore, *Bajanellas and Semilinas: Aberdeen University and the Education of Women, 1860-1920* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991): 67-68. A member of the Queen's University Alumnae Association also commented in 1901 about the loss of freedom and responsibility that women living in a residence might feel (see below).

¹³ See Appendix E for a list of the women's residences.

¹⁴ Douglas Richardson, *A Not Unsightly Building, University College and Its History* (Toronto: Mosaic Press, 1990): 21.

¹⁵ Men's fraternity houses are not examined in this thesis. The first U. of T. men's residence was established approximately 1879, but it is not clear when or if the men's fraternities provided any residential facilities. More work needs to be done on the relationship of the men's and women's fraternities with the universities.

¹⁶ *University of Toronto Monthly*, March 1939; *Varsity*, Jan. 27, 1939. Office of the Registrar clipping files. A73-0051/220(17). UTA.

¹⁷ For details on terminology and a good overview of architectural styles in Canada, see Leslie Maitland, et al., *A Guide to Canadian Architectural Styles* (Peterborough: Broadview Press Ltd., 1992).

- ¹⁸ Anthony Trollope, *North America* (New York: Harper, 1862): 73-74, quoted in Richardson, 113.
- ¹⁹ For a discussion of the British influence on the establishment of the universities and the professions in Ontario, see chapter one in R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).
- ²⁰ Richardson, 105.
- ²¹ Margaret (Grout) Ham, "Timor Dei Principium Sapientiae," in *Sanctam Hildam Canimus*, ed. Barbara Sutton (Toronto: St. Hilda's College, 1988), 16; T. A. Reed, ed., *A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto 1852-1952* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), 189.
- ²² Reed, 193-195.
- ²³ LaPierre, 207-218.
- ²⁴ Reed, 190. Mary Strachan was the granddaughter of Bishop Strachan, the founder of Trinity College.
- ²⁵ St. Hilda's College floor plans, 1983. Trinity College Archives (TCA).
- ²⁶ Reed, 190.
- ²⁷ LaPierre, 218.
- ²⁸ Letter from Mabel Cartwright, March 29, 1912. MS120 Cartwright Papers, Box 10, TCA.
- ²⁹ Annmarie Adams, "Eden Smith and the Canadian Domestic Revival," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* 21, No. 2 (March 1993): 104-115.
- ³⁰ The Reverend C.B. Kenrick, *Picturesque Trinity* (Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., Publishers, n.d. ca. 1903), 9.
- ³¹ Men's Residence for Toronto University, Eden Smith & Son, Architects. A88-0039, UTA.
- ³² Devonshire Men's Residence, Physical Plant Department, A75-0027/002(20), UTA.
- ³³ R.G. Beattie, "Five Years of the Residences," *The Arbor* 1, no. 2 (April 1913): 307-315. Beattie seemed to feel that a residence dining room would promote a stronger sense of community by bringing the men together in a place where they could socialise on a daily basis.
- ³⁴ "The University Buildings of the Present and of the Future," *The Arbor* 1, no. 2 (March 1910): 67-72.
- ³⁵ The Barbara Heck Memorial Association (BHMA) was organized to raise funds to purchase a site for the residence. It subsequently underwent two name changes: the Victoria Women's Association (VWA) and the Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association (VWR&EA). For an overview of the Association's evolution and activities, see chapter seven in Johanna M. Selles, *Methodists & Women's Education in Ontario, 1836-1925* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1996).
- ³⁶ Proposed constitution and by-laws, undated. Margaret Burwash Papers, Fonds 2045, 92.010V, Box 6, File 95, VUA.
- ³⁷ Mark Girouard, "Victorian Sweetness and Light: Newnham College, Cambridge," *Country Life* 150 (Dec. 16, 1971): 1704-1706.
- ³⁸ Annesley Hall, Committee of Management, Minutes, January 10, 1905. Fonds 2069, 90.064V, Box 1, File 1, VUA.
- ³⁹ Untitled, undated description of Annesley Hall. Margaret Burwash Papers. Fonds 2045, 92.010V/6(96), VUA. See also, Barbara Heck Memorial Association Minutes, March 1, 1904, Report of Expenditure. Women's Associations, Fonds 2069, 90.066V/1(1), VUA.
- ⁴⁰ Mary F. Sheffield, April 10, 1907. Annesley Hall Annex, Report. Margaret Burwash Papers. Fonds 2045, 92.010V/6(98). VUA.
- ⁴¹ While little statistical research has been undertaken on the family and class backgrounds of women university students, the evidence suggests that it was predominately middle-class families that sent their children to university. See Chad Gaffield, Lynne Marks, and Susan Laskin, "Student Populations and Graduate Careers: Queen's University, 1895-1900," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, eds. Axelrod and Reid, 3-25.
- ⁴² *Telegram*, May 16, 1908. Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/246(10), UTA.
- ⁴³ "In Memory of Lillian Massey Treble," Funerary Tribute, 9, quoted in Kennedy, "Womanly Work," 64.
- ⁴⁴ Ban Righ is from the Gaelic term "Banrighinn" or "The Hall of the Wife of the King" (in other words, Queen's Hall). Charlotte Whitton, "Ban Righ Hall: All that it stands for," in *A Generous Loyalty: The Queen's Alumnae Memory Book*, eds. Mary Chown, Melva Eagleson and Thelma Boucher; 2nd edition, ed. Margaret Gibson (Queen's University Alumni Association, 1992): 30.
- ⁴⁵ Letter, Oct. 1, 1910. C. Whitton Papers, 1106, box 5, file 3. QUA.
- ⁴⁶ Charlotte Whitton, MA '17, "Ban Righ Hall: All that it stands for," in *A Generous Loyalty*, 23-38. This account of the founding of Ban Righ Hall contains much detail about the financial difficulties and fund-

raising encountered by the alumnae. It was very difficult to raise sufficient funds and the university administration expected that even once the residence was built that it would operate at a deficit. By 1939, however, there was a surplus of \$100,000 as a result of the management by the Alumnae Association (p. 29). Many of the cost-cutting measures are detailed in a letter from Charlotte Whitton to Mrs. Macgillivray, August 6, 1923. C. Whitton Papers, 1106, box 5, file 3. QUA.

⁴⁷ Charlotte Whitton, "Ban Righ Hall: A Women's Achievement for Women," n.d. (ca. 1925), unpublished manuscript, 7. Charlotte Whitton Papers, A. Arch. 1106, box 11, file 25. QUA. See also, Minutes, Queen's University Alumnae Association, January 2, 1920. C. Whitton Papers, 1106, box 7, file 5. QUA.

⁴⁸ Whitton, "A Women's Achievement for Women," 7.

⁴⁹ "Residence and Union Building for Women Students, Queen's University," promotional pamphlet, n.d. (ca. 1923/24): 4-5. C. Whitton papers, A. Arch. 1106, box 13, file 7. QUA.

⁵⁰ Whitton, "All that it stands for," 29.

⁵¹ "Ban Righ Hall, Queen's University, Sketch Plans of Proposed Addition," March 1938. C. Whitton Papers, A. Arch. 1106, Box 15, folio A3.4 007. QUA.

⁵² Victoria Hall was later opened in two stages in 1965 and 1968.

⁵³ Report to the Alumnae Association at its Annual Meeting, November 8, [1924], from A.E. Marty, Convenor, Committee of Residence Administration. 3627, box 6, corr. 1923-25. QUA.

⁵⁴ Skidmore, 11-13, 53

⁵⁵ Mother M. Mercedes, 130.

⁵⁶ Skidmore, 23-24. Major changes to the landscape, however, were eventually made in 1945.

⁵⁷ "New Buildings for Women," *The Rebel* 3, 6 (April 1919): 254-255.

⁵⁸ "The Campaign for Women's Buildings," *University of Toronto Monthly*, 21, 8 (May 1921): 351-352.

⁵⁹ See Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

⁶⁰ University Women's Building Committee Minutes, 1928-31. A90-0023/027(03), and A83-0047/001(03), UTA; April 4, 1930, University Women's Building Committee Minutes, A83-0047/01(03), UTA.

⁶¹ Proposed Additions to Annesley Hall, December 16, 1919. Sproatt and Rolph, Architects, (no accession number), VUA.

⁶² Sproatt and Rolph, February 1929. Architectural Drawings of Proposed Women's Residence, 91.086V, Box 3. VUA.

⁶³ Letter to The Provost, March 12, 1928. MS120 Cartwright Family Papers, Box 10 (SHC Correspondence), TCA.

⁶⁴ Letter to Rev. F. Cosgrave, The Provost of Trinity College, April 11, 1927. MS120 Cartwright Family Papers, Box 10 (SHC Correspondence), TCA.

⁶⁵ "Suggestions for the Future S. Hilda's Ultimate Building." MS120 Cartwright Papers, Box 10: SHC Correspondence, TCA.

⁶⁶ Patricia McHugh, *Toronto Architecture: A City Guide* (Toronto: Mercury Books, 1985), 120.

⁶⁷ Whitney Hall Floor Plans, 1930, UTA.

⁶⁸ Oct. 7, 1937. Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/220(16), UTA.

⁶⁹ Horowitz, 282-283, 314-315.

⁷⁰ George and Moorhouse, St. Hilda's College Floor Plans, Mechanical and Electrical, 1937; George and Moorhouse, Trinity College, Men's Residence and Dining Hall Additions, 1940. UTA.

⁷¹ See Chapter 2.

⁷² Minutes of the ASGA, Fonds 2069, 90.136V Box 1, File 1, VUA.

⁷³ St. Hilda's Annual Report – Lady Principal, 1901-02, pp. 4-7. J I St. Hilda's College. TCA.

⁷⁴ St. Hilda's – House Regulations, n.d. J I St. Hilda's College. TCA. Although this list is undated, based on the type of regulations and compared with other, dated, lists, these regulations probably are from the early 1900s.

⁷⁵ See Appendix E, Table 30.

⁷⁶ "To the Freshies," in a letter to Cartwright from Enid Hatley, September 22, 1918. MS 120 Cartwright Family Papers/10 SHC corr. TCA.

⁷⁷ Letter to Carrie [L. Macgregor], unsigned, July 5, 1904. MS 120 Cartwright Family Papers/10 SHC corr. TCA.

⁷⁸ Letter to Miss Cartwright from [?R.] Macklem, September 22, 1904. MS 120 Cartwright Family Papers/10 SHC corr., TCA.

- ⁷⁹ Letter from "Signed by all the resident students," to Miss Cartwright, undated. MS 120 Cartwright Family Papers/10 SHC corr., TCA.
- ⁸⁰ Notes on reverse of letter from "Signed by all the resident students," to Miss Cartwright, undated. MS 120 Cartwright Family Papers/10 SHC corr., TCA.
- ⁸¹ Miss Addison's Report to the Committee of Management, June 7, 1906. 2069, 90.064V, Annesley Hall/Committee of Management, box 1, file 1. VUA.
- ⁸² Minutes, October 10, 1906. Annesley Hall Committee of Management, Fonds 2069, 90.064V, box 1, file 1. VUA.
- ⁸³ Minutes, November 14, 1906. Fonds 2069, 90.064V, Annesley Hall Committee of Management, box 1, file 1. VUA.
- ⁸⁴ Minutes of the ASGA, March 21, 1913, March 8, 1916 and March 17, 1917. 2069, 90.136V Annesley Student Government Association, box 1, file 1. VUA.
- ⁸⁵ Minutes of the ASGA, January 9, 1919, and January 11, 1919. 2069, 90.136V Annesley Student Government Association, box 1, file 1. VUA.
- ⁸⁶ Minutes of the ASGA, April 1, 1924. 2069, 90.136V Annesley Student Government Association, box 1, file 1. VUA.
- ⁸⁷ Minutes of the ASGA, October 15, 1928. 2069, 90.136V Annesley Student Government Association, box 1, file 1. VUA.
- ⁸⁸ Interview with Mossie May Waddington Kirkwood by Elizabeth Wilson, March 27, 1973, (transcript): 34-35. B74-0020. UTA.
- ⁸⁹ Residence House Committee, n.d., Oct. 9, 1919, Dec. 16, 1919, and March 26, 1910. A. Arch 3627, Queen's U. Alumnae Association, box 1, 1903-10. QUA.
- ⁹⁰ Interview with Lilyan Wiley by Jodi Button, June 8, 1978, (transcript): 9. Oral History Project. QUA.
- ⁹¹ Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 2. College: Academic organization and promotion, box 1. LAC.
- ⁹² Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 3. College: Academic organization and promotion, box 1. LAC.
- ⁹³ Announcement 1928-29. College: Academic organization and promotion, box 1. LAC.
- ⁹⁴ Announcement 1928-29. College: Academic organization and promotion, box 1. LAC.
- ⁹⁵ Report of the Dean of Wallingford Hall for the Year 1920-21. Chancellor's Reports 1910-24. BA.
- ⁹⁶ Report of the Dean of Wallingford Hall for the Year 1921-22. Chancellor's Reports 1910-24; Annual Report of the Dean of Wallingford Hall 1923-24. Annual Reports 1907-09, 1924. BA.
- ⁹⁷ Annual Report of the Dean of Wallingford Hall 1923-24. Annual Reports 1907-1909, 1924; Chancellor's Report to the Senate, 1925-26. Chancellor's Reports 1925-1926. BA.
- ⁹⁸ Report of the Dean of Wallingford Hall, 1926-27. Chancellor's Reports 1926/27-1930/31. BA.
- ⁹⁹ Report of the Dean of Wallingford Hall, 1927-28; Report of the Dean of Wallingford Hall, 1927-28. Chancellor's Reports 1926/27-1930/31. BA.
- ¹⁰⁰ Report of the Dean of Wallingford Hall for the year 1929-30. Chancellor's Reports 1926/27-1930/31. BA.
- ¹⁰¹ The lists of the various residence committees show the names of alumnae, faculty members, wives of male faculty, women religious, and members of communities surrounding the universities. See for example, "Victoria Women's Association, 1897-1967," VWA, Fonds 2069, 90.066V, Box 4-8, VUA; "St. Hilda's College Council," 21 June 1921, Cartwright Family Papers, MS120, Box 10 (SHC Correspondence), file 1921-35, TCA; minutes and reports of the Queen's University Alumnae Association, QUAA 3627, QUA.
- ¹⁰² Announcement 1920-21. College: Academic organization and promotion, box 1. LAC.
- ¹⁰³ St. Hilda's – House Regulations, n.d. JI St. Hilda's College. TCA.
- ¹⁰⁴ Residence House Committee, December 11 and 15, 1903. A. Arch 3627, Queen's U. Alumnae Association, box 1, 1903-05. QUA.
- ¹⁰⁵ Residence House Committee, November 28, 1904 and January 8, 1907. A. Arch 3627, Queen's U. Alumnae Association, box 1, 1903-05 and 1906-07. QUA.
- ¹⁰⁶ Residence House Committee, October 14, 1911, and October 8, 1910. A. Arch 3627, Queen's U. Alumnae Association, box 1, 1911-12 and 1910-11. QUA.
- ¹⁰⁷ Residence House Committee, January 30, 1915; also Jan. 16, 1915, March 14, 1915, Feb. 19, 1916. A. Arch 3627, Queen's U. Alumnae Association, box 1, 1914-15 and 1915-16. QUA.
- ¹⁰⁸ Interview with Audrey Judge by Mary Burnett, August 9, 1978, (transcript): 27-28; Interview with Grace Miller by Marion Dick and D. Dumont, February 25, 1977, (transcript): 3. Oral History Project. QUA.

- ¹⁰⁹ Annual Report, 1913-14, pp. 1-2. College: Academic organization and promotion, box 1. LAC.
- ¹¹⁰ Bernita Miller, MA, "My Thoughts Go Back," *St. Joseph's Lilies*, Centennial Issue, vol. 40, 2 (1951): 165-6. ASSJ.
- ¹¹¹ S.G., "The Past in a Book of the Future," *St. Joseph's Lilies*, Centennial Issue, vol. 40, 2 (1951): 177-78. ASSJ.
- ¹¹² Interview with Audrey Judge by Mary Burnett, August 9, 1978, (transcript): 29. Oral History Project. QUA.
- ¹¹³ Interview with Mossie May Waddington Kirkwood by Elizabeth Wilson, March 27, 1973, (transcript): 34-35. B74-0020. UTA.
- ¹¹⁴ Report of the Dean of Arts, May 6, 1924. Annual Reports 1907-1909, 1924. BA.
- ¹¹⁵ Report of the Lady Principal, St. Hilda's College, 1900-01, p. 6. J I St. Hilda's College. TCA.
- ¹¹⁶ Kathleen Cahill Dunphy, "College Days," *St. Joseph's Lilies*, Centennial Issue, vol. 40, 2 (1951): 167-68. ASSJ
- ¹¹⁷ Adams, "Rooms of Their Own," 30-31.
- ¹¹⁸ Horowitz, 314.
- ¹¹⁹ *Acta Victoriana* 49, no. 6 (1925): 17.
- ¹²⁰ Horowitz, 118-121.

Chapter 6

Clubs and Societies (Part I): Separate or Co-ed?

College life is not all study, but is a combination of its primary objective - undoubtedly the pursuit of knowledge - and participation in the various student activities - athletic - debating - social and many others. You only pass this way once - so "spend and be spent" in making your career at McMaster a success.¹

At all four universities under study, students of both sexes engaged in various activities that allowed for recreation and social pursuits outside of the classroom. These activities were organized under the auspices of both separate and co-educational clubs. Studies of these activities in Canadian and American universities have identified a pattern of separate organizations for women students as a result of the male domination of university societies.² Johanna M. Selles notes that early women students at Victoria College were clearly excluded from all the societies, even class meetings. A. B. McKillop argues that the presence of women at Ontario universities even caused male undergraduates to turn to more aggressive, "manly" activities, while the women gravitated to missionary work. Carol Dyhouse, however, has pointed out that this scenario oversimplifies male-female relationships at British universities. Dyhouse distinguishes between the experience of women who attended the older Oxbridge and the "newer" civic universities. By the turn of the century, women were made to feel much more welcome at the civic universities and participated more fully in extra-curricular activities.³

Similarly, at Ontario universities, one may also distinguish between the experience of women students at the older and larger University of Toronto and Queen's University and that at the newer and smaller McMaster and Western Universities. Women students at Toronto and Queen's played very little role in the established student

groups until the turn of the century. By comparison, women at McMaster and Western were active members of the central societies, if not part of the organizing committees. Although the reasons were not always articulated, women students created their own separate clubs and societies at all four universities, whether or not they were excluded from male clubs. Sara Z. Burke notes that at the University of Toronto women students originally excluded themselves from the established clubs despite invitations from the men to join. The women, it appears, chose to regulate their own behavior in order to preempt restrictions being imposed on them by President Daniel Wilson. Similarly, women students at Queen's also distanced themselves from the main student group, the Alma Mater Society.⁴ The experience of women at McMaster and Western, while much like that at Queen's and Toronto in some ways, was quite different in other ways. Among the most significant differences was the inclusion of both women and men in some clubs even as parallel single-sex groups were formed.⁵ This chapter explores the activities of the separate women's literary societies and debating clubs, and concludes with a look at some of the co-ed groups that formed.

Separate Clubs and Societies

The formation of separate women's clubs followed the tradition of the early women's literary clubs. For women, the creation of their own clubs had important implications for their development and progress within the university and beyond. Most importantly, separate clubs provided women with the opportunity to acquire the skills necessary to pursue careers and social activism.⁶ In order for women to maintain their right to higher education, they not only had to maintain a high level of scholarship, but they also had to maintain their status as "ladies." This strategy of "double conformity"⁷ worked towards creating a separate culture for women students even when they may not have been specifically excluded. And "ladies," of course, did not attend meetings where there was smoking or when there were no chaperones.

When women students first entered the established universities in Canada and the United States, they were in the position of being a very small minority among a majority of men. These first women were often seen as oddities, as not quite feminine or womanly. As such, they were forced to maintain a delicate balance between being well educated and keeping up with their studies, while keeping an appearance of the feminine. To appear feminine, women had to illustrate "passivity, dependence and nurturance."⁸ Femininity, "the concrete manifestation of women's subordinate status,"⁹ also implied heterosexual attractiveness. Women students were thus isolated from the established masculine student culture of the universities and sought ways to relieve this isolation. Paula J.S. LaPierre notes that very few women students attempted to challenge their exclusion from the established culture. Estelle Freedman argues that the founding of separate female-oriented clubs was a strategy used by early feminists to develop skills and community among like-minded women.¹⁰ The various women's literary societies were certainly influenced by the women's movement of the period, as seen in the choice of topics for discussion, the seminars on careers for women, and the encouragement of women students in developing skills formerly reserved for men. By 1923, the University of Toronto's *The Varsity* noted that women's activities were as varied as the men's. However, the barriers to women, both explicit and implicit, continued even in this period of increasing rights for women. The article noted, for example, that women were barred from some men's organizations not simply by the refusal of admittance, but by the statement that "[t]he meeting will take the form of a smoker." Yet, in the co-ed groups it was felt that women were less likely to take a back seat to the men even though that tendency "has been instilled in the feminine mind from time immemorial."¹¹ Some of the more prestigious clubs and facilities at the University of Toronto excluded women well into the 1960s or beyond. For example, Hart House, the men's recreational facility, excluded women until 1971, and the University of Toronto Historical Club, established in 1903 by Professors George Wrong and Edward Kylie, was restricted to male students

until the 1960s.

Women's Literary Societies

Perhaps the most important separate societies at most universities were the literary societies. The women's literary societies at all the universities except Western were established before 1900. Queen's women founded their own literary society, the Levana Society, in 1889. St. Hilda's literary society was established in the same year the college was formed. Victoria College's Ladies Literary Society was formed in 1889 and University College's in 1891. McMaster's Ladies Literary League (LLL) was originally created in 1891 as the Modern Language Club. Women at Western were the only ones who did not form a separate literary society.

Although the literary societies were purported to be the most important and popular groups, membership levels in the various women's literary societies varied over the years. Some newspaper reports on these groups give the impression that all students took part in their activities. This was clearly not the case. While Wilhelmina Gordon remembered the Levana of 1905 as "a going concern,"¹² prior to 1900, the Levana had earlier suffered from a problem of non-attendance and ceased to function in the spring of 1890. By 1900, the Levana was back in action, although complaints about low attendance continued.¹³ LaPierre suggests that this problem may have been due, in part, to the women's participation in several newer mixed undergraduate clubs.¹⁴ Efforts to encourage attendance appeared regularly in the Queen's student newspaper where it was argued that it was a duty to attend Levana meetings, not only for intellectual and social stimulation, but because it represented the interests of the women students at Queen's. St. Hilda's women's literary society did not function regularly until the mid-1890s. At University College, the Women's Literary Society (WLS) reached its height in terms of membership in 1910-11. In that year, there were 167 members. From then on, the numbers dropped, fluctuating between 59 and 31 during the 1920s,¹⁵ a period when the total number of

women students was quite high. During the years when membership was consistently over 100, the annual fee was one dollar. Once membership began to drop, the fees were lowered in an effort to attract more members. The decreasing membership was perhaps due to the proliferation of clubs available. At all the societies efforts were made to promote the merits of membership and the benefits of regular attendance. While not all students took part in the activities of the literary societies, they were certainly among the most active groups. A large enough number of women took part to make these societies worthy of examination.

The literary societies were important in creating community among the women students. The first meeting each year usually included an initiation of the "freshettes". The initiation of the women tended to be based on a hierarchical familial organization with the freshettes as little sisters who obey their elders and were at first more restrained than most male initiations, focussing on activities like impromptu speeches.¹⁶ The rivalry between years that existed among the men was not encouraged among the women. By the late 1920s, when the women's initiations were becoming more adventurous, the women living at Wallingford Hall were initiated by being rudely awoken at 1:30 a.m. and walked through the basement, blindfolded, forced to climb stairs covered with a mattress, then were coated with cold cream and confetti.¹⁷ That women students at McMaster were apparently willing to engage in more rowdy initiations suggests that the tenets of "lady-like" behaviour were being broken with more ease.

The various literary societies also encouraged the building of community through the sharing of personal stories. A form of gossip, these stories give us insights into the lives of some of the students and provided a means by which the women could affirm their beliefs and negotiate changing social norms.¹⁸ Tales of new male friends, employment, and adventurous travels were the norm. The program of the first meeting of each year for many of these groups often included stories about summer vacations. Many of the women described their experiences working and living away from home.

Some of them also told of romances begun during the summer. In 1915, McMaster's Christine Farmer taught summer school and became engaged to the janitor, while Miriam Grimshaw had a similarly romantic summer in Muskoka and Winnifred Grindell had many callers each evening while she was out West.¹⁹ In 1916, Elsie Wilkins provided "a glimpse into her work on a Toronto playground" and a Miss Berst described her experiences as a Saskatchewan "school-marm," while Margaret Eaton described her trip to New York.²⁰ Other students described work in munitions factories and summers on farms. Those who taught often travelled far and wide. Rivka Levi returned to her home to teach in "the wilds of Alberta, where carrying water and getting lost seemed to be a favored occupation."²¹ Marion Stilwell taught in "a tiny Galecian community" located forty miles from the nearest railway. She described the townspeople as "[t]ruly climatized Eskimos" who lived in mud and sod houses.²² Marjorie Mallagh taught in a Ruthenian settlement, while Alice McDougall spent the summer mountain climbing with the Pauline Johnson Branch of the B.C. Mountaineering Club.²³ It is clear from the stories told that these women students were encouraged to embark on careers and adventures, and the sharing of these activities perhaps encouraged the new students to consider similar ones.

The meetings of the various women's literary societies all followed the same general format. Activities included readings, skits, music, formal debates and lectures by guest speakers. In addition, women students learned how to conduct meetings and to develop both prepared and impromptu debating skills. Membership in Literary Societies at all universities was seen as a unique opportunity to gain valuable experience in interacting with others, learning about culture, and, perhaps most importantly, learning how to speak in public. Eventually, as membership grew and interests became more defined, new clubs evolved from the literary societies: glee clubs, dramatic societies, and debating clubs. An examination of these programs highlights the interests and opinions of the students. For the women, separate societies allowed them more control over the

subjects explored and encouraged the creation of close community.

In 1905, an *Acta Victoriana* article by Edna Walker, '05, explained the purpose of extra-curricular activities for women: the creation the “well-rounded” woman. The YWCA promoted the spiritual side of life, the WLS developed the intellectual and the social, while athletics focused on the physical dimension. The advantages of the WLS were described in 1908 in the following way:

The value of this Association is becoming more clearly recognized of late; in fact, some colleges have made it compulsory for every student to participate in the work of the Literary Society. ‘Women’s meetings’ are too often the object of much merriment, - not to say contempt – among business men, because of their deplorable lack of system, of dignity, and of ordinary business-like methods of procedure. Here, there is the apprehension of what organization is in work, the discernment of what is duty and what is uncalled for in the sharing of responsibility – good discipline for the work in the schoolroom or in the home. The very atmosphere of this Society is conducive to a womanly dignity, which is the admiration of all and for the possession of which every true woman strives.²⁴

No matter what type of work was to be undertaken by women graduates, participation in the WLS would prepare them.

At Queen's, Levana members entertained themselves by performing plays and skits, reading ballads, and debating. Other clubs, such as the girls' Glee Club organized in 1905, eventually evolved under the auspices of the Levana Society.²⁵ Levana provided many of the recreational activities the women students engaged in. All the groups, both male and female composed cheers, or "yells". These sometimes reflected changing norms, and always illustrated strong loyalty to the university. In 1922, a yell composed by the women of Queen's Levana was:

Short Skirts!
 Low Necks!!
 Galoshes to the fore!!!
 Levana bear forever!!!!
 Queen's Forever more.²⁶

The strength of the society was believed to be in the loyalty it inspired and the new ideas each generation of students brought to it.²⁷ Some of the cheers suggest the strong

influence of the women's rights movement. The Levana cheer in the 1925 Yearbook:

Levana! Levana!
 Women to the fore.
 Arts forever, Queen's forever.
 Women's rights or --- war.²⁸

Despite some progress made by women students in increasing their rights on campus, the men continued to challenge these moves. When women sought to have the same privileges as the men in terms of the being eligible to receive a gold "Q," men fought to preserve their exclusive right to this symbol of prestige on campus. The exclusion of women from having their own gold 'Q' was finally resolved in March 1926 when the women were granted one "rectangular in shape, and distinctly different from that awarded the men."²⁹ The distinction between women and men students was being subtly maintained.

At McMaster, meetings of the Ladies Literary League (LLL) were usually held immediately prior to those of the co-ed "Big Lit." Most women retained membership in both societies, but the separate group for women provided them with unique opportunities not open to them in the larger, co-educational group. The stated purpose of the original group, the Modern Language Club, had been, first, to acquire facility in French and German conversation; and second, to become acquainted with the lives of French, German and English authors. In addition, two days a week were set aside for members to converse in either French or German.³⁰ This club seems to have been intended to provide language practice for the women taking the Modern Language course, rather than undertaking the more diverse activities of the Literary Society. The continuing secondary role of the women in the co-ed Literary Society, however, was probably a significant factor in the strength of the women's society. The Modern Language Club was only three years old when its name was changed to the Ladies Literary League, thus reflecting the broadening range of the group's activities. In 1899, the McMaster LLL was defined as being for "the mutual improvement of its members in literary pursuits, in the art of

speaking, of writing, and in musical attainment."³¹

The meetings of the various women's literary societies were usually devoted to particular topics. At least half of the meetings of the McMaster Ladies' Literary League, for example, were held on subjects concerning women and the changing societal norms. The programmes often contained readings or orations on a variety of subjects, including, in 1900, one on Madame de Stael and another on Madame Guyon.³² Later that year, speeches on Ladies' Residences, Domestic Science, Queen Victoria, Co-Education, Marie Corelli, Social Life, The Art of Dress, University Life, and The British Empire were made.³³ All of the 1907-08 year, the year the name changed to Women's Literary Society (WLS), was dedicated to "The status of women in all nations, and what she has contributed to Music and Art."³⁴ Some of the talks were very clearly in support of women's rights and suffrage. At the March 26, 1908, meeting, for example, Dr. Margaret Gordon spoke on the "Woman as Citizen" in which she discussed women's political status in Toronto and what would be women's special concerns in legislation – sanitary conditions, child labor, and so on.³⁵ In 1913, WLS meetings were held specifically on the topic of the women's movement.³⁶ In December 1915, the WLS focused on Canadian culture. Three papers were read: "Canadian Composers" by Elsie Mulholland; "Canadian Poetry" by Hettie Wilkins; and "Canadian Novelists" by Hilda Berst. The paper on Canadian composers was followed by a demonstration of some of the works of two Canadian composers.³⁷

Women students' literary societies often began their existence with names like the Ladies' Literary League or the Ladies Literary Society. Eventually, however, these names were changed to eliminate the use of "Ladies" and to incorporate "Women." This change in nomenclature reflects a growing feminist awareness among women at the turn of the century. The impact of the Woman Movement and the suffrage campaign is clearly reflected in the name changes and in the topics discussed within these societies. The Victoria College Ladies' Literary Society, formed in 1889 with the object of studying

English literature, changed its name to the Women's Literary Society in 1892 when Victoria moved to Toronto. Its new constitution reflected an expansion of interest in the "literary improvement and social intercourse" of its members.³⁸

At McMaster University, the Modern Language Club, became the Ladies Literary League (LLL) in 1894 and the Women's Literary Society (WLS) in 1907. At the same time, the word 'woman' was substituted for 'lady' throughout the constitution.³⁹ By this time, it was felt that the term "lady" had "fallen upon evil times," that it now suggested "bargain-counter fights" rather than "high and sweet ideals."⁴⁰ An earlier attempt had been made in 1899 to change the name to the Women's Literary League.⁴¹ The importance of language and of naming is illustrated here. As Carroll Smith-Rosenberg tells us, words "reflect the social location and relative power of the speakers."⁴² The successful name change suggests that the women's movement had made some headway among the women students at McMaster between 1899 and 1907. The shift from "ladies" to "women" did not go unnoticed by the university community. The editor of the *McMaster University Monthly* argued that in spite of this shift, the women students continued to be studious.⁴³ The Ladies Literary League was formed in order to provide women students with the opportunity to participate in activities not thought suitable for women within the co-educational society. In particular, debating was usually forbidden to women students on occasions when the co-ed Literary Society meetings were open to the public, although women sometimes participated when meetings were closed.

At Western in 1909, an attempt to create a "women's organization" was made, but it was unsuccessful. It was not until 1927 that such an organization was successfully created.⁴⁴ In both cases the ultimate purpose seems to have been more along the lines of government than literary endeavors. In spite of the lack of a separate women's society, a strong cohesion among the women students developed through their separate room, "No. 6."

At all four universities, lectures were held on vocations and careers for women.

From approximately 1919, the McMaster WLS sponsored vocational talks at which local women spoke about various careers for women. In January 1919, Frances Trotter encouraged the students to choose a career early. She went on to describe careers from "Parliament to Pulpit" to "women's own peculiar sphere, which [the students] found was neither women's nor peculiar."⁴⁵ The first vocational talk of the 1919-20 year was on journalism and was given by Marjorie MacMurchy [sic].⁴⁶ In 1921, a Miss Grimshaw discussed her work with "girl-employees," which she referred to as "welfare work."⁴⁷ Dr. Helen McMurchie [sic], a representative of the Department of Health involved in the care of children and infants, discussed the use of statistics in her studies of infant mortality.⁴⁸ The speakers all encouraged the women to aim high and to maintain a high standard of work. Underlying many of the talks was the implication that women should work for the love of being of service. Indeed, the poet, Jean Blewett, spoke in 1923 about "The Happiness of Work," and told the students that "the best things in life are free" and that pleasure comes from a task well done.⁴⁹ Other meetings further explored topics of particular interest for women and encouraged the students to push boundaries. It was not uncommon for women of this period to face the paradox of being encouraged, on the one hand, to push beyond the accepted career of teaching, but, on the other hand, to serve.⁵⁰ Implied in many of these talks was the idea that women should not work for monetary reasons, but that they should find pleasure in doing a job well and in helping others.

At the University of Toronto, similar conferences and lectures were held. The first vocational conference for undergraduate women was held in February 1919. But there were lectures and reports before and after this on the various jobs women were doing,⁵¹ such as newspaper reports on women journalists in 1901 and 1902.⁵² Women and work were popular topics in the newspapers, with articles on equal pay for equal work, women today and tomorrow, the choice of a life work, and during the war, on various types of war work the students were engaged in.⁵³ From these articles and reports, it is clear that women students were being offered more options than simply teaching.

The focus, however, continued to be on more service-type jobs – on what a woman could do for society, rather than what she truly enjoyed or loved.

Dramatic events provided yet another opportunity for women to develop important skills. Like debating, performing in public was not considered feminine. As a result, for most of the period under study women students generally undertook dramatic presentations within the various Women's Literary Societies. As part of the regular programme of events at McMaster, the WLS put on skits for each other and, later, held annual plays open to the public. Dramatic exercises within the LLL and the WLS further developed the skills necessary for the "New Woman" to succeed after graduation. The WLS eventually sponsored a drama club to produce the annual plays, but its origins were in the regular Women's Literary Society meetings. Shakespearean plays were among the most popular, but others were also regularly performed. In 1912, the women presented a reading of the play "Ingomar, the Barbarian."⁵⁴ The women, of course, played all the roles themselves. In 1926, the WLS presented *Midsummer's Night Dream* and advertised it among the collegiates because it was being studied that year.⁵⁵ In other years, instead of presenting one complete play, they gave short one or two act plays and provided music. In 1930, for example, they presented "Joint Owners in Spain," a one-act comedy by Alice Brown, and "Six Who Pass While the Lentils Boil," a fantasy in two acts by Stuart Parker.⁵⁶ The money collected at the open plays was put towards equipment, manuscripts of plays, hiring a director, and providing the foundation of a separate dramatic society.

The planning and organization of the annual "Big Play" allowed McMaster women to develop their management skills, as well as their acting abilities. The women played all the characters, made the costumes, undertook the advertising, selling, seating, ushering and printing of the program, and arranged the music and the hall. What they did not do was manage the lighting, stage and curtain. These jobs were given to male students,⁵⁷ who usually received a box of chocolates in return. In the 1929-30 year, the women began a petition to have men participate in the performance of the Big Play.

There is no indication of the response they received.⁵⁸ In addition to the Big Play, McMaster women also performed "year plays" where each year was in charge of the program for one WLS meeting. These meetings were open only to the women, although in 1924-25 it was suggested that the men be allowed to watch the year plays. It was decided that the men could hear the Ladies' Oratorical Contest, but apparently not the year plays.⁵⁹ The year plays covered a wider range of topics and often tended to be more fun than the Big Play. These included "The Woodscarver's Wife" by Marjorie Pickthall,⁶⁰ "Aria de Capo" by Edna St. Vincent Millay, scenes from Louisa M. Alcott's *Little Women*, and something called "Bimbo, the pirate."⁶¹ Not all of these activities, however, met with faculty approval. In 1922, Professor Findlay, professor of mathematics, told the Chancellor that he felt some restrictions should be placed on the plays produced by the WLS; that those done that year were not completely suitable in a Baptist school. In particular, he suggested that they should revert to using academic gowns instead of costumes;⁶² a suggestion that apparently met with little success.

Despite the apparent frivolity of some of the plays, the serious nature of the exercise is indicated in the guidelines for judging the year programmes. Following the lead of the women's literary clubs outside of the university, judges or critics were used to evaluate performances. Perhaps, too, judges lent the activities a more serious appearance for parents and university authorities. In 1922, the guidelines for the judging of the year programmes were outlined: 25% for the "artisticness" [sic] and appropriateness of the programmes and poster; 25% for the minor numbers; 40% for the principal number (the literary and dramatic quality, histrionic ability and interpretation of characters, general scenic effect, etc.); and 10% for general conduct (changing of scenes, lighting, quietness behind the scenes, etc.).⁶³ The three losing years hosted a "bun feed" for the winning year at the end of the season,⁶⁴ but in 1924, the class of '24 presented the women's student body with a cup for the best year play given during the season.⁶⁵

At all four universities, the women students eventually established separate spaces

for themselves in the main student newspapers and sometimes created their own newspapers. In Toronto's *The Varsity*, this column was called "The College Girl," and at McMaster, the "Women's Department" kept the women students informed. At Queen's, it was originally called "Ladies", but later became "Levana" and "Co-ed Capers". At Western, the "Western Girls" section in the student newspaper was established in 1907. Although women's activities and events were not ignored in the rest of the newspaper, the creation of a separate column suggests that the women students still felt a need to have space to report the activities of the women students. There appears to have been a dual sense of purpose among the women students. They worked to create a unique women's culture even though they continued to participate in all aspects of university life. Women students continued to have significant roles in the production of the newspaper beyond the Western Girls column. Yet, articles in the paper suggested that at least some of the women students were trying to create a distinct sense of community amongst themselves. After World War I, women at all the universities played increasing roles in the various newspapers, even taking responsibility for a complete issue once a year.

Women students also established separate newspapers, but they did not usually have the circulation that the main papers did. University College women established *The Sesame*, which ran between 1897 and 1901. St. Hilda's College created the *St. Hilda's Chronicle* and women at St. Joseph's College contributed to the *St. Joseph's Lilies* which was also the annual for the lower schools. Women at Western's Brescia College created the *Bresciana*. An interesting paper created in 1916 by a group of women students and instructors at Toronto's University College was *The Rebel*. Its tone was quite irreverent and it seemed to have a feminist impulse underlying many of the articles. *The Rebel* became *The Canadian Forum* in 1920 and exists as such to today.⁶⁶

Debating

One of the most fascinating, and one of the most neglected, aspects of women students' culture is the development of debating as an activity at all of the universities. The growth of debating among women students, as reported in the student press, illustrates the increasing integration of women into university activities.⁶⁷ Between 1900 and 1930, debating became increasingly popular at all universities. At first, women debated only within the confines of their own literary societies. They gradually moved out into more public domains, even holding debates with co-ed teams. Debating became very important in the preparation of women for public life in either the voluntary or the paid work force. The topics debated also provide some insight into the views of the students and the issues seen as important.

Well before the turn of the century, debating at American men's colleges had moved from the classroom into literary societies and dedicated clubs. Although debating at American colleges was part of the curriculum as early as 1642, it was not until the 18th and 19th centuries that debating became an established part of student life. In the 18th century, topics included the moral and religious welfare of society. The serious tone was, of course, occasionally relieved by more light-hearted debates. Towards the middle of the 19th century, topics began to deal more with contemporary issues beyond the moral and ethical.⁶⁸ There was some decline in interest in debating in the middle of the 19th century, but a resurgence occurred in the 1880s and 1890s.⁶⁹ This resurgence was reflected at Canadian universities as literary societies encouraged debating, and as debating clubs were formed for both men and women.⁷⁰

In general, two different styles of debate were used to develop different skills. Parliamentary style encouraged quick thinking without prior preparation. The second approach involved teams, which allowed for prepared arguments rehearsed prior to the debate. Women students at all four universities participated in both types of debate.

Debating was one area where women were often forced to form separate groups or events. At McMaster, the men formed an all-male Debating Union separate from the Literary and Scientific Society in 1900 in order to pursue inter-collegiate debating.⁷¹ McMaster women were also excluded from participating in all debates (with one exception in 1897) within the co-educational Literary and Scientific Society, until at least 1915. Not only did this exclude women from events focussed on debating, it also suggests that they were not full members of the society. A 1901 sketch of the meeting room set up for a mock Parliament shows the names of the "Cabinet ministers" in one area and a separate "Ladies' Gallery" at one end of the room.⁷² Even though only men participated, they debated topics of interest and importance for women. In 1905, for example, the men debated the issue of extending electoral franchise in Canada to women, deciding for the affirmative.⁷³ The women, however, quickly developed their own programme of debates within the Ladies' Literary League (LLL), the Women's Literary Society (WLS), and, eventually, in a separate Debating Club.

When the first McMaster Ladies Literary League meeting of the 1901-02 year opened, the President, Miss Blackadar, told the members "that each must do her best in order to get the most training and culture from the work of the society." She emphasized that this society was the best place to get training in public speaking and suggested that they should increase their contact with other universities in order to further improve these skills.⁷⁴ For most women, training in public speaking was a relatively recent development. As late as the 1860s and 1870s, women students at Vassar and Oberlin Colleges had been actively discouraged from oratory and debate.⁷⁵ Students at the affiliated Moulton College held their first debate in 1891, and the first co-ed debate at McMaster was held in 1897.⁷⁶ Aside from this one exception in 1897, women at McMaster did not participate in debates within the co-ed Literary Society. It was only once the Ladies Literary League (LLL) was formed that women could develop their rhetorical skills. Even then, in the early years, the women students were still learning

how to speak loud enough to be heard. In 1908, for example, the women were taught to "speak out loudly" in preparation for presenting "The Merchant of Venice."⁷⁷ The suggestion in 1901, therefore, that McMaster women should actively pursue contacts with women at other universities was unusual. Competition between male debaters of different universities was still relatively new.⁷⁸ For women, inter-collegiate debating was a significant step. By 1902, McMaster women had joined the University of Toronto Inter-College (sometimes called the Inter-Faculty) League.⁷⁹ The women debaters were chosen from among the members of the LLL and debated as a team against the University of Toronto's college and faculty teams. By the late 1920s, a McMaster debating team also traveled to the United States to visit the Baptist college, Bates.

The topics of the debates were similar across the universities and give some insight into the important issues of the day. The women eventually formed inter-collegiate teams that traveled to the different universities. Descriptions of these events indicate a mixture of serious consideration of feminism and a sense that the women felt a need to keep some distance from allying themselves totally with such a radical position. Resolutions for debate tended to be stated in the positive – higher education *was* in the best interests of women, women's participation in politics *was* beneficial – suggesting at least some acceptance of the resolutions. Although the men did not ignore women's issues,⁸⁰ separate groups allowed women to maintain control over the topics debated and to focus on those that interested them.

Each year, the debates covered a wide range. Roughly half of the debates held by the McMaster women between 1900 and 1930 were on topics of general interest. The statements included: the Boers were justified in the position they had taken (affirmative in 1899); the evils of intemperance were greater than the evils of war (affirmative in 1903); the immigration of the Chinese into Canada should be prohibited (affirmative in 1903); large universities offer greater inducements to the development of the undergraduate than the small (negative in 1910); and, the union of Canada with the United States would be

more beneficial than the present system (negative in 1925).⁸¹ The wide range of topics illustrates that the women were pushing beyond the boundaries set by society as appropriate for women. This feminist impulse to push beyond the traditional boundaries did not, of course, prevent the women students from holding the racist and classist views prevalent during this period. The feminist impulse, however, is clear in many debates.

Many of the debates by McMaster women were on topics relating in some way to women's issues. In a 1900 meeting of the McMaster Ladies' Literary League, four women (two teams of two) debated "Resolved that co-education is better than non-coeducation." The audience, perhaps not surprisingly, decided in the affirmative.⁸² Topics ranged over woman's suffrage (negative in 1900, affirmative in 1910 and 1913); whether it was more of a gain than a loss for women to enter public life (affirmative, by popular vote, in 1900); it was better for a girl to enter domestic service than department store or factory work (affirmative in 1902); the public woman accomplishes more than the home woman (negative in 1908); McMaster women should have a residence (negative in 1912); the education of girls is more important than that of boys (negative in 1914); a university education unfits a woman for domestic life (negative in 1924); and in 1926, "the house upholds separate university education for women" (tied).⁸³ The majority of the debates were held between year teams as part of the Women's Literary Society's programmes. At least one or two a year after 1902, with some exceptions, were part of the Inter-Faculty Debating Union at the University of Toronto. The two debaters who represented McMaster at the union debates were elected annually from among the more experienced debaters.

Some debates, however, were held when the meetings were in the form of a parliament and "bills" were debated. These "bills" were often on more frivolous or fun topics than the more formal debates. In 1919, for example, one bill "Resolved that the women of McMaster enter upon a matrimonial campaign."⁸⁴ By 1929, women's debating was well established. It was not until McMaster was preparing to move from Toronto to

Hamilton that the WLS considered joining the Inter-Collegiate Debating Union, which included Queen's, McGill, and the University of Toronto. With this change, a more formal women's Debating Club was organized.⁸⁵ The removal of debating from the WLS into a separate group meant that only those with a specific interest in debating would develop those skills. Where all women students were once expected to participate in debates, this was no longer the case.⁸⁶ The exact reasons for this shift are not clear. While the change may have simply been due to the difficulty in coordinating debates among an increasing number of women, there was probably also a shift in the interests of the students. Competing activities were growing in number and variety, as many university administrators often complained, and probably not all women were interested in debating.

Co-ed debates were not unknown at McMaster, although they were rare in the early years. The first co-ed debate in 1897 was between Miss Baley, '98, and Miss Gill, '00, for the affirmative, and L.H. Thomas, '99, and R.E. Smith, '00, for the negative. The subject debated was, "Resolved, 'That the legalized sale of intoxicating liquor is less defensible than the slavery of the past.'" The judge, Mrs. Newman, found in favor of the affirmative.⁸⁷ Another co-ed debate was not held until 1927 when the separate men's and women's debating clubs decided to practice together. At that point, the two groups decided to meet separately every two weeks and come together for a joint meeting once a month. These meetings were more formal than the inter-year debates and provided an opportunity for more specialized training.⁸⁸ The shift to co-ed debates and public debates influenced the way in which the debates were run. In the early years, the women debated largely without spectators. During this time, the judges were prominent women from the community. Once the debating contests were opened to the public, male judges were chosen. This shift suggests that male judges were required to give the debates an aura of authority and seriousness.

It is not clear when women students at Western first began formal debating;

however, women's rights and suffrage were among the topics debated. Like the debates at McMaster, the topics were various, often suggesting a strong feminist impulse. Co-ed debates seemed to be somewhat more common, perhaps due to the lower numbers and relative isolation of Western from the other universities. An early co-ed debate in 1903 debated the proposal that the men should not smoke.⁸⁹ A 1907 Junior-Sophomore debate on extending the franchise to women also consisted of co-ed teams. Unfortunately, the team that argued against women's rights won the debate.⁹⁰ In 1910, the Literary Society sponsored a parliamentary or 'Oxford style' debate on "Resolved, that the higher education of women is in the best interests of society." The affirmative, or Government, side was represented by "the fair devotees of learning," while the Opposition was held by "the sterner sex, who are noted for their obstinacy."⁹¹ The tone of the article reporting the debate was humorous, setting the men up as being hesitant to express their opinions and fumbling with their arguments. The main opposition argument, it was reported, "seemed to be the question of housekeeping, with its minor (?) accessory, cooking." They further argued that women had stepped out of their sphere and that they were intended to be a 'helpmeet' for men. The Government, it was reported, presented the advantages of women's higher education from "an intellectual and a moral standpoint," pointing out the consequent influences and improved conditions at home and abroad. The reporter, a Miss M. Lewis of the class of 1910, concluded that the Opposition had overlooked many strong points in their favour, "but no doubt these would have been forthcoming if a number of students had not been conspicuous by their absence." She wondered if those men were absent because of "a gallantry for the ladies" or because "they preferred to impart their views on the subject by actual practice rather than by mere words." In the end, the vote was in favour of the Government, but there was a strong impression that the topic was not really taken seriously by the men and that the best male orators had not bothered to show up for the debate. Then in 1920, there was a debate on "Resolved, that women's participation in politics is beneficial to the community."⁹² The co-ed debates emphasize

the impression that women and men students at Western spent a considerable amount of time in each other's company.

By the turn of the century, debating was an established part of the various women's literary societies at the University of Toronto and joint debates were being held between the different college societies.⁹³ Even at St. Hilda's College, where debating was initially frowned upon – in order to debate effectively, one must not only speak publicly, but challenge the arguments of one's opponents, actions not considered "feminine" – a regular schedule of debates was organized after 1900. Like the societies at the other universities, topics debated ranged widely from "Resolved that the dignity of the Victoria woman student has been lowered by the formation of a Hockey Club" in 1900 to "Resolved that skating is more preferable than dancing" in 1920.⁹⁴ Indeed, the debates were often also co-ed ones with either mixed teams or women against the men. The UC Women's Literary Society debated against the Round Table Club that the women of Canada should have the same franchise rights as the men of Canada (affirmative), and against St. Hilda's College on nationalism and on whether there should be a separate college for women (negative).⁹⁵ Trinity College Literary Institute and St. Hilda's Literary Society debated in 1929, "Resolved that this House deploras the wicked waste of lavishing cultural education upon men."⁹⁶ Women from the two Toronto Catholic women's colleges also participated in debating. Toronto's Intercollegiate Debating Team included representatives from St. Michael's College (the names of the women's colleges were not indicated). Each of St. Joseph's and Loretto also had their own debating societies.⁹⁷ In 1930, an Inter-faculty debate was held at St. Joseph's with representatives from each of the four colleges (St. Michael's, Trinity, Victoria and University). The topic was: "Resolved that the student of a small college contributes more proportionally, to university life than the student of a large college [sic]."⁹⁸ St. Joseph's and Loretto women also held debates between the two colleges.⁹⁹

At Queen's in 1918, Levana applied to the AMS for permission to enter into inter-

collegiate debating.¹⁰⁰ By 1923, *The Alumnae News* reported that Agnes McKercher, B.A. '22, and Dorothy Sutherland had been sent to McGill to debate and "came home with laurels."¹⁰¹ By this time, debating at Queen's, as at the other universities, was an annual event and a women's debating club had been formed, "at which such questions as 'Resolved that a man prefers a tidy, cross wife to an untidy, good-natured one' were debated extemporaneously." That year the women debated against the men and won.¹⁰² In 1924, the debating club was described as energetic, holding debates among its own members, with the men's debating society, and with McGill.¹⁰³ That debating was an integral part of the life of women students during these years is reflected in Queen's graduate and Professor Wilhelmina Gordon's comments in 1963 that the demise of debating among women students was a loss. She reminisced about the ability of women, as a result of debating, to "stand on Grant Hall stage, breathe deeply from the diaphragm, and reach the back wall without a mike!"¹⁰⁴

Co-Educational Groups

Some of the societies and clubs were co-educational from their beginnings. Most of these were at Western and McMaster, but there were a few at Queen's and Toronto. Western's Modern Language Club was formed in 1903 by mostly women students. Only two of the ten founding members were men, one of whom was a professor.¹⁰⁵ Western's Literary Society was clearly co-ed by 1907, when both the vice-president and the treasurer were women,¹⁰⁶ and probably was so from its beginnings. Women were certainly a part of the founding of the student newspaper, *In Cap and Gown*, in 1904.¹⁰⁷ The negative reaction to a suggestion by "the Deans of the university" that tickets to the 1924 Rugby Dance be sold only to the male members of the Alumni, Faculty, and Students highlights the place of women at the university in the eyes of the students. It was pointed out to the Deans "with considerable heat" that the university was a co-

educational institution and that no restrictions should be placed upon the liberty of the women students who were just as likely to select "a desirable outsider for a partner as the men."¹⁰⁸ The students' strong reaction to such a suggestion implies a close relationship between the women and men students at Western.

Yet, despite the general impression that women students were fully included within the activities or the culture of the Western, there was some degree of exclusion. A December 1912 article in *The Western University Gazette*, for example, questioned why the women students were not invited to take part on theatre night. There was no further discussion beyond this question, but in the same issue another question was posed regarding sports for the women. The writer commented that the women were tired of simply cheering for the men's teams, and questioned why there was not a skating club that the women could join?¹⁰⁹ The lack of discussion around these issues suggests that not everyone felt they were important. Perhaps more importantly, the growth of the university in the 1920s spurred the administration to look into the prospect of holding separate classes for women students.¹¹⁰ Whether Fox kept the suggestion quiet or that it was decided that such an action was not possible is not clear, but that the suggestion was raised illustrates that the idea of co-education was still not truly accepted.

At McMaster University, women students were members of the Literary and Theological Society (L&TS), later called the Literary and Scientific Society, from at least 1892.¹¹¹ Although women participated in open meetings as early as 1893, women students could not hold executive positions. The first indication that women students wanted to participate as officers of the group occurred during the 1895 elections. At first, no women were nominated to any position, but nominations for councilors were later reopened. Although there are no details, the reopening of nominations and the subsequent nomination of four women suggests that the women demanded some representation on the executive. The election of the Misses Dryden and Burnette into two of the three councilor positions further suggests that the women students were a strong

group within the society.¹¹² This impression is encouraged by the election the following year of a Miss Wolverton as second vice-president. Once again, four women were nominated only after nominations were reopened. In addition, one woman was also nominated, along with four men, for the position of assistant editor of the *McMaster Monthly*.¹¹³ These events established the tradition of having women in the positions of second vice-president and assistant editor of the *Monthly*. The male students controlled the more prestigious positions of president and editor-in-chief, but the women established their presence on the executive of the Literary and Scientific Society long before the women students at Queen's and Toronto did.¹¹⁴ It was not until 1914, however, that the women attempted to gain the presidency of the Literary Society. Nominations were once again reopened to allow Miss Fairbairn to be nominated as president.¹¹⁵ Although she was unsuccessful in her bid, it is clear that at least some of the women were dissatisfied with the secondary role allotted them. Fairbairn's attempt to become president of the Literary Society came at a time when the woman's movement was strong. Indeed, she would have grown up during one of the most active periods in the woman's and suffrage movements.¹¹⁶ That the suffrage movement was supported at McMaster is clear. In February 1913, a student acting in the role of Sylvia Pankhurst was the guest speaker at the Senior Luncheon.¹¹⁷

In spite of their secondary role on the executive, McMaster women took part in most of the activities organized by the Literary and Scientific Society. Each meeting of the society usually contained a lecture, followed by some form of entertainment. Women students played an important role in these programs, even when meetings were open to the public, by presenting skits, reading papers and poems, and performing solos. In 1902, for example, four of the nine numbers at the open meeting were by women students: one piano solo, two vocal solos, and a paper on "Canadian Poetry" by A.M. McNeill, '03, the second vice-president.¹¹⁸ Significantly, the only time the women did not take part was when the meeting took the form of a debate. The secondary position of the women

students, however, was further emphasized by the more limited access they had to reading material. The Literary Society was responsible for ordering newspapers and magazines for the both the men's reading room and the Ladies' Room. The list for the men's reading room included 15 weeklies, 18 monthlies, and 6 dailies. The women, on the other hand, received a total of nine, most of which, also received by the men, were popular magazines. They included *The Ladies Home Journal*, *Life*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Women's Home Companion*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *The Globe*, and *McClures*. The men received a much wider range of papers and magazines from *Current Literature* to *Missionary Review of the World*.¹¹⁹ Whether or not these magazines ever made it into the Ladies' Room is not clear. However, it is certain that McMaster's women students would have been at a disadvantage because they did not have regular access to the same range of information as the men.

Differences in the formal roles of men and women students within McMaster's Literary Society were readily apparent in the executive positions and day to day activities of the society. The personal relationships between the students, however, were less clearly defined. Although propriety was carefully observed, it did not limit the development of friendships between the women and the men. At Literary Society meetings, the women arrived in a group, after the men were seated, and sat well apart in the west side of the chapel, where most large meetings were held. The women and men were discouraged from mingling, talking was forbidden in the halls, and the men were reminded not to flirt with women passing in the street.¹²⁰ The students, however, shared jokes and pranks despite the efforts of the administration to keep the men and women apart outside of the classroom and the student groups. The comfortable relationship is illustrated in the detailed minutes kept by the Secretary in 1915-16. At the February 25, 1916, meeting, for example, the Secretary noted that

[a] certain individual made his appearance with his hair rather towzled [sic]. He was closely followed by 4 ladies so the unkept appearance of his thatch may be

easily explained.¹²¹

Informal socializing was possible at some meetings, like that of October 15, 1915, which concluded with a promenade: "the supreme moment of the evening," at which time there was "a general scramble to have prom. cards filled up."¹²²

Between 1918 and 1923 the society began to lose popularity. After 1918, the minutes of the McMaster Literary Society become increasingly sketchy and some are missing. Charles Johnston notes that some members of the faculty were concerned about student apathy in the years prior to the war, due, many thought, to the lack of facilities and cramped conditions.¹²³ In 1923, the Literary and Scientific Society was officially folded and its functions handed over to other organizations "in an effort to simplify student activity."¹²⁴ The men's Debating Union took charge of the oratorical contests, and the inter-college and international debates. The Modern Literature Club, formed in 1921, filled in for the "literary and intellectual" functions of the Literary Society, and the Student Body took over the "Open Lit" and the Student Body Banquet.¹²⁵ With the exception of the Debating Union, these groups continued to be co-educational in their executives and events. The members of the Modern Literature Club even elected a woman, Gladys Ballantyne, as President in 1927-28.¹²⁶

At the University of Toronto, the majority of clubs and societies were single-sex, but some co-ed groups formed. Women studying history, for example, were excluded from the exclusive, male-only Historical Club and may have created other groups in reaction. A 1906 article in the *Globe* described the Historical Club as "the best known and most prominent of the departmental societies."¹²⁷ It was only open to selected members of the third and fourth years, in any department, with meetings held in the homes of "prominent men who are interested in the university" and professors. The guest speakers were also very prominent men, including, for example in 1928, ex-President Taft of the United States.¹²⁸ Topics discussed in the club included political, economic and education subjects. The exclusive nature of the club and the access to those prominent men

provided an opportunity for those select few to make the necessary contacts for future work. Past members of the club proved to be very successful in their later life. By 1919, however, students in the junior years organized a separate history club that included women. In fact, a Miss McPherson was a member of the first executive along with two men.¹²⁹ Women alone formed other groups. Winnifred Harvey, history graduate student and tutor, formed the Women's Discussion Club of University College in 1911. The club eventually expanded to include students from other sections and Victoria College. In 1912-13, Harvey and another history student, Helen McMurchie, founded "the more radical, co-educational Interrogative Club."¹³⁰ Neither of these two clubs seem to have survived past World War I. The International Polity Club, formed in 1913-14, and the Polity Club, in 1923, may also have been in response to the exclusion of women students from the Historical Club. The former was a co-ed society with two women, including McMurchie, on the seven-person executive. The Polity Club, however, founded by another history instructor, Marjorie Reid, was explicitly modeled on the Historical Club and was restricted to women only. This club, too, did not survive past 1930.¹³¹ In 1930, again largely in response to the exclusion of women from the Historical Club, the English and History Club was established. The first meeting was held at the Women's Union, but the club was not restricted to women. The focus of the meetings, however, seemed to be more on the English side of the club.¹³² Throughout this period, the exclusively male Historical Club persisted, always reminding women students, as Alison Prentice puts it, "that there were worlds that no women could enter."¹³³

While women were excluded from the men's clubs when they first arrived at the University of Toronto's colleges, they gradually carved a place for themselves in some of these groups. The University College Classical Association had a woman on the executive as early as 1898. The UC Modern Language Club, which included women as members in 1895, was almost disbanded in 1909 because it was becoming dominated by women students. A newspaper report claimed the roots of the trouble were in the

movement "to segregate the lady undergraduates in a separate college, the tender flame of which has been jealously guarded and assiduously fanned into feeble flickers of brilliance by the hand of the professor of history in University College."¹³⁴ The article goes on to explain that when a woman was being considered for the presidency of the club, because there was no fourth year male student available, rumblings were heard about "petticoat government" and an unconstitutional proposal was made to place a third year man into the office. The matter was resolved when the old Executive resigned and a new one was appointed with Miss Whyte, '10, as President.¹³⁵ Other groups also formed that cut across colleges, like the League of Nations Club that, in 1930, included two women on the executive.¹³⁶

Conclusion

Student culture at the four universities, while quite similar in many ways, was different in other ways. The women's literary societies, in their various forms, were the central organizations for the women students around which all other women's groups circled. During the years under study, the women were usually members of more than one group, both separate and co-educational. The creation of separate societies allowed women students to explore issues that were of immediate relevance to them and to do so without interference from the men. But the women were aware of the delicate balance they had to maintain. Elsie McLaurin, the 1907 women's editor of the *McMaster University Monthly*, described the need to write about things "distinctly feminine" yet not "so superlatively feminine as the exchange of crochet patterns or fudge recipes." She pointed out that although some aspects of women students' university life were distinct, they were also a large part of the school as a whole.¹³⁷ The students subverted the attempts at physical separation of students into separate reading rooms and the like by maintaining co-ed clubs. Students at Western and McMaster were aided by their small numbers in

their attempts to overcome separation. At the same time, the women, intentionally or not, appeased the university authorities and parents by creating separate groups for some activities. Certainly the models provided by women's clubs outside the university and those already established at the University of Toronto and Queen's University played a role. By the time women at McMaster and Western were planning their organizations, the women at the University of Toronto and Queen's University had already established separate societies and activities. Unlike the women at Toronto and Queen's, however, women at McMaster and Western were successful at maintaining a stronger presence in activities and clubs beyond their own women's societies. For women at the separate Catholic colleges, except for the Newman Club and other inter-faculty groups, societies were single-sex and oriented around their respective colleges. Catholic women, however, did join the inter-faculty societies, such as Inter-collegiate debating, that cut across college boundaries.

Women students would have benefited from both the parallel organizations and the co-ed ones. On the one hand, separate associations allowed the women to explore issues raised by social changes, such as the women's movement and suffrage, and to develop important leadership skills by running their own groups. On the other hand, the women also had the opportunity to work with men in the co-educational societies. Although limited to secondary roles, the women graduated with the experience of working within male-dominated organizations. The women at all four universities made full use of the opportunities offered by both types of club. In the end, these experiences could only have helped in their post-university lives.

Endnotes

- ¹ *McMaster University Monthly* [hereafter *MM*], (October 1927): 74.
- ² See, Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1990): 40-41; Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), chap. 9; Paula J.S. LaPierre, "The First Generation: The Experience of Women University Students in Central Canada," Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1993, p. 289; Lee Stewart, *"It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990).
- ³ Carol Dyhouse, *No distinction of sex? women in British universities, 1870-1939* (London: UCL Press Ltd., 1995): 3-5, 189-191.
- ⁴ Sara Z. Burke, "New Women and Old Romans: Co-Education at the University of Toronto, 1884-1895," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, St. John's, Newfoundland, June 1997, 10. Hilda Neatby, *Queen's University, Volume 1* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 209.
- ⁵ The history of women students at Western and McMaster has not been studied in detail. Some gender analysis has been done on students by A.B. McKillop in *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994). The institutional histories of Western and McMaster do not ignore women students, but they also do not address the experience of women students in any detail.
- ⁶ Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980); Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: women's associations in American history* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); and Gillian Weiss, "The Brightest Women of Our Land: Vancouver Clubwomen, 1910-1928," in *Not Just Pin Money*, eds. Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Puzdro (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984).
- ⁷ Sara Delamont, *Woman's Place in Education: Historical and Sociological Perspectives on Gender and Education* (Aldershot, England: Avebury, 1996): 154.
- ⁸ Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport and Sexuality* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1986): 13.
- ⁹ Lenskyj, 13.
- ¹⁰ Estelle Freedman, "Separatism As Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5, no. 3 (Fall 1979): 514.
- ¹¹ February 9, 1923, *The Varsity*. A73-0051/020(04), UTA.
- ¹² "Levana Then and Now," *Uncrowned Jubilee*, February 15, 1963, p. 5.
- ¹³ October 16, 1900, p. 16; March 29, 1901, p. 264; October 17, 1904, *Queen's Journal*.
- ¹⁴ LaPierre, 174.
- ¹⁵ Roll Book of the Treasurer of the Women's Literary Society, University College. A69-0011/020(women's lit), UTA.
- ¹⁶ Charles M. Johnston and John C. Weaver, *Student Days: Student Life at McMaster University from the 1890s to the 1980s* (Hamilton: McMaster University Alumni Association, 1986): 13, 22-25. For a description of male initiation rituals at the University of Toronto, see Keith Walden, "Hazes, Hustles, Scraps, and Stunts: Initiations at the University of Toronto, 1880-1925," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, eds. Axelrod and Reid, 94-121; October 13, 1905. LLL Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.
- ¹⁷ *MM*, October 1928, pp. 23-24; *MM*, October 1929, pp. 26-27.
- ¹⁸ See for example, Donna J. Eder and Janet Enke, "Gossip as a means for strengthening social bonds: a sociolinguistic approach," American Sociological Association paper, 1988; Jerry M. Suls, "Gossip as social comparison," *Journal of Communication* 27, 1 (Winter 1977): 164-168; and Luise White, "Between Gluckman and Foucault: Historicizing Rumour and Gossip," *Social Dynamics* 20, 1 (Winter 1994): 75-92.
- ¹⁹ October 29, 1915. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ²⁰ October 18, 1916. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ²¹ November 8, 1918. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ²² November 8, 1918. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ²³ October 17, 1919. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ²⁴ *AV*, Vol. xxxii, no. 1 (Oct. 1908): 22.
- ²⁵ January 16, 1905, *QJ*.
- ²⁶ "From Our Journal Files...A Flashback," *Uncrowned Jubilee*, February 15, 1963, n.p.

- ²⁷ Introduction, *Levana Constitution*, 1959-60.
- ²⁸ Yearbook, Queen's University, 1925, p. 27.
- ²⁹ *Queen's Journal*, March 23, 1926, p. 1.
- ³⁰ *MM*, November 1891, p. 89. An undated entry in a Minute Book labelled 1899-1911 stated: "Owing to the constitution of the Ladies' Literary League having been lost, a committee composed of Misses Dryden, McLaurin, & Armstrong was appointed to draft a new constitution." The constitution follows this entry. Ladies Literary League Minute Book, 1899-1911, B.A.
- ³¹ February 10, 1899. Ladies' Literary League (hereafter LLL) Minute Book, 1899-1911, Baptist Archives (hereafter BA).
- ³² December 7, 1900. LLL Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.
- ³³ February 8, 1901. LLL Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.
- ³⁴ October 4, 1904. LLL Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.
- ³⁵ March 26, 1908. LLL Minute Book 1899-1911, BA.
- ³⁶ *MM*, February 1913, p. 228.
- ³⁷ December 10, 1915. WLS Minute Book 1911-1919, BA.
- ³⁸ Lapierre, 179.
- ³⁹ October 29, 1907. LLL Minute Book, 1899-1911. BA.
- ⁴⁰ *MM*, November 1907, p. 75.
- ⁴¹ February 10, 1899. Ladies Literary League Minute Book, 1899-1911. B.A.
- ⁴² Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Writing History: Language, Class, and Gender." in *Feminist Studies, Critical Studies*, ed. Teresa de Lauretis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
- ⁴³ *MM*, November 1907, p. 75.
- ⁴⁴ *Western University Gazette*, vol. 4, no. 1 (October 1909): 24; (December 1909): 94; *Occidentalia*, 1928, p. 38.
- ⁴⁵ January 31, 1919. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA. Frances Trotter, graduated from McMaster in 1922 and went on to have a long career in the Boys' and Girls' division of the Toronto Public Library. She was the daughter of Rev. Dr. Thomas Trotter, former President of Acadia University and a professor at McMaster; she was also the sister of R.G. Trotter, Professor of Canadian History at Queen's University, of Marjorie Trotter, former Principal of Moulton College, and of Bernard Trotter, a poet killed during WWI. Frances Willard Trotter Biographical file, BA.
- ⁴⁶ November 14, 1919. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ⁴⁷ February 18, 1921. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ⁴⁸ March 31, 1922. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ⁴⁹ February 2, 1923. WLS Minute Book, 1922-31, BA.
- ⁵⁰ D. M. Gordon, "College Life A Training for Service," *Queen's University Journal* (October 18, 1905): 3-7; Walter James Brown, "The University of Western Ontario Aims to Fit Students to Render Maximum Community Service," (Pamphlet, n.p., October 8, 1938).
- ⁵¹ See, Elsinore McPherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1920. Some of her findings were reported in "Opportunities for University Women in Canada," *Chronicle* (Federation of University Women in Canada, 1920): 14-19.
- ⁵² June 1901, *The University Monthly* p. 310; December 1902, *The University Monthly*, p. 89; and December 16, 1903, *The Varsity*, p. 159.
- ⁵³ February 1901, *McMaster University Monthly*, p. 228; April 1909, *Acta Victoriana*, p. 593; January 1918, *McMaster University Monthly*, p. 177; April 1919, *The University Monthly*, p. 212-213; October 1917, p. 19, January 1919, pp. 127-130, *The Rebel*.
- ⁵⁴ March 15, 1912. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ⁵⁵ February 4, 1926. WLS Minute Book, BA.
- ⁵⁶ March 7 and 8, 1930. Women's Literary Society, Programs, 1922-1931, BA.
- ⁵⁷ February 2, 1929. WLS Minute Book, BA.
- ⁵⁸ November 29, 1929. WLS Minute Book, BA.
- ⁵⁹ October 10, 1924. WLS Minute Book, BA.
- ⁶⁰ Handmade program, October 28, [no year]. WLS, Programmes, 1922-1931, BA.
- ⁶¹ March 20, 1925; February 12, 1927. WLS Minute Book, BA.
- ⁶² William Findlay Report, April 22, 1922. Chancellor's Reports, 1910-24, BA.
- ⁶³ March 17, 1922. WLS Minute Book, BA.

- ⁶⁴ October 20, 1911. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ⁶⁵ December 12, 1924. WLS Minute Book, 1922-31, BA.
- ⁶⁶ Bound copies of *The Rebel* can be found in Robarts Library, University of Toronto.
- ⁶⁷ The most useful source for information on student clubs is the student newspaper. The nature of students newspapers requires that care be taken in using them as a source of student opinion. Only a certain type of student wrote for student newspapers and students themselves were likely to self-censor their opinions in order to meet the approval of university authorities. The *Western University Gazette* had a professor listed on the masthead as the Consulting Editor. Yet, the opinions voiced in the newspapers are important because the paper was widely distributed among all students. The nature of student newspapers, using the University of Toronto's *The Varsity* as a case study, is examined in chapter 2.
- ⁶⁸ David Potter, *Debating in the Colonial Chartered Colleges, An Historical Survey, 1642 to 1900* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944): 74-79.
- ⁶⁹ Potter, 94-101.
- ⁷⁰ Judith Fingard, for example, notes that debating was a serious activity for women students at Dalhousie. "College, Career, and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921," in *Youth, University, and Canadian Society*, eds. Axelrod and Reid, 26-50; see also, McKillop, *Matters of Mind*, 234-236.
- ⁷¹ *MM*, November 1900, p. 90.
- ⁷² February 1, 1901. Literary and Scientific Society Minute Book, 1894-1915, BA.
- ⁷³ February 24, 1905. Literary and Scientific Society Minute Book, 1894-1915, BA.
- ⁷⁴ November 9, 1901. LLL Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.
- ⁷⁵ Johanna M. Selles, *Methodists & Women's Education in Ontario, 1836-1925* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996): 49.
- ⁷⁶ *MM*, November 1891, p. 95; *MM*, December 1897, p. 136.
- ⁷⁷ February 1908, *MM*, p. 224.
- ⁷⁸ Inter-collegiate debating between American men's colleges only became popular in the 1890s. Potter, 96-101.
- ⁷⁹ October 14, 1902. LLL Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.
- ⁸⁰ See, for example, *MM*, February 1901, p. 228; and March 1901, p. 281.
- ⁸¹ November 10, 1899; February 13, 1903; November 13, 1903; December 4, 1903; November 11, 1904; December 2, 1904; December 9, 1904; November 2, 1905; November 23, 1905; September 26, 1906; November 1, 1910; October 16, 1914; October 22, 1925; December 10, 1925. LLL and WLS Minute Books, BA.
- ⁸² January 11, 1900. LLL Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.
- ⁸³ November 2, 1900; December 7, 1900; February 15, 1902; November 20, 1908; January 18, 1909; December 16, 1910; March 1, 1912; January 23, 1913; November 27, 1914; December 1, 1924; November 26, 1926. LLL and WLS Minute Books, BA.
- ⁸⁴ January 12, 1919. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.
- ⁸⁵ October 26, 1928; November 23, 1928; February 19, 1929; April 18, 1929. WLS Minutes, BA.
- ⁸⁶ A similar shift happened at Oxford's Somerville College in the post-war years. Pauline Adams, *Somerville for Women: an Oxford College, 1879-1993* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996): 202.
- ⁸⁷ *MM*, December 1897, p. 136.
- ⁸⁸ *MM*, November 1927, p. 75.
- ⁸⁹ 1903. Scrapbooks, Vol. 1 1903-06. UWO.
- ⁹⁰ *In Cap and Gown*, November 1907.
- ⁹¹ *Western University Gazette*, March 1910, p. 199-200.
- ⁹² *Western University Gazette*, December 1912, p. 45; May 1920, p. 37.
- ⁹³ See, LaPierre, chapter 4, for details on the origins of the various women's literary societies at the University of Toronto and Queen's University.
- ⁹⁴ LaPierre, 181; *The Varsity*, February 20, 1920, p. 1.
- ⁹⁵ *Globe*, Dec. 14, 1908; *Star*, December 3, 1910; *News*, October 28, 1911. Clippings File, File 022(01), A73-0051/238.
- ⁹⁶ *The Varsity*, October 28, 1929. A73-0051/237/021(27), UTA.
- ⁹⁷ *Torontonensis*, 1920, p. 255; 1926, pp. 388, 390; 1930, pp. 331.
- ⁹⁸ *Torontonensis*, 1930, 331.
- ⁹⁹ *Torontonensis*, 1930, 356.

- ¹⁰⁰ March 2, 1918, AMS Minutes, A.Arch 3621, Box 5, QUA.
- ¹⁰¹ Agnes McKercher, B.A. '22, was the leader of the first women's Intercollegiate debating team and had represented Levana on the AMS executive. When she passed away in 1927, the obituary in the *Queen's Alumnae News* described her as a brilliant student who had won the Lohead Scholarship in Economics. November 1927, *Queen's Alumnae News*, p. 30. Box 112, Printed Collection, QA.
- ¹⁰² *The Alumnae News* v. 8 (December 1923): 23-24, QUA.
- ¹⁰³ *The Alumnae News*, November 1924, p. 11. QUA.
- ¹⁰⁴ "Levana Then and Now," *Uncrowned Jubilee*, February 15, 1963, p. 5.
- ¹⁰⁵ Notebook containing the constitution and minutes, from Oct. 8, 1903 to Feb. 8, 1905, of the Modern Language Club. Jessie Rowat Papers CA9ONROW214 Y0S16 Box 2, RCO, UWO.
- ¹⁰⁶ *In Cap and Gown*, November 1907.
- ¹⁰⁷ *In Cap and Gown* was later renamed *Western University Gazette*, and then *Western U Gazette*.
- ¹⁰⁸ Letter, November, 14, 1924, to Dean W.S. Fox, from N.C. Hart, President of the Athletic Association. CA9ONFOX114 10M36, Box 9, RCO.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Western University Gazette*, December 1912, p. 44.
- ¹¹⁰ Letter, January 31, 1922, to President Rush Rheiss, University of Rochester, from W. Sherwood Fox, Dean of Arts. CA9ONFOX114 10M36, Box 6, RCO. [See chapter 4.]
- ¹¹¹ In January 1892, the candidate for President of the L&TS campaigned in part on the platform that the women students should attend the society's meetings. The wording of the article does not suggest that a rule was being changed. It seems more that the women should be encouraged to attend. In examining this period, it is important to bear in mind that there were only a few women at McMaster, so it may have been very intimidating to attend these meetings. *MM*, January 1892, p. 187.
- ¹¹² *MM*, May 1893, p. 392; October 5 and October 7, 1895, Minute Book, 1894-1915, BA.
- ¹¹³ January 10, 1896; January 15, 1896, Literary and Scientific Society, Minute Book, 1894-1915, BA.
- ¹¹⁴ Women at Queen's University, for example, were not elected to the executive of the Alma Mater Society until 1916. Neatby, 301-303. At Toronto's University College, the men's Literary and Athletic Society and the Women's Undergraduate Association merged in 1949, although they had co-operated prior to this. *Torontonensis*, v. 51, 1949, p. 224, and v. 43, 1941, pp. 256-257.
- ¹¹⁵ March 27 and April 3, 1914. Literary and Scientific Society, Minute Book 1894-1915, BA.
- ¹¹⁶ For an overview of the events during this period, see Alison Prentice, et al., eds., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988): 169-211. Alison Mackinnon suggests that Canada's suffrage movement attracted a large number of highly educated women. Mackinnon, "Male heads on female shoulders? New questions for the history of women's higher education," *History of Education Review* 19, 2 (1990): 42.
- ¹¹⁷ March 1913. *McMaster University Monthly*, p. 274-275.
- ¹¹⁸ November 21, 1902. Literary and Scientific Society, Minute Book 1894-1915, BA.
- ¹¹⁹ October 7, 1912. Literary Society, Minutes of Committees, 1911-22, BA.
- ¹²⁰ March 16, 1910. Student Body, Constitutions, Minutes, Treasurer, BA.
- ¹²¹ February 25, 1916. Literary Society Minute Book 1915-23, BA.
- ¹²² October 15, 1915. Literary Society Minute Book 1915-23, BA.
- ¹²³ Johnston, *McMaster University*, pp. 116-118.
- ¹²⁴ *MM*, May 1923, p. 285.
- ¹²⁵ *MM*, May 1923, pp. 287, 297; *MM*, Graduation Issue 1924, pp. 277, 274.
- ¹²⁶ *MM*, Graduation Issue 1928, p. 374.
- ¹²⁷ Clippings File, *Globe*, 8/12/06, A73-0051/249(40), UTA.
- ¹²⁸ Clippings File, *The Varsity*, 24/11/28, A73-0051/249(40), UTA.
- ¹²⁹ Clippings File, *World*, 29/11/19, A73-0051/249(40), UTA.
- ¹³⁰ Alison Prentice, "Laying Siege to the History Professoriate," in *Creating Historical Memory: English Canadian Women and the Work of History*, eds. Beverly Boutilier and Alison Prentice (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997): 207.
- ¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 207.
- ¹³² Clippings File, *The Varsity*, November 26, 1930, (and other miscellaneous clippings in the file), A73-0051/249(51), UTA.
- ¹³³ Prentice, "Laying Seige," 208.
- ¹³⁴ November 4, 1909, *World*, Clippings file 021(19), A73-0051/237, UTA.

¹³⁵ November 6, 1909, *Globe*, Clippings file 021(19), A73-0051/237, UTA.

¹³⁶ *Torontonensis*, 1930, 384.

¹³⁷ *MM*, October 1907, p. 30.

Chapter 7

Clubs and Societies (Part II): Government, Athletics and Social

Women students at all four universities also took part in student government, athletics, and social activities apart from the clubs and societies discussed in the previous chapter. Student self-government became an important aspect of university life during this period. At a minimum, students exercised some degree of control over social functions and discipline, under the guidance of university advisors who had ultimate control over these matters. Women's literary societies and residences seem to have provided the initial introduction to self-government for many women. This involvement may have given them the necessary skills to seek office in the students' administrative councils that had previously been run by the men. This period also saw a steady increase in women's interest in different sports and athletics. Women from all the colleges and universities participated in a number of teams that competed both within the individual universities and in inter-collegiate meets. Social life played an important role in student experiences. Although rules were sometimes quite stringent, many women found ways around them as they sought to enjoy the company of other students. The evolution of these aspects of student life provides insights into social expectations and student reactions to them.

Student Government

Initially, student government was closely linked with the literary societies. The separate women's organizations were by no means considered equal to the men's, but they did give women students a power base. At McMaster, the power base established by the Ladies Literary League (LLL) and later the Women's Literary Society (WLS) was eventually translated into a self-governing body for women students. Until 1910, the women students did not have any type of student council.¹ At a meeting of the WLS that year, the McMaster women decided to form a Self-Governing Body with committees consisting of the vice-presidents of the WLS, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the second (female) vice-president of the General Literary Society and the (female) vice-presidents of each of the four years. There was also one other who would be chosen as "Head Girl."² The Head Girl was elected by the members of the "Women's Student Body" at the election meeting of the WLS from a list of two or three names, chosen from the graduating year and nominated by the Self-Governing Committee.³ The Head Girl was to advise on any problems under discussion and to represent the women's student body when the opinion or advice of the Chancellor or Dean was required. She was generally expected to maintain order among the women students and to enforce "all precedents and customs."⁴ Although their powers were limited, this movement can be seen as an attempt to establish the rights of women students within a male dominated campus. The off-campus movement for women's rights was gaining momentum by this time, and its influence was certainly being felt on-campus as women students pressed for more direct control over their activities.⁵

Formed in 1916, the Women Students' Administrative Council (WSAC) represented all women students at the University of Toronto. It was intended to help co-ordinate overlapping activities that were undertaken during the war, and then continued as a central council. The executive offices were rotated through all the colleges and

faculties. The executive was made up of the presidents of the undergraduate societies of each college, the Faculty of Household Science and a representative from the Faculty of medicine.⁶ In 1921, the Women Students' Administrative Council took over some responsibility for women students' discipline in agreement with the Caput,⁷ the council that governed the university in subordination to the Senate. The agreement between the Caput and the WSAC stated that the agreement was reached because women were taking a more prominent part in University activities. The WSAC became responsible for "all matters concerning the conduct and activities of the women students of the University which [were] not strictly academic, within certain limits."⁸ Excluded were matters relating to only one residence, college or faculty (which would be dealt with at the college or faculty level), use of University property, public health and safety, and the internal management of the University, college or faculty organizations and societies. An advisory board (composed of the Deans of Women of Victoria and Trinity College, the Dean of Queen's Hall, Resident Head of the U.C. Women's Union, the President of the United Alumnae of the University of Toronto and representatives from the Faculty of Medicine and the Ontario College of Education) was created to allow for informal communication between the Caput and the WSAC.

Once this agreement was established, another one was reached between the WSAC and the male-run Students' Administrative Council (SAC) for the establishment of the Joint Executive of the Students' Administrative Councils. The draft constitution, dated February 18, 1921, sent to President Falconer for approval, outlined the reasons for such a body: to provide a unifying force between the men's and women's councils, to provide a means of communication between the University authorities and the students' councils, to publish *The Varsity*, the *Torontonensis*, and the *Students' Directory*, to receive and administer all funds, and to represent the students at University functions and on public occasions. The Officers were as follows:

Chairman - president of the SAC
 Vice-Chairman - president of the WSAC
 Secretary-Treasurer and Business Manager of all Publications- General Secretary-
 Treasurer of the SAC
 Assistant Secretary - General Secretary-Treasurer of the WSAC⁹

From this allocation of positions, it is clear that the women were to play a secondary role to the men. This was further emphasised by the fact that the appropriations to the WSAC were \$500 salary for the General Secretary-Treasurer and \$200 for council expenses, while the appropriations to the SAC were \$1200 salary for the General Secretary-Treasurer and \$500 for Council expenses. In spite of the clearly secondary position of women, in 1921 *The Varsity* reported that "never before have the women of U. of T. held a higher or more honoured place in college life,"¹⁰ arguing that the women and men held equal power and authority.

At Queen's, it was only in 1923 that the first woman student was successful in winning the position of Second Vice-President of the Alma Mater Society. Levana had unsuccessfully run a candidate in the previous two years.¹¹ Queen's main student group was the Alma Mater Society (AMS). Originally formed in 1858 from the remains of the debating society, the Dialectic Society, the AMS was officially a debating society until late in the 19th century when it began to take on increasing responsibility for general student affairs and student self-government. At the turn of the century, women students were members of the AMS, although they were not elected to office until 1916. The women students were treated almost as if they were a separate department or faculty, like Medicine, Science or Divinity. As such, they were represented as a group by the Levana Society. The AMS regularly called upon Levana to provide women members for planning committees. Although Levana and the AMS co-operated in the planning of social activities, it was the AMS that held the power. The women students were, however, involved in the unlady-like activity of canvassing for those running in the AMS elections, much to the dismay of the editor of the 1904 *Queen's University Journal Ladies' Column*. Although women students were listed as members of the AMS, only the

men could debate at its meetings.¹² That the women students were still seen as quite separate from the rest of the student body was clear two years after women were permitted to run in the AMS elections. At that time, a move to withdraw from the Levana Society "the privilege of running a candidate for the 2nd Vice-Presidency of A.M.S." was defeated. It seems that the men felt that the women were not doing their full share of the work in supporting the candidates from the Arts Party in return for the privilege.¹³

Like the women's societies at the other universities, it was at Levana meetings that community was created - and it was here that a base of power was formed. The Arts Society minutes for November 24, 1916, state that in response to their request to Levana for two representatives to the Arts Election committee

[t]he Levana Society had appointed Miss N. Clinton and Miss K. Skinner as its representatives on the Committee, and Miss Lottie Whitton and Miss Eva Coon as its candidates on the Arts Ticket, it being understood and explained by the Committee that being represented on the Committee Levana would have the privilege of running on the Arts Ticket if they so wished.¹⁴

The phrasing of the entry suggests that the women were not wholly welcome as candidates, but that if the men wanted their help in the election campaign they would have to accommodate the women. This impression is further emphasised by another entry in 1924 that resolved to withdraw the privilege the women had of running for the position of second vice-president. In 1916, the women candidates were only allowed to run for the positions of assistant secretary and "Committeeman." In 1922, the position of second vice-president was opened up to the women for the first time. It was only in 1924 that a woman was successful in winning this office. It was perhaps this success that spurred the protest in 1924. A resolution dated December 2, 1924, stated that it was generally agreed that the "members of the Levana party [had] not made a fair and equitable effort to support the Arts Party Candidates in return for the privilege of

contesting the before-mentioned office" and that it was, under the circumstances, impossible for the Arts Society to "successfully contest an election." It was resolved that "[t]he privilege of contesting the office of second Vice-President be no longer extended to the Levana society" and that this favoured a change in the party system for the AMS elections.¹⁵ Although the motion lost, it is clear that the men in the Arts Society felt threatened by the success of the women in winning the office of second Vice-President. The men seemed perfectly happy to allow the women students to run for that position in return for their assistance in the campaign, as long as they did not win.

At Western, student government was formally established in 1920, largely because the increasing number of students at Western made planning student activities difficult. Frictions between year organizations and societies led to disagreements and confusion. It was felt that this type of problem could be avoided by creating a Students' Council to oversee student activities. Planning began in 1919 with a committee, which included three women and five men, formed to draw up a constitution. Its chief duties were: "to represent the student body in all intercourse with the faculty; to correlate and direct all student activities; and to supervise and, if necessary, control all student finances."¹⁶ Even though women students were always included as members of the executive of the Students' Council, in 1927, the women also formed the Women's Organization to regulate, in co-operation with the Students' Administrative Assembly, all aspects of the student life of the women of the university.¹⁷ The goal of the Women's Organisation, was also to encourage a spirit of unity among the women, to increase the sense of responsibility to one another, and to encourage high standards. It was probably also intended to make the supervision of the increasing number of women students more

manageable. By 1927, there were over 300 women students registered in University and Ursuline (Brescia) Colleges together.¹⁸ The Women's Organisation divided the women students alphabetically into groups of twelve. Each year the freshmen were assigned to a group and each group elected their own executive. The president from each group executive then formed the Women's Organisation Executive.¹⁹ The creation of a Women's Organization did not necessarily mean that the women students had been excluded from student government. Three of the eight members of the 1919 committee formed to investigate methods of student government and to prepare a draft constitution were women. This committee gave women a place within the Students' Council from its beginning.²⁰ Other forms of student government were seen in the women's residences, where, for example, women at Brescia Hall formed a House committee to see that rules were observed in the Hall and in the Annex.²¹ Student government at all the universities was always under the jurisdiction of the university authorities and would therefore have been constrained by rules imposed by them.

Athletics and Sports

Similarly important to the development of women's place in the university was their increasing participation in a wide variety of sports and athletics. "Physical culture" was increasingly popular after 1900.²² From swimming and golf to ice hockey and tennis, women students actively pursued games and developed their athletic skills. To do so, however, they had to fight, in a most lady-like manner of course, for time on the ice, space in the gymnasium and the time of coaches and instructors. Women students also participated in physical culture classes on a regular basis. Carefully regulated and supervised exercise was seen as beneficial by the turn of the century and many American

women's colleges had also introduced some form of physical training.²³ These classes were intended to improve the health of students and to prevent the breakdown in health that higher education was thought to induce in women. At first, the students themselves requested such classes. Later, they evolved into compulsory athletic and health regulations. In 1902, Miss Salter, the UC women's chaperone, approached the University College Council to ask for "more satisfactory service from Sergeant Williams of the Gymnasium." The council suggested that the difficulty [it is not clear what the difficulty exactly was] could be resolved by hiring an instructor under Sergeant Williams and that the women students would have to apply for such a service.²⁴

At Victoria, the Women's Residence and Education Association (VWR&EA) organized a program of "physical culture" for women students and hired Emma Scott Raff as the instructor. Although Scott Raff would go on to establish the Margaret Eaton School of Expression and to become well respected,²⁵ in these early years she was running classes at Victoria for both Victoria students and others not enrolled in the college. Letters of protest and complaint about the classes suggest that the classes and the extra students did not meet with the approval of the Victoria students. Women students at Victoria protested the manner in which the physical culture classes were being held and asked that they be put on a more "academic footing" for the future. The petition expressed the students' appreciation of the work of the Women's Residence and Education Association, then went on to explain their position regarding "The School of Physical Culture and Expression":

I. Although sanctioned by the Chancellor personally and by the 'Women's Educational Association,' has this department ever been properly recommended by the Senate and Faculty? If so has the Board of Regents authorized the expenditure? We understand that such is not the case.

II. While there is a nominal qualification for entrance, this is not enforced, and have students of no academic standing rank equal with the undergraduates as students of Victoria University and securing a diploma

from that so called department, are considered Victoria graduates. [sic]

III. The course itself is below the standard of undergraduate courses, inasmuch as it is not a College course carefully planned and considered by the university authorities with reference to educational principles and needs. It is a course planned and arranged solely by its instructress.

IV. As the case stands at present, the instructress although of no university standing ranks with the Faculty as head of a so called department.

For these reasons the women undergraduates believe that the 'Department of Expression' may become a serious menace to the academic standing of Victoria University, her graduates and undergraduates, and the danger of this will be increased by the possibility of Victoria becoming more widely known as a school of elocution than a university.²⁶

After a meeting with the VWR&EA, the students agreed to withdraw their petition and the VWR&EA promised to look into the matter. Scott Raff continued to conduct these courses at Victoria as the Director of Physical Culture for women from 1902 until 1913. Paid a small salary plus room and board, Scott Raff used the Annesley Hall gymnasium for both the Victoria students and her own students.²⁷ The Victoria students' protest illustrates the strong pride that the university students felt, and suggests a fear that their position within the university might be compromised by participating in non-university approved classes.

In spite of the original impulse for these programs from the students, by the 1910s they became compulsory. In 1911, Emma Scott Raff reported that not all of the students were attending the physical education classes as regularly as they should. Scott Raff went on in her report to point out that "this training [was] not simply for their own culture, wage earning capacity, or share in social life, but for the benefit of the race to which they belong."²⁸ She argued that students had a moral obligation to attend these classes and that some students who had "a crying need" for these classes should not enjoy the privileges of residence life if they did not attend regularly.

In 1912, the University College Council welcomed the establishment of "a permissive system of physical culture by which every woman student of University College [would] be entitled to the advice of an authorized [and] judicious woman physician and to such use of the gymnasium facilities as the student herself may desire,"²⁹ but the Council wanted more information before expressing an opinion regarding compulsory physical culture. In 1922, Physical Training and Medical Examination for one year was made compulsory for women students. It was also proposed that no student should be admitted to the Third Year unless he or she had completed at least one year's Physical Training, but it is not clear if it was implemented.³⁰

Formal athletic teams for women students at the University of Toronto were not formed until after 1900. Prior to this, women students were involved in some activities such as the University Golf Club. Formed in 1898, by 1899 there were at least 50 women members. The seven-hole course ran north from Wycliffe College along the ravine that is now Philosopher's Walk behind the Royal Ontario Museum to Bloor Street and west to just north of Victoria College. By 1903, with new buildings and other constructed hazards, the club died.³¹ St. Hilda's College established the first college Women's Athletic Association at Toronto in 1898. The Toronto University Athletic League (for women students) was formed in 1905 when two members from each of the three colleges attended a founding meeting at St. Hilda's College. Prominent women from the community were also involved in this association, including Margaret Proctor (later the wife of the chancellor of Victoria college, Nathanael Burwash) as the first President and Mrs. Ramsay Wright (the wife of the biology professor) as Honorary President.³²

In addition to societal reactions to women's participation in athletics, a major difficulty for women at all four universities was the lack of adequate facilities. In November 1909, for example, Miss Lang, the President of the Women's Athletic Association of University College, formally asked the UC Council to grant permission to the women students to use the gymnasium for basketball practice on Mondays from 7.30

p.m. to 9.30 p.m. Further investigation, however, was required before permission could be granted.³³ Even though the University of Toronto had perhaps the most facilities for women, they were inadequate to meet the needs of the large number of women. A small gymnasium in the southeast tower of University College was available to UC students from 1901. A pool and gymnasium were available at the Household Science Building after 1913, but the space was inadequate and outdated by 1919. A small gymnasium was also available at Victoria College in the basement of Annesley Hall, but again the space was inadequate to the demand. None of these options was ideal. Women from the various colleges and faculties at the University of Toronto joined together in order to raise funds for a women's gymnasium.³⁴ Plans proposed in the 1920s show that a great deal of time and effort went into the planning and that every effort was made to ensure that the facilities would be comfortable and practical. Recommendations in 1921 included comments on the overly ornate architecture proposed which didn't complement the surrounding buildings. Isabel Robertson, the Secretary of the Women's Athletic Directorate went on to say that an indoor running track was unnecessary since "[w]omen seldom, if ever, go in for this class of sport."³⁵ She also drew on the experiences of the Lillian Massey Gym in recommending certain equipment over others. The campaign continued throughout the 1920s as the women tried to gain some significant financial support from, in particular, the Masseys. The Committee looked to several American women's colleges for ideas and inspiration.³⁶ By 1930, however, the plans of the Women's Building Committee were officially and indefinitely put on hold by the Board of Governors. In a letter to Dr. J. Gertrude Wright, the Secretary of the Women's Building Committee, Dr. F.A. Mouré, Bursar and Secretary of the Board of Governors, wrote that "the scheme for a Women's Building outlined therein is too much for the University to undertake." The Property Committee recommended that the more moderate plans prepared by the Superintendent's Office was all that could be managed without a donor of an endowment large enough to take care of the maintenance of a larger

building.³⁷ The women were seeking an all-inclusive building with functions similar to those of Hart House, an elaborate cultural and athletic facility for men, built with Massey money between 1914 and 1919. But without a donor of a significant amount of money, such a building was well beyond the means of the Women's Building Committee.

At Queen's, a new gymnasium and athletic fields were acquired in 1907. The facilities were for the use of both the women and the men.³⁸ Despite the inclusion of women in the right to use the athletic facilities, they did not have representation on the board that controlled athletics at Queen's. In 1923, Wilhelmina Gordon examined the constitution of the Athletic Board of Control and found that there was no constitutional reason why women graduates should not be represented on that Board. Gordon moved that the Alumnae Association bring the inconsistency of the Board's constitution and its practice concerning representation to the attention of the Board and urge it to take steps to have a woman graduate elected as a member of the Athletic Board of Control.³⁹

Although the motion lost, it highlights the level of awareness of the women graduates.

There is no indication of why this motion was not passed. During these years, the women complained of being assigned inconveniently late hours for games and practices.⁴⁰ This was a common complaint regarding the use of facilities at the other universities as well. By 1928, with the increased number of women students at Queen's, of whom all first year students were required to take some physical training, the "Old Gym" had been outgrown. Financial negotiations then ensued, with a new gymnasium eventually built in 1931.⁴¹

At McMaster, the Women's Athletic Association was not formed until 1917-1918. Before that time, any sporting or athletic activities for women were arranged by the Ladies' Literary League. In 1905, for example, a committee was appointed "to work up a tennis club."⁴² By 1913, the men's Athletic Association offered the women two hours a week of hockey for a fee of fifty cents per member.⁴³ At McMaster, the impetus for creating physical education classes also came from the women themselves. At the first meeting of the McMaster Women's Athletic Association (WAA) in 1918, it was decided

that ten physical culture lesson would be arranged with Miss Fried at \$2.00 per lesson.⁴⁴ The next month, the women petitioned the Board of Governors for an annual grant for physical culture and for a permanent tennis court.⁴⁵ In 1920, the McMaster WAA requested admission to the University of Toronto Women's Athletic League. While they could not officially join, they were invited to enter a team in any sport on the understanding that they could not win the cup that would remain in the University of Toronto League.⁴⁶ A large part of the association's time was taken up with the hunt for facilities; they rented pools, rinks, fields and tennis and basketball courts in various locations around the city. The lack of athletic facilities was a common complaint until McMaster moved to Hamilton. In 1922, the women decided to petition the university for increased funding and for a medical doctor to be provided by the University to examine all participants in sports.⁴⁷ By November of that year, Dr. Edna Guest had been hired to examine the women students.⁴⁸ The annual report for that year recommended that a Medical Adviser be appointed who would provide compulsory, standardized medical examinations and regulate the type of athletics suitable for each student.⁴⁹ In 1925, the Men's and Women's Athletic Executives met to consider whether the two associations should hold a joint banquet. The joint banquet was held in March and was considered a success with over two hundred students present.⁵⁰ The creation of the Women's Athletic Association allowed the women to maintain control over their own activities. After McMaster moved to Hamilton, the structure changed when the first Director of Physical Education and Athletics, Arthur Alfred Burrige, was appointed.⁵¹

McMaster at least had access to some of the University of Toronto facilities and could rent space around Toronto, but Western had fewer options. In spite of the lack of facilities, women at Western still maintained an active schedule of sports and physical activity. References to women's basketball occur from as early as 1903, but few details exist about the management of the women's sports.⁵² An annual co-ed event was the Field Day. While the men usually dominated the number of activities, women participated in

events such as throwing a baseball, relay, and track and field events.⁵³ In 1915, the Athletic Directorate was formed. While there were no women listed as being at the inaugural meeting, by 1918-19, there were two women on the executive as Vice-President and a member of the Board.⁵⁴ By 1918, Professor K.P.R. Neville was Acting Director of the Western University Athletic Association and reported that the YWCA instructor, Miss Leadman, had been hired for the women's athletic work.⁵⁵ The university rented the London YWCA gymnasium for the women's classes.⁵⁶ In 1923, a Women's Athletic Directorate was formed as a committee on women's activities. The Directorate seems to have evolved into more than simply a committee. Elections were held each year and they controlled the money paid by the women students.⁵⁷ In 1926, the women asked the Board of Governors to hire a woman to take charge of the Physical Education and Athletics for women. The Board felt they could not hire a full-time woman, but they did employ Miss L. Burns of the YWCA as a part-time "instructress."⁵⁸

Social Life

After the turn of the century at Ontario universities, the social boundaries between women and men students began to blur. Despite the best efforts of the university administrators, the students increasingly held events and activities that included both the men and women as organizers and participants. Rules and regulations regarding dances and other social activities were continually being renegotiated as the students sought ways around them. The changing social norms had a significant impact on student culture. After the turn of the century, the "sexual politics of leisure" were increasingly contested as social reformers tried to discourage certain types of entertainment.⁵⁹ The changing forms of social activities and the rules governing them were also contested within Ontario

universities. For women students, this meant a constant balancing act between behaving in a "lady-like" manner to satisfy university authorities and parents, maintaining an academic standing to avoid being expelled, while still enjoying the companionship of their peers.

At all four universities, a great deal of time was spent on social activities; promenades evolved into dances, and picnics, sleigh rides, and receptions continued to be important. Even the Baptist McMaster University sponsored a number of events at which the students mingled freely. At all, chaperones were required. These activities provided an outlet for students, an opportunity to enjoy the company of friends and to develop heterosexual relationships. Since so many of the club activities were delineated along the lines of sex, it was at the formal and informal social events that the women and men met each other. These were also opportunities for the students of each university and college to meet members of their respective denominational communities. So even though the ideas of women's higher education and co-education still came under scrutiny and even attack (perhaps even as a result of these attacks), the university authorities maintained control and guided students into activities. This is not to say, of course, that the students themselves did not attempt to gain control or to influence the nature of the activities. Especially as the 1920s wore on, the students increasingly rebelled, seeking to extend the boundaries of these events.

It is clear that the various communities that had established institutions of higher education sought to provide for their children the education they needed for success. Social skills were an important aspect of this education. Like the Methodists and the Anglicans, the Baptist community sought to train their children to take an active, but

gender appropriate, role in Canadian society.⁶⁰ Although women were expected to become wives and mothers and needed to be well-educated to support their husbands' careers and children's education, some also became missionaries. The men, on the other hand, were expected to become ministers, missionaries and political and business leaders. At McMaster, the main public event was Founder's Day, an annual fall gathering to which friends of the university were invited. In 1900, there were more than six hundred guests and a program was held in the chapel while a Harry Wittemore "provided excellent entertainment with his Gramophone" in room 7. Eight promenades and the serving of refreshments, a change from previous Founder's Day receptions, were included.⁶¹ By 1922, societal changes spurred both the Head Girl and the Professor of Mathematics to comment on the Founder's Day activities. Professor William Findlay expressed concern in his report to the Chancellor that social events like Founder's Day no longer fulfilled their original functions. He felt that they should find a more consistent and sustainable way of introducing McMaster students to "the best social life of the Baptists of Toronto."⁶² The report by Florence Marlow, on the other hand, noted that there was decreasing enthusiasm for the standard social functions like Founder's Day. One of the main reasons was that dancing was not permitted.⁶³ Efforts had been made in earlier years to keep these events of interest to the students – such as the introduction of promenading and the serving of refreshments – but these efforts had evidently met with limited success. Dancing continued to be forbidden throughout the period under study, and events such as Founder's Day continued to have decreasing attendance.

Semi-formal receptions were the ones organized each year by the two literary societies, the YWCA, and, eventually, the Athletic Society. These receptions took varied

forms. The Women's Literary Society held an annual reception for the alumnae of McMaster, the wives of the professors and of the Baptist ministers of the city, and other friends of the society. This reception took the form of an afternoon tea with entertainment by the students.⁶⁴ In 1910, the WLS and the YWCA held a joint reception at which a soloist performed, a paper on current events was read, and a play, "The Home Guard", was performed.⁶⁵

Some receptions were planned and attended by both the men and the women. The planning committees for the co-ed Literary Society's annual banquet included women members as well as men,⁶⁶ and the students seem to have attended as couples. In 1914, however, the Women's Student Body recommended that the McMaster women should go in a body to the Banquet and buy their own tickets, but would leave the seating arrangements up to the executive. Two men moved that the executive discourage this course of action, but there was no final decision mentioned in the minutes whether the movement passed or if the women attended the banquet as a group.⁶⁷ This proposal on the part of the women students suggests that they wished to change the dynamics of the relationship with the men. It may also indicate that the banquet was already declining in popularity. Ten months later a proposal was made that a social evening be held instead of a banquet.⁶⁸ By 1920 the Literary Banquet had to be cancelled because not enough tickets were sold.⁶⁹

When McMaster's Women's Athletic Association was formed in 1917, they too held an annual supper for those members with good attendance at the physical culture classes.⁷⁰ By 1919, about the same time the Literary Society banquet was losing popularity, the supper had evolved into a banquet where medals and other awards were

presented. At the first Athletic Banquet in 1919, the women who had been on the hockey and basketball teams "assumed the part of the boys [and] gallantly led their partners to the faculty rooms where many of the small tables, so well known around examination time were invitingly spread [and] laden with good things to eat." They then heard a talk by Dr. Withrow on the healthy benefits of athletics before the medals were presented.⁷¹ In the three following years, the talks were given by women medical doctors. The loss involved when separate events disappeared is illustrated by the evolution of the Athletic Banquet. In 1925, the men and women held the first Joint Athletic Banquet and from then on the guest speakers were always men.⁷² There were over two hundred students at the 1925 banquet and it was considered a great success.⁷³ But, unfortunately for the women students, they no longer had the opportunity to hear women speakers at their banquets.

The informal social events, such as class rallies, skating parties and sleigh rides, allowed the students to socialize away from the eyes of the older professors. Although chaperones were always required, at the informal events they were often the younger professors and their wives or recent graduates. In the fall and the spring, picnics and hikes were organized, while sleigh rides and skating parties were popular once the snow fell. Class rallies were introduced by the freshmen entering McMaster in 1893. By the time this class enrolled, the number of students had increased to the point that separate class parties were feasible. These parties created a sense of community between the women and men that cut across gender and individual courses of study. The class of '97 also broke the custom of having a Graduation Dinner only for the men students and created a new tradition of including the women students in this dinner.⁷⁴ Social activities provided students with a break from their studies and strengthened the bonds among

them. Graduates returned to McMaster for frequent visits and were often active in both formal and informal events.

At Queen's, dancing was permitted as early as 1903. The minutes of the AMS for January 24, 1903 noted that the upcoming *Conversazione* was to consist of "Dancing in Lower Flat. Promenading and Concert in the Second Flat and Refreshments on Third Flat."⁷⁵ That not all Queen's students were from the same class backgrounds is illustrated by the debate over the style of dress to be worn by the men to social functions in 1912 and 1913. The AMS resolved that it was not in favour of its members attending social functions attired in dress suits.⁷⁶ At all the universities, the hours of the events were continually scrutinised by both the authorities and the students. At Queen's in 1914, the *Levana Society* informed the AMS that their members were unwilling to attend any university social function that did not meet with the rules of the AMS. This statement was the result of some misunderstanding regarding the hours of the Junior Year Dance and some members tried to have the rules regarding hours suspended. At the following meeting, the students decided that all dances would be held between 7.30 p.m. and 2 a.m.⁷⁷ The Queen's Senate was also involved in the regulations around dances. In 1906, the Senate decided that the hours of functions of the Arts, Aescylapian, and Engineering societies and the *Conversazione* should end at 2 a.m. and that all other functions should end at 12:30.⁷⁸ The Senate went on to recommend that the number of functions should be reduced, that there should be two weeks between the larger events like the *Conversazione* and the Faculty At Homes. In 1911, the Senate decided that any event that included dancing could only be held on Friday evenings. The larger functions could continue until 2 a.m., but the social evenings such as year At Homes, were to end by 10 p.m.⁷⁹

Regulations around dances and other social functions continued to come under discussion and debate by both students and administrators with restrictions on days of the events and their times changing frequently.

The advent of the war, of course, changed things. In 1915, the regulations at Queen's were reassessed in light of the war. The Senate accepted the AMS recommendations that all University social events be suspended except for three Faculty dances (Arts, Medicine and Science), but left it up to the students to decide to cancel these dances depending upon later conditions. It was also recommended that at least one hundred dollars of the proceeds from each dance be donated to the Red Cross, although they should not be advertised as Red Cross dances. The holding of Faculty Dinners was to be left up to each Faculty to be decided.⁸⁰ Hilda Laird was a student at Queen's during the war years and was later Queen's Dean of Women. She remembers her student days at Queen's as being a time when nothing was going on – no parties or dances. She felt it was not a happy time to be a student.⁸¹ At most universities, the smaller social events continued during the war years, while the larger ones were cancelled.⁸² The continuation of the smaller functions despite the war helped to maintain student enthusiasm and was used to help in the war effort. In 1915, for example, when the McMaster WLS was planning the annual reception, the president suggested that baskets be placed around the room to collect donations for the Red Cross.⁸³ Student activities, even on a reduced scale, continued to be seen as important by the administration because they helped "to develop McMaster men and women into the fulness of stature [sic]."⁸⁴

At Queen's, student behaviour, including male students' relations with women, was regulated by the Supreme Court of the Alma Mater Society. In 1926, for example,

there were several cases of "fussing" by men brought before the court. Fussing appears to have been flirting with women. Those convicted were punished by the AMS. The incidents of fussing seems important when considering relations between the women and men students, since the women students must have been on the receiving end of these flirtations. Other offences included not wearing a freshman tam, insolence to seniors, not having an identity card and "offering violence."⁸⁵ Similarly, the AMS attempted to regulate initiations.

In 1918, the AMS abolished all initiations in the Arts, Engineering, and Aescuylapian Societies, saying that it was in the best interests of the student body.⁸⁶ The Levana Society, however, decided to retain its initiations, which had already been planned before the AMS decided to completely abolish them.⁸⁷ Further discussion regarding initiations occurred again in 1923. The Freshmen years met and discussed the attitude of the student body and the general public regarding the initiations that had been held over the past three years and unanimously decided to abolish initiations. It was noted, however, that the Arts Society planned to have freshmen wear set headgear and to abide by certain rules and regulations. A Court would be provided by the Sophomore year. The other societies also planned similar, non-physical initiations. The Senate decided to continue consulting with the students, feeling that it would be unwise to pass drastic resolutions except as a last resort in order to uphold student government.⁸⁸ The following month, Principal Taylor reported that the women students had abolished initiations altogether and that the men had eliminated physical initiations.⁸⁹ By 1925, however, initiations were back. The Senate informed the AMS that any initiations could not be severe, but must be held in good humour and friendliness. This was not done, however,

and the Arts '28 class was fined \$60 and suspended from all AMS activities for carrying out initiation in a manner contrary to the understanding between the Senate and the Students' Council.⁹⁰

At the University of Toronto, there was a similar concern about the large number of social activities. In 1905, for example, Victoria's Margaret Addison reported that too much time was spent on social functions, resulting in poor health in the last three months of classes when the women were forced to cram to make up for lost time. She recommended that more stress should be laid on term work and that the social functions themselves should be changed so that they brought students into contact with noted men and women rather than simply being "an interchange of class courtesies."⁹¹ That year, Addison also complained about the "pernicious influence of the 'Bob' and urged its suppression or the exclusion of the women students from participation therein." The Committee of Management endorsed Addison report and unsuccessfully called upon the Board of Regents to abolish the 'Bob', an annual show of skits by the students that poked fun at students and professors, from "the halls of Victoria."⁹²

Dancing, of course, was an issue. The Methodist Victoria College was the most stringent in prohibition against dancing, while the other University of Toronto colleges were less so. In 1906, a request to the UC Council that dancing be allowed in the East Hall at the fourth year reception was denied.⁹³ Only three months later, however, a similar request by the Women's Literary Society was granted.⁹⁴ By the 1910s and 1920s, the idea of dancing as a social evil was prevalent throughout Canadian society.⁹⁵ Despite this, most of the universities, except McMaster, eventually allowed dances for the students.

The regulation of these social functions must have also taken up a considerable amount of time of the administrators. Indeed, in 1909, Miss Salter asked to be relieved of responsibility for class receptions and went on to recommend that "joint class societies" be abolished within four years in order to simplify class functions.⁹⁶ In 1919, the UC Council established a committee, composed of Professor Needler, Professor Wallace and Miss Wrong, to oversee social activities including matters such as patronage, number of dances, and time and place of dances.⁹⁷ The concern the authorities had over the students' social activities, especially those activities that included dancing or evening meetings of mixed groups, is apparent with the regulations introduced by the new Committee on Social Activities. What is also noticeable is the effort to exclude outsiders and so control who the students associated with.

- (1) Each Society composed wholly or in part of students registered in University College shall supply the Principal with a copy of its constitution, and the names and addresses of its officers.
- (2) The council of University College will sanction dancing only in buildings the use of which it has authorized.
- (3) In every instance where dancing forms any part of the programme, a complete list of the participants who are not University students, with their addresses, shall be supplied by the President of the Society.
- (4) For each evening meeting attended by both men and women students chaperons must be appointed, the names and addresses of whom shall be submitted one week in advance to Miss M. Wrong, 85 St. George St.
- (5) Dancing shall cease by 11 o'clock p.m. unless special permission has been obtained for its continuance beyond that hour.
- (6) When dancing forms part of a regular meeting of a Society, it shall be limited to the final half hour.
- (7) Applications for permission to hold social gatherings are to be addressed in writing to the Convenor of Committees on Social Activities, at the Post Office, University College.⁹⁸

In the year following the end of the war, social activities were restricted due to the flu epidemic. In February 1920, the UC Council cancelled all dances and refused students in the women's residences permission to attend any.⁹⁹ Although in the 1920s, students

gained a reputation of being frivolous and only concerned with their social lives, by 1928, the Committee on Social Activities reported "a quiet year and a gratifying reduction in the number of college dances."¹⁰⁰

Rebellions

In spite of the very close monitoring of minute details about dances and other activities, it was difficult for university administrators to completely control the social lives of the students. At Victoria College, the Methodist professors and administrators banned dancing. Students in 1913, however, secretly set up a dance floor on the landing above the orchestra, while the officially sanctioned promenade took place on the main floor below the orchestra.¹⁰¹ The students' desire for more opportunities to socialize with each other manifested itself in a demand for an increasing number of dances. At Toronto, controversy erupted over reports of the tango at some dances and parties.¹⁰² Issues of morality and the fear of sexual impropriety were inherent in the newspaper reports of tango parties held by the men students.

When the women lived in boarding houses or at home, rules were essentially non-existent or, if they existed, unenforceable and at least some women probably took full advantage of their freedom. When Deans of Women¹⁰³ and women's residences were introduced, the rules and regulations regarding women students became increasingly onerous and more strictly enforced. There are few records as to the reasons for these changes other than vague references to the need to protect women students. Women living at the Victoria College and St. Hilda's College residences would have been used to

fairly strict rules, since the residences were established quite early. Those women living in boarding houses, however, would not have been.

The introduction of a Dean of Women at the various universities tended to increase the segregation of women in non-academic activities. Although initiations and a few other events had always been separate, the Dean of Women institutionalised these separations. A case in point is Ruby Mason's deanship at Western, which began in 1926. In 1927, the program for the Freshmen Pre-registration, for example, included at least one separate meeting for the men and women students.¹⁰⁴ In the same year, the creation of the Women's Organisation formalised a separate women's culture. The establishment of the Women's Association soon after Mason's arrival, suggests that Mason subscribed to "separatism as a strategy" in her plans for the women students. This strategy, employed by some American Deans of Women, emphasised the notion of 'separate-but-equal', but only for social clubs and organisations, not for the classroom.¹⁰⁵

The new rules introduced when Queen's Ban Righ opened at Queen's in 1925 caused much consternation among the students. Sybil [Spencer] MacLachlan remembered moving from Queen's Avonmore residence to the new Ban Righ in her final year. The women did not like the rules of the new residence, but the Dean argued that "things" had happened at Avonmore.¹⁰⁶ It is not known what exactly had happened at the Avonmore, but it is likely that the residents took advantage of the lack of rules and stayed out late to go dancing and so on. Barry M. Moody argues that increased restrictions on female students at Acadia University in the 1920s were the result of "the climate of unrest and changing standards of the war years."¹⁰⁷ Sybil Spencer MacLachlan first lived at Avonmore where the only rule was to be in by 10:30 on Sunday nights. In her final year,

she lived at the new residence where they had to be in by 10:45 unless the student had leave to be out later. The location of the residence and the early curfew, meant that the students could not go to the movies, "unless you broke your neck" to get back in time.¹⁰⁸ Marjorie Bates, who lived at the "Hen Coop" on Earl Street before moving to Ban Righ, also remembered not letting the new rules stop the women from going to all the dances.¹⁰⁹ According to Bates, the women had at least two strategies for getting around the rules. Sometimes they would simply wait until someone with a key went in, then they would run in with them and hide behind a big plant until everything was quiet. Other times, they would crawl through a narrow window at the side entrance. To do so, they had to take their coat off, stand on their date's shoulders to climb in through the window, and then the date would throw the coat in after them.

Close relationships among the women and men students were not uncommon. Kathleen Cowan, a Victoria student living at Annesley Hall for four years from 1907, wrote in her diary about socialising with various men. In 1907, Cowan wrote that she and her friends had discussed "boys taking liberties." She concluded this entry with the comment "I have decided here and now that Ray Allison or any other boy will never do the like again, not if I ever go for a drive."¹¹⁰ Cowan also wrote about going out with a young man despite being prohibited by her father from doing so, and being encouraged to do so by her brother.¹¹¹ Cowan not only went on a date without permission, but apparently stole out of residence with her suitcase during dinner, taking care to avoid the dean, and stayed over night with friends, the Thompson family. She was able to get back into Annesley the next morning without seeing the dean.

One Queen's student, Lilian Vaux MacKinnon, class of 1902, reminisced in 1961 about having her brother teach her how to dance in their carriage-house at home. Her brother, a graduate of Trinity College, told her that she had "to know how to dance if you expect to have any fun in College."¹¹² Once at Queen's, she polished her skills by practising with other women in the Levana room. When the local Baptist minister's wife learned that Vaux MacKinnon was planning to attend her first dance, she advised her not to attend and, later, invited her to dinner on the same evening of the dance. Vaux MacKinnon decided to attend both the dinner and the dance, arriving at the minister's home with her evening clothes in a "port-manteau."¹¹³ Victoria College and McMaster University both tried to provide alternatives to dances by holding "promenades" instead. At these events, couples would stroll or promenade around the hall to music.

Wilhelmina Gordon, Queen's student, daughter of Principal D.M. Gordon and later professor of English, also wrote in her diaries about socialising with different men. This sense of freedom, however, may have placed some women in a position of danger. Karen Dubinsky, in *Improper Advances*, clearly documents the danger of sexual assault women faced at the turn of the century. A passing reference to a former Kingston judge's comments about "the dainty co-ed who gets jumped from behind" indicates that sexual assault was not unknown at Queen's University.¹¹⁴ That this danger may not have been recognised by the women themselves is suggested by an incident recorded in Wilhelmina Gordon's 1905 diary. Although the incident is not recorded in detail, its description suggests that some sort of impropriety took place. This event also indicates the degree of freedom that Gordon had in her day to day activities.

"Tues. July 18, [...] got to wharf at 4 to meet Dr. Anglin, who had asked us for a sail. Huntley, Wm. And I went. Head wind, but enjoyable sail. Got out at his

cottage, found some of the Mary Richardsons there, had picnic tea. Very pleasant. Started back at 8.30, wind fell, engine didn't work, drifted. Got to Asylum wharf by 10.30, tied up there, took tram to turn. Had to go uptown for some things, then discovered that I had left my bathing suit in the boat. Dr. Anglin awfully kindly offered to drive me out if he cd manage it. Came home & began to pack, then he called for me about 11.30 and drove me out. Lovely night, fine drive, but out there he acted very oddly, going altogether too far. Made me sore, but I was under obligation to him. Packed till about 2 then turned in.

"Wed. July 19, [...] can't help thinking about last night, and wondering what Dr. Anglin cd have acted that way for.

"Sat. July 29, [...] about 2 the Aurora arrived, with Mr. Richardson – great to see him again [...] & Dr. Anglin – a bit awkward to see him again.

"Sat. Sept. 2, "[...] Dr. Anglin there, came home with me, apologised for that night, I am glad he did."¹¹⁵

It is clear that something happened, although exactly what is not. It is also unclear who Dr. Anglin was, but he was someone that Gordon trusted enough to go out with alone late at night.

Co-ed social activities continued to increase in the years following. At all the universities, concern was expressed about the large number of social activities. Kathleen Cowan's diary, for example, documents a regular schedule of social activities. In 1913, Queen's student Edith Chown also wrote to her future husband about a steady round of social activities: "For the last ten days I have been going to bed anywhere from twelve to three o'clock. Such frivolity has got to stop pretty soon or it won't be 16/16 B.A. in the spring."¹¹⁶ Casual socialising appears to have been common at Queen's. In 1912, a young woman, Hazel, attending Queen's Faculty of Education wrote to her friend from Victoria College regarding the differences between Victoria and Queen's: "The girls hang around the halls in a way that would quite shock a person brought up on M.E.T.A. [Margaret Addison] principals of behaviour. Girls are a scarce product and the men size you up to your utter [discomfort]."¹¹⁷ Florence May [Richardson] Mooney, who entered

Queen's in 1917 at age 16, recalled starting to date men while she was at Queen's in spite of her mother's opposition.¹¹⁸

Social activities by the 1920s combined an interesting mix of formality and informality. Marjorie Bates tells of attending formal dances at Grant Hall where students had to shake hands with a long line of patronesses, women kept their long gloves on until after the fourth dance, but students might at anytime break into a snake dance. After dances, students would put on their floppy galoshes and walk through the slush in long dresses to Peter Lee's for breakfast.¹¹⁹ Sybil Spencer MacLachlan described the rules at the YWCA as frightful, where women had to wear white gloves to tea. But she also remembered going to a dance place in the city and checking up and down the street to see if anyone would see you go in. On one occasion, she remembered going to a restaurant after a movie and convincing the owner to lock the doors while her friends pushed the tables back to hold a dance.¹²⁰ Both women remembered attending dances every week, trying never to miss one. Bates remembered that each woman had to have four "steadies" because if the men were not going with you as a steady, they would bring a "girl" from home and that was "frowned upon." It was, however, acceptable to bring a date from home for the formal dances. At the dances, however, you danced with a variety of men; if your date booked you for too many dances, you did not go with him again. When it came to choosing a date, Marjorie Bates remembers her friends as not being serious and as judging their escorts by their looks and their dancing ability. Although the main thing for them was to have fun, she said they were very strict about morals and ethics. Most years, the students also held costume parties for Hallowe'en. These, one must imagine, were much less formal than the regular dances.

What is not evident from these stories are the activities of those students who did not to participate in dances or heterosexual relationships for religious or cultural reasons, or because of their sexual preference. Some students may well have preferred to pursue homosocial activities and relationships, and separate clubs and women's residences would have made this possible. While the passionate friendships reported in the American women's colleges¹²¹ were not clearly evident here, close relationships between women students were certainly formed, including relationships that later in the century would have been labelled lesbian.¹²² The sources cited here reveal the heterosexist assumption that women students' resistance to restrictive rules and policies were always motivated by their desire to mingle more freely with the opposite sex.

Conclusion

As the number of students grew at all four universities, student self-government became increasingly important. Whether the women and men co-operated in parallel councils or were equally represented on co-ed councils, both women and men played some part in the regulation of their fellow students. In the realm of sports and athletics, Western and McMaster students faced severe disadvantages in contrast to the other Ontario universities in terms of the lack of athletic facilities. Despite these disadvantages, the women (and men) persevered in their pursuit of athletic excellence. Western, due to its small size and its distance from other universities, did not hold as many inter-university events as the other three universities. Western students were more likely to compete against and visit with students at the Ontario Agricultural College and the MacDonald Institute at Guelph. Women students often requested the implementation of the physical culture classes that later became compulsory.

It is in the students' social life and rebellions that the influence of changing societal norms is evident. As promenades became dances, students resisted the increasing rules and regulations imposed on them. While university administrators tried to ensure that chaperones were present at all functions, students sought ways to meet each other beyond their eyes. The development of the purpose-built residences and the position of Dean of women contributed to the increasing regulation of women students after First World War. Students during all three decades under study here pushed at the social boundaries.

Endnotes

- ¹ The men had had a self-governing body that was centred around the residence since the 1890s.
- ² It is likely that the juvenile term "Head Girl" was borrowed from the girls' boarding school, Moulton College.
- ³ March 31, 1910. WLS Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.
- ⁴ September 28, 1910; September 30, 1910. WLS Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.
- ⁵ A similar movement occurred in American co-educational universities. Gordon, p. 42.
- ⁶ *Torontonensis*, 1930, 208.
- ⁷ The Caput was a committee composed of the President of the University (as Chairman), Principal of UC, the heads of the federated colleges and the Deans of the faculties of the university. It was responsible for timetables of lectures, lecturing and teaching by other than duly appointed members of the teaching staff, discipline, and any other matters assigned by the Senate. (See The University Act, 6 Edward VII, c. 279, s. 76-79, (1906). The word "Caput" is Latin for "head".
- ⁸ Copy of letter to President Falconer from Agnes B. Williamson, President of WSAC, and A.E.W. Parkes, Secretary of WSAC, January 31, 1921. University Historian, A83-0036/031 (SAC 1919-32), UTA.
- ⁹ Copy of letter to President Falconer from Fred C. Hastings, General Secretary-Treasurer, SAC, February 18, 1921. University Historian, A83-0036/031 (SAC 1919-32), UTA. The difference in the dollar amounts allocated may have been based on the smaller number of women students in comparison with the men students.
- ¹⁰ *The Varsity*, December 12, 1921. Clippings file, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/236/020(04), UTA.
- ¹¹ November 1924, *Queen's Alumnae News*, p. 11. Box 112, Printed Collection, QA.
- ¹² December 16, 1904; January 16, 1905, *Queen's University Journal* (hereafter *QJ*).
- ¹³ December 2, 1924, Arts Society Minutes, 3642, box 2, Queen's Archives.
- ¹⁴ Arts Society Minutes (1916-23), A.Arch 3642, Box 2, Queen's University Archives (QUA).
- ¹⁵ December 2, 1924, Arts Society Minutes, A.Arch 3642, Box 2, QUA.
- ¹⁶ *Western U. Gazette*, 1923, Convocation Supplement, 13. See also, *Western U. Gazette*, 1921, Convocation Supplement, 15; *Western U. Gazette*, 1922, Convocation Supplement, 13; *The Year Book*, 1925, 11; *Occidentalia*, 1927, 25.
- ¹⁷ *Occidentalia*, University of Western Ontario, (1928): 38.
- ¹⁸ See Table 4. Includes full-time and "Special Students".
- ¹⁹ *Occidentalia*, 1928, p. 38; 1930, p. 53.
- ²⁰ *Yearbook*, 1921, p. 15; *Yearbook*, 1922, p. 13; *Yearbook*, 1923, pp. 12-13. RCO.
- ²¹ *Western U. Gazette*, 1923, Convocation Supplement, 77.
- ²² Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport & Sexuality* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1986); Helen Gurney, *A Century to Remember: The Story of Women's Sports at the University of Toronto* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Women's T-Holders' Association, n.d.); A.E.M. Parkes, *The Development of Women's Athletics at the University of Toronto* (Toronto: The Women's Athletic Association University of Toronto, 1961), 2.
- ²³ Lenskyj, 24.
- ²⁴ October 10, 1902, University College Council Minutes, A69-0016/001 (03), UTA.
- ²⁵ The Margaret Eaton Schools combined two programs, one for physical culture (or physical education) and one for drama. The school was eventually absorbed by the University of Toronto's Physical Education Department. On the history of the Margaret Eaton Schools and for more information about Emma Scott Raff, see Anna H. Lathrop, "Elegance and Expression, Sweat and Strength: Body Training, Physical Culture and Female Embodiment in Women's Education at the Margaret Eaton Schools, (1901-1941)," (University of Toronto, Ed.D. dissertation, 1997). See also Chapter Three, "'We Strive for the Good and the Beautiful': Literary Studies at the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," in Heather Murray, *Working in English: History, Institution, Resources* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
- ²⁶ December 17, 1902. Petition to the Board of Regents of Victoria University, Toronto. Meeting of the VWR&EA. Fonds 2069, 90.066V, box 1, file 1. VUA.
- ²⁷ Lathrop, 37.
- ²⁸ Report of the Physical Director, Annesley Hall Committee of Management. Fonds 2069, 90.064V, Box 3, file 19, VUA.

- ²⁹ April 6, 1912. UC Council Minutes, A69-016/001 (03), UTA.
- ³⁰ May 5, 1922. UC Council Minutes, A69-016/002 (01), UTA. Physical training for all male students was compulsory after 1914. ["University Health Service University of Toronto 1906-1976," Unpublished paper. University Historian, A83-0036, Box 34.] The men's required program was discontinued in the mid-1960s and the women's in 1969. [Gurney, *A Century to Remember*, 50.]
- ³¹ Parkes, 1-2.
- ³² Parkes, 3.
- ³³ November 5, 1909. UC Council Minutes, A69-016/001 (03), UTA.
- ³⁴ Gurney, 16-18.
- ³⁵ May 26, 1921. Women's Building Committee, A83-0047/001(02), UTA.
- ³⁶ May 23, 1927. Women's Building Committee, A83-0047/001(02), UTA.
- ³⁷ March 28, 1930. Women's Building Committee, A83-0047/001(02), UTA.
- ³⁸ Neatby, *Queen's University, Vol. I*, 277.
- ³⁹ "Representation of Women on the Athletic Board of Control," *Queen's Alumnae News*, December 1923, 31-32.
- ⁴⁰ LaPierre, "The First Generation," 186.
- ⁴¹ Gibson, *Queen's University, Vol. II*, 64-66.
- ⁴² September 29, 1905. Ladies' Literary League (LLL) Minute Book, 1899-1911. BA.
- ⁴³ October 23, 1913. McMaster University Athletic Association, Executive Committee Minute Book, 1905-1921. BA.
- ⁴⁴ October 1918 [no day], Women's Athletic Association (WAA) Minute Book, 1917-1926. BA.
- ⁴⁵ November 13, 1918, WAA Minute Book, 1917-1926. BA.
- ⁴⁶ Letter from Cora Kilborn, Secretary-Treasurer to Florence Franklin, President of the Athletic Association, McMaster University, February 15, 1920. In the WAA Minute Book, 1917-1926. BA.
- ⁴⁷ April 14, 1922, WAA Minute Book, 1917-1926. BA.
- ⁴⁸ November 22, 1922, WAA Minute Book, 1917-1926. Edna Guest was a 1910 graduate of medicine at the University of Toronto. She was also the medical examiner for women students at Victoria College and worked at Women's College Hospital.
- ⁴⁹ "Report of the Year's Work, 1922-23," WAA Minute Book, 1917-1926. BA.
- ⁵⁰ March 11, 1925; March 31, 1925; Report 1924-25, WAA Minute Book, 1917-1926. BA.
- ⁵¹ See, K. Hird and P. Flaherty, "The Early Years: McMaster Women's Athletics," Unpublished manuscript, McMaster University, Department of Physical Education, Hamilton, 1993.
- ⁵² DBWCO LE3.W522 S82 Scrapbooks, v.1 (1903-06), RCO.
- ⁵³ Scrapbook, v. 1 (ca. 1905), clipping, "Field Day at Western;" and v. 2 (n.d.), photo of 12 women competitors in the annual track and field meet. DBWCO LE3.W522 S82; April 24, 1918, Minute Book of the Athletic Directorate, v. 1, 1915-1929. CA5 UWO100 15R21/B4639. UWO.
- ⁵⁴ September 20, 1915; April 9, 1918, Minute Book of the Athletic Directorate, v. 1, 1915-1929. CA5 UWO100 15R21/B4639. UWO.
- ⁵⁵ Letter to Dr. K.P.R. Neville from "President," December 17, 1918. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/4 (corr. 1919/20). UWO.
- ⁵⁶ Letter to Mr. C.R. Somerville, Chairman, Board of Governors, from Mrs. Lillie L. Hughes, Corresponding Secretary, YWCA of London, September 9, 1918. CA9ONFOX114 10M36/4 (corr. 1919/20). UWO.
- ⁵⁷ April 18, 1923; April 25, 1923; October 3, 1923; October 17, 1923; January 11, 1924; April 9, 1924; Minute Book of the Athletic Directorate, v. 1, 1915-1929. CA5 UWO100 15R21/B4639. UWO.
- ⁵⁸ May 20, 1926 and September 29, 1926, Minute Book of the Athletic Directorate, v. 1, 1915-1929. CA5 UWO100 15R21/B4639. UWO.
- ⁵⁹ Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993): 115; see also, Cynthia Comacchio, "Dancing to Perdition: Adolescence and Leisure in Interwar English Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 3 (Fall, 1997): 5-35.
- ⁶⁰ Selles, p. 34. Selles asserts that Anglican schools were intended to create a social elite of doctors, lawyers and clergy. The Methodist schools were set up to train farmers, businessmen, teachers, and mistresses of households, as well as other traditional professions. G.A. Rawlyk, "A.L. McCrimmon, H.P. Whidden, T.T. Shields, Christian Higher Education, and McMaster University," in G.A. Rawlyk, ed.,

Canadian Baptists and Christian higher education (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988): 35. Rawlyk uses Gramsci's theories regarding religion and the exercise of power to argue that McMaster and other Baptist businessmen sought to use the education of Baptist youth to "create their own battalion of ministerial 'deputies,' expertly trained to impose suitable hegemonic order and control over Canadian society."

⁶¹ December 20, 1900. Literary and Scientific Society, Minute Book, 1894-1915, BA.

⁶² Report by William Findlay, April 22, 1922. Chancellor's Reports, 1910-24, BA.

⁶³ Report of the Women Students, 1921-22. Chancellor's Reports, 1910-24, BA.

⁶⁴ December 6, 1907. LLL Minute Book 1899-1911, BA.

⁶⁵ November 5, 1910. LLL Minute Book, 1899-1911, BA.

⁶⁶ See for example, November 30, 1911; November 20, 1912. Literary Society, Minutes of Committees, 1911-1922, BA.

⁶⁷ February 6, 1914. Literary & Scientific Society, Minute Book 1894-1915, BA.

⁶⁸ October 30, 1914. Literary Society, Minutes of Committees, 1911-22, BA.

⁶⁹ November 9, 1920. Literary Society, Minutes of Committees, 1911-22, BA.

⁷⁰ March 24, 1919; April 7, 1919. Women's Athletic Association Minute Book, 1917-1926, BA.

⁷¹ April 15, 1921. WAA Minute Book 1917-1926, BA.

⁷² March 31, 1925. See also March 26, 1926, and Annual Report 1925-26. WAA Minute Book, 1917-1926, BA.

⁷³ Annual Report 1924-25. WAA Minute Book, 1917-1926, BA.

⁷⁴ *MM*, October 1897, pp. 2-9.

⁷⁵ January 24, 1903. AMS Minutes. A.Arch 3621, Box 15, QUA.

⁷⁶ January 11, 1912 and November 29, 1913. AMS Minutes. A.Arch 3621, Box 15, QUA.

⁷⁷ February 20, 1914 and March 7, 1914. AMS Minutes. A.Arch 3621, Box 15, QUA.

⁷⁸ November 2, 1906. Senate Office, Minutes. A.Arch 1240, QUA.

⁷⁹ November 30, 1911. Senate Office, Minutes. A.Arch 1240, QUA.

⁸⁰ October 29, 1915. Senate Office Minutes, A.Arch 1240, QUA.

⁸¹ Dr. Hilda Laird interview, May 31, 1978. Oral History Project transcript, pp. 5, 14. QUA.

⁸² McKillop, *Matters of Mind*, 288.

⁸³ November 11, 1915. WLS Minute Book, 1911-1919, BA.

⁸⁴ Chancellor's Report for 1917-18. Chancellor's Report, 1910-24, BA.

⁸⁵ October 25, 1926. AMS Minutes. A.Arch 3621, Box 15, QUA.

⁸⁶ March 22, 1918. Senate Office Minutes, A.Arch 1240, QUA.

⁸⁷ April 18, 1918. Senate Office Minutes, A.Arch 1240, QUA.

⁸⁸ March 7, 1923. Senate Office Minutes, A.Arch 1240, QUA.

⁸⁹ April 27, 1923. Senate Office Minutes, A.Arch 1240, QUA.

⁹⁰ May 2, 1925 and December 23, 1925. Senate Office Minutes, A.Arch 1240, QUA.

⁹¹ Dean of Residence Annual Report, March 22, 1905. Annesley Hall, Committee of Management. Fonds 2069, 90.064V, Box 1, File 1, VUA.

⁹² May 10, 1905. Committee of Management Minutes, Annesley Hall. Fonds 2069, 90.064V, Box 1, File 1, VUA.

⁹³ November 2, 1906. UC Council Minutes, A69-0016/001 (03), UTA.

⁹⁴ February 1, 1907. UC Council Minutes, A69-0016/001 (03), UTA.

⁹⁵ Comacchio, "Dancing to Perdition," 5-35.

⁹⁶ January 22, 1909, and February 12, 1909. UC Council Minutes, A69-0016/001 (03), UTA.

⁹⁷ November 7, 1919. UC Council Minutes, A69-0016/001 (03), UTA.

⁹⁸ December 5, 1919. UC Council Minutes, A69-0016/001 (03), UTA.

⁹⁹ February 3, 1920. UC Council Minutes, A69-0016/001 (03), UTA.

¹⁰⁰ May 4, 1928. UC Council Minutes, A69-0016/002 (01), UTA.

¹⁰¹ McKillop, *Matters of Mind*, 252.

¹⁰² McKillop, *Matters of Mind*, 251-252.

¹⁰³ St. Hilda's College had a principal rather than a dean. The first principal was Mrs. Oswald Rigby (Ellen Patteson prior to her marriage) until 1903 when Mabel Cartwright became principal until 1936. Mossie May Waddington Kirkwood was Dean of Women at University College from 1920-1936, then was principal of St. Hilda's College from 1936-1959. Prior to Kirkwood's tenure, UC had women advisors rather than a

Dean of Women. Margaret Addison was Dean of Annesley Hall from 1903-1932 and was Dean of Women at Victoria from 1920-1932. At Brescia College, the first Dean was M. St. Anne Lachance from 1920-1930. Western's first Dean of Women was Ruby E. C. Mason appointed in 1926. Prior to this, women instructors acted as advisors. Loretto College had two deans between 1912 and 1932: M. Estelle Nolan (1912-13), M. Margarita O'Connor (1913-32). St. Joseph's College had several deans until the 1930s: Sister M. Perpetua (1911-14), Sister M. Austin (1914-16), Sister M. Perpetua (1916-29), Sister St. John (1929-33). McMaster did not have a Dean of Women during this period. With the introduction of the women's residence, Wallingford Hall, in 1920, there was a Dean of the Women's Residence, Mrs. Ellen Freeman Trotter. Queen's University had two Deans of Women before 1930: Caroline McNeill (1918-25) and Hilda Laird (1925-34).

¹⁰⁴ "Program of Freshmen Preregistration, September 23-26, 1927." CA9ONFOX114 10M36, Box 13, RCO.

¹⁰⁵ Jana Nidiffer's study of four American Deans of Women explores the strategies employed by these Deans in creating a profession and in dealing with women university students. "From Matron to Maven: A New Role and New Professional Identity for Deans of Women, 1892-1916," *Mid-Western Educational Researcher* 8, 4 (Fall 1995): 17-24.

¹⁰⁶ Sybil M. [Spencer] MacLachlan interview. S.R. 575.054, QUA.

¹⁰⁷ Barry M. Moody, "Acadia and the Great War," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, eds. Axelrod and Reid, 155.

¹⁰⁸ Sybil M. [Spencer] MacLachlan interview. S.R. 575.054, QUA.

¹⁰⁹ Marjorie Bates, interview, 19 July 1978. S.R. 575.006, QUA.

¹¹⁰ Kathleen Cowan, *'It's Late and All the Girls Have gone': An Annesley Diary, 1907-1910*, eds. Aida Farrag Graff and David Knight (Toronto: Childe Thursday, 1984): (Entry for Mon. Nov. 4, 1907), 43-44.

¹¹¹ Cowan, entry for Thursday, Feb. 20, 1908, 95.

¹¹² "O Tempora, O Mores," *The Queen's Review* (March-April, 1961): 32.

¹¹³ "O Tempora, O Mores," *The Queen's Review* (March-April, 1961): 32-35.

¹¹⁴ Dubinsky, 143.

¹¹⁵ Wilhelmina Gordon Papers, Box 8, 1905 Diaries. 1067b, QUA.

¹¹⁶ Feb. 9, 1913, letter to Mr. Pierce, from Edith Chown. Edith Chown papers, 2001C, Box 1, File: corr. Jan. - May 1915, QUA.

¹¹⁷ Letter to Evelyn Kelly Albright, October 7, 1912. CA9ONALBF71, Box 2, file 68, UWO.

¹¹⁸ Interview with Mrs. Florence May Mooney, August 1978, transcript, p. 7. QUA.

¹¹⁹ Marjorie Bates, interview, 19 July 1978. S.R. 575.006, QUA.

¹²⁰ Sybil M. [Spencer] MacLachlan interview. S.R. 575.054, QUA.

¹²¹ See, for example, Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 65-68, 166-167; and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1. 1 (1975): 19-27.

¹²² See, for example, the relationship that developed between Frieda Fraser and Edith Bickerton ("Bud") Williams. The two women were friends from childhood. Once they were both at university, they developed a relationship that lasted until Williams' death in 1979. Williams entered UC in 1916, but failed her second year and did not return to the University of Toronto. In 1941, she became the second woman to graduate from the Ontario Veterinary College in Guelph. Fraser entered UC in 1917, graduating with a B.A. in 1922 and an M.B. in 1925. After further studies in the United States, Fraser returned to Toronto where she worked at the University of Toronto and at the Connaught Laboratories, eventually becoming a full-time professor at the University. Fraser Family Papers, B95-0044, UTA.

Chapter 8

Religion and Student Life

An article in *The Queen's Review* describing student life at Queen's University in 1927 maintained that although there was "a more or less general supposition that university students, as a class, [were] in revolt against contemporary conventions and religion, and that free-thinkers and radicals predominate among them,"¹ in fact, students were very much interested in religion. However, students showed little interest in "the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy." This author estimated that about 35% of the students had "deep religious convictions and attended church regularly, that about 45% [had] religious convictions in varying degrees and attended church irregularly, and that the remainder [were] either indifferent or [had] leanings toward agnosticism."² Despite the general perception that fewer students still held the previously high levels of religious conviction, various student Christian associations thrived at Ontario universities in the early years of the twentieth century.

Canadian society after 1900 continued to be strongly influenced by religion although the trend towards secularisation was clear. At the turn of the century, many educated Canadians became interested in reforming society – intellectually, theologically, and morally.³ Within the universities, this desire for reform manifested itself in the creation of various religious organisations, mostly Christian, and in a call to "service" – the

encouragement of students to serve their country and to be of service to society by preparing themselves for future work and undertaking volunteer activities while attending university – marking a shift from service to God.⁴ The importance of religion was readily apparent in the universities where students frequently sought out and attended two or more religious services on Sundays, were required by some colleges to attend daily prayers,⁵ and joined extracurricular religious groups such as bible study groups, the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM), the Student Christian Movement (SCM), and the Young Women's (and Men's) Christian Association (YWCA and YMCA). This trend was to be found across Canada. Indeed, Judith Fingard identifies such religious groups as having a major influence on the second generation of women university students at Dalhousie.⁶ The very foundations of Ontario's universities and colleges were rooted in the predominant Christian denominations of the time so it is not surprising that religion played such an important role in the lives of the students. The documents available to me emphasised the religious life of the Protestant students, rather than Catholic, Jewish and other students; this emphasis is reflected in this chapter.

Nathanael Burwash, President of the Methodist Victoria College, had believed that Methodism was inextricably linked to women's higher education, as it was to men's.⁷ Similarly, Baptist democratic religious principles allowed for relatively little controversy when women enrolled at McMaster University.⁸ Education, according to the evangelic argument, allowed women to be more effective in carrying out the Lord's work and, hence, to bring about a better world.⁹ Women's higher education had been justified by the assignment of responsibility for care-giving and education to women, while men retained decision-making and disciplinary authority. Women were the primary care-givers for

children during their early formative years, so it was thought that they should be well educated to fulfill this role.¹⁰

Eventually, Western and Queen's broke their formal denominational ties with, respectively, the Anglican and Presbyterian churches, in order to qualify for government funding. At Western, students protested its affiliation with the Anglican Church as early as 1906, arguing that they did not want Western to be run by the "Diocese of Huron."¹¹ When Western re-opened in 1895 in the old Huron College building, Huron College became the affiliated theological college. In 1908, the governance of Western became "undenominational," while Queen's severed its formal denominational ties in 1912.¹² At the University of Toronto, the denominational colleges retained their affiliations, as did McMaster, during the period under study.

Statistics on the religious affiliations of Ontario university students were not consistently recorded at all the universities, but student bodies were by no means exclusively members of their colleges' denominations. Although in 1909 and 1911, Methodists were in the majority at Victoria College, for example, Presbyterians, Anglicans and Baptists were also represented.¹³ McMaster and Western did keep more detailed statistics on the religious affiliations of their students in the late 1920s.¹⁴ At Western, members of the United Church, Catholics, and Anglicans pre-dominated. Paul Axelrod found that, in 1935, of first year students at the University of Toronto and all students at the University of Western Ontario, members of the United Church¹⁵ predominated as a single group.¹⁶ Baptists, of course, were the most numerous at McMaster, with United and Presbyterian having the next largest representations. There were other religions represented at both, including Jews.¹⁷ At Queen's University, the students had never had

to prove their Christianity; indeed, Principal Gordon was known for his support of an open door policy.¹⁸ Already by 1900, slightly more than half of the students entering Queen's were non-Presbyterians.¹⁹ All the universities, therefore, seemed to accept students of most, if not all, religions. For the 1930s, historian Paul Axelrod concludes that although Christians from middle-class backgrounds were predominant among the Canadian student body, all of the major religious groups in Canada were represented at Canadian universities.²⁰ As this chapter will demonstrate, however, increasing diversity did not end religious involvement for many students. For some, it may have increased their motivation to explore the religious dimension.

Religious Debates and the New Criticism

Religious debates had an impact. All the Ontario universities were influenced by the sometimes rancorous debate over "higher criticism" (or theological liberalism), the reading and teaching of the Bible in its historical context. It spilled over, in varying degrees, into the classroom and extracurricular activities. The simultaneous rise of social criticism and the decay of traditional religious belief were leading to the transformation of Christianity into a social religion, resulting in "the substitution of theology, the science of religion, with sociology, the science of society."²¹ Higher criticism was debated in the churches, the newspapers, and the universities. The teaching of theological liberalism provoked considerable controversy about the role of the university and its professors. At the same time, it opened new vistas for students, whether they were directly involved in the debates or not.

The effects of the debates were felt in different ways at each university. At Queen's, the influence of the Principal, Reverend G.M. Grant, made acceptance of the new theory smoother. Grant and others such as John Watson and Adam Shortt, encouraged an understanding of Christianity that emphasised the ethical over the theological.²² Because of their influence, the erosion of denominational distinctions was most prevalent at Queen's.²³ At the other universities, similar views held by some of the professors caused much more controversy. At Victoria College, the struggle among the faculty against the acceptance of higher criticism resulted in resignations and general tension in the 1890s and early 1900s. Resistance regarding biblical interpretation by conservatives, such as the Methodist General Superintendent, Reverend Dr. Albert Carman, provoked a longer, more difficult debate at Victoria.²⁴ In 1909, Victoria professor Reverend George Jackson's teaching of a liberal interpretation of the opening chapters of Genesis caused the dispute to erupt again. By the end of 1910, however, overt attacks and interference with theological teaching at Victoria College ceased. By this time, the religious atmosphere among Victoria students had apparently become "modern" and many eschewed evangelical piety as embarrassing. Students focussed on "essential Christianity"; living as Christ, the ideal citizen, did.²⁵ McKillop argues that this reshaping of Christianity helped to lay the foundations for "a secular, self-help, therapeutic ideal that served the needs of the developing consumer culture of corporate capitalism."²⁶ The Reverend Joseph F. McFadyen, professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis at Queen's in 1917, viewed Christ as an ideal citizen rather than redeemer of sin. This conception of Christ "projected the perfect image for ambitious middle-class university students in the age of the social gospel."²⁷ Although Jesus had middle-class occupational skills, for example, he

"chose to identify with the poor and oppressed in a life of social service, thereby giving range at once to ambition and conscience."²⁸

At McMaster, the issue of higher criticism flared up in 1909-10 over the teachings of I.G. Matthews, professor of systematic theology, and again in 1925-26, over the teachings of L.H. Marshall and the reaction of the Reverend T.T. Shields. In 1909, the McMaster University Senate defended the right of Matthews to teach about the historical context of the Bible. As part of an effort to purge McMaster of modernist tendencies, Elmore Harris, minister of the Walmer Street Baptist Church in Toronto and member of the McMaster University Senate, responded to the teachings of Matthews and the action (or lack of action, in the eyes of Harris) taken by the Senate in an open letter dated May 1910. In this letter, Harris quotes an unnamed student to illustrate the dangerous opinions held by some students. These statements make clear the struggle faced by at least some McMaster students when confronted with the question of the Old Testament as a revelation from God. The student commented that he was "furious," that he "fought it like a tiger for pretty near the whole year."²⁹ By 1925, when the controversy erupted again over the teachings of L.H. Marshall, very few of the students took the conservative side of T.T. Shields, the Jarvis Street Baptist Church minister.³⁰ The teachings of men such as Marshall and Matthews, among others, clearly influenced student attitudes and opinions regarding the basis of Christian authority and, indeed, even the nature of Christianity itself.³¹ These ideas challenged beliefs, but they also set before students an image of the ideal citizen and an ethics of social responsibility.

The liberalization of Protestantism and the shift to a social orientation in Christianity, the social gospel, from a focus on personal piety and introspection meant that

at the Protestant colleges Jesus was interpreted in historical, ethical, and social terms, rather than miraculous and spiritual ones. Focus was placed on Jesus' moral example and social teachings in place of the meaning of the atonement and resurrection.³² Designed as a defence against secular socialism, ministers preaching the social gospel emphasised economic, political and social themes in their sermons.³³ The social gospel minimized denominational differences and demanded a commitment to social issues. The gradual acceptance of higher criticism helped to shape the social gospel in the universities. The ideal of following the example of Jesus in helping the poor, manifested itself in the development of the settlement houses, the social service department, and volunteer work through the YW/YMCA and the SCM.

The ideals set before the students were high, but did they in fact have an impact on their daily lives? Student newspapers announced upcoming church services and reported the content of sermons given both on campus and off. Bible study classes were held weekly and talks by prominent ministers and missionaries were a significant aspect of many student groups. For women students, the Victorian doctrine of separate spheres had provided a power base for middle-class women to pursue higher education, careers, and other forms of public life.³⁴ Victorian women's culture, which upheld, among other things, religion and community, included the values that formed a component of the social reform movement and women's rights movement. At the end of the 1890s, the gradual shift from piety to moralism manifested itself in the university as a Christian culture that involved well-balanced self-development and an ethos of social service. Students believed it was their Christian duty "to find a helpful vocation in life and to surrender themselves to lives of social commitment and moral elevation."³⁵ Diana Pedersen argues that the largely

middle-class Protestant women who joined groups like the YWCA, aware of their privileged backgrounds, felt a responsibility to the nation,³⁶ which manifested itself in a classist sense of responsibility to uplift and improve new immigrants and the poor. For many of students, religion continued to be an important aspect of their daily lives, with weekly bible study meetings and Sundays devoted to the study of the Bible rather than academics.³⁷

By the 1920s, a primary function of Canadian English-speaking Protestant universities had become one of training for service.³⁸ The constant concern for professional education was seen in all aspect of student life. No matter what the activity, the ultimate good of the society was the greater purpose for participating, and women had a special role to play as mothers of "a great people."³⁹ The notion of race suicide was evident in Ruby Mason's, Dean of Women at the University of Western Ontario, argument that higher education for (white, middle-class) women was essential because "[a]ll money expended for the betterment of womanhood [was] expended for the betterment of the race."⁴⁰ Race suicide encompassed the idea that there was a numerical decline of the Anglo-Saxon race with respect to other supposedly more fertile groups and that humanity as a whole was declining.⁴¹ White, middle-class women, therefore, had an important role to play in saving humanity and the race. Religious organisations were among the most obvious places where training for "service" could be had.

The growth of religious doubt was signalled by the debates, but within the daily lives of most university students, religion continued to play an important role. Most Canadian universities had branches of the same religious associations, such as the YWCA, SVM and SCM, that cut across the Protestant denominations. Of these, some were

gender segregated while others were co-ed. Diana Pederson notes that this gender segregation was a North American pattern and resulted in the YWCA and YMCA. Unlike Canadian and American associations, British religious groups brought women and men together in autonomous organisations.⁴² In spite of this gender segregation, the YWCA, according to Diana Pederson, legitimised women's rejection of a passive, decorative, and purely domestic femininity by requiring of them a commitment to usefulness, sacrifice, and service.⁴³ Even in the few co-ed groups like the SVM, Ruth Compton Brouwer argues, "the doctrine of separate spheres was a fundamental aspect of the missionary enterprise."⁴⁴ She notes an emphasis on obligations and responsibilities: women's special obligation to spread the gospel; the great spiritual and social needs of their "heathen sisters"; and the clear need for women's participation in order to effectively convert non-Christian societies. The SVM in 1910 reported its objective as being the evangelisation of the world in this generation; not the Christianising or conversion of the non-Christian world, but "affording an adequate opportunity to every individual in the world to become acquainted with the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁴⁵ Membership in groups like the YWCA promoted the ideal of service through volunteer work in settlement homes, fundraising for foreign and domestic missions, and studying and preparing for personal missionary work. But by the 1920s, attitudes towards the mission movement and traditional religious beliefs were beginning to change. With the founding of the SCM, the focus shifted from doctrine and evangelism to the critical historical study of Jesus and direct connections between faith and social reform.

The Young Women's Christian Association

The YWCA (and YMCA) sought to bring both Christianity and "safe" activities to young people who had left home to work. Founded by middle class evangelical, Protestant women, the city YWCAs catered to self-supporting, "respectable" women who eschewed the pleasures of the city. This criteria excluded women of colour, indigent women, older workers, and "those without certified spotless reputations."⁴⁶ The YWCA was very much a part of the moral and sexual regulation of single, working women, women university students, and of the Canadianization of immigrant working women. The national and city organisations supported the establishment of student sections in the universities. At the universities, the YWCA aimed to convert non-Christian students; to guard women students against the temptations of college life, to deepen spiritual life, and to establish efficient Christian service; and to guide women after graduation into the service of the Kingdom of God.⁴⁷ The student YWCAs and YMCAs grew out of the prayer meetings, evangelical services, and volunteer activities originally organised by the Literary Societies. They gradually replaced these with bible study and generally expanded their activities to encourage students to devote themselves to a broader concept of Christian life.⁴⁸ The philosophy of the YWCA was an evangelical one. The YWCA's commitment to Protestant interdenominational co-operation, however, shifted attention away from the doctrinal questions that regularly arose in the denominational colleges. The existence and popularity of these interdenominational groups played an important role in changing evangelical Protestantism. Pederson notes that although the YWCA promoted a special message for young women in the life and teachings of Jesus, this message coexisted with a wide range of positions on theological and social questions.⁴⁹ The idea of

participating in religious groups such as the YWCA would have been familiar to many women students. Children and young adults often participated in Sunday Schools and other bible study groups.⁵⁰ Some young women in the 1920s and 1930s, may also have been involved in the YWCA's popular Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT) groups. The leaders of these groups were often recent university graduates.⁵¹ Girls and young women attending the CGIT and Sunday School groups would have been exposed both to well-educated young women and to the idea of Christian clubs as part of everyday life.

The majority of new branches of the YWCA were formed in Canadian colleges and universities between 1900 and 1912, with the first in 1886 at Albert College in Belleville. By 1915, the Student Department of the YWCA reported that branches had been organised in every university enrolling women.⁵² St. Hilda's College and Western were the last to form branches of the YWCA in 1912 and 1914 respectively.⁵³ Toronto's University College (UC) first formed a branch of the YWCA in 1887. This group, according to Sara Burke, "maintained an explicitly evangelical view of its purpose, in contrast to the growing reform interests characteristic of the American movement."⁵⁴ By 1900, the national YWCA was strongly influenced by the Social Gospel and had accepted the need for social as well as individual redemption. UC's YWCA and YMCA continued to take an evangelical perspective in its 'extension work', while other U. of T. women's groups began to take a secular approach to social problems.⁵⁵ At Toronto's Victoria College, the student journal *Acta Victoriana* regularly reported the activities of Victoria's weekly YWCA meetings and encouraged students to participate where it was argued that one of the advantages of attending "a Christian college [was] the religious intercourse and fellowship of students."⁵⁶

At McMaster, the years between 1905 and 1910 were full of strife as a result of a major split between the religious and academic communities. As discussed above, attempts were made to purge McMaster of any faculty who taught and encouraged critical inquiry in any discipline. Although the fundamentalist faction within the university was not successful, discontent with modernist tendencies at McMaster did not die away completely.⁵⁷ As a result, the McMaster YWCA remained evangelical in nature even as religious groups at other universities became more secular. Indeed, the YWCA at McMaster may have become even more so in the late 1920s. In 1900, the McMaster YWCA's constitution stated that "[t]he object of this association shall be the development of Christian character among its members and the prosecution of Christian work, especially among the young women of the institution." Members included not only McMaster students, but also "any women connected with the institution who are members of an evangelical church."⁵⁸ In 1928, the constitution was revised:

The object of this association shall be to promote growth in grace and Christian fellowship among its members; and *aggressive* Christian work, especially by and for students; to win them for Christ, to train them for Christian service; and to lead them to devote their lives to Jesus Christ, not only in distinctly religious callings, but also in secular pursuits [my emphasis].⁵⁹

It is clear that the women who were members in the late 1920s sought a more active, in fact "aggressive" role in promoting Christianity and the Baptist church. Certainly, missionary work, both domestic and foreign, played an important role in the extra-curricular life of women students at McMaster.

At Western, perhaps because of the smaller student population, the YWCA was slow in gaining a foothold. In the early years, before a student branch was formed at Western, the women students attended the city branch in London. In 1913, the student

newspaper, the *Western University Gazette*, noted that for the previous three years, efforts had been made to establish a Western branch of the YWCA and stated that a decision had been made to form one.⁶⁰ The following month, the newspaper reported that a YWCA had been officially organised at Western.⁶¹ In 1914, a report in the student newspaper described the opening meeting of the YWCA for that year. It was optimistically reported that a “greater interest [was] being taken in the work of the society, and the prospects for a successful year [were] very bright.”⁶² The following month it was reported that a disappointing number of Western women had taken the opportunity to meet with the members of the Normal School’s YWCA. The December meeting included a talk on “The Human History of the Bible” by Dr. Braithwaite, president of Western.⁶³ The group apparently ran into difficulties, however. In 1916, Velma Hamill, one of the YWCA’s student secretaries, wrote to Dr. Braithwaite to try to convince him to support the formation of a YWCA branch. She argued that one was needed at Western, but that the women were hesitant to take the necessary steps to create a branch for fear it would fail. Although Hamill had the support of two women members of the staff, Braithwaite replied that he did not want to force the issue, that the students would form a branch when they were ready.⁶⁴ By the 1920s, the students had formed both a branch of the YWCA and the SCM.⁶⁵ In January 1920, the editor of the *Gazette* noted that both the YMCA and YWCA had taken on “a more prosperous air.” The report on the first general meeting of the YWCA, held on December 8, 1919, encouraged the members to use the YWCA to do practical social work in the community and to participate in study groups. The first project was a visit to the Victoria Home for the Incurables where the students gave an informal concert. The subject for the study groups that year was the social laws for

women in Ontario.⁶⁶ Although the society was reported to have had a successful year, it was noted in the student newspaper that the “main trouble with these societies [the YMCA and YWCA] seems to be their modesty and probably both could benefit by a little publicity. They certainly deserve better support than they are receiving.”⁶⁷ The apparent lack of enthusiasm for the YWCA continued throughout the 1920s. In spite of the introduction of these groups at Western, there were still complaints about the lack of enthusiasm for “shaping the moral and social world.”⁶⁸ It was even argued that too much time was spent by some students on studying and on student organisations than on spiritual and moral matters.

The Queen’s University YWCA grew out of bi-weekly Bible reading meetings as part of the women's student society, Levana. On November 22, 1889, these meetings were formally converted to a branch of the YWCA. Its work, however, was restricted to bible study meetings because the women felt that they did not have the “time to devote to regular outside Christian work.”⁶⁹ These meetings were seen as a way to get to know each other and to “cultivate more of that spirit of 'camaraderie' that we admire in the boys.”⁷⁰ At Queen's, members of the YWCA met new students at the train station to assist them in finding accommodation and to register. Lorraine Shortt, Arts '20, remembers: “Thanks to my 'pal,' who met me at the station in late September 1917 with news to hurry me up, I secured the very last room left in the 'new' residence, the Avonmore, at 207 William Street.”⁷¹ From the time students first arrived and throughout the year, the YWCA provided support and opportunities for women students to explore Christianity.

At the meetings of the various YWCA student branches, the main activities were lectures and discussions. A theme was selected for each meeting; sometimes broad themes

were chosen for the entire year. Lectures or talks were given by the students themselves as well as by invited guests and professors. Most branches held weekly meetings, with one a month dedicated to mission work. The topics of the McMaster's weekly YWCA meetings were varied, including, in 1901, "The Temptations of College Life." A student, Miss Blackadar, spoke about "the different influences brought to bear on a girl's life," asking her audience to remember that they must "help one another and aim to make every moment of our college life a blessing not only to [themselves] but also to others."⁷² The women were encouraged to be more than wives and mothers. At one McMaster missionary meeting in 1902, a Miss Priest, both a student and a missionary, gave an informal talk about her work in India. She told them that the main object in women's lives in India was to be married "although there is no happiness connected with it." She went on to point out the "debt of gratitude we owe our God for his kindness in making us differ from those poor heathen women and He expects us to carry the glad message of those still living in the dark concerning the love of our blessed Lord."⁷³ Although the patronising and colonialist attitude of the Victorian-era Christian missionary movement is all too readily apparent, there is also the suggestion, and example, of there being more to life than marriage. At University College, the YWCA supported the foreign missionary work undertaken by the Dominion Council of the YWCA with fundraising activities often focussed on the work of former UC students, such as Caroline Macdonald who went to Japan to work among women there. In 1915, the University College YWCA received an appeal for an increase in their annual donation to help support a second graduate who was sent to India.⁷⁴

The influence of the social gospel is also apparent in the topics discussed at the various YWCA meetings and in the use of the Sharman method of bible study after 1915. In 1912 at McMaster, for example, Jessie Stenhouse “gave a talk on the Undermining of the Home, showing the perils of the existing Industrial Conditions, where tenement houses take the place of homes, mothers and children work in factories and there is no cultivation of higher life.”⁷⁵ These talks referred to conditions within Canada, if not even in Toronto, as well as elsewhere. Later that same meeting, Margaret McDonald gave a talk on the “problem” of the working girl, using Regina as her point of reference, and a Mr. Brown discussed the duty to form links between the needy in the downtown areas and those who were willing to help. Although it was acknowledged that students were at university in order to study, all students were called to meet “the urgent need for consecrated Christian effort in college, in the churches, and in the missions of the city. [...] Go with some of our workers to the Fred Victor, Yonge Street or Centre Avenue Missions.”⁷⁶ The focus of many YWCA meetings was on women's issues and the role women should play because of their “special” skills and nature. The Reverend Cross, principal of the McLaurin High School in India, gave one such talk at McMaster on the “Women of India and what the women of America can do for them” and Dr. McCrimmon, former Chancellor of McMaster, spoke in 1923 on “Woman’s Religion,” pointing out that the “emotional nature” of women gave women a different viewpoint on religion than men.⁷⁷ The Sharman method of bible study shifted the focus of the meetings. Dr. H.B. Sharman's programme focussed on the records of the life of Jesus. The study was not academic in nature, but was meant to allow students to come to a personal understanding of Jesus as a man and what he was saying. In 1918 in Toronto, Sharman himself led at least twenty-five courses

with others being led by students. His method eventually dominated the SCM bible study throughout the 1920s.⁷⁸

For many women students, an important aspect of involvement in the various religious groups was attendance at the annual conferences. Women from all four universities were regular participants in the conferences held in Canada and the United States. These summer conferences, held in "idyllic natural surroundings," were intended to encourage religious introspection, new friendships and new inspiration through picnics, athletic competitions, skits, songs, and other activities alongside religious meetings and study.⁷⁹ In 1904, it was reported that four representatives of Victoria College were to go to the Silver Bay conference and noted that in previous years only one delegate had been sent.⁸⁰ The 1905 student YWCA Conference held in Silver Bay, N.Y., attracted almost seven hundred delegates from 115 colleges of the eastern United States and included thirty-five from Canadian colleges. The President of the Queen's YWCA, Miss Mackintosh, reported that the purpose of the conference was "the leading of young women into the doing of God's will and the service of His love as the one satisfying mission in life."⁸¹ The conference included a series of mission study classes where the women were told that this type of work required hard, systematic work and could not be taken up or dropped at will. This was followed each morning by a series of bible study classes. The bulk of the morning was taken up with the discussion of "the various problems of college association work, such as social life, bible study classes, weekly devotional meetings, missionary meetings and the work of the membership committee."⁸² The morning and evenings concluded with addresses from various leaders. The afternoons

were free for recreational activities. The trend away from evangelicalism is apparent in the conclusion:

There was no trace of narrowness in the conference. No attempt was made to excite the girls to a fever heat of enthusiasm and persuade them to decide questions which must only be decided in the calmest moments. It was in itself an inspiration to see so many girls come together with a common desire to know the truth, and learning it, to make the best possible use of their lives.⁸³

In 1906, Margaret Addison reported that the Students' Missionary Convention in Nashville had been a "great help" to those present and that they had brought back much inspiration. She stated that "two of the girls had offered themselves for the foreign work, and another girl of strong character, influenced by the spirit, had decided to give herself to Christ."⁸⁴ Addison noted the encouragement she felt that at least 26 women in Victoria's graduating class were "earnest Christians."⁸⁵ In 1908, a detailed report of that year's YWCA conference at Silver Bay on Lake George in the Adirondacks was included in *Acta Victoriana*. Of the more than five hundred delegates, sixteen women students were from the University of Toronto, with ten of these from Victoria College. The missionary spirit of the conference, and the role of women in maintaining its strength, was highlighted: "The force of a consecrated womanhood is the maintaining strength of the missionary propaganda."⁸⁶

Although higher criticism may have been more generally accepted by students by 1917,⁸⁷ it still aroused some criticism, even by Queen's students. Queen's student Charlotte Whitton wrote to Wilhelmina Gordon, Professor of English at Queen's, in 1917 about her opinions regarding the YWCA conference at Elgin House that summer:

I wish that you could have gone to Elgin House. I think you would have liked some of the conference, very much. I don't believe, that you would have liked it

all. I did not, but I did not say so to anyone, least of all to the girls. It may be a thriving streak of Roman Catholicism in me, but whatever it is, I cannot bring myself to a solid discussion, with forty or fifty others of such questions as ‘What do you consider to be the relation of prayer to our knowledge of God?’ It seems to me that when people reach a certain stage in their Christian development, when they can stop and go into a scientific analysis of such points, they are becoming ‘Churchians’ not Christians. Always then, what little Christianity I possess, hard as I may attempt to prevent it, makes one tremendous retreat, like a claws foot, at the approach of an alien current and in it goes. Otherwise, I did enjoy the discussions very much.⁸⁸

Although Whitton critiqued the type of discussions prevalent at these conferences, she worked overtime at her job in order to attend. The agenda for the conference included various items of business, committee meetings under the heading “Christianity and Social Reconstruction,” discussion groups and business under the heading of “The Student Christian Movement,” all interspersed with opportunity for discussion and prayer.⁸⁹

Within the next three years, the Student Christian Movement, with its emphasis on the historical study of Jesus, would be established in Canada.

The Student Christian Movement

The existence of the Movement implies the recognition by the students of this Dominion of their corpora responsibility to the nation. It unites them in a fellowship of search and adventure. At the formative period of their lives, it confronts them with the highest aims of life, and sends them out into the world’s work with the sense of fellowship that does not cease with college life. Those who have touched the Movement have felt in it the rising sap of new life, a life whose consequence cannot be measured.⁹⁰

The Student Christian Movement (SCM) was originally formed in Britain in 1894, with the World’s Student Christian Federation being formed the following year. In Canada, the movement did not take hold until after the First World War. In December 1919, a large Canadian delegation attended a convention held by the Student Volunteer

Movement (SVM) in Des Moines and discussed the possibility of forming a Student Christian Movement in Canada. As a result, a Canadian branch of the Student Christian Movement came into being.

At the Des Moines SVM convention, the Canadian delegates held formal and informal gatherings to discuss the purpose of the Canadian Student Christian Associations. At these meetings, it became apparent that many of the students were dissatisfied with the programmes and activities of the student YMCAs and YWCAs.⁹¹ In addition, the membership requirements were seen as too restrictive. During the following spring, discussion of the Des Moines resolutions and separation from the national organisation of the YWCA and YMCA was encouraged at all the Canadian campuses. In the summer months, regional meetings were held. The first conference of the summer, held in Cobourg, Ontario, was a joint YWCA and YMCA one where the seventeen secretaries met and studied with H.B. Sharman, S.H. Hooke, and Davidson Ketchem. Other conferences followed, but it was at the Central Women's Conference in early June where radical decisions were made.⁹²

The women attending the Central Women's Student Conference, held in Cobourg, Ontario, on June 16, 1920, were far less hesitant than the men to implement broader guidelines for membership independent of the YWCA. Indeed, it was decided that the purpose of the YWCA was inappropriate for university students.⁹³ The Findings Committee's report acknowledged the valuable work of the YWCA, but it was argued that students felt a "need to concentrate on the spiritual side" rather than the social aspects of faith. A list of recommendations with regard to the various departments of the SCM was produced: Bible Study, Social Service, and World Relationships – Missions. Bible study

was to be given a place of primary importance. Leaders would guide study sessions through personal influence and example. Social Study and Mission Study were to be linked, with Social Study considered to be an aspect of Mission Study. A sense of social responsibility was to be created through bible study, but the primary responsibility of the students was study rather than actual social service. The study of comparative religions was seen as an integral part of understanding and developing World Relationships. While it was thought that Mission Study could be undertaken without an expert leader, the comparative study of religions required an experienced leader. The committee therefore recommended that persons who had been in the field be encouraged to live in College and to meet informally with students to tell of their work. They felt that all three, Bible Study, Mission Study and Social Study, were “ultimately different avenues to the same goal – Christian conduct in all relationships.”⁹⁴

The women's conference concluded with the recommendation that a Canadian SCM be established. To deal with the details, an Interim Committee was formed composed of eleven women and men from various universities⁹⁵ and others to be added during the various regional conferences that were due to take place that summer. Of the original eleven, several, but not all, appear in the list of representatives at the National Student Gathering held during the Christmas break in Guelph.⁹⁶ This conference severed the student YWCA from the national organisation. The on-going financial difficulties of the Dominion Council of the YWCA had resulted in the resignation of a large number of the staff, so the Council turned over the Student Committee work to the Interim Committee. The regional conferences that followed supported the resolutions and actions of the Central Women's Conference. The co-ed Western Student Conference went even

further and suggested not only that all activities be co-ed, but that the Interim Committee accept male student delegates and be completely representative.⁹⁷

The student YMCA, however, moved much more cautiously and recommended a national conference to discuss the issue. The cautious attitude is clear from an invitation to the national conference that stated succinctly that there were dangers in creating another Christian student group because “it [might] cripple Christian work in the Universities by disintegrating Christian forces now at work.”⁹⁸ It called attention to those students who have “a vital relationship to God” and deep convictions, but who do not support the Student Christian Movement because they feel that the YMCA accomplished the same results. It was hoped that the SCM would “usher in a Movement of gigantic proportions extending even to the uttermost ends of the earth – A Movement, broad and deep, with Jesus in the centre and the Spirit of His life and teachings permeating, vitalizing and inspiring every life in association with it.”⁹⁹ Although social service was not a direct activity of the SCM, it was believed that “the vital experience of a man’s [sic] relationship to God [would] spontaneously express itself in various forms of service.”¹⁰⁰ It is clear that the SCM arose in reaction to particular theological theories: “The centre of the program of the S.C.M. is Jesus – not ideas about Him – but Jesus Himself.”¹⁰¹

The Joint Committee of the Student Christian Movements of Canada was formed in preparation for the national conference. It was comprised of five representatives from each of the Interim Committee and the Student YMCA, and two from the SVM. This group made the arrangements for the national conference, drafted a proposed constitution and took over the work of the Council of Canadian Student Movements. The draft constitution and the summer conferences prompted further discussion of the SCM at

Canadian university campuses that fall. Some units of the student YWCA quickly changed their names to Student Christian Association or Student Christian Movement. At University College, for example, the student YWCAs became the Student Christian Association, while at Victoria College, the women and men joined forces to change their membership basis, to pool their resources, and to hold joint meetings.¹⁰² The University of Toronto YMCA, however, retained its name and its role as the Federal Cabinet or link between the various Christian Associations.¹⁰³

The National Conference of the SCM included representatives from almost every major university and college in Canada. The conservative position came largely from the YMCA delegates, especially those from Toronto and Winnipeg. In addition, the SVM members chose not to join the movement. Yet, in spite of the opposition, the students voted to create the Student Christian Movement of Canada in a form that preserved local autonomy and required limited national organisation.¹⁰⁴ The SCM's aim of building a new Christian order spurred discussions and lectures on industrial unrest, the elimination of capitalism, and internationalism. As well, the alienation and disaffection of returning soldiers encouraged the evolution of the Y's into the SCM. According to Catherine Gidney, the inter-war SCM "reflected the more radical elements of the social gospel movement."¹⁰⁵ Although when student veterans graduated, the SCM went through a period of conservatism, it regained its radical perspective by the late 1930s.¹⁰⁶ In the practical, day-to-day activities, however, there seemed to be little change from the days of the YWCA.

At Queen's, for example, women students continued with their service activities. In 1920-21, members of the Women's Christian Association (WCA) and the Levana (the

Queen's women students' association) made weekly visits to the Mowat Hospital “to take cheer and chewing gum to the patients.”¹⁰⁷ Many of the WCA members also visited orphans or helped with the Sunday services at the "House of Industry." In 1926, the editorial in the Levana issue of the *Queen's University Journal* issued a call to service for women students. It was argued that the Great War had shown what women were capable of in an emergency, but since then the spirit of service had lessened. The work of the WCA and the Settlements was “but a drop in the bucket compared to the need.”¹⁰⁸ It was argued that there were thousands of young women who needed the guidance and friendship of “Big Sisters.”¹⁰⁹ It was not until 1923 that the Queen's Women's Christian Association changed its name to the Student Christian Association (SCA) and became linked with the Student Christian Movement, and 1925 that the women's and men's groups joined forces. The newly renamed association continued the former duty of the WCA of welcoming newly arrived women students. Members of the SCA met the “freshettes,” took them to their boarding houses and helped them with registration. Each “freshette” was assigned a senior who assisted in making introductions. Members of the association also volunteered their help at the Sunday services at the "House of Providence [...] with a cheery smile and greeting for every inmate”¹¹⁰ and visited the Orphans' Home on Fridays. The main work, however, was to organise bible study groups, led by the professors, and to send delegates to the various conventions. Similar activities were carried on at the other universities.

Although religion in the late 1920s was often seen as being in a period of decline, Christian activities at the four universities continued to be well attended. Hilda Laird, Arts '18 and Dean of Women at Queen's from 1925 to 1934, remembered that in 1925 "the

Calvanistic tradition was still strong."¹¹¹ But she also commented that it was outward conformity in religion that was strong. She noted that both the SCM and the Student Volunteer Association, which recruited missionaries for the church, both had a particularly strong influence on the women students. In 1929, the Queen's University Students' Christian Association held their annual banquet with sixty in attendance. The guest speaker, Mary Rowell of the Toronto Student Christian Movement, discussed the endeavours of the SCM around the world. In spite of each country's individual problems, she argued, students everywhere asked: "How can we find fellowship with God?"¹¹² After church services, the women students would often attend a sing-song held by the SCA in Ban Righ Hall.¹¹³ That same year a Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) conference was also organised to be held at Queen's. This conference included representatives of the SCA and others from "Varsity" (University of Toronto), Western and McGill. Guests from India and the United States were also invited as speakers.¹¹⁴

The most resistance to the SCM was met at the evangelical McMaster University. The executives of the McMaster YWCA and YMCA jointly discussed the advisability and financial feasibility of joining the SCM for at least three years before they voted not to join.¹¹⁵ A male student attended the conference at Guelph in 1921 where the Constitution of the SCM was drawn up. Intended to provide an alternative to the more evangelical YWCAs and YMCAs, the Christian orientation remained. It was argued that because "[c]ertain rules of the YMCA and YWCA were thought to be unsuited to College needs" and that the "signing of a pledge card to acknowledge Christ as personal saviour ha[d] hindered, in the past, some students not prepared for this pledge" it was necessary to have a separate group which would require only "a pledge to search after Christ [original

emphasis].”¹¹⁶ The evolution of the SCM reflects the emphasis on the social gospel movement that, in spite of the opposition to the SCM, still had influence at McMaster. Activities in the early 1920s at McMaster, as at other universities, were focussed on raising money to help needy students in Europe. However, while the students themselves seemed to be open-minded regarding the changing nature of religious belief and understanding, there was an awareness that others within the Baptist church were not. At the first cabinet meeting of the YWCA in September 1922, it “was decided to delay all discussion regarding the Student Christian Movement until after the Baptist Convention, at which time the attitude of the denomination would probably be revealed.”¹¹⁷

At a general meeting of the McMaster student body in 1923, delegates to a conference at Elgin House reported favourably about the conference. A motion was submitted by one male delegate, G.M. Henry, that

the McMaster Fyfe Missionary Society become a local unit in the Student Christian Movement of Canada, which is a fellowship of students, based on the supreme connection that in Jesus Christ is found the supreme revelation of God and the means to the full realisation of life, that we reserve to our local society the right to full control of our local policies and the right to interpret and supplement the basis and aim in accordance with our conviction.¹¹⁸

Seconded by a woman student, Miss Reddick, the motion prompted considerable discussion, but the vote on the motion was postponed to a later meeting. At the next executive meeting of the Fyfe Society, it was decided that the vote would wait until the Chancellor, Dr. H. P. Whidden, had completed an investigation of the SCM.¹¹⁹ When the students finally voted on the issue, the motion was defeated. Although a motion that “those in sympathy with the Student Christian Movement, while continuing to use the privilege of that organisation, should not use the name of McMaster University in any

way” was passed, it was also moved that “in view of the number of times the question of joining the SCM had been brought up before the Society and voted down, it should not be brought up again until such a time as the words of the constitution be changed.”¹²⁰

Although this second motion was ruled out of order, the fact that it was made at all highlights the division among the students regarding the SCM and, by implication, the debate over higher criticism. The issue did not disappear, however. Shortly after the defeat of the motion to join the SCM, the students who voted in favour of it applied to the Faculty for formal recognition as a separate organisation, the result of which was not recorded.¹²¹

The development of the SCM represented an apparent shift in terms of the gender segregation of students. The Y's provided separate groups for the women and men, but the SCM offered the opportunity for women and men students to work together. Women students were a significant part of the driving force behind the formation of the Canadian SCM. In spite of this, some sections of the SCM remained gender segregated. At the University of Toronto, as late as 1930, the Student Christian Association continued the YWCA/YMCA's policies of gender segregation. The SCA had an all-male executive, while a Women's Council of the SCA linked the men's group with the various college sections run by the women.¹²² The Women's Council specifically linked and served as an advisory board for the five local units of the SCA: Victoria, University, and St. Hilda's Colleges, and the Medical and Social Services Faculties.

At McMaster, a move towards the formation of a “Christian Union” was perhaps in response to a need for a co-ed society like the SCM. This Union was to be composed of representatives from the YWCA, the YMCA, the Student Volunteer Band, and the

Evangelistic Band.¹²³ The Christian Union was finally approved by the faculty as a new incarnation of the Fyfe Missionary Society. Originally formed in the 1890s, the Fyfe Society had been largely the domain of the male students. In 1923, the Constitution of the Fyfe Missionary Society was approved by the women at a YWCA general meeting and by the faculty such that

[i]ts function and purpose shall be to be responsible for such religious activities requiring the co-operation of the whole Christian force of the University; to stimulate and assist the responsible leaders of the religious societies in the University by prayer and conference; to have general oversight of the religious conditions within the University, rendering friendly assistance where needed.¹²⁴

The executive was to be composed of two representatives from each of the faculty, the YMCA, and the YWCA, and one representative from each of the other constituent organisations. Following the pattern of gender roles on student executives established by other student groups, the President of the YMCA was to be the Chairman, while the President of the YWCA was to be the Vice-Chairman (sic) and the Secretary of the YMCA was to be the Secretary-Treasurer. All members of the recognised religious organisations within the university were to be the members of the Fyfe Missionary Society. The creation of the co-ed Fyfe Society, however, did not deter discussion of the SCM. In 1931, the issue of affiliation with the SCM was again raised when delegates to the Student Christian Movement Conference reported on the doctrines and policies of the group. The male delegate, a Mr. Parker, applauded the SCM's "policy of individual thinking in regard to religious ideas," stating that the "SCM frankly accepts the modern historical approach to Christianity, historical criticism of the Bible and the theory of evolution."¹²⁵ Considering the earlier controversies over higher criticism at McMaster, it is no surprise that the SCM met such resistance at McMaster.

Western's SCM, formed in 1920-21, "crystallized chiefly about study and discussion groups."¹²⁶ Lois Black represented the Arts College at the conference in Guelph where the Student Christian Movement of Canada was formed. The women representatives at a conference in June at Cobourg, along with Margaret Gemmell, president of the association, worked together to form two groups for bible study for the women students. Like the courses of study at the other universities, they followed Sharman's "Jesus and the Records." It was described as not simply a commentary, but as a questionnaire which stimulated "independent thinking."¹²⁷ There was a strong sense of optimism around the future plans for the SCM: "As we drank tea and discussed future plans there was an atmosphere of accord that promised bigger things for next year in the Student Christian Movement of Western."¹²⁸ In 1922-23, Western's Student Christian Movement reported that the members had raised \$300.00 that year and \$238.00 the previous year for the relief of students in Europe. The money was for the provision of food, clothing and books. In addition, Western's women's section of the SCM had sent nine delegates to the Elgin House conference that summer. Two delegates, one man and one woman, were also to be sent that year to the quadrennial conference of the Student Volunteer Movement in Indianapolis during Christmas week.¹²⁹

At Western in 1927, a group of 12 women students, members of the Student Christian Movement, organised English classes for non-English speaking women. Bessie McCamus, convenor of the Industrial Committee, was chairman of the organising committee. The evenings were to include one hour of one-to-one teaching, followed by a social time with games and songs.¹³⁰ In 1928-29, the women's unit of Western's SCM sent four representatives to the Elgin House Conference in September, 1928, and four

delegates to the Guelph SCM conference in January, 1929. Visits to Western by Dr. Maltby of the British Student Movement, who spoke on "God and Life," Mr. Murray Brooks, General Secretary of the SCM, and Rev. R. Ferguson, an Assistant Secretary, among others, were recorded. Not all the guest speakers were men, however. In February, Jessie MacPherson, Secretary of the Girls' Work Board for Ontario, offered a course on leadership among the older girls. Three weekly study groups were set up with Isabel Griffiths and Elizabeth Murray each leading a group on "Jesus in the Records" and Dr. Dorothy Turville leading one on "Facing Student Problems." A special University Service was held on February 17, 1929, in the First United Church to allow students to take part in the Universal Day of Prayer for students.¹³¹

Not all the activities held by the SCM were serious in nature. In 1929, Western's SCM held a paper chase and wiener roast for the Arts '33 women. The SCM room, however, was described as the place to go "if you feel you must settle some weighty moral question."¹³² A new type of event was introduced by the SCM in 1929 where representatives were invited to one of the universities for a "guest weekend." That year, students from Western, Queen's, McMaster, and the Ontario Agricultural College (OAC) were invited to the University of Toronto. Western sent three women who were billeted in Queen's Hall.¹³³ For Protestant students, there was ample opportunity to nurture and explore their religious beliefs within the universities. For others, separate groups and colleges were established.

Non-Protestant Students and Groups

Ontario's universities were clearly run as Christian institutions, even when their constitutions claimed they were secular. That those students who were not Protestant, or even Christian, must have felt excluded, if not discriminated against, is clear. Indeed, if Anglican women felt the need to form an Anglican Women's Club at University College in 1908,¹³⁴ how must Catholic, Jewish, and other minority women have felt? At Queen's in 1912, a furor arose when the constitution was being revised to make the university "undenominational." A Jewish delegation lodged a protest against a clause in the constitution that described Queen's as a "Christian Institution." The debate around the issue illustrates the level of racism, as well as anti-Semitism, that was common in the period. A Rabbi Jacobs of Toronto was quoted as arguing that since the university was to be "in spirit" Canadian, "he could not see why the Jewish people who are Canadians and who pay taxes just as well as the Presbyterians or any other denomination should be discriminated against."¹³⁵ Queen's President Gordon, replied that

by meeting their wishes they would open the door to similar objections by Hindus and Chinese. He contended that this was a Christian country, and that Queen's should partake of that character according to the wishes of its founders.¹³⁶

In support of the clause, G.M. Macdonnell, K.C., of Kingston, further argued that Queen's "might in years to come fall into the hands of the Jews."¹³⁷ The response by the Jewish delegation and others included headlines such as "Even Christ Could Not Teach At Queen's" and statements that the clause itself was "unchristian" and "Monstrous and Bigoted."¹³⁸ The Queen's administration gradually backed down. Reports in the newspapers show the process as it was reported that "Trustees Think that 'Christian

Character' Will Not Bar Hebrews" and "Professors of University Must Be Men of Christian Character" until finally, it was announced that the Bill was amended so that the religious test was removed and made one of "character."¹³⁹

At Western, a Rose Lee Leff graduated in 1925. Three years later, W. Sherwood Fox wrote a reference letter for her application to the Training School for Jewish Social Work in New York City. Fox wrote:

I am very pleased to be able to answer without reservation your questions concerning Miss Rose Leff. Miss Leff has an attractive personality and although Jews are in a decided minority among our students she formed many friendships during her college years. She was uniformly liked by the members of the staff. Although I did not see Miss Leff in situations where I could observe her capacity for leadership, I am inclined to think that she has a certain capacity, perhaps not a great one, for taking a lead in her own group. I should never suspect her of trying to dominate. She showed herself unselfish and in possessing of a sympathetic understanding of human problems and relationships. Her disposition and manner are decidedly sunny and I have never known her to indulge in indiscriminate adverse criticism of people. In my opinion she would give good service in social [work].¹⁴⁰

In this letter, Fox was answering some direct questions, including one on whether she could lead without dominating, regarding Leff's character and ability to undertake social work training. Considering the racist and religious attitudes that were prevalent in Canada and in the universities of the period,¹⁴¹ it would be interesting know how Fox would have responded if Leff had not been applying to a Jewish school. In another letter, however, the non-denominational status of Western was emphasised. A letter of complaint sent to Fox in 1921 drew his attention to two speeches made by a student on Irish politics "which were undesirable under the circumstances and one of which was very inflammatory and most offensive to Catholics."¹⁴² The author went on to argue that such "fanatical fights should be confined to the country where they [were] born and that Canadians should be

allowed to pursue happiness without the introduction of foreign feuds that serve nothing but a malicious or mischievous purpose.”¹⁴³ Fox responded by assuring him that the student speaker had been severely reprimanded and that the teacher had been instructed to inform students that “partisan speeches of a religious and political nature [were] strictly forbidden.”¹⁴⁴

All students at the University of Toronto were required to take a course in Religious Knowledge. University College allowed their students to petition to take this course at the other denominational colleges. In 1907, for example, Miss M. McLaughlin, Miss S. Jordan, Miss S. Meader and J.B. Malcolm were granted permission to take the Religious Knowledge options in St. Michael’s College because “each of the petitioners is a member of the Roman Catholic Church.”¹⁴⁵ Catholic and Jewish students would probably not have been comfortable joining the YWCA/YMCA, even if they were accepted, because of the evangelical membership pledge that was required. Even the SCM, with its more liberal membership policy, focussed on Protestant issues and themes.

In 1908, the Catholic Women's Club at Toronto was formed. The inaugural meeting was held in St. Joseph's Convent. The club was to allow Catholic women an opportunity to meet socially: “so that Catholics may sometimes breathe a Catholic atmosphere of which! Alas! There is not a breath at the University.”¹⁴⁶ It was not until 1913, however, that a group of men founded a University of Toronto chapter of the Newman Club for Catholic students. Originally located on St. Joseph Street, the present building at the corner of St. George Street and Hoskin Avenue was purchased in 1921. A parish church, St. Thomas Aquinas Chapel, for Catholic students was built in 1927 beside the clubhouse. By 1915-16, women members of the Toronto Newman Club were holding

Wednesday afternoon teas with the proceeds going to the war effort. In this year, two women were also members of the executive.¹⁴⁷ The club not only nurtured the students' spiritual life, it also offered literary and social entertainment, including a monthly dance and weekly musicales. The Toronto Newman Club held debates, public speaking contests, plays, and other social activities, as well as hosting guest speakers.¹⁴⁸ A history of the Newman Clubs in Canada states that a chapter was organised at Queen's University in 1917, but no clubhouse was provided.¹⁴⁹ In 1921, however, a memo in the files of the Principal's Office noted that the club had not established a relationship with the Alma Mater Society. There was a concern about clubs being established without approval from the AMS because it could open the way for fraternities.¹⁵⁰ At Western, a Newman Club was not formed until 1936.¹⁵¹

Jewish students at the University of Toronto formed the Menorah Society in 1916, absorbing the Toronto Hebrew Students' Association. This society was formed for "the study and advancement of Jewish culture and ideals."¹⁵² Through the Menorah Society, Jewish students participated in study circles, lectures, and local and intercollegiate debates, activities much like those offered by the YWCA and the SCM. In 1930, the Society described its purpose as being "to promote open-minded discussion of Jewish life and thought, past, present and future, that its members may arrive at intelligent opinions and convictions, and be prepared for intelligent participation in the solution of Jewish problems, although no particular point of view, whatever, is imposed."¹⁵³ The Toronto branch of the Menorah Society was part of a network of more than 80 chapters on college campuses in the United States. This society was part of an attempt to form "the Menorah Ideal," applying the "concepts of liberal higher education to the situation of the modern

Jew."¹⁵⁴ One tool used was the *Menorah Journal*, which, during the 1920s, largely represented and encouraged critical scholarship of Judaism. The *Journal* was certainly read by University of Toronto members of the society and likely had some influence here.¹⁵⁵

Much as many women did in the early years of co-education, Catholic and Jewish students established separate societies and clubs. The minority non-Protestant students worked to create comfortable spaces for themselves where they could pursue discussion and debate over their own religious beliefs and could socialise among other students of own faiths. With narratives of white slavery listing dangerous people, including Jews, Blacks, Italians and Chinese,¹⁵⁶ it is not surprising that discriminatory actions were as prevalent within the universities as they were outside. Certainly the universities did little to welcome any of these groups. The university authorities worked to retain a culturally homogeneous student body well into the 1930s and beyond.¹⁵⁷ In such a climate, not only did separate groups provide minority students with a relatively safe place to meet and socialise, but they also were a way to reassure parents that their children would not be corrupted by constant mingling with members of other religions.

Religious Life

The concept of higher education as “training for service” was one that appeared at all the universities. In a 1905 article in the *Queen’s University Journal*, Principal Gordon argued that a university education was more than training for “this or that profession”; it was a training to “make the most of life.”¹⁵⁸ Making the most of life meant to devote

one's skills and power to serving and helping others. For Gordon, the "Spirit of Queen's" was

a spirit of mutual helpfulness, a spirit of service; and the true sons of Queen's [would] not confine their helpfulness to fellow-students not to their Alma Mater, but [would] find their neighbour in every man that needs them and their field of effort in every cause they can befriend.¹⁵⁹

Gordon extended the vision of training for service as being the domain of all universities: "the university, as a home of lofty ideals and the training school for noble (sic) character, should be the fittest of all fields, for this highest kind of self-culture, the growth of the spirit of service."¹⁶⁰ This sense of responsibility to serve and nurture society was prevalent throughout the period, especially among women students. Although men were included, women were seen as suited to sacrificing their lives for the good of society. Although marriage and family were still seen as women's ultimate life's work, if a woman was not to marry, she was expected to "serve" others whether through missionary work at home or abroad, social work among the poor and immigrants, or through the church as volunteers, deaconesses or Sunday School teachers.¹⁶¹ This attitude was also apparent at Ontario universities. The number of women who followed this dictate, however, is not clear. In spite of efforts to construct social work as a career for men, it eventually came to be seen as women's work. Although many women graduates followed the traditional path of marriage and motherhood, many in this period, like Charlotte Whitton, took advantage of broadening opportunities to create careers in social service and related fields. Charlotte Whitton attended Queen's University from 1914-1917 where she received an M.A. in English and Philosophy, and again in 1917-1918 in the Faculty of Education. Her work after graduation was largely in the social service area, from her first position as assistant

secretary at the Social Service Council of Canada to her eventual appointment as Director of the Canadian Welfare Council. She also served on various commissions and as a consultant for the Canadian government.¹⁶² Her career clearly reflects the influence of the trend towards social service and social gospel within the universities.

Similarly, a foreign missionary career was seen as a more adventurous way to serve. According to Ruth Compton Brouwer, it appeared to offer women “unique opportunities for power, adventure, and heroic status, and a respectable escape from the restrictions and responsibilities that were often an unmarried woman’s lot in late-Victorian and Edwardian Canada.”¹⁶³ Prior to the First World War, Presbyterian women missionaries were generally well educated and had some work experience. They were usually from large families, from either farms or small urban centres, and were usually known for their pious respectability rather than elite social status. However, Brouwer argues that those Canadian Presbyterian missionary women who participated formally in college groups, such as the SVM, had already made a formal commitment to the foreign missions cause before they began their college studies. While these university groups, including the YWCA, still developed and encouraged a missionary consciousness among Protestant women students, Brouwer found that there was a significant gap between the number of women who spoke at summer conferences about becoming missionaries and the number who actually followed through. Ultimately, the conferences and weekly meetings served to sharpen the commitment of those women who had already displayed an interest in evangelistic work rather than recruit new missionaries.¹⁶⁴

One significant aspect of the social gospel movement at the universities was the advent of the settlement movement. Influenced by the settlement movements in Britain

and the United States, it provided a space to train students in the everyday practicalities of social service. Although the early efforts at establishing a settlement affiliated with the University of Toronto focussed on training male students in the field, the University Settlement only became strong once women were allowed to participate. Women students were first introduced to settlement work with the establishment of Evangelia House in 1902. The first mentions of the settlement movement in U. of T. publications appeared in the late 1890s. Prior to 1907, the discussion focussed on American settlement houses and emphasised the participation of women. After 1907, the settlement idea began to be seen as an example of a masculine ideal of service and the focus shifted to the British example.¹⁶⁵ Women student settlement workers tended to be ignored rather than excluded. As Burke illustrates, women developed professional interests in social service, while the men were encouraged to view it as temporary work to develop knowledge and express a sense of civic responsibility.¹⁶⁶ Evangelia House, opened by the American settlement worker, Sara Libby Carson, drew considerable support from the women of the University of Toronto. While it was never officially affiliated with the University, by 1910 it had become the custom of St. Hilda's students to volunteer weekly at Evangelia. Support was also recruited from the Victoria College YWCA and the University College Alumnae Association.¹⁶⁷ Women students at Loretto also became interested in Settlement Work. The Annual Report for 1913-14 noted that although the students had showed great interest in Settlement work, the work had begun too late in the year to show many results.¹⁶⁸

One aspect of student life continued to be regular attendance at Sunday church services and, for Catholic students, daily Chapel. Some students attended their

denomination's churches in the community, others attended the university services, while still others attended more than one service on a Sunday, often taking the opportunity to visit churches of different denominations. Students in the 1920s, however, were less likely than their counterparts in the earlier years to attend as regularly, although the student newspapers continued to report the sermons preached that week. In 1915, for example, the *Queen's University Journal* reported that the Reverend James Endicott, D.D., of the Methodist Missionary Board, Toronto, preached on "Faith." He argued that for "ordinary" men and women the old faith rather than philosophical argument was best. He preached in the context of the on-going Great War that the defeat of Germany would perhaps be an act of God. He called on the students to remember that "the greatest knowledge of all is the knowledge of God."¹⁶⁹

Conclusion

University life provided the opportunity for students to examine and test the religious convictions with which they were raised – and many did so. Not only were they tested by the controversy over higher criticism, but also many of the activities and events that composed a significant part of student life were forbidden by certain denominations. For many of the students, activities such as dancing, theatre and cards were off-limits.

Although attendance at the different groups was beginning to decline, the religious societies continued to play an important role in student life. In Western's 1929-30 Student Handbook and Directory, for example, three clearly religious organisations were listed: Christian Fellowship of Western University, with two male executive members; the Students' Christian Movement, with three female executive members; and the Students'

Volunteer Movement, with one female and two male executive members. The Handbook also listed some of the larger churches in London with the comment that “[a] hearty welcome awaits all University students at each of the city’s churches.”¹⁷⁰ In 1929, the *Gazette* reported that the first general meeting of the Christian Fellowship was held at the YMCA where personal testimonies on the place of Christ in the life of a student were given by Lois Kent, Inez Nickels, Charles Slack, and Ernest Penrose. It was also noted that these meetings took place monthly and that all students were invited to join.¹⁷¹ From the names of the executive members, it appears that the SCM was the women's religious group while men dominated the Christian Fellowship. The SVM, the longest running group, continued to be co-ed.

Towards the end of the 1920s it was noted that the attendance at even the popular University of Toronto YMCA was declining.¹⁷² At Queen's, although the established religious groups continued to function after the war, they began to be superseded by secular organisations. Even the traditional Sunday afternoon church service in Convocation Hall was cancelled in 1920 as a result of lack of attendance.¹⁷³ Students at Western and Toronto, with still strong traditional evangelical beliefs, joined with students at the University of Manitoba to establish the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship in 1928 as an alternative to the SCM.¹⁷⁴ The 1930s were a period of retrenchment for most organisations, including the churches. Financial contributions decreased as did interest in missionary activity. As David Marshall notes: “Enthusiasm on the college campuses was also waning and this was most evident from the declining support for the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions.”¹⁷⁵

At the turn of the century, religion was still a priority for women students. Although the trend towards secularisation, as indicated by the success of higher criticism, was underway, the more evangelical aspects of groups like the YWCA and SVM continued to hold a strong position. It was not until after the First World War that higher criticism was taken up by large numbers of students with the formation of the Canadian Student Christian Movement. The war focussed middle class women's attention even more sharply on service-oriented work. Women students' war work in munitions plants and on farms was only to benefit a society at war. In the post-war period, the service orientation of middle class women's work continued and served to contain women in certain occupations. The impact of the war also increased the movement towards a secular society. The focus of the SCM on living life as Jesus did, spreading Christianity by example rather than by proselytization, shifted Protestant student focus from mission work to the pursuit of professional careers. And for most women, the ultimate career was still seen as that of wife and mother in spite of the increasing rights for women. Women were encouraged to pursue higher education and to serve society through their work in the years prior to marriage, but they were expected, in the end, to marry and raise children. The various activities sponsored by all the religious organisations served not only to nurture students' faiths, but also to train them for a life of service, in most cases, in domestic, secular settings.

Endnotes

¹ J.A. Edmison, B.A., "Student Life at Queen's in 1927," *The Queen's Review* 1, 5 (October 1927): 143.

² Edmison, 144.

³ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Inc., 1991): 17.

⁴ Alison Mackinnon, "Educated Doubt: Women, Religion and the Challenge of Higher Education, c. 1870-1920," *Women's History Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 244.

⁵ Victoria College required students to attend daily prayers in the chapel. [University of Toronto *Calendar*, (1900-01), 231; (1924-25), 350.] Trinity College required students to attend daily morning and evening services of the St. Hilda's and Trinity Chapels. [University of Toronto *Calendar*, (1909-10), 223; (1924-25), 359.]

⁶ Judith Fingard, "College, Career, and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, eds., Paul Axelrod and J.G. Reid, 38-9. On the importance of religion for early women students in Canada, see LaPierre, "The First Generation," 168-169.

⁷ Cited in Lathrop, "Elegance and Expression," 57.

⁸ Legendre, "The Baptist Contribution," 176.

⁹ Profit, "Education for Women in the Baptist Tradition," 1-2. Drawing on Antonio Gramsci, George Rawlyk has argued that in establishing the Toronto Baptist College and McMaster University, Senator William McMaster and his cohort sought power and influence in the denomination and in Canadian society by training "their own battalion of ministerial deputies" in order to impose "suitable hegemonic order and control over Canadian society." G.A. Rawlyk, "A.L. McCrimmon, H.P. Whidden, T.T. Shields, Christian Education, and McMaster University," in *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988): 34-35. In the light of this argument and the prevalence of maternal feminism, women as future mothers would require higher education in order to raise future Baptist leaders.

¹⁰ Mary Anne MacFarlane, "Gender Doctrine and Pedagogy: Woman and 'Womanhood' In Methodist Sunday Schools in English-Speaking Canada, 1880-1920," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1992): 131.

¹¹ February 21, 1906, London *Free Press*, DBWCO Scrapbooks, Vol. 1, UWO.

¹² McKillop, 280-281. On the crises in funding faced by Ontario universities during this period, see McKillop, 270-288.

¹³ See Appendix D, Table 28.

¹⁴ See Appendix D, Table 29.

¹⁵ The United Church of Canada was created in 1925 when the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches joined together.

¹⁶ See Appendix D, Table 27.

¹⁷ It appears that formal quotas were not in place during this period. As discussed in Chapter 2, R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar have found that quotas restricting admissions in Medicine at Ontario universities were in effect first at McGill, then in the 1930s at other universities.

¹⁸ Chad Gaffield, Lynne Marks, and Susan Laskin, "Student Populations and Graduate Careers: Queen's University, 1895-1900," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, eds., Paul Axelrod and J.G. Reid, 4-5.

¹⁹ Gaffield, Marks, and Laskin, 6.

²⁰ Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990): 31.

²¹ Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985, reprint 1991): 4.

²² Cook, 184. Hilda Neatby also notes Principal Grant's influence on the development of "the decidedly liberal and even secularizing views which had developed at Queen's." Neatby, *Queen's University*, vol. I, p. 274.

²³ McKillop, 213.

- ²⁴ Cook, 20.
- ²⁵ McKillop, 206-208, 213-214.
- ²⁶ McKillop, 216.
- ²⁷ McKillop, 217.
- ²⁸ McKillop, 217.
- ²⁹ Elmore Harris, "Concerning the Attacks of Professor Matthews on The Bible," Open Letter to the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec, published as a pamphlet (n.p., May, 1910): 15.
- ³⁰ Charles M. Johnston and John C. Weaver, *Student Days: Student Life at McMaster University from the 1890s to the 1980s* (Hamilton: McMaster University Alumni Association, 1986): 29.
- ³¹ McKillop, 211.
- ³² David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crises of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992): 68; McKillop, 206.
- ³³ Marshall, 68, 147.
- ³⁴ Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990): 4.
- ³⁵ McKillop, 229-231.
- ³⁶ Diana Pederson, "'The Call to Service': The YWCA and the Canadian College Woman, 1886-1920," in *Youth University and Canadian Society*, eds. Axelrod and Reid, 189.
- ³⁷ See Neatby, *Queen's University*, Vol. I, 199-200.
- ³⁸ Stewart, 8.
- ³⁹ Ruby C.E. Mason, M.A., "The Education of Women," *The University of Western Ontario* (The Golden Jubilee Endowment Fund Campaign, 1928): 6.
- ⁴⁰ Mason, 6.
- ⁴¹ Valverde, 109.
- ⁴² Pederson, "'The Call to Service,'" 190.
- ⁴³ Pederson, "'The Call to Service,'" 188.
- ⁴⁴ Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990): 85-86.
- ⁴⁵ "Huron College," *Western University Gazette* 4, no. 4 (January 1910): 127.
- ⁴⁶ Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995): 58.
- ⁴⁷ Pedersen, 189.
- ⁴⁸ LaPierre, 181-183; Donald Layton Kirkey, Jr., "'Building the City of God': The Founding of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," (M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1983): 15-17.
- ⁴⁹ Pederson, 188-189.
- ⁵⁰ See MacFarlane, "Gender, Doctrine and Pedagogy," on the early history of the Sunday School movement before it was appropriated by the established churches.
- ⁵¹ M. Lucille Marr, "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls in Training, 1919-1939," *Historical Studies in Education* 3, 2 (1991): 249-267.
- ⁵² Pederson, 192-193.
- ⁵³ In the 1914 *Torontonensis*, the "Y.W.C.A., St. Hilda's College" entry notes that St. Hilda's students had always maintained an interest in missions and extension work and that a Missionary Society had been formed in 1908. In 1912, their "various philanthropic interests" were incorporated into one society (p. 233).
- ⁵⁴ Sara Z. Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996): 43.
- ⁵⁵ Burke, 43. In 1915, it was argued that U. of T.'s YMCA endeavoured to counteract the tendency of the students to concentrate on the material side of life. "Editorial," *Queen's University Journal* (November 19, 1915): n.p.
- ⁵⁶ "Y.W.C.A.," *Acta Victoriana* (November 1900): 68; "Suggestions to Students," *Acta Victoriana* (October 1902): 34.
- ⁵⁷ McKillop, 209-211.
- ⁵⁸ February 22, 1900, Y.W.C.A. Minute Book, 1900-1904. BA.

- ⁵⁹ October 1928, Y.W.C.A Minute Book, 1912-1924. BA.
- ⁶⁰ "The Young Women's Christian Association," *Western University Gazette* 8, 1 (October 1913): 15-16.
- ⁶¹ *Western University Gazette* 8, 2 (November 1913): 15-16.
- ⁶² "The Young Women's Christian Association," *Western University Gazette* (November 1914): 14.
- ⁶³ "The Young Women's Christian Association," *Western University Gazette* (December 1914): 51.
- ⁶⁴ Letters, Nov. 9, 1916 and Nov. 13, 1916. Fox Papers, CA9ONFOX114 10M36, Box 2, RCO, UWO.
- ⁶⁵ In January 1920, the *Gazette* reported that the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. "have both assumed a more prosperous air this term." *Western University Gazette*, January, 1920, p. 17; In 1927, twelve women members of the SCM were reported as teaching English to recent immigrants. *Free Press*, October 29, 1927. Scrapbooks, RCO.
- ⁶⁶ "Y.W.C.A.," *Western University Gazette* (January 1920): 17, 22.
- ⁶⁷ *Western University Gazette* (January 1920): 14.
- ⁶⁸ Jessie Whittle, "Individuality and a College Education," *Western U Gazette*, Dec. 15, 1924, p. 3.
- ⁶⁹ "The Beginning of Levana," *Queen's University Journal* (March 4, 1924): 3.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid*.
- ⁷¹ Lorraine Shortt, "Memories of the Avonmore," in *A Generous Loyalty*, 19.
- ⁷² November 18, 1901, Y.W.C.A. Minute Book, 1900-1904. BA.
- ⁷³ January 20, 1902, Y.W.C.A. Minute Book, 1900-1904. BA.
- ⁷⁴ February, 20, 1915, letter to Miss Park from Mary E. Taylor. Park Family, B88-0052/001(YWCA), UTA.
- ⁷⁵ October 23, 1912, Y.W.C.A. Minute Book, 1912-1924. BA.
- ⁷⁶ "Suggestions to Students," *Acta Victoriana* (October 1902): 34.
- ⁷⁷ March 21, 1919; February 22, 1923, Y.W.C.A. Minute Book, 1912-1924. BA.
- ⁷⁸ Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971, reprint 1990): 220-221.
- ⁷⁹ Pedersen, 195.
- ⁸⁰ "Locals," *Acta Victoriana* (June 1904): 487.
- ⁸¹ "The Student Conference at Silver Bay," *Queen's University Journal* (November 3, 1905): 49.
- ⁸² "The Student Conference at Silver Bay," *Queen's University Journal* (November 3, 1905): 50.
- ⁸³ "The Student Conference at Silver Bay," *Queen's University Journal* (November 3, 1905): 50.
- ⁸⁴ March 14, 1906, Annesley Hall, Committee of Management. Fonds 2069, 90.064V/1(1), VUA.
- ⁸⁵ While the number of women students graduating from Victoria College that year is not known, in 1907-08 there were 148 women enrolled at Victoria. University of Toronto *President's Report*, 1907-08.
- ⁸⁶ Mr. Ellis, quoted in Miss C.E. Hewitt, "Silver Bay," *Acta Victoriana* (October 1908): 41.
- ⁸⁷ McKillop (1994):208-209.
- ⁸⁸ July 5, 1917. Letter to Wilhelmina Gordon from Charlotte Whitton. Wilhelmina Gordon Collection, Box 1 (corr. 1917). Queen's University Archives (QUA). Charlotte Whitton was a student at Queen's University from 1914-1918.
- ⁸⁹ Student Section, Elgin House Summer Conference, 1917, Programme. Whitton Papers, 1106, box 4, file 28. QUA.
- ⁹⁰ "The Student Christian Movement in Canada," *Occidentalia* (1927): 45.
- ⁹¹ Kirkey, 111.
- ⁹² Kirkey, 116-117.
- ⁹³ Kirkey, 117.
- ⁹⁴ "Report of the Findings Committee, Central Women Student Conference, June 16th, 1920," B79-0059/49 (SCA – Central Women's Conference), UTA.
- ⁹⁵ The initial eleven members were: Dr. Symonds, Dr. W.A. Gifford, and Miss Spier from Montreal; Dr. H.B. Sharman as Chairman and Convenor; Professor S.H. Hooke, Margaret Wrong, Miss Day, [Miss] G.L. Rutherford, and Marjorie Mallagh from Toronto; Miss Grainger from London; and Miss McKercher from Kingston. ["Report of the Findings Committee, Central Women Student Conference, June 16th, 1920," B79-0059/49 (SCA – Central Women's Conference), UTA.]
- ⁹⁶ A.H. MacKercher of Queen's, G.L. Rutherford of Victoria, Marjorie Mallagh of the School of Education in Toronto, and Margaret Wrong, Dean of Women at University College, all attended the Guelph meeting.

Mallagh and Wrong were representatives from the Joint Committee, of which Professor S.H. Hooke of Victoria College was also a member and Dr. H.B. Sharman was Chairman. Other women representatives from the universities under study here were: M. Rowell of Victoria. J. MacPherson and O. Zeigler of University College, B. Pittman of St. Hilda's, and L.B. Black of Western. The Ontario Agricultural College, the location of the conference, had two representatives including one woman, N. Halloway. ["Representatives at the National Student Gathering," B79-0059/49 (Guelph 1920-21), UTA.]

⁹⁷ Kirkey, 118-119.

⁹⁸ "The National Conference," p. 2, B79-0059/49 (Nat. Conf., n.d. [1920]), UTA.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ "The National Conference," p. 3, B79-0059/49 (Nat. Conf., n.d. [1920]), UTA.

¹⁰² *Torontonensis* 1921, p.52, 87; Kirkey, 120-122.

¹⁰³ *Torontonensis*, 1921, p. 301 and 1923, p. 326-327.

¹⁰⁴ Kirkey, 125-130.

¹⁰⁵ Catherine Gidney, "Poisoning the Student Mind?: The Student Christian Movement at the University of Toronto, 1920-1965," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series, 8 (1998): 151.

¹⁰⁶ Gidney, 152.

¹⁰⁷ "Levana, 1920-21," *Queen's Alumnae News* (December 10, 1921): 13.

¹⁰⁸ "A Call to Service," Editorial, *Queen's University Journal* (March 2, 1926): 8.

¹⁰⁹ This was not the Big Sisters' Association (BSA). The BSA was formed by the Toronto Local Council of Women in 1914 as a result of its work with the juvenile court. Strange, 125.

¹¹⁰ "The Student Christian Association," *Queen's University Journal* (March 7, 1924): 5; "Activities of the S.C.A.," *Queen's University Journal* (March 2, 1926): 3. The House of Providence was a home for the elderly run by the Sisters of Providence from 1861. Until 1910, it was also an orphanage. After 1910, the orphanage became the St. Mary's of the Lake Orphanage and continued to be run by the Sisters of Providence. (Archives, Providence Motherhouse, Kingston, Ontario).

¹¹¹ Hilda Laird, "Ban Righ Hall: The Beginnings," in *A Generous Loyalty*, 41.

¹¹² "Sixty Attend S.C.A. Annual Banquet," *Queen's University Journal* (March 15, 1929): 7.

¹¹³ "Sunday Night Sing-song at Ban Righ," *Queen's University Journal* (October 1, 1929): 8.

¹¹⁴ "S.V.M. Conference to be Held Here," *Queen's University Journal* (October 8, 1929): 1.

¹¹⁵ February 9, 1921, Y.W.C.A. Minute Book, 1912-1924; November 29, 1920; April 22, 1921; September 28, 1921; October 5, 1923; October 12, 1923; October 17, 1923; November 15, 1923; November 20, 1923, YMCA Minute Book, 1908-1936. BA.

¹¹⁶ February 9, 1921, Y.W.C.A. Minute Book, 1912-1924. BA.

¹¹⁷ September 28, 1922, Y.W.C.A. Cabinet Minute Book, 1919-1934, BA.

¹¹⁸ October 5, 1923, YMCA Minute Book, 1908-1936. BA.

¹¹⁹ October 12, 1923; October 17, 1923, YMCA Minute Book, 1908-1936. BA.

¹²⁰ November 15, 1923, YMCA Minute Book, 1908-1936. BA.

¹²¹ November 20, 1923, YMCA Minute Book, 1908-1936. BA.

¹²² *Torontonensis*, (1930): 334-335.

¹²³ December 4, 1922, Y.W.C.A. Cabinet Minute Book, 1919-1934, BA.

¹²⁴ March 21, 1923, Y.W.C.A. Cabinet Minute Book, 1919-1934, BA.

¹²⁵ February 23, 1931, YMCA Minute Book, 1908-1936. BA.

¹²⁶ "The Student Christian Movement in Canada," *Occidentalia* (1927): 45.

¹²⁷ "The Student Christian Movement in Western University," *Western U Gazette*, Convocation Number and Yearbook (1921): 19.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Financial Statement for 1922-23 and Proposed Budget for 1923-24, DBWCO Scrapbooks, vol. 2, UWO.

¹³⁰ October 29, 1927, DBWCO Scrapbooks, Vol. 3, UWO.

¹³¹ Untitled report, ca. 1928-29, CA9ONFOX114 10M36, Box 14 (file: students), UWO.

¹³² "Of Interest to Women," *Western U Gazette*, (October 11, 1929): 2.

¹³³ "Guest Week-Ends," *Western U Gazette*, (November 22, 1929): 7.

- ¹³⁴ *Torontonensis*, 1917, p. 174.
- ¹³⁵ "Lions in Path of Queen's Bill," *Mail and Empire*, February 17, 1912, clippings files. Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/217/002(03), UTA.
- ¹³⁶ "Clause Remains in Queen's Bill," *Mail and Empire*, February 24, 1912, clippings files, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/217/002(03), UTA.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁸ *Star*, February 26, 1912; "University Bill Evokes Protest," *Mail and Empire*, March 22, 1912, clippings files, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/217/002(03), UTA.
- ¹³⁹ *Globe*, March 25, 1912; *Mail and Empire*, March 25, 1912; *Globe*, April 27, 1912, clippings files, Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/217/002(03), UTA.
- ¹⁴⁰ Letter to Maurice J. Karpf, from W. Sherwood Fox, April 23, 1928, CA9ONFOX114 10M36, box 13 (file: Alumni), UWO.
- ¹⁴¹ See Alison Prentice, et al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988): 114, 193, 234.
- ¹⁴² Letter to Dean Fox, from M. P. McDonagh, 3 December 1921, CA9ONFOX114 10M36, box 6, UWO.
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁴ Letter to M.P. McDonagh from W. Sherwood Fox, December 7, 1921, CA9ONFOX114 10M36, box 6, UWO.
- ¹⁴⁵ October 15, 1907, University College Council Minutes. A69-0016/001(03), UTA.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Community Annals Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto*, (3 December 1908): 436. Cited in Smyth, "Lessons of Religion," 185.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Torontonensis* (1916): 250.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Torontonensis*, (1930): 337.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Newman Clubs and Catholic Education* (Kingston: The Canadian Federation of Newman Clubs, n.d.): 10. University Historian files, A83-0036/032 (Newman Club), UTA.
- ¹⁵⁰ "Alma Mater Society," February 8, 1921, Principal's Office, Arch 1250, box 3 (AMS 1919-44). QUA.
- ¹⁵¹ *Newman Clubs*, 17.
- ¹⁵² *Torontonensis*, (1930): 338.
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 338.
- ¹⁵⁴ Lauren B. Strauss, "Staying Afloat in the Melting Pot: Constructing an American Jewish Identity in the *Menorah Journal* of the 1920s," *American Jewish History* 84, no. 4 (December 1996): 316.
- ¹⁵⁵ The write-up of the Menorah Society in the 1930 *Torontonensis* mentions the *Menorah Journal* as "a cultural magazine of the highest type" (p. 338). A study of Jewish students at Canadian universities is much needed.
- ¹⁵⁶ Valverde, 97.
- ¹⁵⁷ Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class*, 162.
- ¹⁵⁸ D.M. Gordon, "College Life A Training For Service," *Queen's University Journal*, 33, 1 (October 18, 1905): 3-7.
- ¹⁵⁹ Gordon, "College Life," 7.
- ¹⁶⁰ Gordon, "College Life," 7.
- ¹⁶¹ See Brouwer, *New Women for God*; Burke, *Seeking the Highest Good*; and MacFarlane, "Gender, Doctrine and Pedagogy."
- ¹⁶² Resumé, Whitton Papers, 3627, Box 3, file G29. QUA.
- ¹⁶³ Brouwer, 90.
- ¹⁶⁴ Brouwer, 84-85.
- ¹⁶⁵ Burke, 44, 54; see also, Cathy L. James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation: The Role of Toronto's Settlement Houses in the Formation of the Canadian State, 1902 to 1914," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1997).
- ¹⁶⁶ Burke, 60.
- ¹⁶⁷ Burke, 46.
- ¹⁶⁸ Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 4. College, Academic organization & promo/(1), LAA.
- ¹⁶⁹ "Sunday Service," *Queen's University Journal* (October 25, 1915): 1, 5.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Student Handbook and Directory, 1929-30*, UWO.

¹⁷¹ "Fellowship Meeting," *Western U Gazette*, (November 1, 1929): 6.

¹⁷² Robin Harris, Draft Manuscript, "Campus Life to 1914," Chapter VI (1982): 17, University Historian, A83-0036/001, UTA.

¹⁷³ Frederick Gibson, *Queen's University*, Vol. II, 68.

¹⁷⁴ McKillop, 460.

¹⁷⁵ Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 229.

Conclusion

Women students at Ontario universities in the early years of the twentieth century faced many new opportunities as well as many old barriers to higher education and careers. The number of women attending university increased dramatically over the thirty years. Coming mainly from middle class backgrounds, women used a variety of strategies to ensure their access to a university education. Some worked and paid their own way through, and later helped siblings to attend. Others received support from their families. Most attended the university nearest their home. Between one quarter and one third of Canadian students enrolled in Faculties of Arts and Science during this period were women.¹ At some universities, this percentage was even higher, especially during the war years. Most of these women studied modern languages and other arts courses, while few took sciences and classics. For those women who intended to take up paid employment, a university education opened up more possibilities for a variety of jobs and careers with higher pay than women workers might otherwise expect.

While the dominant discourse of women's primary role as wife and mother was clearly present at the universities, the influence of the first wave of feminism was also evident. Throughout the thirty years, many of the women undertook careers after graduation. Those who pursued graduate study and academic careers, for example, usually struggled to do so, often being forced to move to the United States for further study and work. The war years provided women students with the opportunity to work

during the summer months as part of the war effort. It was during these years that employment bureaus and career lecture series for women were started. Initially intended to help organize women's war work, these initiatives continued throughout the 1920s helping women to find jobs for the summer and after graduation. As a result, more career options than simply teaching were promoted by the 1920s. While women students were quick to take advantage of the opportunities presented to them, most still had to make the choice between career and marriage and very few seemed to be able to combine both.

The first concrete evidence of the acceptance of women at the universities came in the form of physical space for the women. Although these spaces worked to keep the women separate from the men, they also served as permanent reminders that the women were serious and there to stay. Separate space for women in the early years came in the form of sitting rooms or cloakrooms that were to discourage the women and men from mingling between classes. At McMaster, for example, the Ladies' Room was explicitly intended "to maintain efficient discipline in the movement and intercourse of students within the building."² The movement for complete separate education failed, however, except in the case of the Catholic women's colleges. While most women took their classes with the male students, women students at the Catholic colleges took some courses separately; other courses, usually honours, were only taught with the men. Separatism at the universities eventually took the form of single-sex residences (both temporary and permanent) and some societies. Residences for women institutionalised separatism and increased the regulation of women students.

Residential life was, of course, only one aspect of the experience of some women university students; however, the efforts to provide residential facilities and the residences

that were finally provided illustrate the multiple ways university authorities viewed women students. While the eventual provision of residences showed that the universities cared about the students, their design and operation illustrate the desire to control their lives. Often seen as a privilege, dormitories nonetheless increased the ability of university authorities to supervise the students. For women, the residences provided space to study and live without the distractions of housekeeping and cooking. The early residences at the University of Toronto, Annesley Hall and the first St. Hilda's College, were modelled on large family homes giving physical representation of the belief that even educated women's place was in the home. The later residences at U. of T. and Queen's University were much larger and no longer resembled large houses; but they were not as grand as the men's buildings such as Devonshire House and Hart House. On the inside, however, efforts were made to keep small, family-type groupings through the division of the residences into "houses". Communal living and dining areas further encouraged the creation of community among the women students even as they also allowed for increased surveillance of the women's activities. Rules and regulations became stricter once women began living in residences, but the women often sought ways around them.

The two smaller universities, Western and McMaster, had fewer buildings than Toronto and Queen's. Western was even more disadvantaged than McMaster was; purpose-built college buildings were not erected until 1924. Until then, the university held its classes in the old Huron College building and used the YWCA and YMCA facilities for athletic and social occasions. Until the move to Hamilton, McMaster had only one building which was soon overcrowded. Toronto and Queen's, the most

prestigious of the four, had the most up-to-date buildings and equipment and had the largest student populations. The large numbers, however, meant that even their buildings were quickly outgrown. For women, their low status within the universities meant that their buildings and needs had the lowest priority when money was available for upgrades and construction. Women's residences were only ever built as a result of the efforts of the women students, alumnae, women faculty and other supporters of women's education.

When McMaster and Western opened Arts Colleges in the 1890s, women students were members of the first classes. By this time, women had established a place for themselves, however tenuously, at many universities in Canada, the United States, and Britain, including the two of the three other Ontario universities, Queen's and Toronto. This precedent, combined with the financial necessity of attracting as many students as possible, paved the way for easier acceptance at Western and McMaster. When Susan Moulton McMaster established Moulton College, a provision was made to ensure that graduates of the college would be eligible for admission to McMaster. So, although McMaster's first Arts class had only sixteen students, a woman was among them.³ There were also few women at Western in these early years (only five women had graduated from Western by the spring of 1900), but those who were in attendance played an important role in the establishment of student organisations and university traditions. Women students were among the founding members of the central clubs and organisations formed at Western and were specifically included in the various social events. The small number of female and male students overall seemed to lead to a closeness amongst students at McMaster and Western not felt at larger institutions. As a result of the less controversial admittance of women and the lower numbers, student

culture at the two smaller universities seemed to develop somewhat differently than at the two larger universities. Women at Western and McMaster created and maintained their own separate culture, even as they also participated in many student groups that were co-ed from their beginnings.

Meanwhile, women at Queen's and Toronto were largely isolated into separate clubs that paralleled the men's groups. By 1900 and throughout the period, more and more co-ed groups were established. While a few previously male-only groups began to include women, many still excluded them either by policy or by holding meetings in places, such as Toronto's Hart House, where women were not permitted. At Toronto and Queen's, most of the main student groups, like the literary societies, and the more prestigious groups, like Toronto's Historical Club, continued as male-only societies throughout the period. While women still had to conform to a standard of femininity that encouraged heterosexual relationships yet discouraged unchaperoned mingling with men students, the suffrage movement encouraged women to seek equal rights and to push at the social boundaries. Further research on the influence of university women on the women's movements is needed.

At all four universities, women were a significant part of student life. They were officially free to take any course offered by the university – even if they were seen as 'brave' to do so. Although women at Western and McMaster were, for the most part, active in the same clubs and organisations as the men, other forces certainly existed to discourage women's academic and career ambitions in certain fields and activities. The influence of the evolving social norms of the period is readily apparent in the universities. Students seemed to constantly seek out ways to have fun – skating parties, hikes and

picnics, tea dances, promenades, and formal evening dances were all incorporated into the regular round of social events. The universities attempted to regulate these activities in terms of hours, numbers per week and month, guests, and even decoration. The struggle between the students and the university administrators is apparent in the debates over regulations and in the breaking of those rules by the students. Women students clearly took part in the effort to push at the boundaries.

At most universities, religious student groups such as the SVM, the YWCA and YMCA, and later, the SCM were among the primary vehicles through which university students were trained for a life of service. In the classroom and beyond, students were heavily influenced by their professors who challenged evangelical religious assumptions with historical relativism and a liberal ethical religion. With the advent of the social gospel, there developed a passion for practical applications of university activity. McKillop argues that the changes that were occurring in the Canadian middle class as a whole were reflected in microcosm in the universities. College life introduced students to religious doubt, the glorification of the intellect, and the removal of parental controls. In addition, denominational differences were increasingly seen as impediments to social service.⁴ This combination led to the desire to form associations with other students, and humanity as a whole. As a result, many students became active in the various religious student groups and volunteered their time at settlement houses and other organizations.

Some women students were clearly very active members of the university community. From the discussions of low membership levels in some of the clubs, however, it is apparent that not all women participated in all of the societies. Women who attended university, but who did not become involved in these clubs because of race,

finances, religion, personality, or other reasons are not visible in the documents. The voices most often heard, therefore, were those of women who were the most active or who left letters and diaries. Some information can also be found about the women who, for some reason, came to the attention of the university administrators. More research is needed on these women who are relatively silent in the majority of documents available. Catholic and Jewish women students, and lesbian students, in particular, may have left documents in repositories other than the university archives primarily used here. Similarly, more comprehensive statistical information would also be useful in completing the picture of women university students in the early part of the twentieth century.

The story of women's experience as university students in Ontario between 1900 and 1930 is a complex one. As institutionalized separatism was being implemented through purpose-built residences and the growing employment of Deans of Women, there was a simultaneous push by the students for more co-educational activities and clubs. Women struggled between accepting scientific rationales for women's separate spheres or "special roles" and rejecting the notion that women should be restricted in their activities. This struggle is seen in the contradictions in their activities: single-sex clubs continued to be established by women even as more co-ed groups were formed. The greater integration of women into formerly male activities also resulted in the loss of female-oriented traditions at some of the colleges and universities. Although women's place at the universities was certainly becoming more stable by 1930, the continuing denigration of women in the student newspapers and the recurring debate over separate education for women suggests that their place at the universities was by no means completely secure. Further research on the years following 1930 would help to determine how soundly

women had established themselves in these early years. Women students between 1900 and 1930, nonetheless, did succeed in strengthening the base established by the Canadian pioneers of women's higher education.

Endnotes

- ¹ See Appendix A, Table 1.
- ² *MM*, October 1907, 30.
- ³ *Baptist Year Book*, 1892, 106.
- ⁴ McKillop, 204-206, 212.

**Appendix A
Enrolment**

Table 1 - Full-time University Undergraduate Enrolment, Canada, 1901 to 1930

Year	Sex	Arts & Science	Household Science	Education	Medical & Health	Other	Total
1901 ^a	Women	740	..	..	28	..	768
	Men	2184	..	..	2061	1628	5873
	Total	2924	..	..	2089	1628	6641
	% Women	25%	..	..	1%	0%	12%
1911	Women	1683	504	350	25		2562
	Men	4121	0	157	2153	3898	10329
	Total	5804	504	507	2178	3898	12891
	% Women	29%	100%	69%	1%	0%	20%
1920	Women	3072	100	110	326	108	3716
	Men	6642	0	68	4870	7495	19075
	Total	9714	100	178	5196	7603	22791
	% Women	32%	100%	62%	6%	1%	16%
1930	Women	5633	639	447	460	249	7428
	Men	11623	0	247	3654	8624	24148
	Total	17256	639	694	4114	8873	31576
	% Women	33%	100%	64%	11%	3%	24%

^aAcademic year beginning in year shown.

Derived from Historical Statistics of Canada, 2nd Edition.

Table 2 - Enrolment, University of Toronto Faculty of Arts, 1900-29

YEAR	B.A.	M.A.	PH.D.	# WOMEN	# MEN	TOTAL	% WOMEN	% MEN
1900	236	13	1	250	573	823	30%	70%
1905	311	4	1	316	761	1077	29%	71%
1911	519	54	1	574	1164	1738	33%	67%
1916	654	12	3	669	705	1374	49%	51%
1920	918	33	6	957	1286	2243	43%	57%
1925	1246	24	16	1286	1539	2825	46%	54%
1929	1603	42	21	1666	2083	3749	44%	56%

Compiled from President's Reports, University of Toronto

Table 3 - Enrolment, McMaster University, 1898-1930

YEAR	B.A.	M.A.	Theology	# WOMEN	# MEN	TOTAL	% WOMEN	% MEN
1898/99	23	0	0	23	117	140	16%	84%
1899/1900	24	0	1	25	182	207	12%	88%
1900/01	30	1	2	33	159	192	17%	83%
1905/06	28	1	0	29	108	137	21%	79%
1910/11	59	5	0	64	168	232	28%	72%
1915/16	44	5	0	49	149	198	25%	75%
1916/17	59	n/a	0	59	89	148	40%	60%
1917/18	62	2	1	65	142	207	31%	69%
1920/21	68	8	0	76	142	218	35%	65%
1921/22	84	5	5	91	210	301	30%	70%
1922/23	78	6	15	98	223	321	31%	69%
1923/24	89	2	3	93	235	328	28%	72%
1925/26	115	9	11	133	287	420	32%	68%
1926/27	126	5	4	134	261	395	34%	66%
1929/30	104	9	0	113	251	364	31%	69%

Compiled from Calendars and Chancellor's Reports, McMaster University
(some discrepancies in totals are due to duplicate registrations).

Table 4 - Enrolment, University of Western Ontario,
1920-31

YEAR	Women			Total Students	% Women
	U.C.	Brescia	Total		
1920-21	71	n/a	71	160	44%
1921-22	158	41	199	342	58%
1924-25	199	39	238	745	32%
1926-27	272	44	316	685	46%
1927-28	255	50	305	702	43%
1928-29	285	59	344	801	43%
1929-30	353	63	416	905	46%
1930-31	352	56	408	874	47%

Compiled from Presidents' and Registrars' Reports,
University of Western Ontario

B.A.s Awarded to Women
University of Western Ontario, 1898-1930

YEAR	Women
1898	1
1899	1
1900	3
1901	0
1902	1
1903	1
1904	2
1905	2
1906	1
1907	3
1908	1
1909	2
1910	4
1911	3
1912	4
1913	3
1914	2
1915	9
1916	10
1917	4
1918	6
1919	4
1920	6
1921	11
1922	9
1923	0
1924	28
1925	0
1926	38
1927	41
1928	54
1929	38
1930	68
TOTAL	360

Compiled from Calendars, Presidents'
Reports and Registrar's Reports,
University of Western Ontario

Table 5 - Enrolment, Queen's University, 1909-31

Enrolment of Women and Men Students (intra-mural Arts & Science students only)				
	# Women	# Men	Total	% Women
1910-11	228	392	620	37%
1911-12	266	372	638	42%
1912-13	233	430	663	35%
1913-14	213	357	570	37%
1914-15	199	337	536	37%
1915-16	184	181	365	50%
1916-17	191	126	317	60%
1918-19	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1919-20	218	256	474	46%
1920-21	212	244	456	46%
1921-22	243	332	575	42%
1922-23	266	n/a	n/a	n/a
1924-25	270	386	656	41%
1925-26	293	436	729	40%
1926-27	326	422	748	44%
1927-28	377	466	843	45%
1928-29	395	512	907	44%
1929-30	389	542	931	42%

Enrolment of Women and Men (includes all faculties and intra/extra-mural students)				
	# Women	# Men	Total	% Women
1909-10	n/a	n/a	1517	n/a
1910-11	325	1287	1612	20%
1911-12	266	1241	1507	18%
1912-13	250	1278	1528	16%
1913-14	235	1375	1610	15%
1914-15	244	1753	1997	12%
1915-16	356	1653	2009	18%
1916-17	342	974	1316	26%
1918-19	n/a	n/a	1410	n/a
1919-20	250	2453	2703	9%
1920-21	212	2046	2258	9%
1921-22	243	2676	2919	8%
1922-23	266	n/a	n/a	n/a
1924-25	270	2738	3008	9%
1925-26	624	2625	3249	19%
1926-27	677	2741	3418	20%
1927-28	988	2516	3504	28%
1928-29	1055	n/a	n/a	n/a
1929-30	1069	2699	3768	28%
1930-31	1016	2917	3933	26%

Compiled from Principal's Reports and Annual Reports,
Queen's University

Appendix B
Geographical Origins

Table 6 - Comparison of Geographical Origins of Students (male & female),
1919/20

	Kingston	Hamilton	London	Toronto
University of Toronto				
Arts (U.C. & affiliated colleges)	0	36	10	539
School of Science	0	26	14	281
Medicine	1	21	3	347
Total	1	83	27	1167
McGill University				
Arts	0	0	1	1
Science	0	4	1	4
Medicine	0	2	1	2
Total	0	6	3	7
Queen's University				
Arts	108	14	4	36
Science	46	4	5	7
Medicine	39	2	0	2
Total	193	20	9	45
McMaster (Arts only)	0	4	0	77
Western (Arts, Medicine, Public Health 1920/21)	0	0	235	0
Grand Totals	194	113	274	1296

From "Statement regarding Western University for the Royal Commission on University Finances prepared at the request of the Chairman, Dr. H.J. Cody under date of November 13, 1920." Comptroller's Office, Box 5, University of Western Ontario.

Note: Western's administrators were attempting to determine where students from the four large Ontario cities (Kingston, Hamilton, Toronto, and London) tended to go to attend university.

Table 7 - Geographical Origins, Women Students,
Queen's University, 1911-30

Residence of Women Students (includes Arts and Education students)				
Year	Kingston	Other	Total	% Kingston
1911-12	79	187	266	30%
1912-13	74	176	250	30%
1913-14	56	179	235	24%
1914-15	63	181	244	26%
1915-16	55	189	244	23%
1916-17	46	180	226	20%
1919-20	60	190	250	24%
1920-21	56	156	212	26%
1921-22	71	172	243	29%
1922-23	72	194	266	27%
1924-25	68	202	270	25%
1925-26	66	227	293	23%
1926-27	77	249	326	24%
1927-28	79	298	377	21%
1928-29	75	329	404	19%
1929-30	74	316	390	19%

Compiled from Principal's Reports and Annual Reports,
Queen's University, 1911/12-1929/30.

Table 8 - Comparison of Students Residing in Annesley Hall, University of Toronto, 1919/20

Geographical Distribution	
Ontario	69
Saskatchewan	6
British Columbia	4
Newfoundland	2
United States	2
Alberta	1
Japan ¹	1
China ¹	1
Total	86

¹Daughters of missionaries.

Average age at beginning of session	
First Year	19 yrs. 6 mos.
Second Year	19 yrs. 7 mos.
Third Year	22 yrs. 6 mos.
Fourth Year	24 yrs. 9 mos.

Fathers' Profession	
Commercial	39
Professional ²	29
Farmers	15
Unknown	3

²Includes 11 clergymen.

Religious Denominations	
Methodists	74
Anglicans	8
Presbyterians	4

Academic Standing (of the 73 students)	
Honors I	4
Honors II	26
Honors III	8
Pass	25
Transferred	2
Aegrotat	4
B.L.	2
Year Lost	2

Course Enrolment	
General	39
Modems	11
Household Scienc	11
Modern History	6
English & History	5
Math & Physics	5
Science	3
Political Science	3
Classics	3

Source: Dean's Report for the Senate of Victoria College. Fonds 2069, 90.064V, Box 3, file 3, VUA.

Table 9 - Women Registered in University College,
February 1935, University of Toronto

Toronto Residents	334
In Residence	141
Boarding:	
With Relations	25
Jewish ^a	11
Prefer not to live in residence	22
Reasons probably financial	4
Reasons unknown	3
Total boarding	<u>65</u>
<hr/> GRAND TOTAL	<hr/> 540

^aJewish students were not welcome in the UC residence.

Source: UC Dean of Women Papers, B74-0011/003(5), UTA.

Table 10 - Geographical Distribution of Students, University of Toronto, 1908-31

Year	Toronto		Ontario (outside Toronto)		Elsewhere		Total Registration
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1908/09	1287	33	2100	54	467	12	3854
1909/10	1188	29	2122	52	736	18	4046
1910/11	1242	30	2115	51	762	19	4119
1911/12	1285	31	2090	51	773	19	4148
1912/13	1286	31	2212	53	696	17	4194
1913/14	1414	33	2227	53	645	15	4286
1914/15	1498	34	2412	54	566	13	4476
1915/16	1278	33	2200	57	437	11	3915
1916/17	1042	32	1870	58	348	11	3260
1917/18	950	34	1488	53	379	14	2817
1918/19	1197	36	1751	52	433	13	3381
1919/20	1828	35	2949	56	460	9	5237
1920/21	1974	39	2593	51	493	10	5060
1921/22	2157	40	2725	51	467	9	5349
1922/23	2079	41	2614	52	351	7	5044
1923/24	2117	44	2420	50	322	7	4859
1924/25	2161	45	2232	46	409	9	4802
1925/26	2403	44	2502	46	575	10	5480
1926/27	2458	44	2636	47	535	9	5629
1927/28	2631	44	2748	46	607	10	5986
1928/29	2828	44	2979	46	615	10	6422
1929/30	3134	44	3353	47	691	10	7178
1930/31	3430	44	3669	48	748	9	7847

Source: University Historian, A83-0036/37(students-geographical distribution), UTA.

Table 11 - Geographical Origins of Students, University of Western Ontario, 1921-25

	1921/22		1922/23		1923/24		1924/25	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Western Ontario	400	91%	442	90%	504	88%	606	89%
Central & Eastern Ontario	30	7%	34	7%	48	8%	48	7%
Other Provinces	n/a		6	1%	7	1%	3	0%
United States	8	2%	11	2%	14	2%	25	4%
Total	438	100%	493	100%	573	100%	682	100%

Compiled from Fox Papers, CA9ONFOX114, Box 17 (UWO info), University of Western Ontario.

Table 12 - Geographical Distribution of Students, 1923/24, University of Western Ontario

<u>County</u>		<u>Other</u>	
Brant	0	"Foreign"	18
Bruce	9	Canadian - Outside	
Elgin	38	Ontario	7
Essex	69	Ontario - Outside	
Grey	3	14 counties	39
Huron	19	Evening class	50
Kent	16	Misc. not	
Lambton	26	accounted for	17
Middlesex	262		
Norfolk	1		
Oxford	29		
Perth	23		
Waterloo	8		
Wellington	5		
<u>Total</u>	<u>508</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>131</u>
		<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>639</u>

Source: Comptroller's Office, Box 5, University of Western Ontario.

Table 13 - Geographical Origins of Students, McMaster University, 1906-29

	1906/07	1923/24	1924/25	1925/26	1926/27			1927/28			1928/29		
	Total	Total	Total	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Ontario & Quebec	197	259	351	342	219	121	340	216	103	319	228	112	340
Alberta	5	8	10	7	2	2	4	3	3	6	4	5	9
Manitoba	1	9	10	1	3	0	3	5	1	6	4	1	5
Saskatchewan	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	3
British Columbia	4	1	2	2	3	2	5	2	1	3	4	0	4
New Brunswick	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newfoundland	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	1
Prince Edward Island	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
United States	5	13	15	13	3	4	7	7	3	10	1	0	1
England	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Australia	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Finland	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	3	2	6	2	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	2
India	0	4	3	3	1	0	1	2	0	2	0	0	0
Japan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Cuba	0	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
Scotland	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Africa	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Ireland	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2
Sweden	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
Jamaica	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	0
South America	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
TOTAL	220	300	406	379	238	134	372	246	114	360	248	122	370

Compiled from Chancellor's Reports, McMaster University.

Geographical Origins of McMaster Students, 1890-1904 ¹		
Toronto	7	18.4
Ontario	15	39.5
Other Provinces	10	26.3
U.S.A.	4	10.5
Other	2	5.3
Total	38	100

¹From Legendre, 188, note 108.

Appendix C
Courses

Table 14 - Undergraduate Registration, University College, University of Western Ontario, May 1929

Course	Women	Men	Total	% Women	% Total Women
General	9	16	25	36%	28%
General - Secretarial Science	4	0	4	100%	13%
Honor Biology	2	1	3	67%	6%
Hon. B.Admin.	0	9	9	0%	0%
Hon. Chemistry	0	9	9	0%	0%
Hon. Classics	1	1	2	50%	3%
Hon. Econ. & Pol. Sci.	0	7	7	0%	0%
Hon. English & History	5	1	6	83%	16%
Hon. English & French	3	1	4	75%	9%
Hon. English & German	1	0	1	100%	3%
Hon. French & German	3	0	3	100%	9%
Hon. French & Spanish	1	0	1	100%	3%
Hon. Math. & Business	0	1	1	0%	0%
Hon. Math & Physics	0	5	5	0%	0%
Hon. Science	1	5	6	17%	3%
Hon. Romance Lang.	2	0	2	100%	6%
Totals	32	56	88	36%	100%

Summary	Women	Men	Total	% Women	% Total Women
Modern Languages	10	1	11	91%	31%
Arts	6	9	15	40%	19%
Sciences	3	20	23	13%	9%
Business	0	10	10	0%	0%
General	13	16	29	45%	41%
Total	32	56	88	36%	100%

Source: Minutes of the Faculty Meeting, University College of Arts (Fox Papers, Box 14, RCO).

Table 15 - Comparison of Women Students Registered at Victoria College, University of Toronto, 1908-09, 1917-18

1908/09	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	Total
General Course	14	14	9	7	44
Moderns, English, & History (Mod.)	27	11	6	13	57
Classics, English & History (Cl.)	2	2	0	1	5
Philosophy	0	1	1	0	2
Math & Physics	4	0	0	1	5
Natural & Physical Science	1	0	0	1	2
Household Science	4	4	2	3	13
Oriental Languages	0	1	0	0	1
Total	52	33	18	26	129

1917/18	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	Total
General Course	20	17	13	13	63
Moderns, English & History	9	12	9	8	38
Classics, English & History	1	4	1	0	6
Modern History	1	4	2	0	7
Math & Physics	0	0	1	0	1
Natural & Physical Science	0	1	4	0	5
Household Science	0	0	1	1	2
Household Science (General)	13	19	11	9	52
Philosophy	0	0	1	1	2
Political Science	1	1	0	0	2
Commerce and Finance	2	0	0	0	2
Total	47	58	43	32	180

Summary	1908/09		1917/18	
General Course	44	34%	63	35%
Arts	65	50%	55	31%
Sciences	7	5%	6	3%
Household Science	13	10%	54	30%
Commerce/Finance			2	1%
Total	129	100%	180	100%

Source: President's Report, 1908-09 and 1917-18, University of Toronto.

Table 16 - Comparison of Women Students Registered at University College, University of Toronto, 1908-09, 1917-18

1908/09	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	Total
General	28	35	13	16	92
Classics	0	1	3	1	5
English & History (Cl.)	0	2	0	0	2
Classics & English & History	3	1	0	0	4
Modern Languages	22	18	24	20	84
English & History (Mod.)	23	12	6	7	48
Mod. Lang., English & History	6	0	1	1	8
Classics & Modern Languages	0	1	0	0	1
Sciences	3	2	1	1	7
Household Science	7	2	2	1	12
Science & Household Science	1	0	0	0	1
Math & Physics	2	6	3	2	13
Political Science	0	0	1	0	1
Philosophy	0	0	1	2	3
Total	95	80	55	51	281

1917/18	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	Total
General	38	33	32	39	142
Classics	4	1	1	0	6
English & History (Mod.)	14	9	6	9	38
English & History (Cl.)	2	1	1	2	6
Moderns	18	16	14	11	59
Modern History	2	1	5	0	8
Political Science	1	3	0	0	4
Household Science (General)	20	15	32	10	77
Natural Sciences	20	3	4	8	35
Commerce & Finance	1	0	0	0	1
Total	120	82	95	79	376

Summary	1908/09		1917/18	
General Course	92	33%	142	38%
Arts	156	56%	121	32%
Sciences	20	7%	35	9%
Household Science	13	5%	77	20%
Commerce/Finance	0	0%	1	0%
Total	281	100%	376	100%

Source: President's Reports, 1908/09 and 1917/18, University of Toronto

Table 17 - Comparison of Women Students Registered at Trinity College, University of Toronto, 1908-09, 1917-18

1908/09	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	Total
General Course	6	7	6	3	22
Modern Languages	11	5	0	7	23
English & History (Mod.)	5	3	0	1	9
English & History (Cl.)	0	1	2	0	3
Classics	2	0	0	0	2
Math & Physics	1	0	0	0	1
Chemistry & Mineralogy	0	1	0	0	1
Household Science	1	0	0	0	1
Occasional Students	3	3	2	2	10
Total	29	20	10	13	72

1917/18	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	Total
General Course	6	2	7	6	21
Modern Languages	2	2	0	1	5
English & History (Moderns)*	0	1	2	4	7
English & History (Classics)	0	0	1	0	1
Modern History	1	1	0	0	2
Household Science	2	0	2	0	4
Math & Physics	1	0	1	1	3
Chemistry & Mineralogy I	0	0	1	0	1
Physiological & Biochem. Scs.	0	0	1	0	1
Total	12	6	15	12	45

*Includes 4 students in Modern Languages

Summary	1908/09		1917/18	
General Course	22	31%	21	47%
Arts	37	51%	15	33%
Sciences	2	3%	5	11%
Household Science	1	1%	4	9%
Occasional	10	14%	n/a	n/a
Total	72	100%	45	100%

Source: President's Reports, 1908/09 and 1917/18, University of Toronto

Table 18 - Comparison of Women Students Registered at St. Michael's College,
University of Toronto, 1915-16, 1917-18

1915/16	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	Total
General	18	7	8	3	36
Modern Languages	2	3	0	2	7
English & History (Moderns)	1	0	1	1	3
Classics	2	0	0	0	2
Total	23	10	9	6	48

1917/18	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	Total
General	16	5	10	8	39
Modern Languages	3	2	2	2	9
English & History (Moderns)	1	3	0	0	4
Classics	0	0	1	0	1
English & History (Classics)	0	0	1	0	1
Modern History	1	0	0	0	1
Household Science (General)	0	1	0	0	1
Total	21	11	14	10	56

Summary	1915/16		1917/18	
General	36	75%	39	70%
Arts	12	25%	16	29%
Sciences	0	0%	0	0%
Household Science	0	0%	1	2%
Total	48	100%	56	100%

Source: President's Reports, 1915/16 and 1917/18, University of Toronto

Table 19 - Course Enrolment, McMaster University, 1917-26

Course	1917/18				1921/22				1924/25				1925/26			
	Women	Men	Total	% Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women
History	57	36	93	61%	68	116	184	37%	7	17	24	29%	90	65	155	58%
German	52	28	80	65%	29	23	52	56%	33	16	49	67%	38	27	65	58%
Philosophy	23	53	76	30%	34	85	119	29%	68	130	198	34%	49	158	207	24%
Physics	21	46	67	31%	8	55	63	13%	18	73	91	20%	17	92	109	16%
O.T. Times	3	18	21	14%	0	0	0	0%	8	38	46	17%				
Geology/ Minerology	24	55	79	30%	16	55	71	23%			0		43	101	144	30%
Biology	20	38	58	34%	27	50	77	35%	43	95	138	31%	52	118	170	31%
Math	38	40	78	49%	25	88	113	22%	48	123	171	28%	57	142	199	29%
French	68	31	99	69%	92	64	156	59%	140	90	230	61%	134	110	244	55%
English	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	123	142	265	46%	133	195	328	41%	128	178	306	42%
Spanish	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	6	16	63%	17	11	28	61%	20	14	34	59%
Chemistry	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	36	44	18%	14	47	61	23%	10	54	64	16%
Latin	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	54	62	116	47%	92	71	163	56%	67	71	138	49%
Economics	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	39	88	127	31%	56	166	222	25%				
Pol. Economy	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a									31	96	127	24%
Sociology	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	21	42	63	33%	12	35	47	26%	20	22	42	48%
Greek	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	57	60	5%	14	75	89	16%	19	84	103	18%
	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a												
New Testament	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	10	47	57	18%			0		11	94	105	10%
Apologetics	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	10	14	29%			0		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Comp. Religion	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	10	15	33%			0		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Christian	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	0	1	100%			0		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Systematic	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	15	17	12%			0		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
History of Chr.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6	19	25	24%	8	32	40	20%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Hist. Of Doctrine	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	3	4	25%			0		n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Missions	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	13	0	13	100%	1	1	2	50%	19	83	102	19%
English Bible	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	29	31	60	48%	2	16	18	11%	46	41	87	53%
Hebrew	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	34	39	13%	6	35	41	15%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Prelim. Theol.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	7	9	22%

Table 19 (con't) - Summary of Course Enrolment, McMaster University, 1917-26

Summary	1917/18					1921/22				
	Women	Men	Total	% Women	% Total Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women	% Total Women
Arts	203	166	369	55%	66%	473	685	1158	41%	75%
Science	103	179	282	37%	34%	84	284	368	23%	13%
Theology	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	76	169	245	31%	12%
Total	306	345	651	47%	100%	633	1138	1771	36%	100%

Summary	1924/25					1925/26				
	Women	Men	Total	% Women	% Total Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women	% Total Women
Arts	844	1424	2268	37%	67%	1421	825	2246	63%	59%
Science	338	461	799	42%	27%	686	507	1193	58%	28%
Theology	84	101	185	45%	7%	303	303	606	50%	13%
Total	1266	1986	3252	39%	100%	2410	1635	4045	60%	100%

Compiled from Chancellor's Reports, McMaster University, BA.

Table 20 - Queen's University, Course Enrolment and Professional Goals

Women's and Men's Enrolment in Arts & Science Courses (includes intra-mural [fulltime], all levels)								
Courses	1912-13				1913-14			
	Women	Men	Total	% Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women
Latin	119	153	272	44%	105	168	273	38%
Greek	7	64	71	10%	16	65	81	20%
English	203	287	490	41%	228	446	674	34%
French	133	149	282	47%	131	149	280	47%
German	47	68	115	41%	131	34	165	79%
Hebrew	0	17	17	0%	0	24	24	0%
Philosophy	68	133	201	34%	60	122	182	33%
History	113	123	236	48%	101	112	213	47%
Political & Econ. Science	35	197	232	15%	25	156	181	14%
Mathematics	67	133	200	34%	56	132	188	30%
Chemistry	12	102	114	11%	8	89	97	8%
Physics	16	97	113	14%	18	108	126	14%
Geology	2	27	29	7%	10	30	40	25%
Mineralogy	1	17	18	6%	1	14	15	7%
Animal Biology	48	71	119	40%	42	72	114	37%
Botany	44	37	81	54%	31	42	74	42%

Enrolment of Women Students		
	1925-26	1926-27
English and French	79	87
English and History	58	56
Mathematics and Physics	19	22
Latin and Greek	18	21
French and Spanish	15	26
French and German	12	9
Economics & History	6	10
Chemistry and Biology	12	15
Other less usual combinations	38	36
Bachelor of Commerce	21	27
Undecided	15	27
Total	293	336

Summary	1925/26		1926/27	
	Women	% Total Women	Women	% Total Women
Arts	188	64%	209	62%
Science	31	11%	37	11%
Commerce	21	7%	27	8%
Other	53	18%	63	19%
Total	293	100%	336	100%

Professional Goals of Women Students		
	1925-26	1927-28
Teaching	118	143
Secretarial Work	5	7
Library Work	3	6
Journalism	2	4
Law	1	0
Social Work	1	0
Household Economics	1	5
Business women	0	7
No response	162	0
Total	293	172

Compiled from Queen's University Principal's Reports and Annual Reports.

Table 21 - Registration of Women Students, 1912-13, University College, University of Toronto

Course	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	Total
General Course	35	37	24	28	124
Classics	2	2	3	2	9
English & History	1	3	3	1	8
Classics & English & History	0	1	2	0	3
Moderns	19	12	26	21	78
English & History (Mods.)	18	7	3	9	37
Moderns & English & History	4	1	1	1	7
Modern History	0	0	0	1	1
Philosophy	0	1	2	0	3
Mathematics & Physics	7	4	4	5	20
Science	2	0	0	0	2
Physics	0	0	0	1	1
Biological & Physical Sciences	0	0	1	0	1
Physiological & Biochemical	0	0	1	0	1
Biology	0	0	2	0	2
Household Science	14	4	5	5	28
Physiology & Household Science	0	3	2	0	5
Total	102	75	79	74	330

Summary	Totals	
General Course	124	38%
Arts	146	44%
Sciences	27	8%
Household Sciences	33	10%
Total	330	100%

Source: President's Report, 1912-13, University of Toronto.

Table 22 - University of Toronto courses taken by women in the Arts Colleges, 1908/09 to 1917/18

	1908/09	1909/10	1910/11	1911/12	1912/13	1913/14	1914/15 ^a	1915/16	1916/17	1917/18	Total
General	158	168	172	229	212	262	237	216	226	265	2145
Classics	7	13	6	11	9	11	10	11	10	7	95
Classics, English & History	9	5	10	9	10	5	11	21	15	14	109
Moderns, English & History	65	64	72	67	54	44	83	103	100	87	739
English & History (Cl.)	5	8	5	7	15	11	n/a ^b	-	-	-	51
English & History (Mod.)	57	60	72	53	44	47	-	-	-	-	333
History	-	1	6	3	4	5	5	10	10	18	62
Household Science	26	29	35	38	58	73	60	80	120	138	657
Modern Languages	23	88	99	102	94	86	90	87	73	73	815
Math & Physics	19	19	22	20	26	20	16	20	6 ^c	4	166
Oriental Languages	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Philosophy	5	5	2	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	30
Political Science	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	8
Science (Natural & Physical)	10	10	12	18	10	14	16	16	38 ^c	42	148
Commerce & Finance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Total	386	471	513	560	539	580	531	566	557	659	5362

(a) First year women St. Michael's College students were included in the count.

(b) Most students who had previously taken "English & History (Mod.)," that is with the option

(c) The changes reflected in these figures are due to new students studying mathematics and physics being counted under the heading of Sciences.

Source: Marni DePencier, "Three Sample Topics," (unpublished paper): 56. University Historian, A83-0036/1, UTA.

Table 23 - Registration in Courses in Faculty of Arts (women and men), 1908/09, University of Toronto

1908/09	1st Year			2nd Year			3rd Year			4th Year			Total
	U.C.	V.C.	T.C.	U.C.	V.C.	T.C.	U.C.	V.C.	T.C.	U.C.	V.C.	T.C.	
General	153	67	26	100	38	18	37	17	19	36	18	6	535
Classics	9	4	5	12	6	2	6	1	5	4	3	-	57
Eng. & Hist. (Cl.)	12	7	3	11	4	1	4	2	2	2	1	-	49
Eng. & Hist. (Mod.)	32	21	6	15	7	7	15	-	-	8	5	1	117
Modern Languages	36	20	12	27	12	5	23	7	-	21	10	7	180
Oriental Languages	-	-	-	2	2	-	3	3	-	-	3	-	13
Greek & Hebrew	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	7
Philosophy	-	-	-	12	26	1	14	8	1	8	11	1	82
Philosophy (St. Michael's)	-	-	-	15	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	21
Modern History	-	-	-	6	-	2	3	1	-	4	-	1	17
Political Science	-	-	-	63	12	-	37	7	5	18	6	-	148
Mathematics	17	5	2	22	3	-	10	2	-	6	2	-	69
Physics	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	6
Astronomy & Physics	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	5
Natural Science	35	14	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51
Biol. & Phys. Science	-	-	-	22	9	-	15	3	1	19	7	-	76
Biology	-	-	-	3	-	1	2	2	-	4	-	-	12
Chemistry & Mineral. I	-	-	-	6	3	1	5	2	-	8	2	-	27
Chemistry & Mineral. II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Geology & Mineralogy	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	4
Household Science	8	4	1	2	4	-	2	2	-	1	2	-	26
Commercial Course	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total	309	142	57	323	126	38	183	61	33	146	72	16	1506

Summary

Arts	93	52	26	163	69	18	112	31	13	65	39	10	691
Science	52	19	4	58	15	2	32	11	1	44	13	0	251
Household Science	8	4	1	2	4	0	2	2	0	1	2	0	26
Business/Commerce	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
General	153	67	26	100	38	18	37	17	19	36	18	6	535

Source: President's Report, 1908/09, University of Toronto

Table 24 - Vocational Plan at Entrance, University of Western Ontario, 1922/23

Responses to: "Had you at entrance, any vocational plan?"

	Women	Men	Total	% Total Women
Yes	40	80	120	68%
No	19	19	38	32%

Responses to: "If so, state what you had planned to do."

Engineering	28
Medicine	22
Teaching	18
Law	14
Ministry	7
Business	4
Household Economics	4
Journalism	4
Pharmacy	4
Dietitian	3
Agriculture	3
Chemistry	2
Geology	2
Nursing	2
Chartered Accountant	1
Dentistry	1
Medical Missionary	1
Total	120

Responses to: "Do you plan to continue in the Faculty of Arts?"

	Women	Men	Total	% Total Women
Yes	40	59	99	74%
No	7	34	41	13%
Undecided	7	11	18	13%

Summary of Replies to Vocational Questionnaire, First Year, Arts and Sciences, 1922-23, April 3, 1923. Fox, Box 15, file: Freshmen Supervision.

Table 25 - Enrolment in the M.A. Department, 1925/26 and 1926/27, McMaster University

Department	1925/26				1926/27			
	Women	Men	Total	% Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women
English	2	3	5	40%	2	3	5	40%
French	2	1	3	67%	0	1	1	0%
German	0	1	1	0%	0	1	1	0%
Greek	0	0	0	0%	0	1	1	0%
History	1	6	7	14%	1	7	8	13%
Philosophy	0	0	0	0%	0	1	1	0%
Latin	0	0	0	0%	1	0	1	100%
Political Economy	1	14	15	7%	0	2	2	0%
Education	3	6	9	33%	0	4	4	0%
Religious Education	0	1	1	0%	0	0	0	0%
Sociology	0	1	1	0%	1	1	2	50%
Biology	0	1	1	0%	0	0	0	0%
Geology	0	2	2	0%	0	1	1	0%
Total	9	36	45	20%	5	22	27	19%

Summary	Women	Men	Total	% Women	Women	Men	Total	% Women
Arts	6	26	32	19%	5	17	22	23%
Sciences	0	3	3	0%	0	1	1	0%
Education	3	7	10	30%	0	4	4	0%
Total	9	36	45	20%	5	22	27	19%

Derived from Chancellor's Reports, 1925/26 and 1926/27, BA.

Table 26 - Graduate Degrees Awarded to Women, University of Toronto, 1918-30

Course	1918	1920	1921	1922	1924		1925		1926		1927	1929		1930	
	M.A.	M.A.	M.A.	M.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	M.A.	Ph.D.	M.A.	Ph.D.	M.A.	M.A.	Ph.D.	M.A.	Ph.D.
English	1	1	3	2	6	0	7	0	2	0	4	3	0	5	0
History	1	1	4	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Physics	3	1	0	5	0	0	3	0	1	1	3	1	2	0	0
Chemistry/Biochemistry	1	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
Botany	2	0	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
Romance Lang	0	1	2	0	2	0	8	0	1	0	2	4	0	0	0
Political Science	0	1	0	0	3	0	2	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	0
Astronomy	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Biology	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Geology/Mineralogy	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Food Chemistry	0	1	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0
Bacteriology	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Household Sci.	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	1	3	0	2	0
Classics	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	1
Philosophy	0	0	3	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Ed. Theory	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Physiology	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Math	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
German	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	0
Pathological Chemistry	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hygiene	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Medicine	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Psychology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	7	0
Zymology [branch of biochem.]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
TOTAL	8	11	20	16	31	3	29	2	13	2	18	30	5	25	4

Summary															
Arts	25%	36%	65%	19%	55%	33%	69%	50%	46%	0%	56%	50%	20%	40%	25%
Science	75%	55%	30%	69%	35%	67%	31%	50%	31%	100%	39%	40%	80%	44%	75%
Education	0	0%	5%	6%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	0%
Household Science	0	9%	0%	6%	6%	0%	0%	0%	23%	0%	6%	10%	0%	8%	0%

Compiled from lists from the Office of the Registrar, A73-0051/146, UTA.

Appendix D
Religious Affiliations

Table 27 - Religious Denominations of Students at the University of Toronto and the University of Western Ontario, 1935 (%)

DENOMINATION	Toronto	Western
Anglican	21.6	15.2
Baptist	2.6	4.3
Jewish	7.2	1.9
Lutheran	0.5	2.5
Roman Catholic	14.7	20.2
Presbyterian	11.4	11.7
United Church	32.9	38.4
Protestant	6.4	0.4
Other	2.7	5.4

Source: Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990): 31.

Table 28 - Religious Denominations of Women Students at Annesley Hall and South Hall, Victoria College, 1909-11

DENOMINATION	1909	1911
Methodist	65	70
Presbyterian	12	10
Anglican	4	2
Baptist	0	1
Other	0	1

Compiled from Minutes, Annesley Hall, Committee of Management and VWR&EA Annual Report, VUA.

Table 29 - Religious Affiliations of Students at McMaster University and the University of Western Ontario, 1927-1928

DENOMINATION	McMaster		Western		TOTALS	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Anglican	8	2%	161	17%	169	12%
Apostolic	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Baptist	241	67%	29	3%	402	28%
Brethren	2	1%	0	0%	2	0%
Christian Science	0	0%	2	0%	2	0%
Christian	2	1%	0	0%	1	0%
Church of Christ's Disciples	9	3%	5	1%	14	1%
Congregational	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
C. & M. Alliance	3	1%	0	0%	3	0%
Hebrew	8	2%	11	1%	19	1%
Independent	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%
Latter Day Saints	0	0%	3	0%	3	0%
Lutheran	1	0%	28	3%	28	2%
Methodist	6	2%	3	0%	9	1%
Plymouth Brethren	0	0%	4	0%	4	0%
Presbyterian	22	6%	103	11%	125	9%
Roman Catholic	0	0%	202	21%	202	14%
Salvation Army	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
United Church	47	13%	387	41%	434	30%
Not reported	8	2%	11	1%	19	1%
TOTAL	360	100%	950	100%	1440	100%

Compiled from *Baptist Yearbook* (1928): 159; and "Report, 1927-28," Registrar's Office, University of Western Ontario, p. 8.

Appendix E
Residences

Table 30 - University of Toronto Women's Residences**St. Hilda's College**

1888 - 89	48 Euclid Ave.
1889 - 92	Shaw St. (north of Argyle St.)
1892 - 99	
1899 - 1925	868 [now #790] Queen St. W., (designed for St. Hilda's by Eden Smith, on the grounds of old Trinity College). The Annex built ca. 1911, known also as St. Hilda's Lodge
1925 - 30	99 St. George St. ("Long Garth", purchased from Sir Edmund Walker's estate; built in 1882 for Robert Ramsay Wright, Professor of Biology; torn down in the 1960s for a parking lot)
1927 - 35?	101 St. George St.
1930	111 - 113 St. George St., SHC Women's Residence
1935 - present	St. Hilda's College, located on Devonshire Place
1940 - present	Trinity College men's residence built, attached to the main Trinity College building.

Victoria College

1903 - present	Annesley Hall, at the north-east corner of Queen's Park and Charles St. W. (formerly Czar St.)
1906 -17	South Hall, 75 Queen's Park (formerly John Drynan's residence)
1917 - 20	South Hall converted into student union and residence
1920 - 21	South Hall reverted to residence
1926 - 27	South Hall used as men's residence
1927 - 28	South Hall used as administrative offices
1931	Emmanuel College built on the site of South Hall
1910 - present	Birge-Carnegie Library. South-east corner of Queen's Park and Charles St. W.
1913 - present	Burwash Hall and Victoria Men's Residences, Queen's Park, just east of the main Victoria College building.
1912 - 14	Bloor House, 97 Bloor St. W. (several owners, before and after use as residence, including use as a cake shop in 1930)
1914 - 27	The Annex, 81 Charles St. (rented from F.C. Stephenson)
1922 - 27	The Annex, 79 Charles St. W. (rented from F.C. Stephenson)
1927 - ?	The Annex, 79 - 81 Charles St. W. (also used as a men's residence)
1906 - 18	113 Bloor St. W., owned by Victoria College and, prior to 1906, used as Chancellor Burwash's residence; formerly the residence of Lady Matilda Edgar)
1918 - 39?	Oak Lawn, 113 Bloor St. W., used as a women's residence
1926 - 59?	Wymilwood, 84 Queen's Park (donated by Mr. & Mrs. E.R. Wood for use as a Victoria College Women's Union; also used part of building as a women's residence in 1930)
1930	Waldie House, 127 Bloor St. W.

1959 - present Margaret Addison Hall, Charles St. W.

1959? - present A new Wymilwood built, Charles St. W., just south-east of Annesley Hall

University College

1904 - 30 Queen's Hall, 7 Queen's Park (formerly the Howland residence)

1911 - 30 Queen's Hall, 9 Queen's Park

? - 1930 4 Queen's Park, U.C. Women's Residence

1914 - 16 University of Toronto Faculty Residence, 85 St. George St.

1916 - 30 University College Women's Union, 85 St. George St.

1918 - 23 Argyll House, 100 Queen's Park (1923-30, used as a University of Toronto residence for women medical students; torn down for building of an annex for the Royal Ontario Museum)

1919 - ? Hutton House, 94 St. George St.

1929 - present University College Women's Union, 79 St. George St.

1930 - present Whitney Hall, 85 St. George St.

Loretto Abbey College [Loretto College]

1901 - 12 9 - 31 Wellington Place (college classes began in 1911)

1905 - 12 9 - 33 Wellington Place

1912 - 20 389 - 403 Wellington St. W.

1922 389 - 417 Wellington St. W.

1923 389 - 417 Wellington St. W. and
398 Brunswick Ave. (College and Day School)

1930 - 1937 387 - 389 Brunswick Ave. (College only)

1937 - 1959 86 St. George St.

1959 - present 70 St. Mary St.

St. Joseph's College

1911 - 17 The Convent

1917 - 22 25 Queen's Park

1922 - 23 66 St. Albans St.

1923 - 28 89 Breadalbane St.

1928 - present 29 Queen's Park Cres.

Other Residences

1920 - 30 University of Toronto Women's Residence, 92 - 94 St. George St.

1920s - 30 Wallingford Hall, McMaster University, 95 St. George St.

Table 31 - House Time Table, St. Hilda's College

Week Days		Sundays	
First Bell	7 a.m.	First Bell	8:00 a.m.
Chapel	7:50 a.m.	Prayers	8:50 a.m.
Breakfast	8:00 a.m.	Breakfast	9:00 a.m.
First Lecture	9:00 a.m.	Morning Chapel	11:00 a.m.
Luncheon	1:00 p.m.	Dinner	1:15 p.m.
Dinner	6:30 p.m.	Tea	5:00 p.m.
Chapel	7:00 p.m.	Prayers	5:45 p.m.
Study Bell	8:00 p.m.	Supper	9:00 p.m.
Warning Bell	10:30 p.m.	Warning Bell	10:00 p.m.
Lights Out	11:00 p.m.	Lights Out	10:30 p.m.

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 Matt Lews Controversy c. 1908
 Shields Controversy c. 1921
 Annual Reports

Dean of Arts Reports
The Baptist Yearbook

McMaster Archives and Research Collections

Students - handbooks, reports, incl. Ombudsman; Organizations & clubs; McMaster students' union 1896/97, 1917-27; reports & publications
History 1890-1930
Registrar's Office, Student activities 1926-27
Biography - card index - clippings file; residences
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