THE BAPTIST CONTRIBUTION

TO NINETEENTH CENTURY EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

THE BAPTIST CONTRIBUTION TO NINETEENTH CENTURY EDUCATION FOR WOMEN: AN EXAMINATION OF MOULTON COLLEGE AND MCMASTER UNIVERSITY

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

September 1981

MASTER OF ARTS (1981) McMaster University
(Sociology) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Baptist Contribution to Nineteenth Century Education for Women: An Examination of Moulton College and McMaster University

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SUPERVISOR: Dr. Peta Sheriff

NUMBER OF PAGES: vii, 221

ABSTRACT

In this work nineteenth century developments in education for women are examined within the context of transformations in the Canadian social structure. The admission of women to university education is analyzed not only as part of the limited democratization of the system, but also in terms of the expansion and redefinition of the 'proper sphere' of middle and upper class women. In accounting for why women were allowed access to higher education we present the underlying political and economic realities that shaped the arguments of those involved in the debate and final resolution of the conflict.

The Baptist denomination, despite its small size, lack of general wealth and organizational difficulties, made an important contribution to the development of education in Ontario. Baptist democratic church organization, emphasis on the importance of individual salvation and evangelical orientation combined with other factors to produce a predisposition towards promoting education for girls and women. Specifically, the establishment and continued support of Moulton College and McMaster University constituted a unique achievement in educational endeavour.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to those people who helped me complete my thesis. Many thanks to the members of my committee, Peta Sheriff, Jane Synge and Bruce Curtis for their guidance. Peta's helpful comments, Jane's infectious enthusiasm and Bruce's insightful suggestions were much appreciated.

I would also like to thank my undergraduate teachers, especially Patricia Connelly, for encouraging my initial academic endeavours.

I am indebted to my family for their constant support, in particular my parents who by urging me to pursue my own goals, think independently, and value knowledge for its own sake, fostered my desire to continue my studies.

Many thanks to my women friends, Donna, Joan, Joanna, Maggie and Marie who each in their own special way helped me survive the M.A.'ordeal'.

I would also like to acknowledge the friendly and helpful staff of the Canadian Baptist Archives who made the process of historical data collection so enjoyable. In addition, the Individual Student Files made available through the Registrar's office were of great assistance.

Maggie Fischbuch must be commended for an excellent and speedy typing job.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This work deals with the development of education for women in nineteenth century Ontario. We are interested in examining both denominational ladies' colleges and degree-granting co-educational universities, the two common forms of 'advanced' education for middle and upper class women during this time. These forms are not analyzed as separate phenomena but rather are seen as part of a continuum of educational change.

The term 'higher education' as it is ordinarily defined cannot adequately be applied to both types of education. Our preliminary research however, pointed to the importance of the nineteenth century ladies' college in providing a type of advanced education for young women long before their entrance to universities. Specifically in terms of the Baptist educational effort, Moulton College and McMaster University were linked by both formal and informal ties, providing continuity in female education.

Ladies' colleges and co-educational universities were essentially products of two eras which, although they may have overlapped to a certain extent, provided different types of instruction for women. As our analysis progresses the

historical development and resulting variations in emphasis in these institutions will become apparent. Although universities came to offer 'higher education' as popularly defined, the nineteenth century ladies' college also provided an 'advanced' education in the classics and literary attainments. The main differences between the two stemmed from the organizational character of the institutions and the class background of the clientele served.

An examination of the development of the Ontario system of education necessarily covers a broad period of time. During the nineteenth century, major changes took place in the Canadian economic structure and political organization. These transformations provide insight into the changing nature of the university and the move from denominational to state control. The process towards the 'democratization' of higher education is essential in accounting for the entrance of middle class women (and men) to the institution. The last quarter of the nineteenth century will be our focus as this period saw the intensification of capitalist production, the urbanization of the Canadian population and the proliferation of reform in many areas. During the 1870s and 1880s, debate sharpened over the suitability of higher education for women and their entrance to co-educational institutions. The 'sphere' of middle and upper class women was broadened in these years to include some access to the public domain. The underlying motivation

of these transitions will be examined in this work.

Theoretical Issues in the Analysis of Educational Reform

Educational development and social change cannot adequately be viewed as solely the outcome of a process of domination and control. Overly mechanistic theoretical constructs which view transformation as an exercise in class hegemony place inordinate emphasis on the power of one class to shape history.[1] From such a perspective, the capitalist class is not subject to the structure of social relations which limits its action (as well as that of other classes in society). As Marx pointed out, all people are conscious, active agents in history who are, at the same time, limited by an objective structure of relations:

> Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas etc.- real active men, as they are conditioned by a definite development of their productive forces and of the intercourse corresponding to these...[2]

Every class in society is limited in different ways by these structures. To see the capitalist class as the only active agent in society which is above such restraints negates the importance of resistance and political action and removes fundamental social change from the realm of the possible.

The expression of power and class struggle in civil society is found in the development of the State. The material life of individuals, the mode of production and relations of production mutually determine each other, and, accord-

ing to Marx form the real basis of the State.[3] Idealists perceive the State, "as an individual entity that possesses its own intellectual, moral and free basis".[4] In our analysis however, the State cannot be understood as external to the mode of production as it is a product of the organization of existing society.

It is therefore essential to examine the role of the State in the organization of education:

> Since the State is the form in which the individuals of a ruling class assert their common interests, and in which the whole civil society of an epoch is epitomized, it follows that the State mediates in the formation of all common institutions and that the institutions receive a political form.[5]

In this work, specifically in Chapter Two, we will be concerned with the role of the State in the organization of classes through university educational reform in nineteenth century Canada.

The system of education is shaped by the social conditions of the historical period under examination. In capitalism, education became a form of consumption, 'distributed' as a consequence of the conditions of production which, "rest on the fact that the material conditions of production are in the hands of the non-workers in the form of property in capital and land, while the masses are only owners of the personal condition of production: viz., labour power".[6] Education cannot therefore be equal for all classes. Democracy is a form of State organization, "but this democracy

is always restricted by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains, in reality, a democracy for the minority..."[7]

The social welfare or 'liberal' approach sees the problem of consumption as one of unequal distribution without inquiring as to the real source of the inequity. Socio-political reform and educational democratization are viewed as involving the extension of formal privileges to certain groups in order to promote 'equal' access to what comes to be seen as basic educational right and/or avenue of social mobility. Emphasis should rather be placed on the role various forms of consumption (i.e. education) play in facilitating capitalist relations, reproducing class structure and contributing to the expansion of capital. In our analysis we examine the beginning stages of capitalist development in Canada and the evolving university system of education.

In a strict Marxist sense, struggle for the 'illusory' extension of democratic rights does not constitute revolutionary change. Real democracy would be achieved by proceeding beyond the formal granting of equality through a change in the ownership of the means of production and transformation therefore in the organization of society. The idealist approach stresses the role of ideas in the alteration of material condition. In terms of the entrance of women to the halls of higher learning, changing conceptions of "women's

sphere" are held to explain this victory for 'equal rights'. One particular aspect in the development of the liberal-democracy, the creation of new channels of mobility via education is examined. The upwardly mobile individual or group, regardless of class affiliation are perceived as examples of progress. This approach does not account for the nature of university reform for, as we shall see, access to the university was limited to a certain class of women and effectively excluded the women and men from the working class.

We begin from the assumption that the process of history is one in which all individuals have a vital role. As Marx points out:

> History does nothing; it does not possess immense riches; it does not fight battles: It is men, real, living men who do all this... It is not 'history' which uses men as a means of achieving - as if it were an individual person...History is nothing but the activity of men in pursuit of their ends.[8]

Although individual action is limited by certain objective structures, individuals are active, conscious agents in history. In contrast to an idealist analysis which begins with the idea or consciousness and builds history from this, our examination of university reform views ideas as interwoven with the material condition of individuals in society.

Religious principles, reformist ideas or educational philosophies must be studied in terms of the social relationships in which they are imbedded. One's social circumstances

modify one's perceptions and ideas. As Mannheim noted:

> Thus it is not men in general who think or even isolated individuals who do the thinking but men in certain groups who have developed a particular style of thought in an endless series of responses to certain typical situations characterizing their common position.[9]

In analyzing the religious beliefs and educational philosophy of the Baptist denomination, we are concerned with their position in the developing nineteenth century social structure.[10]

From this perspective the economy and education do not stand in a direct causal relationship. Education can never be simply a reflection of the economy but operates in a dialectical association in which the mode of production provides the sphere of potentiality for the intricate relationship between the economy, political development and ideology. We therefore take into account the growth of the political and economic structures in Canada as they provided the parameters for educational transformation.

As we shall see in Chapter Two, for a great deal of the nineteenth century the Church of England, tied to the imperial government and having access to extensive land holding and wealth, was a powerful institution. During the early period of university development the function of instruction was not to impart specific skills that would later be valuable under a different set of social relationships. Rather, university education (as well as other levels of

instruction), focused on inculcating a predisposition towards the acceptance of the British way of life. The emphasis was on the fusion of education and religion, as an examination of the philosophies of such educators as John Strachan and Egerton Ryerson indicates. Emile Durkheim noted the bond that existed between education and religious belief and expressed moral education as involving two attributes; discipline (i.e., self-regulation), and attachment to the social group:

> Moral discipline...performs an important function in forming character and personality in general. In fact, the most essential element of character is this capacity for restraint...which allows us to curtail our passions, our desires, our habits and subject them to law.[11]

This was precisely the nature of early university education and ladies' college instruction under denominational control. In maintaining their 'voluntarist' position the Baptists retained control over their institutions for a longer period of time than others and therefore could continue the type of moral education that was of most benefit for the continuance of their denomination.[12] During the transition of the social order towards capitalist organization, the State assumed increasing control over the system of education. The basis of those functions of the university that today we associate with modern society were being laid during this period.

The members of the Baptist denomination were small

in numbers, rural in population and outlook and, as evangelists were on the fringe of the community during most of the nineteenth century, unlike the powerful Anglican and influential Methodist denominations. The Baptists felt threatened in their position and were keenly interested in increasing their size and impact on Canadian affairs. The Baptist emphasis on democratic church organization led to a concern with literacy and eventually, with providing university level education for the training of ministers and leaders to exert Christian influence on the world. Baptists were interested in unifying their church in the face of opposition and diversity and realized the importance of socializing their youth (both female and male) in the beliefs of the denomination. As has been noted:

> ...Historically, the primary concern of all religious institutions has been to try to mould committed members. This concern has always been of fundamental importance because continued existence and growth generally have depended on how well these institutions have succeeded in socializing their members.[13]

The youth of both sexes were seen as future members of the denomination. Formal education played an important part in the process of Baptist denominational development. The Baptists' unique efforts in the education of women stemmed from their various principles, the most important of which will be examined in Chapter Four.

Class Affiliation and Sexual Inequality

Defining part of the problem under study as the entrance of 'women' to university education consolidates all females into one social category. This is a misleading way of thinking about the problem. An analysis that integrates all women into society as one unit assumes that women of different classes share the same reality. This assumption does not hold true in capitalist society nor does it apply to the participation of women in various forms of 'advanced' education in nineteenth century Canada.

Just as viewing history as a process of class domination and control is an inadequate approach, so too is seeing historical development as an outcome of the oppression of women by men. In capitalist society all males do not own the means of production while all females work for them. However in capitalist society most male and female adults work for some males (and perhaps a very few females) not by virtues of their sex but rather because of their relation to the means of production. In the capitalist stage of development the labour power of both men and women becomes appropriated by the capitalist. The oppression of women by virtue of their sex caste is not unique to capitalism but does take on various forms according to the historical context in Capitalist development.

Bourgeois women should therefore be differentiated from working class women. In late nineteenth century Canada

while female members of the upper class were oppressed, comparatively few were exploited (in Marxist terms) in the productive process. As capitalism developed in the latter decades of the century, working class women (and men) were drawn into factory and other forms of wage labour. Most middle and upper class women were cut off from production and were economically dependent on men. Although they did not have economic power, strictly defined, they were because of their class position materially better off than their working class counterparts and also had access to certain privileges (i.e., higher education) that were denied to members of other classes. As one researcher has noted, "However, relative to other participants in the situation, because of their access to power resources, members of the upper class have a greater opportunity to exercise some measure of free will".[14]

Upper class women shared the general interest of their class but they also had a short term interest in abolishing the isolation and oppression in their lives which derived from their sexual status. In the short run this caused conflict within the bourgeoisie, as no class is totally homogeneous and short term interests in sexual equality conflicted with upper class idealization of the female role. Because of these contradictions in the combination of sex caste and class concerns, access of these women to co-educational universities was a process of diverse elements.

The entrance of these women to degree granting co-educational institutions was to a certain extent part of the general movement of university reform. Changes in higher education in the late nineteenth century however constituted at best a limited democratization. Working class women and men (and a fair number of the middle class) were effectively excluded from the university. Tuition fees and entrance educational requirements (along with more informal proscriptions) made university education inaccessible to all but the very few. Even the bourgeois women who entered these institutions were subject to a number of restrictions related to curriculum and behaviour which limited their participation in campus life. Their acceptance into co-educational universities and the continued existence of ladies' colleges served to consolidate the power of the wealthier classes by differentiating them from the general population and by providing an institutional framework for intra-class interaction.

In particular, the social function of ladies' colleges stemmed from the differently defined sphere of influence of Victorian women and men, in combination with the idealized version of femininity. Secluded boarding schools promoted the internalization of norms and behaviour appropriate for their students as "ladies" of the privileged class, as will become apparent in Chapter Three. In the particular case of the Baptist sect these concerns in the education of

women meshed with their interests as a denomination.

In our analysis of the movement of university reform we will argue that the entrance of women to co-educational institutions was possible because this reform did not seriously call into question the underlying structures of class or sex relations which were characteristic of late nineteenth century Canadian capitalism. However, the limited or secondary nature of this struggle within democratic society for self-determination does not negate the fact that reformers were genuinely interested in improving the status of some women in society and that they accomplished their objective.

In Chapter Four we present the results of our primary data analysis, dealing with the pioneering female students at McMaster University as well as those students attending Moulton College during a similar time period. Our data base is small and is therefore illustrative and symbolic rather than representative in nature. At Moulton College from 1889-1906 only 94 girls graduated. Practical problems related to historical data collection made acquisition of information difficult. Extensive research however, yielded a variety of interesting anecdotal sources and statistics concerning enrollment patterns, religious affiliation and changes in curriculum. Moulton College gave its students the prerequisites, motivation and ease of entry (if desired) to higher education at McMaster University.

Our initial analysis of female students at McMaster

covered the first twenty years of its operation (from 1890-1909 approximately), to isolate general patterns as a preliminary for a more intensive examination of female graduates. After the first twenty year period, the university became more popular and expanded the scope of its operation. Information on students thus became more detailed than that available during the true pioneering stage of McMaster's development. We decided that in-depth analysis of a later period would confuse the two types of data and would detract from our concern with the period of earlist developments in attendance patterns and informal as well as formal activities of the students.

Our main analysis constitutes an examination of the first decade of McMaster women graduates (1894-1904). We confined our study to graduates as opposed to all female students who attended during these years, as those women who graduated formed a continuum of achievement and made the construction of individual biographies most relevant and possible. Again, the small numbers of graduates (36) indicate trends which cannot be readily generalized to the population of female university students in Ontario during this period of history. In many ways, as we shall see, the experiences of women at McMaster were uniquely related to the Baptist character of the institution.

The first decade graduates were the real leaders in the history of higher education for women. We are also

however, interested in the general theme of the democratization of the university system. In this regard we collected and analyzed available information on the class background of female students attending McMaster between 1909-1919. Our findings, presented in Appendix 'D', point to the 'opening' of this institution to include more students from farming or middle class families.

It is hoped that the data and interpretation presented in Chapter Four will provide an indication of the unique experiences of women in the 'male-defined' world of the late nineteenth century University.

Conclusion

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century middle and upper class women entered co-educational universities. This phenomenon was a complex process which cannot be seen as an isolated event but must be examined as part of the 'democratization of education', within the context of the developing nineteenth century Canadian social structure. Women involved in higher education were influenced by class background but they were also subject to a structure of relations as women in a male defined world. The interaction between class affiliation and sex role in particular historical contexts will provide insight into the issue of female educational reform. These considerations must be combined with religious emphases when the special case of Baptist

endeavours in female education is examined in Chapter Four.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Diane Ravitch, The Revisionists Revised (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1977), for a critique of the radical perspective on educational reform.

2. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology (New York: International Publishers, 1978) p. 47. See also, Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970) p. 20.

3. Ibid., p. 106.

4. Karl Marx, Critique of the Gotha Programme (New York: International Publishers, 1972) p. 17.

5. Op. cit., p. 30.

6. Op. cit., p. 10.

7. Ibid., p. 73.

8. T. B. Bottomore and M. Rubel, Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy (England: C.A. Watts and Co., Ltd, 1961) p. 243.

9. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1936) p. 3.

10. As we shall see in Chapter Four, urbanization trends and changes in class structure influenced the educational goals of the expanding Baptist denomination.

11. Emile Durkheim, Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education (New York: The Free Press, 1961) p. 46.

12. The term 'voluntarism' refers to the practice of financing educational endeavour by voluntary contributions from within the denomination.

13. J. Denys, "Commitment Through Education: A Study of Religious Socialization in Separate Schooling", Education, Change and Society, R. Carlton, L. Colley and N. MacKinnon (eds) (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1977) p. 211.

14. Ann Doris Duffy, Upper Class Women: Power, Class and Sex Caste in New York City, 1880-1920. (Unpublished PhD thesis - McMaster University, 1979) p. 58.

CHAPTER TWO

HIGHER EDUCATION AND NINETEENTH CENTURY POLITICAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

An examination of nineteenth century social structure is of importance as it was during this period in Canadian history that the basis of the present day social order was laid. The contemporary university system of education was also developed at this time. This chapter explores the various conflicts surrounding these processes in order to show the transformation in educational direction and control from that of the religious denominations to that of the State. Denominational conflict at mid-century culminated over the university endowment. The University Question combined political, economic and religious aspects of church-state relations in a single problem.

Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians were involved in the controversy, however it was the Baptist denomination that held the most unique position during the debate. Their emphasis on the separation of church and state in educational affairs contributed to political debate and the development of university reform in the nineteenth century. As we shall most clearly see in Chapter Four, their democratic church organization precipitated concern with the education of

women. In general, transformation towards increasing economic development in the latter decades of the century resulted in the 'democratization' of the university system of education; a process which involved the entrance of middle class women.

Early Nineteenth Century Social Organization in Upper Canada

The Constitutional Act of 1791 split the colony of Quebec into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada and endowed each with its own representative assembly. This act had an effect on the development of the political structure and educational system in Upper Canada which can best be assessed with reference to the composition and structure of society at the time.

The population of Upper Canada has been estimated at having been between 60,000 and 80,000 in 1812.[1] The majority of those were of British or United Empire Loyalist origin and were primarily engaged in agrarian activity. Leo Johnson has characterized this stage in the development of the Canadian political economy as 'toiler' or natural production.[2] The nexus of economic activity was the small rural village with local markets and a barter system of exchange. The basic unit of production was the household in which the contribution of every member was of vital importance. Female members of the household tended the garden, looked after livestock, picked and preserved fruits and vegetables, cooked, cleaned and made clothing. The males generally took responsibility

for building shelter and completing the heavier farm chores. With this division of labour, the household constituted a self-sufficient unit of production.

The main preoccupation of the settler during this period was to clear the land and begin farming. The situation was made difficult by the fact that the settlers were isolated by geography, climatic conditions and poor transportation and communication. Understandably because of the concern with basic subsistence not a great deal of attention was given by the majority of the population to politics or education. It has been argued and illustrated that as the economic base of Canadian society developed, those emerging classes most affected became increasingly involved in the political affairs of the colony.[3]

Historians generally agree that the group of landowners religious leaders and members of the colonial aristocracy, mainly of British origin and designated as the 'Family Compact', were very powerful in Upper Canada.[4] They formed the largest portion of the membership of the major decision making bodies at the time; the Executive and Legislative Councils. They derived their power from their extensive land holdings and their ties to Great Britain, and also had investments in Chartered Banks, Trust Companies, building projects and other lucrative concerns.[5] These men were also well educated in comparison to the general population and

had a definite class interest in the shape that the political, economic and educational organizations of Upper Canada were to assume.

The Constitutional Act gave the Governor (who was appointed by the Crown) the power to appoint the colony's holders of office and thus supported the dominance of a small group of people in the affairs of governance. The Governor was required to consult his Council and act on its advice only in terms of a few minor questions of policy. On most matters, the advice of the council could be ignored. The actual separation of power between the nominated (Councils) and elected (Assembly) branches of government however, invited and provided a setting for future conflict over various issues of concern to the general population.

The Constitutional Act also set apart one-seventh of all the settled land in Upper Canada for the Protestant clergy and one-seventh for the purposes of the Crown. The rest of the territory was designated 'waste land of the Crown'. These extensive land reserves barred economic progress in Upper Canada and therefore played an important role in aggravating unrest.[6] They also served as the focus for intense confrontation in the development of the university system in Upper Canada.

Early Educational Controversy in Upper Canada

The first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada was John

Graves Simcoe. He expressed from the beginning of his office in the colony a concern with maintaining loyalty to the British crown. Among his basic interests (populating the area and developing the land), was that of establishing a school system which would educate the population and inculcate pro-British values thereby strengthening colonial rule. To this effect he wrote, "Schools have been shamefully neglected; a college of a higher class would be eminently useful and would give a tone of principle and manners that would be of infinite support to the Government".[7] He was however, primarily concerned at the outset with the education of the upper classes and, as for the education of the 'people of the lower degree', he wrote, "it would cost less and for the time being might be provided by their connections and relations and more remotely by land allotted for the purpose".[8] Simcoe pressed for a form of higher education with Henry Dundas who at the time was Secretary of State for the colonies. In a letter to Dundas, Simcoe proposed that two schoolmasters be provided at Kingston and Niagara at £100 per annum, and a university founded at the capital, the principal and professors of which should be Church of England clergymen.[9] Simcoe was also eager to have university education available in Canada so that the young men of the affluent class would not have to go to the United States and thus be exposed to 'dangerous' republican tendencies.[10]

The British government agreed that a necessity existed in the colony for a system of education. The Upper Canadian Executive Council devised a report suggesting how this was to be accomplished, which was quickly approved. Five hundred thousand acres of the waste lands of the crown were to be used for supporting four Grammar schools and a university to be established at York. When Governor Simcoe was recalled to England however, the university project was temporarily postponed.

In reality, the Grammar schools that were eventually instituted served very few people as they were accessible only to those who lived within the town in which they were located or to those who could afford the time and money to send their sons away from home to board with the masters. As well, the classical nature of grammar schools made them irrelevant to those people not destined for a profession or 'leadership' in colonial affairs. The exclusive nature of grammar schools was further compounded with the establishment of universities, for which they acted as preparatory organizations.

In 1799 John Strachan came to Canada from Scotland for the purpose of taking charge of a college or university. He was to have a great influence on the direction of educational development in the colony by virtue of his powerful connections in the church and government. In 1812 he was granted an honorary seat in the Executive Council, which became a

regular appointment in 1817. In 1820 he was made a member of the Legislative Council and was appointed President of the Board of General Superintendency of Education in 1823. He also became the first bishop of Toronto.

The marriage of religion and education during this period in Canadian history was exemplified by the emphasis placed by Strachan on the necessity of moral and imperialistic education in the colony. In 1826 Strachan wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Maitland concerning the importance of a university for Upper Canada. He wanted to establish an institution, "by which the youth now growing up in the colony may have an opportunity of finishing their education under teachers of approved ability and tried attachment to the Parent State and Established Church".[11] He was commissioned by the Lieutenant-Governor to go to England to request a royal charter for a university. His return from England signalled the outbreak of a controversy which lasted for two decades, delayed the founding of a university and had lasting repercussions for the structure that the university system was to take in Upper Canada.

The proposed institution of higher learning was intended by Strachan to be a missionary college of the Church of England. It was not surprising then, that the royal charter designated the Archdeacon of York (Strachan) as President and that subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England was to be required from the future pro-

fessors of the University. Furthermore, the proposed College Council was to be filled with members of the 'Family Compact'.[12] The sectarian nature and elitist organization of the proposed university sparked opposition on many fronts.

As previously stated, the Constitutional Act provided land for the clergy as well as the crown. The revenue from the land holdings was placed in the hands of the Church of England which claimed to be the 'Established Church' in the colony. The ambiguous nature of the Act's reference to the clergy left room for opposition and debate over the endowment by other Protestant denominations. Although figures for this period are not readily available it would seem from estimates that the majority of the population were not of the Anglican faith.[13] In fact the largest sect was the Methodist. It is not surprising therefore that conflict ensued (primarily in the form of petitions to the legislative assembly at this time) over the inequitable appropriation of the endowment and the principles upon which the university was to be based.

John Colbourne was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1828. Part of Colbourne's plan to mediate in the dispute was to effect a reconciliation of opposing forces by establishing Upper Canada College. This scheme contemplated the organization of King's College as the university with Upper Canada College affiliated to it, and under the College Council's management and control. Upper Canada College, a superior Grammar school that offered a classical education to young

gentlemen in York and the surrounding area was opened in 1830. It was essentially an academy, under Church of England influence, designed for the male children of the colonial aristocracy and was not intended to meet the needs of the general population. One of the most vocal opponents to this college was William Lyon McKenzie, a member of the Assembly and editor of the Colonial Advocate. According to McKenzie, Upper Canada College was conducted on a "narrow, bigoted and sectarian plan".[14] The establishment of this grammar school and the nature of the proposed King's College attested to the fact that providing higher education for the male members of the ruling class was viewed as a priority while schooling for the mass of the population was left to the individual or community.

In 1826, by a vote of 31 to 2 the Assembly took the stand that was never given up by the reformers until the issue was settled; that the clergy reserves should be sold and devoted to the promotion of general education. In 1834 the reform party was elected to the House with a majority. The Legislative Council, arguing that the university should have a religious base, rejected a bill that would have had the effect of removing King's College from denomination control and placing it under the jurisdiction of the government. The concern was also expressed that a government controlled university would be subject to 'political influence'.[15] During the 1830s intense debate took place over

the issue of higher education. Attempts to change the nature of the university were repeatedly thwarted by those who worried that reform would put an end to the strictly elitist and religiously based type of higher education that suited their purposes.

The reformers represented the small farmers and businessmen among the population. The movement was prompted by genuine concern for the acquisition of democratic institutions. In Upper Canada, this did not lead to complete political independence as the colony still retained the tie to Great Britain. The rebellion of 1837 was prompted by a combination of factors; a certain amount of desire for political progress, the existence of real defects in the administrative body of government and the aggravation caused by the monopoly of power held in the hands of a minority in the Province.[16] The state of education in the colony was just one of the reformers' complaints. Much research has been done on the issues and groups that were involved in the uprisings of 1837. However one interprets these events, the immediate effects for the system of education were clear.[17] Only minor changes were incorporated in the charter of King's College. Some of the more stringent clauses were questioned and dropped. In 1837 the Legislative Council agreed to a change in the charter leaving the presidency open to appointment by the King and required of the faculty and members of the College Council only a declaration of a belief in the "authenticity and divine

inspiration of the Old and New Testament and in the Doctrine of the Trinity",[18] and that the judges of the Court of the King's Bench would be visitors (rather than the Bishop).[19] John Strachan however, remained President and the majority of the members of the Council were Anglican. The rebellion did not serve to change the exclusive nature of the proposed university. As Lord Durham pointed out in his report:

> Of the lands which were originally appropriated for the support of the schools throughout the country, by far the most valuable has been diverted to the endowment of the University, from which those only derive any benefit who reside in Toronto, or those who, having a large assured income, are able to maintain their children in that town at an expense.[20]

Upper Canada at Mid-Century: Education and the Changing Socio-Economic Order

During the middle decades of the nineteenth century the political-economic structure was undergoing a process of change which had consequences for the nature and form of the system of higher education. Natural production was slowly developing into an organization of production which would form the basis for the growth of capitalism. The self-contained rural economy was being transformed into a system of production and exchange. Small scale production was giving way to forms of co-operative labour carried on by a number of

craftsmen, still working primarily by hand but organized under one roof. This level of development has been called that of independent commodity production.[21]

Three important processes were taking place. First, the change in the British economy from mercantilism to industrial capitalism displaced the British mercantile aristocracy which depended on Canada for grain exports and the growth of the capitalist class in Britain which sought cheaper grain in European markets. In Canada, the Corn Laws, Navigation Acts and the granting of Responsible Government[22] served to replace the colonial aristocracy and members of the 'Family Compact' by a new class whose activities were characterized by financial and commercial activity. At the same time, Ontario's manufacturing sector was expanding and the number of factories that engaged in flour milling, brewing and distilling increased. Second, farmers were accumulating capital in the form of cleared land, livestock and buildings. Third, by the 1850s immigration and the price of land combined to provide a growing working class in the cities. Due to the lack of cheap available land (which was for the most part held by wealthy speculators), immigrants were forced to sell their labour power in the marketplace.[23] This "made possible the rise of a well-stocked and versatile labour market capable of producing goods and services in variety and volume and at the same time the local mass market required to consume them".[24]

Developments in the economy were coincidental with educational reform during this period. The years 1830-1860 were characterized by rapid expansion and demand for increased educational facilities and teachers, in response to the growing population. Prior to the 'Ryerson Era' in Canada, education consisted of a combination of public and private, formal and informal schooling. Some classes were held in private homes (with both men and women as teachers) and this provided a form of elementary education. A fair amount of this type of instruction took place. There is evidence of at least 58 such schools having existed in Toronto alone between 1815 and 1846.[25] Such education was hampered by the harvest, holidays, road conditions and the weather. Various private and/or religious groups sponsored limited education for the poor and Sunday schools also provided a rudimentary form of education to a large number of people.

Some parents in rural areas also initiated common schools which were usually one room schoolhouses built by the community and taught by teachers the parents hired. Parents wanted little more than reading and writing for their children as their labour or presence was often required at home. Most of the earlier settlers were too busy establishing and maintaining themselves to spend time and resources on the advanced education of their children.

Much of the voluntarism that had characterized early nineteenth century education gradually began to disappear.

Egerton Ryerson was appointed Superintendent of Education in 1846. The Common School Acts of 1846, 1847, and 1850 (which he did a great deal to promote) promised education 'as free as the air' and as the right of all men. Elementary education was slowly moving out of the household. The centralization of the school system in the province had begun and as the century advanced education became increasingly hierarchically organized and bureaucratized. Common schools virtually became open to all classes but the reality of grammar schools as preparatory schools for the upper class remained. 'Higher education' for the lower classes was provided by the Toronto Mechanics' Institute which was founded in 1853. It was intended for the education of adults along specific lines of skilled trades and was financed and supported by the members of the business class.[26]

As an educational promoter and, later, Superintendent of Education, Egerton Ryerson, influenced by class background and religious commitment, had a considerable amount of impact on the shape education assumed in Upper Canada. His educational ideas and policy stands cannot blatantly be ascribed to all Methodists as this denomination was not a homogeneous group. Ryerson had a perspective on education, however, that was similar to and representative of the educators of the day. He advocated loyalty to the Imperial government and a high level of morality among the population. In his address at the opening of Upper Canada Academy in 1841 he ex-

plicitly stated his idea of education:

> The object of education, rightly understood is first to make good men - good members of universal society; secondly to fit them for usefulness to that particular society of which they constitute an integral fact - to form their principles and habits - to develop their talents and dispositions in such a way as will be most servicable to the institutions in which they dwell.[27]

Ryerson envisaged an educational system that would shape human energy towards self-regulation and fit members of society with the principles to enable them to be productive, and moral.

Perhaps most importantly he believed in the unity of education and religion especially in the consideration of higher education which exposed those at a vulnerable age to temptation without parental supervision:

> Colleges under religious control may fall short of their duty and their power of religious and moral influence; but they must be as a general rule vastly better and safer than a college of no religious control or character at all...It is not the sect it is the society at large that most profits by the high religious principles and character of its educated men. An efficient religious college must confer a much greater benefit upon the State than a non-religious college can, and must be more the benefactor of the State than the State can be to it by bestowing any ordinary amount of endowment.[28]

Discipline and conformity to the moral order was enforced by religious education. It is clear that the cultivation of well regulated habits and 'correct' principles would be the

source of harmony and stability and therefore of great benefit to the emerging Canadian state.[29]

Denominational Conflict, the University Question and Educational Reform

In general, the 1840s saw population expansion, the beginnings of urbanization and the spread of education. The following table gives a rough indication of the religious affiliation of the population:

Table One

Religious Affiliation of Upper Canadians, 1851

Denominations	#	% of total
Church of England (Anglican)	223,190	23.4
Church of Scotland	57,542	6.0
Methodist *	207,656	21.8
Presbyterian	146,606	15.4
Baptist	45,353	4.8
Roman Catholic	167,695	17.6
TOTAL	952,004	100.0

* includes Episcopal, Wesleyan and New Connexion Methodists

SOURCE: Census of the Canadas, 1851.

As can be seen, in comparison to other Protestant denominations combined, the Church of England was not in the majority.

The Baptists were clearly the smallest group, vastly overshadowed by nearly all other denominations.

By mid century there existed several institutions of higher education under denominational control.[30] Distrust and dislike of Upper Canada College prompted the Methodist church, supported by Egerton Ryerson, to establish their own seminary of learning for both lay and clerical students. In 1836 Upper Canada Academy received a royal charter, was granted a portion of the clergy reserves and opened in Coburg. By 1841 it was incorporated as Victoria University.[31] Also in that year the Presbyterians established Queen's college (now Queen's University) at Kingston for the higher educational requirements of their youth. Smaller denominations also ventured into the field of education at this time.[32] Few of these institutions had adequate support and almost all were in competition with each other. The struggle of these religious groups had culminated over the financial problems engendered by the government's refusal to endow denominational institutions other than those founded by the 'Established Church'.[33] The struggle, which intensified in the ten year period between 1843 and 1853, was an indication of the underlying changes taking place in the class structure and organization of production at the time. Fundamental changes were made in the structure of King's College during this time. The events leading up to secularization will be

briefly examined here. Secularization marked the separation of church and state and the beginning of transition towards enlarged state control towards the end of the century.

Three possible resolutions to the conflict over the clergy reserves were debated. John Strachan and his supporters favoured the whole endowment being claimed by the Church of England. Egerton Ryerson and some of the other denominational educators favoured equitable distribution of the endowment among the denominations. The reformers and denominations who favoured the complete separation of church and state in educational endeavours advised selling the land and devoting the proceeds to the development of a popular educational system.

Among these groups were the Baptists, who in spite of their size (4.8% of the population) were becoming more conscious of themselves as a denomination of increasing strength.[34] The desire of the Church of England to monopolize the revenue from the land reserves was feared as the first step in the establishment of a State church.[35] The Baptists believed that their religious liberty was being threatened. The negative effects that the clergy reserves had on land settlement and provincial development were felt by the Baptists who lived primarily in the rural areas of the Province. The Baptists rejected the claim of the Church of England to be the established church in Upper Canada. Individual Baptists did not take part in the framing of educational reform

legislation during the 1840s and 50s. Their agitation took place outside of the actual government apparatus, in the form of public meetings and petitions.

The Baptists did not have a vocal leader (a 'Strachan' or a 'Ryerson') to represent their interests. A powerful 'head of the church' was not possible given the Baptists emphasis on democracy in church affairs. As a denomination, they advocated the unity of ministry and laity and thus, unlike the Church of England, an institutionalized hierarchy did not exist. As we shall see, this principle had important consequences for the development of Baptist education. The stated Baptist position therefore, on various political and educational issues was more likely to be representative of the majority of their membership, unlike similar pronouncements of the Church of England or Methodists denomination.

Although the Baptist denomination was not large and in comparison to the Church of England (which had a large population concentrated in urban areas near the seat of government) was not very powerful, they spoke loudly for religious freedom and equality. They maintained the complete separation of church and State and believed that under no circumstances was acceptance of State funding warranted, especially when such acceptance would be to the detriment of other denominations. Instead the Baptists supported voluntarism; the necessity of each church supporting itself entirely by contributions from its own members.[36] They ad-

vocated free, non-sectarian institutions of education for all classes.[37] In this concern, they were allied with the Reformers.

In 1843 the Baldwin Bill was introduced into Parliament. It proposed that Victoria and Queen's Universities move to Toronto and join with King's thus being able to share in the endowment. The Bill was unsuccessful. Bishop Strachan and the King's College Council were opposed as they feared loss of control over the affairs of the university and a proportion of the endowment. John A. MacDonald's Bill of 1847 proposed that King's college surrender its endowment but retain its site, buildings and charter of 1827. The endowment would be divided among the universities. This Bill was also defeated.

A general election saw the return of the liberals to power under Baldwin. He introduced a measure into Parliament providing for the complete secularization of the university. It was successful.[38] As noted by one historian, "the domination of the High Church party with its spirit of arrogance and social exclusiveness was ended..."[39]. According to the Bill, King's College became the secular University of Toronto on January 1, 1850. The State assumed authority over all decisions including internal regulations and the appointment of faculty. The property of the university was placed under the control of an endowment board that could only make ex-

penditures for the maintenance of the University and Upper Canada College. The faculty of Divinity was abolished and no ecclesiastic was eligible to be chancellor or a member of the senate. Also, no religious test would be required of any officer, teacher or student. In 1853 the Hincks Act divested the University of the work of teaching and relegated it to the affiliated colleges. The university thus became a mere legislative and examining body. University college was created and became the first affiliated college.[40]

Affiliation with the university would have been beneficial for Queen's as it was undergoing financial difficulties however there was a certain amount of disquiet concerning the 'irreligious' nature of the university. Also, the trustees of Queen's feared that moving to Toronto would leave the eastern section of the province without a Protestant university. Egerton Ryerson also opposed the measure. The most vehement reaction however was on the part of Strachan who established Trinity College in 1853. The government did not extend its support to this endeavour as it wished to avoid additional controversy. The older families supported Strachan, however, in hopes of reinstating their position.[41] In spite of the opposition the change in control of the 'Provincial University' was implemented and this event marked the end of the classical type of education under denominational control and the beginning of an education system based on

an emerging socio-economic organization. It also reflected fundamental changes occurring in the membership and objective of the ruling class. The relationship between classes as played out in the institution of higher education was undergoing transition. The new patrons of the university system were state officials and the new men of wealth.[42]

Churches that still desired to control their own educational efforts had to respond to the changes in the function of the university. Curriculum changes and redefinition towards pragmatism meant expensive restructuring. Unless funds were forthcoming from private sources the denominations would be forced to consider state assistance as an alternative to closure.

With the economic downswing of the 1850s, the denominational colleges, upset at what they felt was University of Toronto monopoly of the endowment, made their views heard. In fact, the fund was being mismanaged. For example, in 1858-9, 170 students matriculated from Arts programs in the universities of Ontario. Of these, only 63 were at University College in Toronto, the remaining 107 being graduates of Trinity, Victoria and Queen's. The expenditure of the University of Toronto for this year was 40,000 dollars, more than the other three institutions combined.[43] Furthermore, the undergraduates at University College did not pay tuition and there were more persons employed than students enrolled at the University. The management of University College

was correctly viewed by the other denominations as extravagant and serving the needs of only a minority of the student body of the province. The growing government bureaucracy was becoming suspect.

During this period in university development the system of higher education continued to be the preserve of the upper classes. As the class structure shifted and the capitalist class replaced the colonial aristocracy as the holders of economic and political power, the composition of the student body expanded to include the children of the business and professional groups as well as those of the wealthier upper class. These developments followed the initial struggle over control of higher education which was resolved in favour of the State.

Late Nineteenth Century Economic Transformation and University Development

The last thirty years of the nineteenth century saw the transformation towards increasingly sophisticated organization of the Canadian economy. The National Policy created a protected market and attracted a large amount of foreign capital to Canada. The boom in railway building improved transportation and communication and facilitated the flow of raw materials and produce. After 1870, particularly in central Canada, large scale production took root. New machinery

and steam power allowed factory production. Factories, launched by those with sufficient capital, eventually took over, and the old relations of production made way for the capitalist relations of wage labour and capital.

The new ruling class included some remnants of the colonial aristocracy along with the new railway and steamship promoters and financial magnates. In the cities of central Canada the immigrant population and those drawn from agrarian pursuits to the factories formed the urban working class. Farmers, small businessmen and professional remained outside the industrial marketplace as they neither owned factories nor sold their labour power to the capitalist.

Trends in population growth give an indication of increasing urbanization:

Table Two

Trends in Urbanization: Ontario and Canada

1851 - 1909

	Census Years						
Canada	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1909	
Population	2.4	3.2	3.7	4.3	4.8	5.4	(millions)
% Urban	13.1	15.3	18.3	23.3	29.8	34.9	
Ontario							
Population	.5	1.4	1.6	1.9	2.1	2.2	(millions)
% Urban	14.0	18.5	20.6	27.1	35.0	40.3	

SOURCE: Daniel Kubat and David Thornton, A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society. (Toronto, 1974) p. 14.

Between 1872 and 1882 the rural population of the province increased by only 74,469 while the urban population increased by 204,048. In one year the rural population actually decreased by 12,151.[44] This trend is especially well illustrated when one looks at the cities of Ontario, the province that was rapidly becoming an industrial centre. The city of Toronto doubled in size from 96,196 to 181,220 in one ten year period. This was a result of the building of railways and the establishment of a wholesale trade that covered central Ontario. Toronto had also become a dominant banking center. During this time, Hamilton grew by 36.2% to 48,980 and Ottawa grew by 41% to 44,154:

Table Three

Population of Major Ontario Cities 1871 - 1891

	Census Years		
Cities	1871	1881	1891
Toronto	56,092	96,196	181,220
Hamilton	26,716	35,960	48,980
Ottawa	21,545	31,307	44,154

SOURCE: ONTARIO BUREAU OF INDUSTRIES Annual Report, 1892. p. 40

With economic transformations and political developments came the rise of the state system of higher education which was consolidated by a number of reforms during the

last decades of the century. The major battle of control had been fought and was represented symbolically by the secularization of King's College. What was left to determine was the form that the educational structure was to take. Educational reform was to be implemented within and would reflect the defining characteristics of the State and as Stanley Ryerson notes, "The character of the State that was in the making would be democratic only to a partial and limited degree...The bounds were to be set by property and class interest".[45]

After Confederation the government stopped all financial support to the demoninational universities, causing severe difficulties which eventually forced Victoria University and Trinity College into federation with the Provincial University, and Queen's to relinquish its connection with the Presbyterian church. Victoria University was one of the first to federate with the University of Toronto in 1890. Other institutions soon followed.[46] The Baptists, however, in strict adherence to their principle of the separation of church and state, rejected the federation plan.

The federation scheme essentially meant that co-ordination of resources and management of the universities of Ontario would be found in a central body. On the surface this measure was designed to eliminate financial problems but also facilitated centralization and consolidation of

state controlled higher education. In spite of federation, by 1895 the University of Toronto was experiencing difficulty. An important source of money for the institution came from rich donors, but this support was still inadequate. Expensive scientific equipment and other practical programs drained university budgets.

In 1906 something was done. James P. Whitney's Conservative government was elected to the legislature and immediately set out to improve the position of the university by authorizing an expenditure for it of $1,600,000. The constitution of the university was also reorganized to place control and management of the university in a lay government appointed body.[47] The committee that looked into this matter and effected this change used the example of American universities in appointing a body of important political and economic men to serve on the board. Higher education was placed under a new body of directors who were involved in a different set of relationships in the political and economic order than men like Strachan had been.[48]

A strong centralized university system was beginning to be seen as more rational for the developing Canadian society. The movement towards a more pragmatic curriculum emphasizing science, technology, agriculture and professional pursuits, in line with the maturing economic order resulted in the perception that there could be more to a university education than classical instruction for the upper class.[49]

This was especially true as the system of higher education and the occupational structure became more intimately linked and a larger skilled workforce was required. Moral education was still stressed as socialization was still of importance but the focus had changed from providing a predisposition towards a colonial way of life and acceptance of a rigidly divided class structure to the inculcation of ideas, values and skills which were more in line with capitalist production.

Whereas during earlier periods in the development of the university system, the upper class dominated organization and attendance, during the slow process of industrialization the university became more meritocratic. As Michael Katz points out:

> Industrialization on the other hand dissolves the traditional social fabric; many tasks become highly specialized and technical competence becomes of paramount importance. To cope adequately with its business an industrial urban society must award relative priority to achieved rather than ascribed qualities.[50]

Occupational differentiation made the promotion of meritocratic ideas of education as a method of upward mobility instrumental. Educational admission policies were therefore not officially restricted but in general the children of farmers and the urban working class could not afford to attend and did not have, in most cases, the necessary educational preparation. The university population was pri-

marily drawn from the petty bourgeoisie. It was also during this time period that middle and upper class women were allowed entrance to university education.

These liberal educational policies have a rational basis for the order by allowing greater access to the occupational hierarchy of the capitalist system and the consciousness to facilitate this participation. This is essentially reform to maintain the status quo as the entrance of a few individuals of the working class or of a certain class of women to universities did not alter the underlying structure of inequality in capitalism. As Miliband notes:

> With occasional and notable exceptions class rule in these societies has remained compatible with a wide range of civil and political liberties; and their exercise has undoubtedly helped to mitigate the form and content of class domination in many areas of civil society. The main agent of that mitigation has been the state, which helps to explain why it has been able to present itself, and why it has been widely accepted as the servant of society.[51]

Conclusion

Transformations in the nineteenth century political economic structure eventually found their expression in the form and organization of higher education in Upper Canada. During the stage of natural production most of the population was uninvolved in political concerns and interested only in rudimentary education. Higher education was insti-

tuted for and by members of the colonial aristocracy.

The middle decades of the century saw movement in Canada towards a degree of independence which facilitated, along with a number of economic factors, a basis for expansion of capitalist enterprise towards the end of the century. Mid-century debate over higher education was sparked by the clergy reserves and the Anglican domination of university affairs. Various denominations were involved in the struggle for the university endowment.

Throughout the controversy over the university endowment the Baptists held firm to the voluntary principle and criticized the fall of the Methodists and Presbyterians from the 'high ivory tower of voluntarism' when these denominations sought support for Upper Canada Academy and Victoria College, respectively. The major educational concern of the Baptists in the 1840s and 1850s was continued support of a college to train their ministers. Since their beliefs precluded obtaining state aid, they were interested in the reform of King's College and supported the reformers in their advocacy of a non-sectarian Provincial university.

King's College was secularized in 1850. As the population of Upper Canada expanded and the nature of higher education became attuned with economic development, maintaining educational establishments became an expensive business for the denominations. Eventually these financial

difficulties forced many universities and colleges into federation with the Provincial university or dependence on the assistance of the state (with of course, the notable exception of Baptist institutions). Once the federation scheme was put into effect, the centralization of higher education under state control was complete.[52]

The 'opening' of the university to the middle class was a limited democratization which was in actual fact instrumental for maintaining the status quo. The entrance of women of this class to the university system was a complicated process which is the topic of the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. Donald Creighton, The Empire of the St. Lawrence (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1970) p. 143.

2. Leo Johnson, "The Political Economy of Ontario Women in the Nineteenth Century" in Women at Work, 1850-1930. Acton, Goldsmith and Shepard (eds.), (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974) p. 15.

3. Aileen Dunham, Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963) p. 27.

4. A group with similar interests in Lower Canada was the "Chateau Clique". It is important to note that these groups did not have a definite organization or static membership but did constitute part of a powerful tendency during this period in Canadian history.

5. Norene Julie Pupo, "Education, Ideology and Social Structure: An Examination of the Development of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century Ontario" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1976)

6. Extensive land holdings stood in the way of the settler's ability not only to obtain land, but to clear that which was obtained.

7. J. George Hodgins, Editor, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1791-1876 (Toronto: Warwick Bros., 1899) Vol. 1, p. 11.

8. Marion V. Royce, "Notes on Schooling for Girls in Upper Canada from the Pre-Conquest Period until the Mid Nineteenth Century", The Women in Canadian History Project (Toronto: OISE, 1978) p. 1.

9. George Gibbon McNab, The Development of Higher Education in Ontario (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925) p. 7-8.

10. D. Lawr and R. Gidney, Educating Canadians: A Documentary History of Public Education (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1973) p. 95.

11. Ibid., p. 24.

12. W.S. Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927 (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1927) p. 20.

13. Norene Julie Pupo, "Education, Ideology and Social Structure: An Examination of the Development of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century Ontario" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1976)

14. Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company, 1957) p. 110.

15. Op cit., p. 56.

16. Aileen Dunham, Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963) p. 27.

17. McKenzie and his followers were primarily interested in attaining governance by representatives chosen by the people. They desired responsibility for Canada's internal affairs to be more democratically based but did not want ties with Britain to be completly broken. Historians have placed various interpretations on the rebellion, some arguing that it was a case of class conflict while others argue that it was a manifestation of 'growing pangs' between the rising industrial bourgeoisie and the colonial aristocracy.

18. Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company, 1957) p. 109.

19. Ontario Department of Education, The Universities of Canada: Their History and Organization. Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education (Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter, 1896) p. 32.

20. Gerald Craig, editor, Lord Durham's Report (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973) p. 101.

21. Leo Johnson, "The Political Economy of Ontario Women in the Nineteenth Century" in Women at Work, 1850-1930. Acton, Goldsmith and Shepard (eds.), (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974) p. 28.

22. During the interim period between 1841 and 1867 Canada moved from total colonial dependence on Great Britain to a degree of political independence. The granting of Responsible Government was a constitutional reform that gave a degree of autonomy and political control over the market and local resources to the emerging capitalist class.

23. Op. cit., p. 23.

24. H.C. Pentland, "The Development of a Capitalist Labour Market in Canada" in The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. Volume XXV (4), 1959, p. 282.

25. Marion V. Royce, "Notes on Schooling for Girls in Upper Canada from the Pre-Conquest Period until the Mid Nineteenth Century", The Women in Canadian History Project (Toronto: OISE, 1978) p. 16.

26. Norene Julie Pupo, "Education, Ideology and Social Structure: An Examination of the Development of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century Ontario" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1976)

27. E. Ryerson cited in David Onn, "Egerton Ryerson's Philosophy of Education: Something Borrowed or Something New?" in Ontario History (Vol. 61, No. 2, 1969) p. 78.

28. Ibid., p. 78.

29. This type of discipline was particularly important in light of the increasing population in Canada and the size of families during this time period. For example, most children born in the 1890s were born into families with at least five children (See Jane Synge, Untitled Manuscript, p. 17). In 1842, 482 children were born per 1000 married women between the ages of 15 and 49. In 1891 there were 245. In 1969, 96 children were born per 1000 married women of this age. (Source: Daniel Kubat and David Thornton, A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society, 1974, p. 38).

30. As the table on page 40 indicates, Roman Catholics formed the third largest religious affiliation at this time in Upper Canada. Their agitation for separate schools in the 1850s was a vital part of educational development in Upper Canada. Unfortunately we cannot deal with this issue within the scope of this work.

31. Considerable controversy revolved around the incorporation of Victoria University, specifically as regards the development of female education in the province. This controversy will be examined in the next chapter.

32. One of the smaller denominations that accomplished a considerable amount for their own form of religious education was the Baptist sect. Their influence will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Four.

33. In England, control on the part of the Anglican Church was 'normal'. As one historian notes, "The Church of England inherited the system and the school traditions of the medieval church". (Source: Nicholas Hans, Comparative Education, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1967, p. 130). As the 'Established Church" in England the Anglican denomination also inherited wealth. In Canada, although the Church of England did not have a legal monopoly of education, its position gave it many privileges which other Churches did not possess.

34. In 1846 there were four Baptist regional associations comprising between 60 and 70 churches and 40 ministers. In 1837 the Canada Baptist Magazine and Missionary Register began to be published in Montreal. It became known as the Register, and under the editorship of Dr. Cramp became a vehicle of expression for Baptist opinion. During the 1840s it was particularly vocal. When it folded in 1849, it was succeeded by a number of publications, none of which reached the insightful style of their predecessor.

35. Walter G. Pitman, "The Baptists and Public Affairs in the Province of Canada, 1840-1867" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1956) p. 47.

36. The effects of this policy on Baptist educational endeavour will be discussed in Chapter Four.

37. A.J. MacLachlan, "Canadian Baptists and Public Questions before 1850" (Unpublished B.D. Thesis, McMaster University, 1937) p. 24.

38. In general, the Baptists had supported the Baldwin and Draper measures but opposed John A. MacDonald's Bill of 1847 which proposed to give the revenue of the university endowment to sectarian institutions. According to Pitman, in 1854 the Baptists severed their connection with the reform party when the Hincks-Morin ministry refused to attempt a clergy reserve bill before the election. The Baptists did not present as unified a front in the 1850s as they had in the 1840s. In the 1860s however, they held firm to their voluntarist position and continued agitation via petitions and addresses on educational issues.

39. George Gibbon McNab, The Development of Higher Education in Ontario (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925) p. 63.

40. Ibid., p. 70.

41. Norene Julie Pupo, "Education, Ideology and Social Structure: An Examination of the Development of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century Ontario" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1976) p. 87.

42. Ibid., p. 87. For example, some members of the Senate were the Chancellor of Upper Canada, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, Solicitor-General, Director of Northern Railway etc...

43. George Gibbon McNab, The Development of Higher Education in Ontario (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925) p. 77.

44. L.S. Bohnen, "Women Workers in Ontario: A Socio-Legal History" University of Toronto Faculty of Law Review, Vol. 31, 1973, p. 47.

45. S.B. Ryerson, Unequal Union: Roots of Crises in the Canadas, 1815-1873. (Toronto: Progress Books, 1973) p. 355.

46. Wycliffe and Knox Colleges federated in 1885, the Ontario College of Agriculture and Royal College of Dental Surgeons in 1888; the School of Practical Science in 1889, The Ontario Medical College for Women and the Toronto College of Music federated in 1890; College of Pharmacy, 1891; Toronto Conservatory of Music, 1896; Ontario Veterinary College, 1897 and Trinity College in 1903.

47. Norene Julie Pupo, "Education, Ideology and Social Structure: An Examination of the Development of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century Ontario" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1976) p. 170.

48. Ibid., p. 83.

49. Ibid., In Chapter Five the author provides a comprehensive examination of the emergence of a practical curriculum as industrial capitalism intensified from 1870-1910.

50. Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972) p. 89.

51. Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society: The Analysis of the Western System of Power (London: Quartet Books, 1973) p. 238. Although this is a cogent statement of the problem we would prefer to replace the term 'domination' by relation.

52. The secularization of King's College marked the culmination of the controversy over control of the system of higher education in Ontario. More overt class conflict was evident over the determination of the structure and purpose of the common and grammar schools, i.e. taxation and the issue of the separate schools.

CHAPTER THREE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ONTARIO

Introduction

In this chapter we deal with the general contention surrounding nineteenth century female education before examining the special case of Baptist endeavour in this area in Chapter Four.

This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first is briefly concerned with chronologically documenting the establishment of both denominational ladies' colleges and state controlled university co-education. We begin by discussing the proliferation of denominational institutions. Here, particular emphasis is placed on the incorporation of the Methodist Upper Canada Academy as Victoria University. This event gives an indication of both the financial problems faced by the denominational academies and the priority female education was given by certain notable educators during the period. Our examination of co-education accents the University of Toronto. A precedent was set in Upper Canada by the resolution of the controversy surrounding the entrance of women to this Provincial seat of learning. The conditions of female access to other Canadian universities are also

presented.

The second section of the chapter analyzes the debate surrounding women's intellectual capacity, educational requirements and societal role which characterized the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The admission of women to university education is examined not only as part of the 'limited' democratization of the system but also in terms of the expansion and redefinition of the 'proper sphere' of middle and upper class women. In accounting for why women were allowed access to this type of education we present the underlying objective political and economic realities that shaped the ideological arguments of the protagonists involved in the debate and final resolution of the conflict.

The Development of Nineteenth Century Higher Education for Women

In the rural Upper Canada of the early nineteenth century, the education of girls was geared to their place in the basic unit of production, the agrarian household. By a very early age they were expected to be proficient in many household tasks including weaving, spinning, cooking and cleaning and tending younger children. Minimal formal education was available or in fact necessary in these years of settlement. Many families however, realized the profitability of sending their daughters out to work as domestic servants.[1] It was thought that association with the home

life of the upper class could be of moral as well as material benefit. The only other alternative to domestic work at this time was marriage and frontier work as a farmer's wife, in which home education in practical duties was more important than formal education.

For most middle and upper class women the making of a 'good' marriage was essential to ensure the inheritance of wealth and privilege.[2] The primary duties of these women were to produce an heir, properly socialize the next generation and enhance their husband's social and economic position. An 'ornamental' education provided by mother, governess and later private schools was deemed sufficient for their future role as chatelaine. At this time, schooling of middle and upper class men was met by tutor, grammar school, private school or college, and was geared to their future role in the family business or a profession.

The period 1830-1860 was characterized by rapid expansion and pressure for increased educational facilities. As we have seen, before the 1840s in Canada education consisted of various public and private, formal and informal methods. Government assistance for elementary education of a sort, began with legislation in 1807 favouring schools that prepared young 'gentlemen' for admission to university. Educational reform put an end to voluntarism and moved elementary education out of the home and community by the

1840s and 50s. By the end of this period, girls formed a substantial part of enrollment in common schools but were still barred from grammar school education. Mass common schooling was extended quite readily to girls of the lower classes. It was only when education involved members of the male elite, as in the case of grammar schools and universities, that females were excluded.[3] It was not until 1865 that girls were allowed to enter grammar schools, upon successful completion of the entrance examination. They were, however, excluded from the classical course which was a prerequisite for entry into the university system or a profession. It was not until the School Act of 1871 changed grammar schools into high schools, that girls were admitted on the same terms as boys.

Advanced education for middle and upper class 'ladies' did not begin with their admission to co-educational degree granting institutions in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before this time period, religious denominations and private groups had been meeting the need for a certain type of instruction suited to the future role of these women.

The Methodist church was the first denomination in Upper Canada to provide education for its female youth.[4] Under its direction in 1836, Upper Canada Academy was opened. It was a co-educational certificate granting institution that catered to both males and females 'with extreme precautions'. As pointed out in the prospectus, "In the female

department, which is perfectly distinct, instruction will be given in all constituent parts of a superior English education, and in French, Drawing and Embroidery".[5] Interaction of any kind between the sexes was discouraged:

> And more effectively to preclude all interconnection between the sexes, their corresponding, conversing or in any way associating together save in the case of brother and sister (and that by the permission of the Principal or Preceptress) is expressly interdicted.[6]

When Egerton Ryerson took over control of Upper Canada Academy in 1841 his conservative views on co-education were brought to the forefront by the practical financial considerations involved in maintaining the school.[7] Under his leadership Upper Canada Academy came to an end with its translation into Victoria College in 1842. Women were promptly barred from its halls and were not readmitted for 36 years. A commentary on the situation by Ryerson in 1841 points to the issues which accounted for this measure:

> The Upper Canada Academy has now been in operation five years; during which period 400 youth of the Country have been taught within its walls... Were the Academy properly endowed every part of the building could be filled with male students, so as to render a separate establishment in the neighbourhood of a Female Seminary advisable and necessary.[8]

New Status and endowment for the college meant the termination of the Ladies' Department. As one historian noted, "During the session of 1841 Upper Canada Academy was incorporated as Victoria College, and although the Legislature

had refused financial assistance to the Academy it now gave the college a grant of £500 which later became annual".[9]

What of the proposed 'advisable and necessary' Female Seminary? In 1855 the editor of the Christian Guardian wrote:

> ...but the necessity of making more ample provision for the support of Victoria College, has been perhaps the principal cause why some steps have not hitherto been taken for the establishment of a Female Academy under the supervision of the Church.[10]

During times of financial difficulty the education of the male section of the population took definite priority.[11]

After the loss of the Ladies' Department of Upper Canada Academy, private members of the Methodist denomination sponsored a variety of female colleges. In 1886 the seminaries that were under Methodist control were affiliated to Victoria University and their work recognized towards a B.A. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century a large assortment of female colleges and seminaries were formed under Church of England, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic auspices.

The ladies' colleges that came into existence in mid-nineteenth century Upper Canada were intended to educate the young women of the middle and upper class. Although variations existed to a certain extent in curricular emphasis, rules and regulations and religious affiliation, all were constructed with a similar purpose in mind.

These schools were not designed to prepare young

women for further education or pursuit of an occupation as such endeavours were not aligned with the definition of women's role and were not in any case practically possible. They were terminal institutions that specialized in providing the young 'lady' with a 'genteel education'.

Ladies' seminaries were most often compared to the well-regulated Christian home. The emphasis was on 'protective isolation' as the following description from the Whitby Ladies' College calendar illustrates:

> Instead of the impure air and temptation incident to a public thoroughfare we have here a quiet and happy retreat...The supreme aim of the instruction imparted in Ontario Ladies' College, Whitby and of the influence brought to bear upon the pupils in the home life of the institution is not the product of mere accomplishments but the development of character and the fitting of young ladies for the practical duties of life.[12]

The curriculum of the schools did much to cultivate the notion of independent leisure as "In the ladies' colleges alone, any young lady can obtain an education as extensive and practical as even the most cultured society need desire".[13] Besides the more basic study of literature and history most ladies' seminaries taught the French language, elocution, bible study, music and needlework.

The inculcation of appropriate Victorian Virtues was a vital part of the socialization aspect of these institutions:

Truthfulness in opposition to pretence in

> anything, patriotism, love of home, devotion to parents, simplicity, inartificiality, avoidance of heartlessness and display (are stressed)...The students are favored with access to select society without its late hours and general dissipation.[14]

As one other college stressed, "the preparation which it seeks to give consists not merely in the imparting of information, but still more in the development of a sweet and serious womanhood".[15]

Rules governing conduct reinforced the nature of a Christian education in a home-like atmosphere. Hours of rising and retiring were strictly set and meals and physical recreation activities were alloted specific times. Daily prayers and religious observances were part of the education of all schools, regardless of denominational background. Visitors and outside entertainments such as shopping were carefully monitored. Many school calendars pointed out that young women who were not willing to adhere to these guidelines would be dismissed, and this did occur. Ladylike education with a high moral tone resulted in isolation from the realities of the world outside the institution and thus supported the separation of middle and upper class women from the rest of society. This segregation effectively limited their degree of participation and power in the outside world.

Most of these colleges were boarding schools and this aspect of their organization facilitated the formation of close ties between the students. The friendships that were

cultivated lasted in many cases throughout a lifetime and fostered close ties within the upper classes.[16] In a society that observed rigid sex-role differentiation the emotional segregation of men and women resulted. Female relationships acted as a support network. The Ladies' College provided a milieu allowing women to develop a sense of security. In addition, "These school years ordinarily marked a girl's first separation from home. They served to wean the daughter from her home, to train her in the essential social graces, and ultimately, to help introduce her into the marriage market".[17]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the denominational ladies' colleges which had been struggling to continue under private munificence faced difficulties with the direct competition provided by a tax supported public system of education. Although a number of ladies' seminaries survived their financial problems, providing an alternative to the state system for the wealthier class, the high school, collegiate institute and co-educational university became the more common mode of educating the commercial middle class in late nineteenth century Upper Canada.

The first woman in the British Empire to receive a university degree graduated with a B. Sc. in 1875 from Mount Allison University in New Brunswick.[18] Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia first admitted women in 1881 and was one of the first universities to do so on terms of complete

equality with men. In 1889 the first woman graduated from the University of New Brunswick where women were also accepted into all degree programs on terms equal to men. By 1890 the University of Manitoba had granted women degrees in both Arts and Medicine.

The 1870s and 1880s saw access of women to most major Canadian universities. The diagram on the following page summarizes their years of admission and graduation by institution, location, denominational affiliation and terms of entrance.

Lectures in the Arts course of McGill University, the only faculty in which women could be enrolled were opened to women in 1884. The first class of women (eight in number) graduated from the university in 1888. By this time classes for women, leading to the ordinary B.A. were given quite separately from the men's classes, except the honours courses and those involving lab work which were co-educational. The exams however, were the same for both sexes and both could compete for honours, medals and prizes. Separate Arts lectures at McGill were the result of the policy advocated by the Principal of the university, William Dawson, who stated that "I do not propose either that the young women should attend the ordinary college classes or that, except in special cases the ordinary professors should lecture to them. I would have special classrooms and...special lecturers appointed by the university".[19]

DIAGRAM A

YEAR AND TERMS OF ENTRANCE OF WOMEN TO MAJOR CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES

Year Women Admitted	Year First Woman Graduated	Name of University	Denominational Affiliation	Location	Terms of Entrance
1869/79	1885	Queen's	Presbyterian	Kingston, Ont.	AC
1873	1875 *	Mount Allison	Methodist	Sackville, N.B.	CEC
1880	1884	Acadia	Baptist	Wolfville, N.S.	CEC
1881	1885	Dalhousie	ND	Halifax, N.S.	CEC
1884	1884	University of Toronto	ND	Toronto, Ont.	CEC
1884	1888	McGill	ND	Montreal,PQ	ASC
1885	1889	University of New Brunswick	ND	Fredericton, N.B.	CEC
1890	1894	McMaster University	Baptist	Toronto, Ont.	CEC

* 1st in British Empire

SOURCES: 1) M. Mann and J. Berton, "The Canadian Co-ed", The Chronicle, Vol. 40, 1967, p. 41, and 2) National Council of Women, Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, 1900, p. 112. AC=Arts only, co-educational ND=Non-demonitional, CEC=Complete equality, Co-educational, ASC=Arts only, sex-segrated classes

When women requested entry to the university the problem was, 'that of finding the means to finance full-time classes for women'. Sir Donald A. Smith of CPR fame solved the problem. He gave $50,000 to McGill to set up a college for women with a number of conditions attached to acceptance of the endowment, the most important being separate university lectures for men and women. The college became known as Royal Victoria College, an academic department of McGill and the students who attended were affectionately referred to as "Donaldas".[20] As we shall see, very few other universities were able to continue the expensive policy of separate educational facilities for women.

The early 1880s saw the height of the argument concerning the admission of women to the University of Toronto. By this period in history, some educationalists and politicians had agreed upon the necessity of providing higher education in some form to 'exceptional single women'. At the Royal Canadian Institute in 1869, Daniel Wilson, later President of the University of Toronto, urged the Canadian population to realize that women in the new world 'like the male aristocracy of classical times' constituted the class with enough leisure time for intellectual pursuits.[21] He later, however, made a sharp distinction between higher education for women (which he supported), and co-education (which he opposed). He mirrored the popular concern of the

day when he wrote, "We have to ask ourselves whether the young women of the wealthier class generally can be safely mingled in a university with the young men of the same class".[22]

Daniel Wilson reacted to the question of entrance of women to the University of Toronto by proposing the establishment of a separate women's college:

> To co-education under such circumstances I see many grave objections, and the more carefully I study the subject the conclusion is forced upon me that the system now favoured (at other universities) where separate colleges are under Lady Principals, is the one best calculated to promote the refined culture and high intellectual development of women.[23]

In spite of the concern expressed by Daniel Wilson to George Ross, the Minister of Education at the time, in 1884 the Provincial Legislature voted to make the University of Toronto co-educational.[24] The Provincial university was undergoing financial difficulties that had prompted an attempt at federation with other Ontario educational establishments. Certainly the state could ill afford the added expense of separate university facilities for women. A female Superintendent was appointed instead to look after the needs of the female students.[25]

During the controversy several determined young women had been taking the university examinations so that only a year after they were officially admitted, fifty graduated.[26] St. Hilda's, the first women's residence (associated with Trinity College)[27] opened in 1888. Residence activities were

invaluable to forming friendships and contacts, and as one researcher points out, participation in these pursuits, enabled women quite consciously to "practice being 'educated women' who would eventually take their place as leaders of their culture".[28]

Dissatisfaction however was still apparent over co-education. Various university administrators brought the matter to a head by creating a special committee to investigate the viability of a women's college.[29] The Senate sub-committee report that was the result of the investigation emphasized that the proposed college would have the same status as the other colleges in the university federation. It also stressed that "women would be able to be a 'single organized factor' and would cease to be mere appendages to the colleges where men predominate".[30]

The greater proportion of the women associated with the University of Toronto in the early 1900s rejected the proposal of a separate college. They realized that government contribution to higher education involving women (in the event of a separate college being established) could prove to be as unreliable as in the past with the ladies' colleges not affiliated with the University. The point was also made that women had to learn to compete with men in the academic as well as social world as this would be the reality of twentieth century Canada.[31] These arguments won the day and co-education became established at the University of Toronto.

In 1890 women entered the Baptist McMaster University. The first class graduated in 1894. Kingston Women's Medical College and Toronto Women's Medical College were both established in 1884 because of the difficulty that women encountered in gaining access to existing medical schools. The College in Kingston closed in 1895 and women were not admitted to Queen's University Medical School until 1942. In 1905 the Toronto College merged with the University of Toronto Medical College.

Although co-education at Canadian universities was not really on a firm footing until the twentieth century, by the 1880s a precedent had been set for this form of higher education.

Ideology and Social Structure: The Debate Surrounding Higher Education for Women

Discussion concerning the suitability of higher education for the Victorian 'lady' intensified during the 1870s and 1880s, especially as attention turned to the issue of co-education. Opposition to educational reform came from many sources and varied in strength. In the first part of this section we are concerned with analyzing the source and form that opposition took to both general higher education for women and co-education. Those totally opposed to any form of higher instruction for females relied on medical opinion which made a link between human mental and physical attri-

butes. Arguments against co-education were subtle and therefore difficult to dissect. Both positions however had common elements revolving around underlying economic and sex-role structures. In the second segment of this chapter we examine these fundamentals in an attempt to account for the changing conception of 'women's sphere' and the proliferation of educational reform.

The Opposition

Those most adamantly against higher education for women based their arguments on the link between the mental and physical states of women and concluded that assiduous study would irreparably damage women's capacity to bear children and lead a happy life. As pointed out in one article of the day, "at 20 or 22 the daughter is married, her books must be dismissed then, her health has been seriously impaired".[32] Not only was it contended that the general health of women would decline but also, actual disease was thought to be a possibility:

> If she is not thus guarded, if she is allowed to run the risks which to the boy are a matter of indifference, she will probably develop some disease, which if not fatal, will at any rate be an injury to her for life.[33]

A common belief of Victorian society, also thought to have medical justification was that the human body had a limited amount of energy which had to be carefully cultivated

and jealously husbanded.[34] This concern primarily expressed itself in terms of male masturbation proscriptions but was no less directly related to the intellectual capacity of females. As a concerned opponent to reform noted, "Only by robbing their reproductive organs of essential resources of energy could they continue serious study".[35] This was considered to be a crucial question for women in their teens and twenties.

The mental capacity of women was argued as innately inferior to that of men. Traits that we would today associate with environmental conditions or patterns of socialization were believed to be the result of the different brain weight of the sexes. The reasoning behind this contention deserves to be quoted at length:

> Seeing that the average brain weight of women is about five ounces less than that of men, on merely anatomical grounds we should be prepared to expect a marked inferiority of intellectual power in the former...we find that the inferiority displays itself most conspicuously in a comparative absence of originality and this more expecially in the higher levels of intellectual work...a woman's information is less wide and deep and thorough than that of a man.[36]

By 'proving' that women were naturally inferior to men, a number of characteristics became associated as representative of all females:

> With regard to judgement too, I think there can be no real question that the female mind stands considerably below the male. It is much more apt to take superficial views of circumstances calling for decision and also be guided

> less by impartiality...Undue influence is more frequently exercised from the side of the emotions.[37]

Women were however, attributed with refinement of the senses, rapidity of perception, nimbleness of wit and 'intuitive insight' arising from their sensitive nervous system. The consequence of these 'facts' for the participation of women in academic pursuits was summed up as follows:

> We rarely find in women that tenacity of purpose and determination to overcome obstacles which is characteristic of the manly mind; they are less able to concentrate their attention in close reading or studious thought; more prone to wandering...[38]

As the debate progressed, medical reasoning became more closely combined with the question of co-education. Most vexing to these men was the thought of mixed institutions:

> Gentlemen of the medical profession whose names are sufficient guarantee of their good judgement and impartiality have assured me that the female constitution cannot sustain and does not sustain without injury, the strain which is put upon it in the mixed colleges.[39]

The medical arguments surrounding the inferiority of women eventually were forced to give way in the face of the success attained by women in academic pursuits. These arguments that strove to maintain the status quo did have results that affected the organization of the ladies' colleges and universities. Headmistresses of ladies' colleges and university authorities had to pay particular attention to the health

and fitness of the students or pay the consequences of outraging social sentiment and perhaps losing the gains that had been made. At University College, a 'lady' physician was hired to give personal attention to the students, "so as to avoid the evils of undue devotion to study or neglect of needful rest and exercise, at special times when the conditions due to their sex demand consideration".[40]

Arguments against co-education placed stress on the detrimental effects of mixing the sexes.[41] As one citizen wrote, "as long as the world lasts, wise and thoughtful parents and teachers will realize the critical issues involved in bringing young men and women together in all the seductive freedom of College competition at the most critical period of life".[42] It was generally held that co-education would promote intolerable sexual excitement and impropriety.

This preoccupation with female innocence was an important part of the idealized view of womanhood that characterized the middle and upper class. Great emphasis was placed on cultivating the essential attributes of gentility and ladylike demeanor. One woman specified what it meant to be a lady as follows:

> To be a lady then implies something more than the attainment of certain manners; there must be a higher standard than that of ordinary society; there must be the standard of the highly cultivated and the highly moral as well as the highly polished.[43]

The contention over co-education towards the end of

the century manifested a basic concern over the relation between the sexes within a changing social order. Highly structured sexual differentiation existed in nineteenth century society and served a definite purpose. Women had a 'separate sphere'. Their reality was that of the home, and for the most part their role was that of wife, mother and homemaker. Middle and upper class women had little reason, for the greater part of the century, to labour outside of the home.[44] They were economically able to lead a life of relative leisure. The idealized version of womanhood was most vociferously clung to by the upper classes as it formed justification for the social fabric of their lives.

In nineteenth century Canada, women had little economic and political power. They could not vote (except in a few exceptional circumstances, by virtue of being property owners). Provincial suffrage for women in Ontario was not achieved until 1917, although in 1850 female school trustees were given the right to vote and in 1884 the municipal franchise was extended to unmarried women who fulfilled property qualifications. The most oppressive sections of the law applied to married women. In most cases they had only a limited amount of control over their lives. For example, any property brought to the marriage, in early nineteenth century Ontario, belonged to the husband and the father was the sole guardian of the children until they reached the age of 21.[45]

Religious tradition emphasized the 'natural' submission of women to men by reference to the Bible. The domestic role of "pure undefiled woman, sanctifying the home and guiding the family"[46] persisted under the direction of such great 'thinkers' as Herbert Spencer who argued that for women, who functioned as home-making and child-rearing specialists to invade the male sphere meant that their own speciality would suffer, causing society to take a retrogressive rather than a progressive step.

'Invasion' of the male domain was a concern that was often expressed in the periodicals of the day. Educating men and women together and in the same manner would lend support to the notion that women were equally deserving of the other opportunities for participation in society (i.e., suffrage, holding public office and working in the labour force). Happily however for those men who would be directly affected by an influx of university educated women to public life, "our young Dominion (was) not yet ripe for throwing open the Bench and the Bar, the Pulpit and the Moderator's and Episcopal chair to the gentler sex".[47] Towards the end of the century, with fluctuations in the economy this point became especially relevant. The consequences of university reform were well understood by the 'gentleman' who stated that:

> Admission to male universities will be sought by women who desire to enter male professions; and that women should enter male professions...

> appears to some philanthropists an innovation much to be desired, though to say nothing of the delicacy of sex, the male professions are already overstocked, and every spinster who finds a footing in them must deprive some married woman and her children of their bread.[48]

A university education for women meant possible job competition for middle and upper class men (who worked). No doubt concern over the possibility of men being ousted from their jobs or employers driving down salaries prompted at least a portion of the stress placed on women's 'proper sphere'.[49]

Many opponents of co-education suggested the ladies' college as an alternative, arguing that a solution, " could only be accomplished by providing a college adapted to their special requirements alike physically and intellectually; and so training woman not as the rival, but as the companion of man, the source of all the grace, the tenderness and social refinement of humanity".[50]

It is the purpose of the next section of this work to account for the achievement of university reform.

The Basis of Educational Reform

A small group of women and men in Upper Canada championed unqualified educational reform for women as part of an overall human rights perspective. They advocated the entrance of women to every sphere of public life, not on the basis of their 'maternal role' but on the fact of their

membership in human society. They held that courses of institutions designated as female would have no generally recognized status and might possibly result in discriminatory practices in the labour market. Reformers who operated from this perspective and were also involved in suffrage work were forced by circumstances to effectively choose between the establishment of higher education for women and the suffrage movement. There was a genuine fear that the educational cause would be damaged by association with the fight for the vote.[51]

It is important to bear in mind that during this period in Canadian history, women's rights advocates operated in a restricted and complex social environment. As a group who advocated change in class and sex relations, human rights feminists were in a minority and were relatively powerless.

By far the largest and most powerful group of reformers were those middle and upper class women (and men) who pushed for female higher education, co-education, temperance, suffrage and a host of other causes. They found their impetus and source of strength in the political and economic transformations of late nineteenth century Canada. This group, variously referred to by researchers as 'maternal' or 'social feminists' argued that woman's special role as mother gave her the duty and the right to participate in the public sphere.[52]

Developments in capitalism brought changes in the production process, class structure and the growth of the State in the formation of institutions. As we have seen, rural migrants and European immigrants formed the basis of an urban working class which out of necessity was forced to live in the cities where the factories were located. Low wages meant poor living conditions. The 'norm' of appropriate living standards and behaviour championed by the middle and upper class had little relevance for the working class. Industrialization and urbanization brought side-effects that were all too apparent to upper class philanthropists. They sought the root cause however, in the family structure rather than organization and relations of production in capitalism. Perceived 'crumbling' of the social fabric led to the cult of the family, as the haven from a troubled world. The expansion of women's sphere of influence, to the public domain followed from this concern.

This movement of a certain class of women outside of the home was in part facilitated by changes in the organization of the household. Increasing middle class affluence, combined with domestic service and improvements in domestic technology enabled the wife or daughter of the business or professional man to devote her leisure time to social activities, philanthropy or higher education. As one woman writing in the 1890s noted:

> Labour is organized and divided; machinery is perfected and all domestic manufactures are removed from the home to the manufactory. Much of woman's occupation is gone. She must adapt herself to the new environment. In doing this, woman is forced to compete with man on his own ground.[53]

It was no longer as practically possible to uphold traditional ideas concerning the suitable milieu of married or single women. During this time of economic fluctuation a family could suddenly find itself without the means to support a number of idle, dependent single 'ladies'. In fact, one interpretation of the extension of formal education to women points to the problem that the middle class found in 'filling the gap' between childhood and work or marriage.[54]

Although data are not generally available or reliable for this time period it would seem that increasing numbers of young women were remaining single by necessity. In rural areas, there were fewer independent single farmers for farmer's daughters to marry.[55] Women also outnumbered men in the highly populated and urbanized provinces in Canada, as many single men had gone out West in search of land.[56] Single working class women supported themselves by working in factories, as domestic servants or as shopgirls. Middle class women became teachers, nurses or if they could afford the tuition and were admitted, attended university. Upper class women who could rely on family wealth devoted their leisure time to reform activities or pushed for their daughters to attend ladies' colleges or universities.

Concern over the plight of the single women was elaborated upon in many popular books and journals of the day:

> Much has been said and written upon the proper division of labour and women's place in the productive industries of the world; but no social or economic theory can affect the stubborn fact that a large and as it seems, an increasing number of the women of the present day are and must be breadwinners for themselves and others.[57]

The reality was that a large number of single women had to support themselves at least until marriage, if not for all their lives. How did this translate into concern with education? One man speaking to the problem, gave an indication of popular opinion when he advocated that specialized education was appropriate for those women "who combine with the need and desire to earn their own livelihood the ability and the inclination for some professional calling".[58] He continued to point out that:

> ...as the great excess of women over men makes it inevitable that many women must remain unmarried and in most cases maintain themselves, it is only to be expected that many more intelligent and independent young women will seek to provide themselves in advance with the means of earning an honourable competence should a congenial marriage not fall naturally to their lot.[59]

Needless to say, an honourable competence for middle and upper class women did not include domestic employment or factory labour.

As capitalism developed the university education system formed closer ties with the occupational structure. In earlier decades female higher education provided preparation

solely for the role of women as chatelaine. However, once a hierarchy of job tasks and occupations were realized under capitalism and the universities moved towards more pragmatic curriculum, university educated women provided a suitable labour pool for certain occupations.

The teaching profession remained an appropriate pursuit for women. In particular though, the last quarter of the century was marked by the feminization of the occupation, a development that progressed quite rapidly in urban centers. In 1871 females constituted 50.2% of teachers in Ontario; 49.8% were male. By 1890 the number of female teachers in Ontario had increased to 5,957 (59.2%); the number of male teachers had decreased to 4,108 (40.8%).[60] As more women came into the profession at lower salaries, men abandoned it or used it as a stepping stone to higher positions. The employment of large numbers of women in the lower ranks of teaching staffs made it possible for school administrators to save money.[61] Educators realized the economic advantage of promoting the idea of women as natural educators. The aura of gentility that surrounded teaching enabled working women to reconcile their labour force participation with their class background. As one researcher notes:

> What distinguished teachers from other civil servants however, was the almost mystical attitude which was encouraged of their serving a 'higher goal' in the transfer of culture which would produce future posperity and security for society.[62]

Alternatives to the traditional occupations for trained women developed in late nineteenth century Canada. We see these changes reflected to a certain extent in the university curriculum. The introduction of stenography, typing and business courses in the university served to prepare women and men for occupations in the expanding business sector. Domestic science courses provided training in the scientific management of households for those destined to be wives and mothers. Expanded university faculties of education also provided facilities for professional teacher education.[63]

Entrance of increasing numbers of university educated middle class women to the labour force did not result in female emancipation. Most working women were employed as domestic servants or factory labourers[64] and were subject to very poor working conditions and low pay. The majority of middle and upper class women continued their domestic role or engaged in philanthropic concerns. Few university graduates combined a career with motherhood.[65] New fields of work opened to women, "but these remained as consistent as possible with the ideal of womanhood and came to be defined as women's work".[66]

The maternal feminists reconciled popularly accepted notions of the role of women with their entrance into public life. This group was primarily composed of middle and upper class reform minded citizens who were supported in their efforts by a number of clergymen and educators. As previous-

ly mentioned they saw the family as being threatened by the adverse consequences of industrialization and as a result social reform in the last quarter of the century took on the guise of 'saving' the family. They endowed the properly functioning family with great ability to shape society.[67] The following was typical of the inordinate faith placed in the family:

> If ever the present system of things shall have passed away amid strife, bloodshed, anarchy and revolution more horrible than any which the world has yet seen it will be because the home has ceased to be reverenced and defended as the fountain of civilization.[68]

Religious fervor accompanied this devotion to the Victorian home:

> The family is a life-saving institution, thoroughly equipped and properly organized, it is set up by God as one of his mightiest agencies for the rescue of a wrecked world, a world that, more than anything else needs homes for shelter and salvation.[69]

Women were viewed as the most important influence on the younger generation, as "...to her who presides in the home falls the highest and most momentous work in which human beings can engage, that of molding human character and human souls".[70] In this capacity then women were thought to build the foundation upon which society was based.

It was a logical step to conclude that women should leave the home (without of course totally abandoning it) to fight against the evils attacking society (i.e., moral de-

pravity, alcoholism, and working class housekeeping techniques). The social structure was seen as the beneficiary in moral terms from the extension of women's maternalism.[71]

As one reformer noted, "We are wise therefore in providing the amplest and best facilities for the higher education of our daughters, for upon them, even more than upon our sons depends the entire moral future of our country".[72] The expansion of women's traditional role to the public sphere provided a certain amount of choice for middle class women. Philanthropy, higher education or labour force participation in suitable occupations were alternatives to domesticity. Female education and independence were still however, tied into the traditional roles occupied by middle and upper class women as the following quotes indicate:

> A clinging vine is in its own place an interesting object, but the woman who can stand alone and even support others is likely to be more useful as a wife and mother.
>
> The more that, by reason of increasing activity and earnestness, woman is coming to the front in so many kinds of philanthropic work, the more does she need that mental training...[73]

Maternal feminists supported higher education for women as preparation for domestic life and enlargement of this role in the service of society. They did not question or change the underlying class and sex role structures of Canadian society.

The actual form that late nineteenth century higher

education for women took depended on financial considerations linked to the expansion of state supported higher education. The focus of concern during the 1840s and 1850s, as we have seen, was the question of university endowment and King's College. The priority at this time definitely did not revolve around providing separate educational facilities for women, except where the need for trained women was felt the most:

> But beyond furnishing the facilities for preparing to become school teachers, the State (had) done absolutely nothing for the higher education of women...But while the matter has thus been ignored by the State, private generosity has largely supplied the appliances and facilities to give women an introduction to those higher walks...so long monopolized by men.[74]

As we have seen, expensive denominational education was no longer viable after the 1860s. State supported higher education provided a less expensive and more efficient alternative to private schooling within the developing order and thus was increasingly patronized by members of the middle class. Denominational ladies' colleges were eventually attended almost exclusively by members of the upper class, "the leading families of our country".[75]

With few exceptions, state authorities and policy makers towards the end of the century had little trouble accepting co-education. Finances were tight, as evidenced by the attempts made at university federation and in general,

separate classes and lectures for women were deemed an "unnecessary and therefore an unwise expenditure of time and energy".[76] The universities of the United States provided an example to emulate.[77] A quote from the National Commission of Education Report (U.S.A.) of 1874, published in The Week noted that in 1870 there were over 120 co-educational institutions in America. Cornell University published a statement explaining why co-education was favoured:

> If women are not to be educated with men, then there must be universities in all particulars equal in equipment and appointments to those now appropriated to men's use. But this would be useless, for one-half of the money necessary to endow such institutions would enlarge those now in existence both in scope and usefulness and give greater advantages to both men and women.[78]

Canadian educationalists, ever sensitive to American innovation, could hardly question such an expeditious argument.

As long as the entrance of women to university education did not constitute a great expense, agreed with changing conceptions of women's sphere, and did not seriously challenge the class structure, co-education fell within the realm of possibility.[79] Educational reform along this line promoted the idea of mass social mobility as evidence by the following:

> It seems too late in the day to put obstructions in the way of co-education. Not that co-education is best for every girl, or that it is likely ever to become universal, but because it is practically the only hope that the multitudes can

> ever have of securing the higher education.[80]

Public opinion against co-education dissipated as time passed. State support lent legitimacy to higher education for women. It also became apparent that co-education did not produce female monsters or touch off illicit sexual intrigue, as had been feared. As this reform did not dispute sex role stereotypes to any great degree, waning of the concern for propriety was not surprising:

> Indeed the chances of a scandal arising from the mingling of the sexes are less in the college than in the school owing chiefly to the higher character of those women who have the fortitude to attempt a university course.[81]

After some time of observation, educators concluded that "there can be no possible objection to co-education on the grounds of intellectual inequality; nor is the girl's health more likely to suffer than her brother's...I have no knowledge of any girls having become less delicate and refined through the presence of men".[82] If anything, female standards of 'ladylike' behaviour were accelerated by the women students to avoid fueling the opposition's fire.

Conclusion

In nineteenth century Canada, men and women had rigidly defined social roles suited to their 'separate spheres' in life. Women of the wealthier classes, in comparison to their male counterparts were limited in the power that they

exercised and the amount of participation they had in the outside world. Their formal education reinforced this restricted role. The 'finishing school' type of education provided by the denominational ladies' colleges throughout the century, placed emphasis on the classical and ornamental, rather than occupational skill training of these young women. A number of rules and regulations which were extensions of the care exercised in the home (i.e., general chaperoning and socializing in supervised settings), regulated the interaction of these women with the world. Denominational colleges ensured suitable friendship networks, the contacts important for future marriage proposals, and the polish necessary for their domestic and philanthropic pursuits while filling the gap between childhood and marriage. Christian values of self-regulation were encouraged. As one researcher has pointed out, acting 'like a lady' ensured continual compliance.[83] The content of ladyhood could be learned or achieved however, being born into a wealthy family guaranteed that one could achieve these attributes in comfortable and 'proper' surroundings and, as in the case of denominational boarding schools, under strict tutelage. By the time women graduated from such institutions most were well socialized Christian women, ready to set an example in their home or devote themselves to the plight of those less fortunate than themselves.

Controversy over the entrance of women to co-edu-

cational degree-granting institutions culminated in Canada during the 1880s. Opposition to the movement for reform was widely based and dependent upon various medical and biblical arguments. The underlying concern was with the changing nature of the class and sex relationships within the developing capitalist order. A number of considerations combined to facilitate the movement of middle class women into the university. In general, the availability and less expensive nature of the university provided an educational alternative to the middle class. More specifically, women of the upper middle class had the leisure time and money to devote to higher education. Increasing numbers of single women meant the necessity of training enabling self-support and independence in a suitable occupation if marriage was not to be a possibility.

The expansion of women's sphere promoted by such reformers as maternal feminists reconciled popularly accepted notions of women's role with the reality of expanded activity. A university education may have improved the status of some women in the home and did provide a measure of choice for middle and upper class women. Higher education was not however made available or relevant for working class women and men. Specifically, co-educational university instruction ensured that middle class women who did not marry could have satisfying careers; that those who wanted to work before marrying could do so and that those who married immediately

upon graduation could become intelligent and well-trained wives and mothers. Progress was made in female education because the domestic ideal continued to be glorified by the middle and upper class 'ladies' who were instrumental in effecting change.

In this chapter we have dealt with broad developments in nineteenth century education for girls and women. Special circumstances surrounded the instruction of women under denominational auspices. In particular, the Baptists contributed to the establishment of higher education in Canada. In the next chapter we examine the nature and development of Baptist educational endeavours. In the process we examine the religious beliefs, political participation and economic status of the Baptist denomination in nineteenth century Ontario.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rosemary Ball, "A Perfect Farmer's Wife: Women in the Nineteenth Century", Canada: A Historical Magazine. (Vol. 3, 1975) p. 7. Domestic servants were in great demand throughout the nineteenth century. Their availability was the topic of quite a number of Ontario Bureau Industries annual reports during the period.

2. Men could also 'do well' through marriage as many women of the upper class had capital and/or social connections to contribute to a marriage.

3. Women were excluded for a number of reasons linked to class expections of their social role. This will be examined at a later point in this work.

4. A combination of factors accounts for the pioneering efforts of the Methodists in education. As John Moir points out, "The most successful denomination in the effort to Canadianize in Upper Canada was the Methodists... (John Moir, The Church in the British Era, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1972) p. 113. The Methodists were large and well settled in Upper Canada, had some funds and were less hierarchically organized than the Church of England. As in the case of the Baptists then, there was a concern with an educated membership that extended to both male and female constituents. Particularly important were the efforts of Professor D.C. Van Norman who was keenly interested in female education. He resigned from Victoria College in Sept. 1844 to give his time to the development of Coburg Ladies' Seminary (later renamed Burlington Ladies' Academy).

5. Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada. (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company, 1957) p. 381.

6. Marion V. Royce, "A Landmark in Victorian Education for Young Ladies", Improving College and University Training, 22, Winter, 1975, p. 9.

7. C.B. Sissons, My Dearest Sophie, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1955), Introduction, p. XXViii. Ryerson's position on grammar schools as prep courses for university and the professions, and therefore not suitable for women was quite representative of popular conceptions. See also, Alison Prentice, The School Promoters (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), p. 113.

8. Marion V. Royce, Landmarks in the Victorian Education of 'Young Ladies' under Methodist Church Auspices, The Women in Canadian History Project (Toronto, OISE, 1977) p. 15, my emphasis.

9. George Gibbon McNab, The Development of Higher Education in Ontario (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1925) p. 50.

10. Op. cit., Part 111, p. 1.

11. This state of affairs characterized much of nineteenth century educational efforts for women. In the 1830s for example, another academy that in the beginning included a female department, Grantham Academy in St. Catharines, following several years of financial embarassment became the St. Catharines District Grammar School and was endowed with funds. Henceforth, females were excluded.

12. John F. German, "Ontario Ladies' College, Whitby", The Canadian Magazine (Vol. 5, May 1895) p. 78. Common schools were perceived by the parents of these 'ladies' as too 'rough' and were regarded as a last resort for the education of their daughters (Ian Davey, "Trends in Female School Attendance in Mid-Nineteenth Century Ontario", Social History (Vol. VIII, No. 16, 1975) p. 249).

13. J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910 (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, Publishers, 1910) p. 233, my emphasis.

14. Marion V. Royce, "Landmarks in the Victorian Education of 'Young Ladies' under Methodist Church Auspices," The Women in Canadian History Project (Toronto, OISE, 1977) p. 14.

15. Op. cit., p. 251.

16. This aspect of private schools is of particular interest when the focus of this work turns to an examination of Moulton College.

17. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth Century America", Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society (Autumn 1975, Vol 1, No. 1), p. 18.

18. Marion Mann and Janet Berton, "The Canadian Co-ed", The Chronicle (Vol. 40, 1967) p. 41.

19. D. Ronish, "The Development of Higher Education for Women at McGill", Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1972, p. 51.

20. Discussion in this section is indebted to the thesis noted above.

21. Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada. (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company, 1957) p. 329.

22. Ibid., p. 383.

23. John Squair, "The Admission of Women to University of Toronto", University of Toronto Monthly (Vol. XXIV,No. 5, February 1924), p. 212.

24. Officially Queen's was the first Ontario university to admit women in 1869. However it was ten years before they were allowed into all the classes and another five before the first of the female students graduated in 1885.

25. The struggle over co-education was exemplified to a certain extent by the correspondence between George Ross and Daniel Wilson over the proper type of education for women. Daniel Wilson writing to Ross in 1884 argued the necessity of having a separate reading room, retiring room and matron's quarters for the female student population and concluded, "No doubt if Parliament insists on our trying a plan which so many experienced educationalist condemn, they will not refuse ample means to give the experiment the best chance of success". Op. cit., p. 260.

26. Two of these were the daughters of George Brown, 'Father of Confederation'. They did not, however, attend lectures but, in consideration of propriety were privately tutored in their studies.

27. University College did not get an official residence until the 1920s. In the meantime female students had to find other boarding accomodations. As we shall see, the question of Toronto living quarters was the source of debate among McMaster University female students as well.

28. M. Jennifer Brown, "'A Disposition to Bear the Ills...' Rejection of a Separate College by University of Toronto Women". The Women in Canadian History Project (Toronto: OISE, 1977) p. 4.

29. Ibid., p. 7. According to this author, the investigarion was prompted by a number of concerns; financial restraints, government interference and the question of how to respond to women students who did not fit the female stereotype and won a considerable number of the academic awards, perhaps unconsciously regarded as rightfully belonging to the men.

30. Ibid., p. 18.

31. Ibid., p. 15.

32. Egerton Ryerson, editor, "Higher Education for Girls", The Journal of Education for Upper Canada, 1873, p. 8.

33. Ibid., p. 8. Medical arguments against higher education or co-education for women must be placed in the context of the conditions of health during this period. Concern over the health of women and the possible negative repercussions of education for women's fertility stemmed in part from the level of medical development and high mortality rates. For example, ¼ of the children born in the early 1890s did not live to reach the age of fifteen (SOURCE: Jane Synge, Untitled Manuscript, McMaster University, 1981, p. 17)

34. See B. Barker-Benfield, The Horrors of the Half-Known Life: Male Attitudes Towards Women and Sexuality in Nineteenth Century America (New York: Harper and Row, 1976)

35. Joan N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981) p. 97.

36. The Week, (July 7, 1887) p. 513-4.

37. Ibid., p. 513-

38. Ibid., p. 491.

39. Rev. B. Austin, Woman: Her Character, Culture and Calling, (Brantford: Warwick and Sons, 1890) p. 450.

40. The Week (July 3, 1884) p. 486. This concern was also expressed in various policies and programs of Moulton College and McMaster University.

41. It is difficult to evaluate the relative strength and popularity of the arguments against general education

and co-education for women. Those totally opposed to higher education for women were in a minority. Their arguments, primarily based on physiological 'facts' gave way after the achievements of women proved them invalid. Arguments against co-education, on the surface based on a concern for propriety were in reality designed to limit the participation of women in any sphere other than the domestic one. This perspective was more widespread as it supported the way of life experienced by the middle and upper classes who had the power and means to disseminate these ideas about the role of women.

42. The Week, (February 28, 1884) p. 200.

43. Alison Prentice and Susan E. Houston (editors), Family School and Society in 19th Century Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975) p. 256.

44. A different state of affairs existed for lower class women who out of necessity shared the reality of labour force participation with their male counterparts and were therefore not considered 'ladies'.

45. Deborah Gorham, "Singing up the Hill", Canadian Dimension (10 (8), June 1975) p. 27.

46. Joan N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981) p. 102.

47. Egerton Ryerson, editor, "Higher Education for Girls", The Journal of Education for Upper Canada, 1873, p. 8.

48. The Week (February 7, 1884) p. 148. My emphasis.

49. Concern has been expressed over women filling occupations 'rightfully' belonging to the male head of the household during other periods in Canadian history, i.e., Post World War II.

50. The Week (July 3, 1884) p. 140.

51. Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin, The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978) p. 15.

52. The term 'feminist' is difficult to define as its scope has varied with changing historical contexts. During the period under examination a small group of dedicated

feminists totally rejected the female ideal and hoped to fashion a new role for women, based on human rights principles. The majority of 'women's rights advocates', the maternal feminists, accepted the ideal but sought to expand it from the domestic to the public sphere.

53. Rev. B. Austin (editor), Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mother (Brantford: Warwick and Sons Publishers, 1890) p. 345.

54. See for example, John R. Gillis, Youth and History, (New York: Academic Press, 1974) p. 99.

55. Genevieve Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920", Women at Work, Ontario, 1850-1930, (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974), p. 90.

56. Ibid., p. 90.

57. Rev. B. Austin (editor), Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mother (Brantford: Warwick and Sons Publishers, 1890) p. 47.

58. The Week (December 27, 1889), p. 56.

59. Ibid., p. 56.

60. These figures were computed from the Census of Canada, 1890-91. Occupation of the People and see, National Council of Women, Women of Canada: Their Life and Work (Toronto: Warwick and Sons, 1900) p. 102.

61. See Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching" in The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979) and Wayne Roberts, Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women, 1893-1914 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1976) p. 136.

62. Alison Prentice and Susan E. Houston (editors), Family School and Society in 19th Century Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975) p. 125.

63. Teaching was still the most common form of employment for middle class women; our information on Moulton College and McMaster University illustrates this trend. Not until the twentieth century did clerical positions become more commonly filled by women. The proliferation of domestic science courses will be examined at a later point in this work.

64. For example, of the total Ontario female workforce of 1890 (82,082), 35,781 or 44% were domestic servants. Census of Canada, 1890-91. Occupation of the People.

65. This was particularly true of the graduates of McMaster University. Combination of career and motherhood was not necessary or acceptable behaviour for middle class women at this time.

66. Joan N. Burstyn, Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981) p. 131.

67. When the family was not functioning properly, a detrimental effect was felt in the social fabric; "Where do worthless men and women come from? From worthless homes". Rev. B. Austin (editor), Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mother (Brantford: Warwick and Sons Publishers, 1890) p. 345.

68. Ibid., p. 452.

69. Ibid., p. 126. An important contradiction evident in this process was that the Victorian family was a source and symbol of female oppression yet the struggle for its preservation provided a force towards emancipation.

70. The Week (December 27, 1889) p. 200. More realistically, the domestic duties fulfilled by women in the 19th century were instrumental to the practical and social survival of their families and other members of the household. Their activity varied with social class background. Rural women tended the garden and some livestock and may have helped with the harvest, in addition to their kitchen chores. Urban working class women may have managed the household accounts, struggled on low wages to feed and clothe their family and may have done laundering and cleaning for other families to bring in additional income. Women of the wealthier classes were not as directly productive in the home. They managed the servants of the household, planned social activities for their children and produced future heirs. At some time or another most women instructed their children and nursed those members of their household who were ill. A number of these function (most notably, teaching and nursing) were removed from female auspices and appropriated by the state after the turn of the century.

71. In fact, the activities of these philanthropists did contribute to maintaining the status quo as they mediated in potential conflict situations between the working class and the bourgeoisie. Some researchers have argued that the capitalist class was primarily concerned with 'race regeneration' and purity and that they consciously attempted to maintain Anglo-Saxon dominance. Although we are not concerned with an in depth analysis of this point in this work we would suggest that the capitalist class had certain long term interests in maintaining the class (not race) structure intact. Anglo-Saxon Protestant standards of chastity and sobriety were only a part of the process.

72. Rev. B. Austin (editor), Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mother (Brantford: Warwick and Sons Publishers, 1890) p. 331.

73. The Week (February 28, 1888) p. 201 and (December 27, 1889) p. 200, my emphasis. It must be realized that there were many independent women who recognized the contradiction between their sheltered existence and the more active and involved lives of their male relatives, and sought to change their status. In particular, daughters of Evangelical Protestant families who had been taught to battle evil in an active way must have seen reform pursuits as particularly liberating. Susan Moulton McMaster was one such woman who was determined to be active in her own life by educating 'Christian Womanhood'.

74. J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910 (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, Publishers, 1910) p. 232.

75. Ibid., p. 234.

76. The Week (December 10, 1888) p. 775-6.

77. A comprehensive evaluation of American and British reform in terms of higher education for women would be of particular interest. Unfortunately that topic cannot begin to be examined within the scope of this work.

78. Rev. B. Austin (editor), Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mother (Brantford: Warwick and Sons Publishers, 1890) p. 351.

79. One of the greatest obstacles in the way of increased attendance of women at university was the lack of suitable boarding accomodation. Beyond approving access to the halls of higher learning university administrators

seemed reluctant to commit themselves at times to the permanence of female participation.

80. J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910 (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, Publishers, 1910) p. 45.

81. The Week (February 14, 1884) p. 165.

82. Op. cit., p. 232.

83. See Greer Litton Fox, "Nice Girl: Social Control of Women through a Value Construct", Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society (Summer, 1977, Vol. 2, Number 4) p. 805.

CHAPTER FOUR

FEMALE EDUCATION UNDER BAPTIST AUSPICES: A CASE STUDY OF MOULTON COLLEGE AND MCMASTER UNIVERSITY

Introduction

In this chapter we examine the education of girls and women at Moulton College and McMaster University, two late nineteenth century institutions organized under Baptist church auspices. The religious principles of this denomination influenced their political involvement and educational developments. Emphasis on democratic church organization led to a conern for an educated membership. This established a predisposition that, as we shall see, when combined with other factors resulted in pioneering efforts in female education.

We are interested in examining the historical development and organization of Baptist institutions of education as well as reconstructing the experiences of the women who attended them. Changes in curriculum, rules and regulations and teacher-student interaction are discussed. The class background, religious affiliation and place of origin of the students are analyzed via both direct and indirect data sources. General enrollment and attendance data are also presented. Particularly as regards McMaster University, the student's level of awareness and organization as women in

a 'man's world' is a topic of consideration.

It is hoped that analysis of these institutions will shed light on the complex issues that surrounded the development of education for women in Ontario, and the unique contribution on the Baptist denomination in this regard. Both Baptist schools relied for many years on voluntary support and private munificence (mostly from the McMaster family), rather than lose control or sacrifice their principles to State finance and intervention in educational affairs. As smaller establishments, under Baptist control, Moulton College and McMaster University could maintain a tight knit community in which their particular brand of 'Christian education' could flourish.

A Note on Sources

Historical research has a number of problems, some inherent in the nature of the data and others specifically related to the topic under examination. Lack of surviving material and unreliability of census data have necessitated some conclusions in this work to be based on indirect sources or inference. More specifically, examination of this topic has been complicated by the fact that historically, women's experiences have not been viewed as a valid subject of study and therefore, until recently little research had been done in the area. In the past, studies of university development made only passing reference to early female students yet

these women had unique problems related to their status before entering university as well as a number of restrictions once they entered the system. Our task is to build on existing research in the area.

Actual university records are also deficient. Application procedures were more informal when the university system was less bureaucratized and therefore scanty background information was available on the students. In this analysis, we have relied on information held at the Canadian Baptist Archives located at McMaster University. Moulton College and McMaster University calendars, faculty minute books, student registers, correspondence, assorted biographical files, the McMaster University Monthly and Baptist publications proved to be invaluable sources. In addition, the Individual Student Files that were made available through the generosity of the Registrar's Office were of assistance.

Particular attention is paid in this chapter to the female graduates of McMaster University, tracing the first class of women who enrolled in 1890 and graduated in 1894 to those women who graduated in 1904. A total of 36 students graduated between 1894 and 1904. Of these, we have definite information on thirty. We have constructed a profile of these students based on available data and dealing with their background, enrollment patterns, organizational involvement and occupational/marital status upon graduation. This chapter attempts to understand the experiences of these pioneers

in light of the broader trends of which they were symbolic.

Baptist History, Religious Policy and Educational Endeavour

Although the Methodists took the lead in the education of girls and women in the early nineteenth century, other religious denominations made important contributions towards the construction of a system of education in Upper Canada. The Baptist sect has a history of educational endeavour in Upper and Lower Canada dating back to the early decades of the nineteenth century. The history of these institutions; Canada Baptist College, Canadian Literary Institute, Toronto Baptist College, Moulton Ladies' College and McMaster University form a vital chapter in the development of denominational education in Canada. Moulton Ladies' College and McMaster University are of particular interest to us in this chapter.

The Baptists came to Canada in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from England, Scotland and the United States. Attempts at enforcing religious uniformity in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England led Baptists, Congregationalists and Quakers to advocate complete religious liberty and to leave England in search of this ideal. Most immigrant Baptists settled in what was then western Ontario and Quebec.[1] Acccrding to one source, the first Baptist church in Canada was organized five years after the Constitutional Act was passed.[2] Reliable statistics on the size of the various religious groups at this time are unavailable. Statistics compiled by the Methodists in

1820 however, recognized 221 Protestant ministers (Anglican, 16; Presbyterian, 15; Itinerant Methodists, 33; local Methodists, 47; Quakers, 10 and Baptists, 25).[3] The growth of the Baptist sect was slow. Many factors combined to curtail development. The pioneer conditions in early Upper Canada hindered communication and transportation, the Baptist criteria for membership (baptism) precluded large numbers, and the lack of trained ministers made expansion difficult.[4] As we have seen (p.34), in 1851 Baptists formed a 5% minority in a 2/3 Protestant province, with the Church of England and Methodist denominations being of nearly equal size.

For the greater part of the nineteenth century most Baptists lived in rural areas of the Province on farms or in small villages and towns. The strong community ties that developed were important to the individual Baptist congregation. Most Baptists in the early part of the century had little formal schooling. As one historian has noted, "People of little education and thereby inclined towards elementary forms of religious expression had predominated in the Baptist membership before 1837...".[5] As one of the evangelical sects, Baptists "were on the social fringes of the community. Their emergence as new sects represented efforts of scattered or downtrodden folk neglected by the traditional churches, to develop the form of religious fellowship on their own".[6]

The Church of England and Church of Scotland as the

'established' churches were the 'upper class' denominations of the metropolis. They "represented the official classes of the community - the classes which had a stake in the imperial connection but made no effective effort to serve the outlying backwoods farm population".[7] The political reaction against control of the Church of England in particular, was supported by the evangelical sects. As we have seen, the Baptists took the 'voluntarist' position on such issues as the Clergy Reserves and the University Question. Their firm hold to this commitment had important repercussions for the development of their educational institutions.

In the Baptist denomination, antagonism between the rural and urban membership after 1875 when "control within the denomination shifted to the more socially influential members and preachers situated within the larger cities"[8] was eventually reflected in the nature and location of their schools. As we shall see, urban Baptists in Montreal and Toronto (men like the banker, Joseph Wenham; printer and publisher, Rollo Campbell and Senator William McMaster) placed emphasis on the role of the Baptist denomination in the new order. University educated leaders and ministers were viewed as a necessity.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, "the evangelical churches in gradually withdrawing from sectarianism, became much more a part of the metropolitan

structure. With the migration of their followers, they established themselves in the larger centers of the population and their leaders became much more sympathetic to the views of city residents".[9] The asceticism cultivated within these sects tended towards success in business enterprises. The Baptist educational endeavours drew vital financial support from such successful businessmen as William McMaster.

Baptist religious tenets had important consequences for the political and educational involvement of the denomination. One of the most important of the Baptist principles is the separation of Church and State. European persecution of the Baptist non-conformist beliefs led this sect to place great emphasis on religious freedom. Baptists assert that the civil authorities have no power in matters of conscience and therefore may not control the appointment of ministers or prescribe forms of worship. Therefore, according to this perspective, the State is not liable for the costs of maintaining worship, other religious activities or for the payment of ministers. Church and state functions are separate but complementary as pointed out in the following:

> We are citizens of this world as well as 'colonist of heaven'. We live by the spirit but we do not hesitate to exercise the franchise...occupy public office, engage in trade and labour for the freedom, health and prosperity of all men regardless of their faith. We do these things, however, as individuals fulfilling a Christian duty rather than as a church body exerting political pressure.[10]

Ideally, the State is a worldly and necessary institution in all affairs save those directly related to religious practice. The separation of Church and State however, according to Baptist principles, should not be carried to extremes for, "If the separation of Church and State leads to the divorce of religion and everyday life and to the withdrawal of Christians from affairs of State, then the struggle of 'Free churchmen' will have ended in defeat rather than victory".[11] This position prompted the stand that the Baptists took regarding the university question.

The Baptist definition of 'Church' also had consequences for their involvement in education. According to the Baptist sect, the term church refers to a fellowship of believers who have signified their belief in Christ via the ordination of baptism; the independent congregation (rather than provincial, national or global organization).[12] During the nineteenth century, Canadian Baptists were divided over what actually constituted membership and participation in the church. Those who advocated 'close communion' denied the right to partake of the last supper in a Baptist church to those who were unbaptized. This perspective was characteristic of the Baptists of American descent who had settled in western Canada. Those who favoured 'open communion' (the English and Scottish Baptists who had settled in the east) believed all those who 'loved the Lord' were eligible to receive communion in a Baptist church. The debate be-

tween these two groups divided the Baptist population and had important consequences for regional developments in education.

Most important perhaps, for this analysis, is the Baptist emphasis on democracy in church organization. Stress placed on personal faith and individual salvation through a one to one relationship with God, meant that the affairs of the Baptist denomination were the province of both the ministry and laity. One result of this belief, as we have seen, was the lack of a 'head of the church' to speak for Baptists in political concerns. The Baptist denomination was less hierarchically organized than was for example, the Church of England. This led to a sincere concern on the part of the Baptists for an educated membership. As has been pointed out, "The most fundamental assumption underlying our Baptist ecclesiology is that its nature and function are understood and espoused by our membership. Without this, we are well on the way to the loss of our Baptist identity".[13]

Local church freedom of worship and governance had both advantages and disadvantages. Often individual church resources were not sufficient to meet the demands of the scattered population. Financing the education of Baptist youth was complicated by this fact. In adherence to their policies, Baptist educational effort had to rely on 'voluntary' contributions rather than state assistance. This had great influence on the number, type and organization of their educational institutions.

In the 1840s the Baptists recognized their vulnerable position vis-a-vis the more powerful denominations and decided to organize as a group. Theological and geographical divisions were overcome and a Baptist union was formed. The purpose of the Union was expressly stated at the first annual meeting in Toronto, June 26, 1844:

> In this way we may hope, and shall ultimately be able to exert as a body a more powerful influence upon public sentiment, and mould it more to a fair and calm and rational investigation of our principles and prepare the way for their more extensive adoption and prevalence.[14]

In this statement we see the reconciliation of Baptist polity with concern over issues close to home. As one researcher has pointed out, "they (Baptists) did believe that fearing God involved assuming very definite obligations for their fellow man's well-being'; they felt it was their responsibility to oppose public and individual evil wherever it threatened the welfare of society".[15] In opposition to the 'established churches' the Baptists recognized that, "... their security depended upon the security of denominational attachments. Efforts to strengthen the social position of the church led to the promotion of activities, such as education and temperance...".[16]

The vital importance of education for the Baptist sect was the topic of a number of pamphlets published around the turn of the century. As one writer noted, "These schools of ours (Woodstock College and Moulton College), deal with

life in its most impressionable years and since...the preponderance of the world's leadership is drawn from those whose education is pursued past the compulsory age set by the State, it is a matter of vital concern to the church that she shall capture that leadership by a true presentation of Christ and his teaching during the period of plasticity".[17] The leaders of the coming generation of Canadians were thought to be in the process of character formation at these Baptist institutions.

The following excerpt from the same publication deserves to be quoted at length as it most cogently states the Baptist position as regards education:

> The Protestant Reformation gave a great impetus to popular education and Evangelical Christians have been foremost in the fight to secure educational opportunities for all children. They have realized that the dangers of ignorance are in some ways greater in democratic lands where every man shares by his vote in the government of his country, than when a privileged hereditary class which had some education wielded the sceptre of power. They have realized too the greater probability of an intelligent apprehension of the deeper things of the Christian faith by those able to read for themselves, and with some measure of mental training.[18]

Mass education in Christian values would enable the Baptist denomination to understand their own beliefs but also would "enable (them) to win more of the poorest and most illiterate for the Kingdom of Jesus Christ".[19]

Baptist concern therefore, throughout the nineteenth century was to maintain and expand their membership in the

face of diversity and opposition. The education of ministers and the general population was extremely important. Early Baptist (and Methodist) emphasis on the education of girls and women stemmed from their democratic views on church participation. Women as well as men were regarded as potential evangelists. As a small denomination, the Baptists could not practically deny half of its membership sufficient training to enable reading and comprehension of the scriptures. Unlike the Anglicans, the Baptists were not primarily concerned with educating a political or business elite (examination of the class background of students attending Baptist institutions will illustrate this). Most of the graduates of Moulton College and McMaster University went on to work as ministers, missionaries, teachers or minister's wives in Baptist communities, rather than as politicians and business magnates.

Education for the Baptist denomination had a high intrinsic value. As noted by one historian:

> The only group of parents who were really in favour of a proper academic education were the puritan, non-conformist and Quaker groups, whose life-style excluded balls and frivolities in favour of good works and study, and who wanted moral training for girls to educate the next generation in religion and morality.[20]

Within this small denomination, women were of particular importance as the socialization of children could quite effectively bolster the size of the Baptist community. In com-

parison to more powerful, widely based and large churches, with less democratic organization, the Baptists were in the forefront of nineteenth century female education. However, although "the Baptist contribution to changing female education patterns was real... Baptists did not support greater opportunity for women on the basis of any strong conviction of women's rights or needs. Rather they restricted offerings to courses designed to ensure the place of women in the home".[21] This will be clearly seen as discussion turns to Moulton College and McMaster University.

To summarize, the Baptist denomination desired to maintain their freedom of religious belief, practice and sense of community in the face of opposition. The State school system which created a larger national consensus was not acceptable to the Baptists who keenly felt a sense of distinct community. Baptist religious tenets emphasized the separation of the Church and State, local church autonomy, democracy in denominational affairs and the personal relationship of faith between the believer and God. These tenets led to a concern with mass literacy and, as the country developed and the urbanizing influence was felt, Baptists believed that advanced levels of education were necessary to enable participation in the affairs of the wider community. Along with other religious groups (most notably, the Methodists), Baptists advocated education for girls and women in their capacity as moral influence on succeeding generations,

quite a while before other denominations or the State became involved in female education. As stated in a Baptist policy brief, education "...give(s) opportunities to our people to think together, to work together, to cherish common ideals and to become identified with common purposes; thus to unify our denomination whose members are so apt to be held apart by our principles of independence and local autonomy...".[22]

Baptist educational endeavours constitute a lengthy history. A brief examination of early ventures in this area will add to our understanding of the premises upon which Moulton College and McMaster University were established.

In 1836 the Canada Baptist College was founded in Montreal to educate men for the Baptist ministry. A Scottish seaman and schoolmaster by the name of John Gilmour was involved in launching the school. From the beginning the institution encountered difficulty. It was located too far from western Ontario where most Baptists had settled, did not have undivided Baptist support, and lacked sufficient endowment. It was also hampered by theological differences among the Baptists; more specifically between the 'close' and 'open' communicants. Economic downswings in Montreal during the 1840s combined with the termination of support from the English Missionary Society forced the college to close in 1850.

The major educational concern of the Baptists in the 1840s and 50s was continued support of a college to train

their ministers. Since their beliefs precluded obtaining state aid, they were interested in the reform of King's College and supported the reformers in their advocacy of a non-sectarian Provincial university.

Ministerial education posed a real problem for the central Canadian Baptist community, especially after the demise of the Montreal based Canada Baptist College. Rev. Fyfe suggested a new plan that would combine literary and theological departments and offer to young men and women the opportunity to obtain a general education under Christian influences, in a residential school.[23] He pointed to the problem of young men wishing to be trained for the ministry having to leave the Province, and stated that "...whereas if our students should attend a preparatory school of our own they would have not only the same curriculum, but the same incidental training and discipline".[24] A common education, it was thought, would lead to a greater solidarity within the denomination. The emphasis on the incidental aspects of education and the residential considerations involved, mark much of Baptist educational concern. The proposed institution would ensure that Baptist youth be brought under 'healthful and moral influences' close to home.

Fyfe's plan was received with favour and the Canadian Literary Institute opened in 1860 and was immediately successful in attracting students. It was situated in Woodstock, Ontario and was completely financed by voluntary gifts. It

is also important to note that the school was co-educational. Rev. Fyfe explained the reasoning behind this decision as follows:

> We had no place in which to educate our young women. Many of them were going to American schools. And co-education of the sexes was receiving more and more consideration and increasing numbers were favouring the practice. Indeed, very great and rapid advances both in England and the United States have been made during the last ten years in favour of the admission of ladies to the same institution of learning as men. We could not raise money for two schools, one for gentlemen and one for ladies so we put them together.[25]

The Canadian Literary Institute responded to the desire of Baptists to have a secondary level education for their daughters by making its program co-educational. Financial considerations engendered by the unequivocal Baptist denial of State aid made the erection of a separate school for girls unworkable.

During this period, Fyfe and other Baptist educators were trying to preserve the Provincial university as a place to which Canadian Literary Institute graduates could be sent. However, the Institute, which had been plagued by financial difficulties, destroyed once by fire and subject to theological in-fighting closed in 1878. In this year, debate over the situation of the Institute came to a head. Toronto Baptists had supported a move of the school to Toronto, while Rev. Fyfe had pushed for it to remain in the rural area of Woodstock where he felt it would serve the largest percen-

tage of Baptists. Upon his death in 1878 and the temporary closing of the Institute in the same year, suggestions for the removal of the theological department of the Canadian Literary Institute to Toronto, became increasingly frequent.[26]

In April of 1879, William McMaster (Chairman of the Board of Trustees and a generous contributor to the support of the institution) suggested to the board of trustees that the theological department be moved to Toronto.

William McMaster was the son of an Irish linen merchant. He came to Canada in 1833, settled in York, entered the wholesale dry-goods business and became head of the prosperous house of Wm. McMaster and Nephews. Gradually his activities became primarily financial. In 1867 he founded and became the first president of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. In 1862 he was elected to the legislative council for the Midland Division. In 1867 he was appointed to the Senate.[27] He was a mid-nineteenth century entrepreneur who was interested in increasing Toronto's commercial power, was involved with the Toronto expansionists and was prominently listed among the supporters of the Northwest Navigation and Transportation Company.[28] McMaster was a 'worldly' Baptist who was, according to some sources, ostentatious and pushy. One researcher noted that "Egerton Ryerson, who saw a great deal of the Senator socially, thought him the embodiment of the Protestant ethic, the Christian person

who had clearly achieved salvation in the next world through the vigorous and successful application of his enviable talents in this one".[29] As Ryerson noted in a letter to his daughter, "I think a business man (any more than a literary man) should not sit down in idleness but continue active as does Mr. McMaster".[30]

In April 1879, a committee was appointed to look into the matter of the proposed move to Toronto. An educational conference held at Guelph in July 1879 saw presentation of the arguments both for and against the matter. Those Baptists who argued against the change, cited the moral and social distractions of the city as providing an unsuitable environment for the education of ministers. They also believed that the two departments of the institute (the literary and the theological) were complementary and that separating them would undermine the object of a well-rounded education. The expense of transition was also held as a determining factor in favour of the Institute remaining where it was. Those Baptists in favour of the move to Toronto pointed to that city's wider range of cultural activities, 'polish' and proximity to the University of Toronto. The underlying concern was perhaps stated best by one delegate who noted that, "while I am perfectly willing to grant that the country churches for the future will need excellent men, a great need which I fear will be unmet will be for men to take hold of and control

the great centers".[31]

The important consideration which probably consolidated the position of those who were in favour of the move was the assurance (however subtle as it may have been) that financial support would be forthcoming once the theological department was moved to Toronto.[32] In 1881 the theological department was resituated in Toronto and became the Toronto Baptist College. It became a closed corporation with the Board of the institution being responsible to the denomination. The first board of trustees included many manufacturers and businessmen as well as politicians. William McMaster provided an initial endowment of $100,000 with a pledge of an annual contribution of $14,500. He also provided a building, appropriately named McMaster Hall. The new school opened with 20 students and a staff of three professors under the presidency of Rev. John Castle.[33] After this point however, when small town Baptists made contributions for educational efforts they tended to give to the Canadian Literary Institute (which was renamed Woodstock College in 1883).

As we have seen, in 1884 a movement to effect federation of all degree conferring colleges in Ontario with the University of Toronto was under way. The form of 'affiliation' favoured by the Toronto Baptist College was unacceptable to the University of Toronto. The alternative (virtual integration with the University of Toronto) was not favoured by

leading Baptist educators. In 1886 the federation scheme was abandoned and William McMaster agreed to transfer the money he had offered for a federated arts college ($180,000) to Woodstock College. In 1887 a charter was obtained from the Ontario legislature, uniting the two colleges (Woodstock and Toronto Baptist College) under the corporate name of McMaster University, with power to grant degrees in Theology, Arts and Science. Three weeks after the University Bill was introduced in the legislature, McMaster drew up a new will leaving almost his entire estate as an endowment for the university. After his death in the autumn of the same year it was discovered that he had left $900,000 to the University.

When the Bill of Incorporation became law on April 22, 1887, two questions were raised whose resolution greatly influenced the direction that the University would take. The first was that of the location of the University. The course of events surrounding this issue was commented upon by the author of the History of Woodstock Baptist Church as follows:

> The exciting question was the location, but those favourable to Toronto had organized their forces to better advantage, and by introducing a plausible clause in their resolution to respect the 'moral obligation to Woodstock' and other well ordered plans, secured a small majority in favour of Toronto. It is needless to add that the friends of Woodstock College were not only surprised but dissatisfied, and the town subscribers held an indignant meeting to condemn the whole arrangement.[34]

In March 1888 the Guelph Convention resolved that the University should be organized and developed as a permanently individual Christian School of learning with the 'Lordship of Christ' as the controlling principle, and to locate the Arts Department in Toronto.

Additional enemies of the new system were made of the rural Baptists who were already unhappy with the centralization of Baptist ministerial education, when co-education was discontinued at Woodstock College (which was reorganized so as to provide 'males with a thorough and practical general education'). Baptist denominational education for girls was removed to Toronto as well. Great dissatisfaction was expressed over this state of affairs. The Woodstock College Alumni stated that "we express it as our conviction that the Senate of McMaster University have acted in a wrong principle in making such radical changes as the removal of the Ladies' Department to Toronto without consulting the denomination".[35] The congregation of Woodstock Baptist Church pointed out that "considerable dissatisfaction was expressed in regard to the removal of the ladies' department from Woodstock to Toronto, which had been the work chiefly of Dr. McVicar, the Chancellor of McMaster University who had influenced Mrs. McMaster to assist in founding Moulton Ladies' College instead".[36]

In 1888 Toronto acquired Woodstock Ladies' Department and renamed it Moulton Ladies College. Susan Moulton

McMaster had become interested in transferring her Bloor street residence to McMaster University to use as a school for girls. Moulton College was administrated by McMaster University on the understanding that the university would maintain the school 'in perpetuity' exclusively for girls and would underwrite the salaries of four resident teachers. With the loss of the theological department and the girl's school, Woodstock College lost much of its purpose and educational standing.[37]

The second question that the new university had to deal with was that of federation with the University of Toronto. Those who argued in favour of federation maintained that the arrangement would not limit the freedom of McMaster University, that the work of training students would be left in the hands of McMaster professors, and that eventually, graduates of the federated college would be accepted on equal footing with other students at the University of Toronto. The arguments of those educators who did not support federation won the day.[38] They believed that under such a system, McMaster's uniqueness would be lost; that it would be reduced to a school of languages and would have to surrender the more important courses to the state institution. Baptist educational authorities held that Bible study, Sociology and Political Economy should have a place in the curriculum and these areas were largely ignored by the University of Toronto.[39] The major determining factor, of course, was the

Baptist refusal to accept state aid or interference in their affairs.

Conclusion

Baptist democratic church organization allowed a fair amount of dissension within the denomination. During the nineteenth century, large numbers of the population were still living in rural communities and had invested a great deal of time, effort and finance in the establishment of local educational efforts such as the Canadian Literary Institute. The removal of the Theological and Ladies' Departments of the Institute to Toronto was part of general centralization tendencies in educational organization. The move was also, to a certain extent, engineered by prominent Baptists who had a concern in relocating educational endeavour in Toronto and had the power to implement change as a result of their 'voluntarist' financial investments in the institutions involved. The antagonisms between various factions of the denomination eventually manifested themselves in the amount of popularity and support Moulton College and Mcmaster University were accorded.

The shape that these institutions took depended on the concerns of the growing denomination. In spite of theological and other differences, "in a way unequalled perhaps by any other denomination, the Baptist church aroused feelings of group loyalty which resulted in the emergence of a dis-

tinctive group character".[40] The education of all members was important to the continued expansion of the Baptist church. An examination of the formal and informal organization of Moulton College and McMaster University will illustrate the manner in which Baptist Christian education ensured morally committed and enthusiastic members. It should be noted that Baptist practical control of these institutions facilitated a uniquely Baptist education.

Moulton Ladies' College: The Development of an Educated Christian Womanhood

When co-education was discontinued at Woodstock College in 1888, the education of female Baptist youth was taken over by Moulton Ladies' College which opened in the same year. Susan Moulton McMaster was its chief supporter. In addition to the conditions attached to the establishment of the college, noted earlier, Mrs. McMaster added some of her own. She ensured that Bible study would be part of the curriculum, that teachers at Moulton would be members in good standing of an evangelical church and that the Arts department of McMaster University be opened to graduates of Moulton College. Her ideas on the proper education of young Christian ladies had significant impact on the shape that the college eventually took.

Susan Moulton McMaster was born in 1819 in the United States. Her later school days were spent at Ipswich Massachusetts at a school founded by Mary Lyon, an educator of note in New England and founder of Mount Holyoke. Mary Lyon "had imbued her students with the ideal of an educated Christian womanhood so strong in its convictions that no one could come under its influence without feeling the challenge to a life of personal Christianity".[41] As the McMaster University Monthly later pointed out, "In common with many others, Susan Moulton McMaster chafed under the ban that

forbade girls to rank in equality with their brothers in literary pursuits and...later in life she joyfully hailed the founding of Vassar College, of which she had intimate knowledge and followed the fortunes of Wellesley and Smith with peculiar interest".[42] She applied the educational and religious principles of her training to the organization of Moulton College.

During the years of her first marriage,[43] Susan Moulton occupied herself with various philanthropic pursuits which would form the basis for the particular brand of education at Moulton College. She organized literary societies, took an active role in religious work, taught a class of girls and held weekly prayer meetings in her home. In later years she came under the influence of the temperance movement and advocated total abstinence from social, medicinal or culinary use of liquors. Like many women of her class, "all moral reforms...found in her a willing helper".[44] The work of the Baptist Home Missions in the western and southern United States appealed greatly to her as she perceived a crying need for the 'great masses' to be reached with the gospel.

In 1871, Susan Moulton married William McMaster and brought her concern in the education of young ladies, advocacy of temperance, and religious fervour to Ontario. Many sources pointed to the substantial influence she exerted on William McMaster's investments.[45] As noted in the Moulton

College publication in 1938, "Mrs. McMaster had great influence on her husband's life and, encouraged by her, he presented a Theological College in 1881 to the Baptist denomination and six years later established McMaster University".[46] As a letter from the Chancellor's Office to Mrs. McMaster in 1899 assiduously stated, "I am not uninformed in respect to the influence which you exerted upon the late Senator McMaster..."[47]. In her own right, Susan McMaster contributed $2,000 to the McMaster Hall Library and $1,500 anonymously as a loan fund in aid of students for the ministry.[48]

Her interest in the education of women stemmed from a concern with the future organization and quality of society. She made the link between education and religion very solidly by promoting a type of instruction that stressed the importance of becoming a devoted and active Christian:

> Fully persuaded that the most potent influence for the good of the world was a lovely Christian woman, she asked the girls (of the college) to join her in two pledges of her own devising. The first was never to taste liquor or to offer it to any person. The second was a pledge never to detract from another's character by unkind or careless criticism...and not to say behind another's back what she would not say to her face.[49]

Educational Purpose and Organization

As we have seen, denominational ladies' colleges provided a certain type of education for middle and upper class women. Above and beyond the formal curriculum guidelines and stated purposes of these institutions was the em-

phasis placed on more covert functions of socialization. Concern with a suitable Christian education is evident from the 1888/9 Moulton College prospectus:

> Character and correct deportment receive the first attention of the teachers...Mental discipline alone is not the highest measure of success in practical life, nor is it the measure of the highest form of womanhood...character and proper deportment are regarded as the crowning excellence of true scholarship. The various regulations of the college are not intended simply to secure order that the teachers may perform their work successfully, but they are designed to cultivate correct views of the relations of the governing to the governed, correct habits and the power of self-government.[50]

Self-control, subordination, proper demeanor; the cultivation of a 'true womanliness' were characteristic of the educational goals of the day.

Evangelical Christian belief stressed that despite the pervasiveness of worldly sin, all people could be saved if both the base physical side of their nature, as well as the spiritual side could be improved by education. Thus for education to develop the total human being, self-governance and cultivation of 'correct' habits were accentuated. Religious observances (all girls were required to attend Sunday services) and the social and philanthropic activities which accompanied these, played an important role in nurturing Victorian virtues.[51]

During their youthful years, male and female students were thought to be at a very dangerous stage in their development. As pointed out by a concerned guardian of a pros-

pective Moulton College student, "A young lady of eighteen, is desirous of taking a course at your college. She has taken the matriculation course...for McGill University but her father has an objection to her attending that University above, at her age for fear of the tendencies in a large institution towards infidelity".[52] A secluded and well-regulated ladies' college was an amenable solution for parents who were concerned about their daughters' 'safety' but realized the necessity of providing some form of education for them.[53]

Strict rules and regulations governed the conduct of the young ladies in attendance at the college. The power of the residential ladies' college in socializing the students is quite cogently expressed by the following:

> I remember too, the case of the young lady who came to the College frivolous and worldly. At first we found it difficult to hold her, her tastes leading her to prefer a school where earnestness was less characteristic. But after a while she began to have new thoughts, new views of life, and new aspirations, and when she graduated two years later the type of womanhood which she admired and exemplified was much higher than that which attracted her when she entered the school.[54]

At Moulton College, students were seated in the dining room in alphabetical order, mail was supervised[55] and day and residence pupils were not allowed to interact. The rules concerning the nature of social contact outside of the institution were more stringent.

Each girl had to provide a list of names of people that she could visit, and a similar list of those people who

could visit her, signed and approved by her parents. Pupils could not invite friends for meals or overnight visits. Students were not allowed to attend church socials. The young women of a certain age (late teens) were allowed to receive gentlemen callers once a month and were restricted to four such visits per year. Ladies under twenty years of age were not allowed in downtown Toronto without an escort.[56]

In 1899 the teachers ruled that friends of students were not allowed to entertain pupils of the college at the theatre, opera or card and dancing parties. In spite of this ruling, students persisted in attending these function and in 1900 the rule was modified to stipulate that students could only attent such entertainments if accompanied by their parents or guardian.

The behavioural restrictions that were part of Moulton College were not characteristic of this institution alone, but were an extension of the care exercised in the home. These rules and regulations were a 'normal' feature of the life of middle and upper class 'ladies'. They were a reflection of sex-roles in the family and society during this period of history.

Examination of the Moulton College Faculty Minute Book attests to the fact that the regulations of the college were not totally rigid if one was willing to take the risk of dismissal from the college. A number of young ladies were dismissed for meeting young men 'in the streets' and for

attending the theatre with young men without permission. One young women was expelled for going to her own church at some distance alone, against previous arrangements that had been made for her. Perhaps the most interesting 'scandal' involved the dismissal of a student in 1897 for 'wheeling' (bicycling) with a young man. On the strong and unanimous desire indicated by her fellow students she was allowed to remain at the college although deprived of the use of her 'wheel' for the remainder of the term.[57]

The students of the college did have a number of well chaperoned outings that they were allowed to attend; i.e., special lectures at McMaster University, various concerts, skating parties, 'at-homes', teas, etc... They were however, always regarded as needing close supervision, as it was important for, "selfishness, ill-temper, personal indulgences, likes and dislikes (to) be brought under subjection by young girls who have hitherto learned little of self-discipline".[58]

The most important functions of ladies' college education were commented on by an ex-graduate of the institution:

> Moreover, in the boarding school, simple living together is a great education. In the intimate contacts of daily living, opinion is molded, sharp corners are rubbed off, lasting friendships are formed and the social amenities are learned and practised.[59]

As one researcher has pointed out, "By controlling transactions with the external environment, organizations can

influence to at least some degree the 'society' which exists within them".[60] Supervising access of Moulton College students to the outside world during the vulnerable period of their development, served to maintain religious, and to a lesser extent, class boundaries. Some of the results of such schooling, (i.e., intra-denominational marriage and friendship, inculcation of Baptist values) were vital to the continued growth of the Baptist denomination. The more formal aspect of ladies' college education is the topic of the next section.

Curricular Transitions

The Moulton College curriculum was initially designed to equip the student with a general education over a three or four year program, the object of which was a college diploma. Students entering the college had a choice of four routes. The 'English Scientific Course' covered three years and such basic as English Grammar and Literature, Arithmetic and Algebra, Music, free hand Drawing, Painting and Bible Study completed the course. The 'Modern Language Course' took four years to complete and in addition to providing the basics, included French and German conversation and reading, Natural Science and Ethics. The 'Classical Course' also covered four years and included Latin, Greek, French, German, English Literature, Science, Ethics and Drawing. The course for matriculation into the University of Toronto or McMaster University with Honours in all departments covered three years

and most of the subjects mentioned above.

Applicants for admission to Moulton College had to pass the same examination required for entrance to the Provincial High Schools. All course options provided a non-specialized education that emphasized classical subjects in combination with 'ladylike' accomplishments such as art, music and elocution.[61] With the exception of the Matriculation Course, the education provided did not prepare the student for a specific occupation but rather for life as an intellectually trained and accomplished middle or upper class wife and mother.

With perhaps the exception of the first course option, the purely ornamental education which characterized female educational efforts in the early nineteenth century had given way to something more substantial. The amount of work required of the students and the classical nature of the curriculum were both criticized by the Principal of the College in her report of 1893:

> There are two features of our classroom work which I think unfavourable to the accomplishment of the best results - the multiplicity of subjects studied at the same time and the excessive strain of the closing examination. A student is carrying during most of her matriculation course, nine different studies...[62]

The Principal noted that even though the classical course orientation seemed "entrenched in the educational traditions of this country", she protested the "waste of mental and physical strength involved".[63]

In January of 1890, physical education became compulsory at Moulton College. In the initial stages of implementation, this innovation consisted of three quarters of an hour a day of outdoor walking. As the years went by, physical culture was emphasized to a greater extent and more sports facilities were incorporated into the Moulton College Buildings.[64] This concern for the fitness of female students at Moulton paralleled the larger movement towards acceptance of physical activity as suitable for women and necessary for their total well-being. Judging from the amount of time that the Moulton College faculty devoted to consideration of parental concern and the large number of students who were excused from physical culture classes with parental approval or on a physician's advice, physical education was not a very popular addition to the course of study.

Other new subjects were added to the course of study at Moulton College towards the end of the century, in response to the changing emphasis in economic and university organization. The first mention of the addition of domestic science as the 'Department of Household Science' at Moulton was in the faculty minutes of 1903. The calendar of a few years later stated that:

> Modern education recognizes more and more fully the manifold powers, physical, mental and moral of the student and seeks to inform and direct in accordance with these manifold powers; hence the emphasis on manual training in its various forms, the practical and educational val-

> ues of which are esteemed by educators everywhere.[65]

The Moulton College domestic science department awarded a separate diploma upon completion of the three year course. The extent to which scientific principles were being applied to household management can be seen in the subjects taught; equipment and care of a kitchen, the study of digestion, hygiene, laundry, marketing, household accounts, menus and care and diet of children. In addition, Moulton College had a sewing department that taught basic stitches, embroidery and the use of patterns. One of the benevolent activities of the upper middle class 'ladies' involved in the sewing department at Moulton was distributing the results of their efforts to those less fortunate than themselves:

> Much of the work thus executed is devoted to the needs of the poor, and the exquisite needlework that finds its way into some homes must make the recipients feel that a fairy Godmother has paid them a visit.[66]

By 1908 Home Economics was established at the University of Toronto, McGill, Acadia and Mt. Allison University. Adelaide Hoodless was the champion of domestic science. She believed that the home, church and school were the foundations of Christian morality, and noted that, "If we are to have good politicians and true, honest men, we must have a higher type of womanhood".[67] Hoodless stressed that woman's place was in the home and advocated a type of higher education, particularly suited to her special calling. Domestic

Science training, she thought, provided a relevant school curriculum for girls while arresting the breakdown in domestic life caused by industrialization. Many maternal feminists and suffragists supported this viewpoint, as we have seen. While domestic science contributed to healthier families by helping to reduce the incidence of childhood disease and death, it also reinforced women's traditional role at the same time that 'higher education' for women was supported.

During this time, a further indication of the shift in education towards providing more practical, job-oriented training came with the introduction of commercial courses and departments in Ladies' colleges and universities. These programs provided women with marketable skills and also served to provide a skilled labour force for the increasing white collar and technical occupations. Office work and other white collar occupations provided a dramatic increase in employment opportunity for women after the turn of the century. Previous to this time, these jobs were managerial in nature and of high status and were monopolized by men. Changes in technology, the growing division of labour and routinization of work brought about the substitution of females for males. In 1901 women were 22.8% of office employees in Canada. By 1911, they had increased to 39.4%; by 1941, 50.1% of office employees were female.[68] As stated in the Moulton College calendar in 1909, "The aim of this

department is to give not only the ordinary preparation for business life, but to go much further and equip a student to act as a private secretary or to take full charge of an office".[69]

The curriculum of Moulton College underwent a transition from classical emphasis to pragmatic organization, during the first twenty years of operation. These changes reflected developments in the organizatien of the Canadian ecenemy that also made their mark on the curriculum of the degree granting co-educational university.

Teacher Requirements and Duties

Nineteenth century educators emphasized the teacher's influence on the moral and intellectual development of the student. In 1889, the principal of Moulton College recognized that "the intimate personal relation of the teachers to the pupils is, of course, the great formation power in the college life".[70] The residential nature of the school accentuated this relationship.

Applications for teaching positions, and letters of recommendation give an indication of the general background of the instructors. In 1909, most were university graduates with one or two degrees and involvement in various religious organizations and activities. As the 1888 calendar pointed out:

> The utmost care has been exercised in the selection of the teachers, and the aim has been to secure ladies of decided moral and Christian character, and of high literary attainments. The four resident teachers are university graduates...They are noted for their Christian character and zeal in Christian work no less than for their scholarly attainments and ability as teachers.[71]

In the same year, the Chancellor wrote to Mrs. McMaster and assured her that, "In our recent appointments we have had specially in mind the fitness of those appointed to relate themselves happily to the inner life of the residential school, and to inspire the young women with the highest ideals of life, as well as with correct educational ambitions".[72] Equal emphasis was placed on the refined Christian character as on the ability of the instructor. When one takes into account the 'impressionable' characteristic of the students and their class background, it is not surprising that the college authorities sought teachers who, "besides having the instincts of a lady, (had) been accustomed all their lives to the forms of Good Society".[73]

The teachers at Moulton College had a great deal of work to do above and beyond the regular teaching load. For example, one woman (the Math teacher), taught 21 periods a week, a Sunday Bible Class, had the care of a small corridor, the college bookstore and office work for the principal. All teachers had duties outside of teaching (i.e., housework, chaperoning, outdoor exercise supervision, etc...).[74] This was not an uncommon situation at the time. Both rural and

urban public teachers were faced with duties above their teaching role. In many cases they had to maintain buildings, cope with crowded classrooms and deal with health and safety problems in their schools.[75]

Information was not readily available on the wages earned by Moulton College teachers. Mention was made in letters of a woman being appointed music teacher at $500 per annum. In the principal's report of 1889, the total salary, according to the financial statement for teachers was $3050.00. At this time there were 7 teachers (including the principal), making the average salary, $436.00 per annum per person (including board). This amount probably varied with the rank of the teacher. These figures fall in line with information available on teacher's salaries in Toronto and Ontario:

Table Four

Yearly Salaries of Teachers in Toronto, by Sex

Annual Average

Date	Female	Male
1858	$ 240 - 400	$ 520 - 700
1870	220 - 400	600 - 700
1881	200 - 600	750 - 1,100
1901	400 - 900	600 - 900
1920	1,000 - 2,000	1,625 - 2,500

SOURCE: Wayne Roberts. Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women, 1893-1914, Toronto, New Hogtown Press, 1976. p. 31.

Rural teachers earned considerably less than those who worked in cities and towns. This discrepancy was particularly true in the case of men; however, all women whether working in rural or urban areas earned less than men:

Table Five

Annual Average Teacher's Salary - Ontario

Date		Female	Male
1870	country	$187	$260
	city	200	450
1890	country	287	427
	city	358	776

SOURCE: Elizabeth Graham, "Schoolmarms and Early Teaching in Ontario", Women at Work, Ontario, 1850-1930. Acton et al., p. 194 and Rev. Austin (ed), Woman: Her Character, Culture and Calling, p. 37.

Salaries varied between the sexes not only at the grade school level of teaching but also at the administrative level.[76] As we have seen, the pay of teachers did not correspond to the duties they were expected to perform, the limitations placed on their behaviour or the expectations as regards their 'sterling' character.[77] In comparison to manual workers, and especially female domestic servants and factory workers, teachers were well off.[78] When one considers that the salary of Moulton College teachers included free board and rooms, their position relative to other female workers was enviable.

Moulton College Students

Denominational ladies' colleges were attended by members of the middle and upper classes. They were the daughters of businessmen, professionals and missionaries. The cost per annum for Moulton College residential students was 160.00 (this included board, tuition, laundry, meals and fuel). Additional courses in fine arts ranged from $5 to $17.50 for an average of twenty lessons. Students had to provide bed linen, blankets, towels and silverware. Travel costs to and from the college increased the overall expense of the ladies' education. Those families earning $1,000.00 or less could not have found it feasible to spend an average of $200.00 educating their daughters. A discount in fees for minister's daughters of 20% probably allowed some poorer families to send a daughter away for an education. The costs of instruction and residence however, precluded attendance by young women of the urban working class and rural farm families.

Indirect indications as regards the Moulton College clientele support this conclusion. The following plea to parents, published in the calendar, addressed a 'problem' which would not have existed for any but the wealthier classes:

> The pupils of the College have no occasion for expensive or elaborate clothing. We strongly advise parents to provide their daughters with plain and simple gowns. Dresses for graduation must be simple and inexpensive and not of silk. Parents are

> also urged not to provide any large amounts of spending money. The Principal will furnish, on request, an estimate of allowance for spending money.[79]

The exclusive character of the school was further commented upon in a McMaster University Monthly of 1895:

> The number of Baptist parents who think they can afford their daughters the exceptional privileges of attendance at the art and music classes and of life in the healthy Christian atmosphere of Moulton College is, of course, comparatively limited, but that number is bound to increase with better times and the rapid improvement in the desires and tastes of the people everywhere.[80]

The girls who attended the college ranged in age from 12 - 15 in the Junior classes and 16 - 21 in the senior courses. The following table gives an indication of the religious background of the pupils:

Table Six

Religious Affiliation of Moulton College Resident Students, 1889, 1899, 1920.

Denomination	1889		1899		1920	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Baptist	45	64.3	32	68.1	34	54.0
Church of England	10	14.3	4	8.5	13	20.6
Methodist	7	10.0	4	8.5	5	17.5
Presbyterian	6	8.6	1	2.1	11	7.9
Congregational	1	1.4	-	-	-	-

	#	%	#	%	#	%
Disciple of Christ	1	1.4	4	8.5	-	-
Lutheran	-	-	1	2.1	-	-
Christian Scientist	-	-	1	2.1	-	-
TOTAL	70	100.0	47	99.9	63	100.0

SOURCE: Moulton College Principal's Report, 1889, Faculty Minute Book, 1899 and Principal's Report, 1920.

Not surprisingly, all of the pupils were Protestant and the majority in all years were Baptists. Religious activity formed the basis for much of the student's social and benevolent interests. The students were organized into a YWCA which concerned itself with three branches of Christian endeavour; weekly prayer meetings, foreign field study and contributions to missions, and Bible study.

Enrollment figures, from a variety of sources point to patterns in student attendance at Moulton College:[81]

Table Seven

Student Enrollment - Selected Years

Years	Boarders		Day Students		TOTAL	Baptist		Other	
1888/9	54	(61.4)	34	(38.6)	88	-		-	
1889/90	70	(48.6)	74	(51.4)	144	45	(64.3)	25	(35.7)
1890/1	53	(53.5)	46	(46.5)	99	-		-	
1891/2	-	-	-	-	119	-		-	
1893/4	-	-	-	-	111	-		-	
1895/6	29	(40.3)	43	(59.7)	72	29	(40.3)	43	(59.7)

1896/7	34	(37.4)	57	(62.6)	91	48	(52.7)	43 (47.3)
1897/98	35	(38.0)	57	(62.0)	92	64	(69.6)	28 (30.4)
1898/9	31	(43.1)	41	(56.9)	72	50	(69.4)	22 (30.6)

SOURCE: 1888-1894 from Moulton Calendars, Principal's Reports and students Registers.
1895-1899 from the Chancellor's letter of 1899

There seemed to be a trend towards a slight decrease in the number of students boarding at the college. This could have been the result of a number of factors. The school served mainly residents of Toronto and other locations in Ontario as the following illustrates:

Table Eight

Place of Residence

Years	Toronto	Ontario	Other	Total
1888/89	36 (40.9)	42 (47.7)	10 (11.4)	88
1889/90	33 (49.2)	25 (37.3)	9 (13.4)	67
1893/94	63 (56.8)	39 (35.1)	9 (8.1)	111

SOURCE: Moulton Student Register and Various Calendars

Over 85% of the students in each of the years noted above were residents of Ontario and Toronto. Perhaps economic downswing combined with improvements in transportation lowered the number of young women who attended the college as boarders. At the same time, the establishment of other ladies' colleges and the opening of Grammar schools to females could have accounted for lowered enrollment.

Information on courses taken by the students was sketchy. Of the total number of early students enrolled in the regular academic program, the greater percentage took the English Scientific course option which covered three years, included more of the 'ladylike' accomplishments and did not prepare the student for university.[82] More detailed data was compiled for graduating students:

Table Nine

Graduates of Moulton College, 1889 - 1906.**

Year	Total	Program Graduated From					
		E.S.	MAT.	ML.	CL.	M&SP.	ENG.
1889	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
1890	5	2	2	1	—	—	—
1891	4	1	2	—	—	1	—
1892	5	—	4	—	1	—	—
1893	9	—	6	2	1	—	—
1894	7	1	6	—	—	—	—
1895	9	2	6	1	—	—	—
1903	16	1	8	—	—	2	5
1904	12	—	6	—	—	3	3
1905	11	—	7	—	—	1	3
1906	15	—	9	—	—	2	4
TOTAL	94	8	56	4	2	9	15

SOURCE: Moulton College Calendars, 1889-1906.

** KEY: E.S.= English Scientific, MAT.=Matriculation, ML.=Modern Language, CL.=Classical, M&SP=Music and Special Courses, ENG=English

Those young women who actually graduated from Moulton College, especially towards the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century did so from the program designed to prepare them for university study. It was impossible to determine how many graduates of Moulton College actually attended university, except in the case where they enrolled at McMaster University. Information on university enrollment will be presented at a later point in this work.

In general then, Moulton College students were from upper middle class backgrounds. The expensive nature of education at this institution restricted access to all but the wealthier Baptist families. Small attendance rates probably point to the small number of 'elite' families in the Baptist denomination. Not surprisingly most students were evangelical Protestants (primarily Baptist). The course of study incorporated both ornamental and academic aspects. Many girls took the less strenuous English-Scientific program. Quite a number of those who successfully graduated completed the program of study leading to matriculation into university. It would seem that academic discipline and study habits went hand in hand with the inculcation of Christian values and social graces at Moulton College.

Conclusion

The development of education at Moulton College did not progress smoothly. It was hampered by the belief of many rural Baptists that the institution had usurped the ladies' department at Woodstock College. As the Chancellor of McMaster University noted:

> The closing of the Ladies' Department of Woodstock College at the time of the opening of Moulton College provoked hostility in part of our constituency. Many of these friends predicted that Moulton College would be distinguished by worldliness and the like...Prejudice, as you know, dies hard and even yet there are Baptists who do not feel kindly towards Moulton College.[83]

This concern manifested itself in the small enrollment and financial contribution from these Baptists.

Attendance rates were also slow to expand because of the general care of parents to educate their sons rather than their daughters, "because they expect these to be bread winners and wish to condition them to hold their own in the battle of life".[84] This especially held true when the economy fluctuated for "when the education of women is looked upon as a luxury rather than a necessity, parents, if they feel the pinch of hard times will keep their girls at home".[85] To rectify this situation, advertising and canvassing in the community were advocated. Public relations was foremost in the minds of Moulton and McMaster University educators and administrators at this time. The Principal of the institution sounded a more optomistic note in a letter of 1893:

> If I am not mistaken, a change is going on in the public sentiment towards the college. The persistent fault finding criticism which has been sometimes the source of much annoyance has given place to not infrequent expressions of sympathy and support which have been very grateful. I trust that the initial stage has been safely passed and that Moulton College will move on now to the building up of her reputation for sound scholarship and the development of a strong personal Christian character.[86]

A change in sentiment may have been felt but the college still had many practical problems.[87] Financial difficulties surrounded the school from the outset and continued until Moulton closed in 1956. As a result of small attendance, the institution had been run at a loss year after year. From 1890-1898 the total costs over and above all receipts were $85,000.00 (they were absorbed by McMaster University).[88] The Chancellor understated the concern that must have been felt by McMaster officials when he pointed out that "it cannot be denied that at times, the Governors, especially those upon whom the great responsibilities of our educational work press most heavily; have felt much disheartened in respect to Moulton College".[89] At a point when the school was about to be closed, "a few lady friends intimated their willingness to come to the rescue, and they are now endeavouring to raise a fund..."[90]. Across the country, denominational schools and universities were either accepting State financial support, were closing, or, as in the case of the Baptist denomination, were struggling to maintain their

voluntarist position. The McMaster University administration would probably have been quite willing to see Moulton College close, but feeling for the institution was very firmly entrenched in its supporters and through their intervention and benevolence Moulton College was kept on its feet for several decades.

In spite of many difficulties the spirit of genteel Christian education for young women endured at Moulton College. The school was closed in 1956 but the Moulton College alumni is still very active.[91] The institution had a long life and the impact that education under its auspices had lasted for generations, as noted by the following:

> And naturally, as in the case of any girl's school, the majority (of graduates) are in their own homes, passing over the Moulton training to the next generation.[92]

Women Students at McMaster University: 1890-1909

Introduction

When McMaster University opened its doors to prospective scholars in 1890, women were among the first to enroll. The example of co-education at other Canadian and American universities had set a precedent for McMaster. Susan Moulton McMaster's intervention in university affairs and her influence on Senator McMaster ensured that graduates of Moulton College would be accepted at McMaster.[93] Under these circumstances, female graduates from other preparatory institutions could hardly be turned away. There were two women in the first Arts class of sixteen students.[94]

Some disquiet seemed to be present at McMaster over the co-educational nature of the institution as evidenced by the concern expressed in the McMaster University Monthly to prove that even female medical students were 'womanly':

> Those who think that higher education tends to destroy those qualities we all admire so much in woman would have had a prejudice shaken, had they been privileged to be present at the delightful "At Home" given by the Women's Medical College. That young women should devote themselves to that noble life-saving art is only an extension of their naturally sympathetic nature...[95]

In 1912, attention was still devoted to stressing the compatibility of higher education and women's 'proper sphere' by a guest speaker at an alumni luncheon who asserted that

"while the suffrage is surely coming for women...college women make the best homemakers".[96]

It is important to remember that the first women to attend McMaster and other universities were pathbreakers in many ways. As pointed out by the following:

> It was a lonesome business being a woman student in McMaster's early days. That first year McMaster called her role of Arts (1890), two solitary freshettes were present for the glory of co-education... and before the first class graduated nine merry Co-eds were making things lively in the Ladies' Room and showing the sterner sex how to write off a row of firsts.[97]

Women Student's Organizations

The first female students at McMaster were strictly in a minority in comparison to the rest of the student body. The bonds that they formed to confront notoriety and segregation were evident in their on-campus organizations. In 1892 the McMaster University Monthly noted that:

> The lady students have entered hopefully upon another year of university work and take pride in their increasing strength. Three years ago they used to meet day after day in the ladies' room to sally timidly forth to lectures. Now the number all told is thirteen, but they claim no relationship to the traditional 'baker's dozen'.[98]

The ladies' room (a large reading, cloak and washroom located, as all classrooms were, in McMaster Hall), provided privacy and solidarity, as evidenced by the number of times it was affectionately referred to by the female students in various

publications.

In 1891 the female students had formed a modern language club, to acquire facility in French and German conversation and to become acquainted with the lives of French, German and English authors. It was the joke of the university that during the initial stages of its organization there were only enough women to fill the executive posts. The club,however, prospered and it was reported in February of 1893 that, "The Ladies' Modern Language Club has been holding frequent and enthusiastic meetings of late. Some of the members are developing latent talent in the art of impromptu debating, which should completely convert the sceptics who claim that a woman cannot argue in a calm and logical manner".[99]

With an increase in female attendance it was noted by the early twentieth century that "now we feel that we are sufficiently strong and of sufficient importance to have a column of our own in the college paper, where we may record the reports of our various meetings...the doings and sayings that occur in 'Our Room' and all else that is of interest to college women".[100] The women's department of the McMaster University Monthly flourished and broadened in scope over the years. As the female students involved stated, "we are not going to confine ourselves simply to what is going on in the college, but we want to reach out and include other matters which will be of interest to women students of McMaster".[101]

The YWCA was an organization that occupied much of the attention of the well-educated, upper-middle class Christian ladies who attended McMaster University during this time. Its purpose was elaborated upon as follows:

> The YWCA is primarily a religious organization of the girls for the benefit of the girls themselves in the development of their spiritual life, whatever work it may undertake beyond the school. The ideal placed before it and to which it, with the other religious influences of the school, must strive, is that every girl in the school should be brought to Christ, her life deepened and sweetened in and through Christ, and that she should leave the college eager and competent to enter into whatever phase of Christ's work in the world it may be her part to undertake.[102]

As we have seen, it was believed that the educated Christian woman would shape the destiny of the country either by her influence in the home, or her good deeds in the outside world. This was the evangelical Christian orientation of Baptist educational effort.

Specifically at McMaster, the work of the YWCA was, 'rather of prevention than of cure'; to prevent the rush of fresh interest in college life, leading to the neglect of the spiritual life; to keep clearly before the students the 'ideal of Christian Womanhood'. Mission study classes, Bible instruction and other religiously based activities served to emphasize this role of McMaster women.

Due to the nature and scope of operations at McMaster University, the women who attended the university were not as strictly superintended as the Moulton students were. McMaster

female students were older (in their late teens and twenties) and, by the time they reached university most had been well instructed in the virtues of self-regulation and lady-like behaviour. They had internalized the values and norms for women of their class at this time. External regulation was therefore, for all intents and purposes, no longer necessary. In November of 1907 the name of the Ladies' Literary League was changed to the "Women's Literary Society of McMaster University"; WLS for short. The reasoning behind the change was given as related to the connotations of the term 'lady':

> This change has not been found desirable because of any alteration in the character of the women students of McMaster themselves, we understand, but rather because the term 'lady' has fallen upon evil times; it is thought in these days to savor rather of bargain counter fights than of high and sweet ideals, and consequently suffers disfavor. May its eclipse be short; and in the meantime, "What's in a name?" McMaster girls by any other name would be as - studious.[103]

The Literary Society's topic for this year was, "The Status of Women in all Nations, and what she has contributed to Literature, Music and Art". It is interesting to note both the awareness of these students as women of 'sweet and high ideals' rather than part of the 'bargain counter ladies', and their preoccupation with the status of women in general; a contradiction which was often found in the perspective of the 'maternal feminists'. At the same time as these women saw themselves as McMaster students they also grasped their unique position of women in a man's world:

> While the girls as students of McMaster have their part in the various interests of the school as a whole, they have as well their separate interests, and to a certain extent a distinctive school life. It is to this life as represented in the meetings of the various organizations and in the freer atmosphere of the Ladies' Room that this department (newspaper), seeks to give expression.[104]

By the early decades of the twentieth century, intercollegiate women's debating, hockey and other athletic activities were participated in by the McMaster female student body. Provision for the physical development of the women students was made possible by the extension of two afternoons a week at the YWCA gymnasium in Toronto for their use. Not surprisingly, female students at McMaster were not allowed to use the on-campus male physical education facilities and the university could not afford to build separate facilities for women. Various social activities, initiation ceremonies for new students, receptions and teas provided entertainment for McMaster women and men.

The university life provided experience and academic challenge for the early female students. As time passed,the concern over the perils of co-education died down among the administrators and educators of the day. The following amusing excerpt from a letter written by a 'freshette' to her mother perhaps gives us an indication of the attitude of many female students towards the question:

> Whenever I think how afraid you were to let me loose in a co-educational college, I have to laugh. Why mummy - there's so many men

> here that whether they are in one heap or standing around the hall in bunches nobody needs to bother about them - they're really too common to be paid much attention to.[105]

The Residence Question

One of the more practical attributes of any university that was missing from McMaster in the early years, was a woman's residence. Male students could reside at McMaster Hall, but no such facility was provided for women on campus. Graduates of Moulton College who attended McMaster University could reside at Moulton College while pursuing their studies.[106] Those female students who did not have a permanent home in Toronto or relatives in the area willing to house them, were forced to find accomodation for themselves in the city; an expensive and time consuming endeavour.[107] During the period 1890-1904, 18.4% of the women students attending McMaster were from Toronto, 39.5% were from other localities in Ontario, 26.3% were from other Provinces in Canada, 15.8% were from the U.S.A. or other countries.[108] These figures indicate that the majority of female students who came to McMaster were not from Toronto, and therefore quite likely were unfamiliar with the city, making finding lodgings difficult.

It is interesting to note the contradiction between the idealized conception of 'pure' womanhood and the apparent lack of concern on the part of university administrators in

superintending the living arrangements of the 'vulnerable' female student.[109] As one student caustically remarked, "but as women students are only human, after all, and cannot live on mere thoughts, they must still seek boarding houses when they come to Toronto as strangers in a strange land".[110] The lack of a residence, until the 1920s, had adverse consequences for the level of 'spirit' and network of support among the female students. It also affected the development of a system of friendship and 'contacts' so vital to the upper middle class. The author of the following article pointed to the discrepancy between men and women receiving these advantages:

> It (McMaster), has fitted us to play our part in life; it is the centre around which gather our memories of four of our happiest years; it is through our association with it that we have in many cases formed our closest friendships and it has also been to most of us the place where were born and brought to maturity our ideals of life and service. All this it has meant to both men and women students, but unfortunately not in the same degree to both. The women students through all these years have missed much of the enjoyment and profit of college life, through being without a college residence so long ago provided for the men students.[111]

The problem was not so very acute in the early years when the female population of McMaster was small, but as it grew and the city of Toronto expanded, it became clear that, "The atmosphere of the average boarding house is certainly not that of study; and instead of inducing concentration, it

is much more likely to prove a handicap to effective work".[112]

The functions of university education for a certain class of women were not being carried out to the extent wished by parents and students:

> Furthermore, we are failing to give our women students their due of social training. They, and their parents who send them, hope to have them conversant with those social customs and conventions of life, with those outward signs of inward refinement which we name good breeding. This kind of training, this appreciation of the amenities of social life, is not acquired by chance, but rather by contact with and guidance by a woman of culture and refinement such as we would hope to have as a Dean of Residence.[113]

The number of women's residences enjoyed by female students at other colleges and universities were presented by this author as evidence that, "Other bodies of women in other colleges and associations have seen the same problem and have solved it...and they are 'making ends meet'".[114] It would seem that once again, financial problems of the denominational university had influenced the situation of the female students at McMaster.

McMaster University Women Students: 1890-1908

From 1890 to 1908/9 women increased from 10.3% to 25.7% of the student population at McMaster University. (See Appendix A) Figures fluctuated until 1902 when the percentage of women enrolled increased steadily from 15.0% in 1902 to 25.7% in 1908/9. Women were concentrated in the

undergraduate Arts program. Very few women pursued graduate study, as can be seen by the data. This is not surprising as university specialization was not greatly stressed during this time period and most jobs open to and considered appropriate for women could be obtained with an undergraduate degree, Normal school or business school training. The general student population during this period was small, especially in the faculty of Arts. In 1890, sixteen students were in attendance. By 1895 the population had grown to 95. By 1895 the population had grown to 95. By 1908 the total student body in this faculty numbered only 175.(Appendix A).[115]

Women as a percentage of the McMaster student population was slightly higher than in Canada as a whole, (data for Ontario was not available). In 1881 women were 1.4% of the Canadian university population. In 1891 they were 11.6%. By 1911 they constituted 19.9% of the Canadian university population.[116]

As can be seen in Appendix A, women constituted a higher percentage than men of the part-time (partial) students; anywhere from 42.8% of partial enrollment in 1894 to 75.0% in 1898. Most students however, attended university full-time. The higher percentage of women in the part-time program is not surprising. Partial students did not pay the same fees as full time students and did not spend as much time at lectures or studying. The hours of part-time students

were therefore more flexible, and women who attended university on this basis, did not have to make as much of a commitment to a university education and indeed, were not in a position to do so. The opportunity to attend McMaster on a part-time basis probably provided an extended education and social life to those women who could not afford full-time fees, could not or did not want to absent themselves from the home for long periods of time, or had husbands or families who did not find it appropriate for them to become full-time students.[117]

Most of the women who attended McMaster were single (overall - 95.2%, Appendix B). A larger percentage of married women were partial (13.1%) as opposed to full-time (2.6%) students. This gives an indication that perhaps partial student status was deemed most appropriate for the married Victorian 'lady'.

At McMaster University, at least in the initial years of operation, all women were in the Arts program. They were not allowed in the Faculty of Theology, and Science did not become a separate department until 1908. Most of the female students registered in Modern Languages, English, History and when it became part of the curriculum, the Faculty of Education.[118] The Arts program at McMaster at this time provided a well-balanced, extensive classical education. Bible study was a part of every program of study. Domestic Science was not instituted at McMaster. Indications were that most fe-

male students expected or desired to be teachers upon graduation. In 1908 when Science became a faculty, three women were enrolled; two were enrolled in Mathematics.[119] Most early female students at McMaster followed the general Arts program of four years, leading to the B.A.

The following table indicates the areas of undergraduate study in which Canadian women were located. Only those fields are included that had women enrolled. During this time period, there were no women enrolled in Engineering, Science, Agriculture or Veterinary Medicine. As can be seen, women formed the highest percentage in the Arts, Domestic Science and Education. The Arts courses and teaching had always been acceptable study and occupation for the Victorian woman, and domestic science was, as we have seen, a form of higher education specifically tailored to her 'calling':[120]

Table Ten

Undergraduate Female Enrollment by Specialization

Canada, 1881 - 1911 *

Fields of Study	1881			1891		
	N	T	%F	N	T	%F
Arts	40	1,656	2.4	549	2,522	21.8
Dentistry	—	—	—	—	—	—
Medicine	2	664	.3	40	1,279	3.1
Law	—	—	—	2	507	.4
Pharmacy	—	—	—	—	—	—
Education	—	—	—	—	—	—
Household Science	—	—	—	—	—	—

	1901			1911		
Arts	740	2,924	25.3	1,683	5,804	29.0
Dentistry	—	—	—	1	331	.3
Medicine	25	1,813	1.4	24	1,641	1.5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pharmacy	3	126	2.4	—	—	—
Education	—	—	—	350	507	69.0
Household Science	—	—	—	504	504	100.0

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Historical Compendium of Educational Statistics from Confederation to 1975. Ottawa: Queens' Printer, May 1978, p. 216/7.

* KEY: N=number of women; T=total number of students; %F=% women of the total

It is important to keep in mind that only a very small proportion of the population was actually in university at this time. In Canada in 1867 only 1.4% of the population were university students. By 1881 this figure had only increased to 2.6%; to 6.6% in 1901.[121] Reliable data for Ontario were not readily available. We have, however made some calculations based on census data which give a very rough indication of Ontario trends. In 1870 we calculated that roughly .2% of the population age 16 to 31 were in university. In 1880, .3% of those age 15 to 23 were enrolled in university and in 1900 this figure had increased to approximately .7% of the Ontario population age 15 to 24.[122]

The fact that Ontario accounts for a relatively small proportion of university enrollment is not as surprising when one takes into account denominational variation in emphasis on education for their memberships. In Eastern Canada, for example, the Presbyterians and Baptists, who promoted widespread education, played an important role in the early history of the area. As John Moir points out, "Of all the Christian denominations in the Maritime Colonies, the Baptist fellowship, by its physical growth and by its firm support of Baptists 'principles' reflected most completely the flowering of that region in the first three decades of the nineteenth century".[123] The Anglicans in Upper Canada did not place as great an emphasis on 'democracy' in education as

did the smaller sects. In Nova Scotia the Baptists established Acadia University at Wolfville and the Atlantic Baptist College in Moncton, New Brunswick. The Presbyterians were associated with the development of Dalhousie University in Halifax.[124]

These factors also serve to explain why education for women progressed at such a rapid pace in Eastern Canada. Again, the Methodists were instrumental. As we have seen, the first degree awarded to a woman in the British Empire was at Mt. Allison University in New Brunswick (founded under Wesleyan Methodist auspices). Dalhousie University, in Halifax, first admitted women in 1881, three years before co-education was instituted at the University of Toronto.

Although the Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodists denominations were very active in Upper Canadian educational affairs, the Church of England, with its emphasis on an education for the business elite and future political leaders had a strong tradition of domination in Upper Canada.

As we have seen, at McMaster University, early women students were a small percentage of the student population, were single, more abundant than men in partial courses and were segregated in 'traditional' fields of study in the Arts. The next section provides more detailed and specific information on those female students who graduated from McMaster from 1894-1904.

A Profile of McMaster Female Graduates, 1894-1904

The information presented in this section is from a number of sources. The class lists in the early McMaster University calendars gave us our initial group of female graduates (students at that time were listed with Miss or Mrs. preceeding their name making identification of the sex of the student relatively easy). This list was checked against that of past graduates in the McMaster Calendar of 1909/10. Old Baptist publications, individual student files (where data were available), newspaper clippings and the McMaster University Monthly were the main sources of biographical information on the students.

Appendix C gives an indication of the degrees awarded to female students at McMaster University from 1894-1909. Over the total period of time examined, 72 degrees were awarded to women. As a percentage of all graduates, women were 17.4%. Sixty-four of the degrees or 88.8% were the regular four year B.A. Only two students of the total female graduates earned an M.A. Six did a B.A. and M.A. in combination, bringing the total amount of M.A.'s awarded to 8 or 11.1%.[125]

Of those women enrolled in the faculty of Arts at McMaster University from 1890 to 1901/2 (those scheduled to graduate between 1894 and 1904/5), a total of 49 students, thirteen or 28.3% did not graduate; 72% therefore, completed

their university studies and graduated.[126]

Reliable information on father's occupation was available on only ten of the female graduates. No information was given on the mother's occupation. It would be safe to assume that nearly all were homemakers. Of the ten, two came from farm families; four were minister's daughters and four were from professional backgrounds (civil servants, a member of the House of Commons and a professor). In general, these results agree with those of the later students (see Appendix D). There is no reason to assume that this pattern was not representative. Most of the female students at McMaster were the daughters of businessmen, professionals, or wealthier farmers. Minister's daughters, it should be noted, received tuition discounts. In 1892 the tuition at McMaster was $20.00. In 1904 it was $50.00 per annum. This may have been affordable for a larger number of families if the daughter was living at home. If not, the cost of lodging, meals and travel would be added to that of tuition, books and examination fees. Only young women who were dependent on their family or had their own source of income could have afforded to attend university. Attendance at university in early years was restricted to the upper middle or upper class.[127]

It is interesting to note the family ties among the students graduating, as well as those attending McMaster University. It would seem that whole families sent their sons and daughters to the university. Of the females exam-

ined, who graduated from the faculty of Arts during the ten years analyzed, there were four sets of sisters. Quite a few had brothers who attended as well. The first woman graduate had three brothers who attended. One became a professor and Chancellor of McMaster, one became a member of the Senate and another was on the Board of Governors of the university. The small size of the university in the early years resulted in a close-knit clientele. Also, the fact that the institution was known as a Baptist school promoting Christian education, and the fact that it did not receive any State support probably promoted prominent Baptist families to patronize it.[128]

The university may also have been viewed as the ideal place for young people of similar backgrounds to form friendships.[129] Not surprisingly, there were a number of marriages among the male and female graduates (out of those women who married, 4/19 married fellow students). Of the nineteen women who married we have information concerning husband's occupation on fourteen. Six of the fourteen married ministers: three married teachers or professors; three married other professionals or businessmen; two married university students who had not yet completed their program. It is not surprising that a large number of McMaster women would marry ministers, as the only other department at the university was the Theological faculty; the students were circumscribed by their religious upbringing

and educational background. It is not unusual that these women would have married men of similar background and level of education.

Of the thirty-six female students who graduated between 1894 and 1904, we have definite information on 30 or 83.3%. Of this number, 18 married sometime during their twenties or thirties. Twelve definitely remained single throughout their lives. This roughly corresponds with available information on the Canadian population. In 1891, of the females age 25-34, 68.3% were married. In 1911, this figure was 71.5%.[130]

Of those women who definitely married (18), 11 never worked in the labour force, to our knowledge. Only one female graduate of McMaster worked while married. The rest, 6/18, worked only until they married or after their husband's death, or a divorce, when it became necessary for them to do so. This is typical of the female participation in the labour force during this time. In general, married women of the middle and upper classes did not have to work and did not do so.[131] Women who seriously cultivated a career in the labour force, at least in our sample, remained single. These two 'occupations' seemed to be mutually exclusive. What occupations did the McMaster female graduates enter?

Of the six graduates who worked until marriage three did so as teachers; one at Moulton College and two at high

schools. One worked as a secretary, one as a missionary and one as a civil servant. Of these graduates, two were members of the Women's University Club and two were active members of the McMaster Alumni.

The graduate who worked while married did so as a Presbyterian minister. She was the first female graduate of McMaster University to be ordained (1942). Her husband was also a minister. Perhaps the compatibility of their occupations allowed her to handle both roles. She received a PhD from Harvard University, and with a sister (who also graduated from McMaster), and her husband, opened a school in the U.S.A.

As we have seen, of the 30 female graduates that we have definite information on, 12 remained single. Out of the six female graduates that definite information was not available for, five probably remained single throughout their lives. Of these 17 women, thirteen became teachers. Six of these taught at Moulton College; one was principal of this institution from 1918-1930. The rest taught at collegiate institutes or high schools. One of the graduates became a professor at an American Baptist university. Two others became foreign missionaries and one entered the civil service. Of the graduates who remained single and employed, two wrote books, one on Greece and the other on the unfair system of taxation for British Columbian women. Most of these women

were also active in the McMaster Alumni, the Women's University Club of Toronto, the YWCA and other church groups (i.e., Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire).

Overall, of the female graduates who worked in the labour force at some time or another (24), 16 did so as teachers, 3 were missionaries, 2 were civil servants; one each as a secretary, minister and professor. Most were involved in occupations traditionally considered suitable (and available) for middle class educated women; occupations with greater prestige, better working conditions and much better pay than received by the majority of the female working population.

Of the 36 female McMaster graduates examined, 4 went on to receive advanced education. These four were of the group who never married. As noted above, one woman received a PhD, two went on to get M.A.'s and the first woman graduate of the university received an honourary LLD.[132]

Summary

Women were a very small proportion of the McMaster student body during the initial stages of its development. They were primarily concentrated in the courses of the Arts faculty traditionally considered 'female'. Most of the students were single. Those students who were married participated in the part-time to a greater extent than the full-

time program of study. Very few women went on to pursue graduate level study.

It was a lonely business being a female student at McMaster during this period in history. The informal and formal organizations in which McMaster women were involved provided them with definition and solidarity and gave us an indication of what student life was like at this time in a co-educational institution.

Most of the women who entered McMaster University during the first ten years of its operation, successfully completed their studies. These women were, for the most part, single and from the upper middle class. Some were also part of whole families in attendance at the university. Those who married after graduation married men with similar background, interests and level of education, and did not work in the labour force. A fairly high percentage of female graduates remained single throughout their lives and devoted themselves to a career.

Conclusion

The Baptist denomination, despite its small size, lack of general wealth and organizational difficulties, made an important contribution to the development of education in Ontario. Persecution for their non-conformist beliefs led to an emphasis on democratic church organization and the separation of the Church and the State. Throughout the controversy surrounding university endowment, the Baptist promoted the establishment of a non-sectarian Provincial university. Their advocacy of 'voluntarism' meant that educational efforts would have to be privately rather than publicly financed and controlled. As a result, Baptist schools and universities were plagued with financial difficulties. Prominent Baptists such as William McMaster and Susan Moulton McMaster played a vital role in keeping Moulton College and McMaster University afloat. Needless to say, they also had an input into the nature and organization of these institutions.

The Baptists, particularly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, were concerned to strengthen their position in the Canadian social structure. The education of ministers had always been important to maintaining and expanding Baptist influence. As the Baptist church grew and Ontario developed a more urban outlook, the importance of educated Baptist leadership was felt, especially by the in-

fluential Baptists situated in Toronto. Moulton Ladies' College and McMaster University were both established to provide a Christian education to Baptist youth.

Moulton Ladies' College provided a literary and ornamental education that stressed the cultivation of a true Christian womanliness, within a carefully controlled environment. It was isolationist in nature, separating the daughters of wealthier Baptists from those of other classes. More importantly, stringent supervision ensured the interaction of students only with those young people of similar evangelical Protestant backgrounds. Intra-denominational friendship and marriage was particularly important to the small and 'besieged' Baptist denomination. Moulton College education for adolescent girls 'filled the awkward gap' between childhood and marriage and inculcated a set of values deemed appropriate for 'correct' behaviour. There was an indication that the Baptist church placed greater emphasis on the value of a serious education in their ladies' college than did other denominations. Frivolity was frowned upon and social skills were not the only attributes of Moulton College instruction. Development of the personality and character of the students was always accentuated. In later years however, changes in curriculum towards incorporating domestic science and office training pointed to the development of a more practical education. Specific skills were added to character building.

A serious Christian womanhood in the form of intelligent and morally trained wives and mothers and active philanthropists was always an important aspect of a Moulton College education.

Many of the more general functions of nineteenth century denominational ladies' colleges can be found in the elite private boarding schools of this century. In an article entitled, "Boarding School: Social Control, Space and Identity", the authors point out that access to the outside world is curtailed and programmed by several sets of rules. Restricted dating and the use of 'visiting cards' are pointed to as regular features of the institution they examined. As noted by another researcher, "parental (or denomination) involvement in courtship will be greatest when the individual marriage is of importance to the kin group or to the class. There is then a small group of eligibles, and threat to property and social status from exogamous marriages".[133] Educational institutions under Baptist control in the nineteenth century regulated contact of their youth with those of similar belief. In the elite private schools of the twentieth century, social class is the more important variable. The method of promoting adherence to norms and behavioural codes is however the same in both cases.

Above and beyond these specific functions, Moulton College also provided for gradual and perhaps less problematic entry of young women to higher education; i.e. access

to McMaster University. Entering the beginning level of education at an institution that was so closely tied with a co-educational degree-granting university created a familiarity that may have made it 'natural' to continue one's education at McMaster. When this was combined with the enthusiasm of Mrs. McMaster's commitment to female education it is not surprising that many Moulton graduates were inspired and prompted to continue their studies. It may have been the case that controversy over the entrance of women to such establishments as the University of Toronto could have been mitigated by the presence of a 'transitional' institution like Moulton College.

Co-education did not spark major controversy at McMaster University. As we have seen, Baptist democratic religious principles influenced their philosophy of education. The resulting concern with an educated membership, able to fully participate in church affairs included women as well as men. By 1890 when the first class of women enrolled at McMaster (only two in the first year), a precedent for co-education had been established at other Canadian and American universities. The pioneer female students were 'in the public eye' and subject to a number of prejudices and practical problems. Their friendship networks, university organizations and the 'ladies' room' provided a sense of solidarity in the face of personal and academic challenges.

During the early years at McMaster outward signs of

good breeding were deemed important. McMaster was still a small tightly knit community where the values and behavioural norms of the day could be reinforced. The social aspect of education was still in evidence. During this period (before the first World War), McMaster University was attended by those women who had the necessary money, time and educational prerequisites. They were mainly from upper middle class families (well-paid or independent professionals and business people). However there is an indication that increasingly after the turn of the century the university became less exclusive and more middle class (see Appendix D). McMaster University, because of the nature of its Baptist clientele, was never really as concerned as other denominations with training a wealthy elite.

The female students that graduated between 1894 and 1904 (a total of 36) were a definite minority of the McMaster student population and a very small proportion of college-age young women in the province. Of those that graduated we were able to collect detailed information on thirty. Due to these small numbers our findings are symbolic of the general situation of university women at the time. Those women that did attend were seriously interested in obtaining a rigorous education. Not surprisingly the greater proportion of women at McMaster were single and were enrolled primarily in 'traditionally feminine' fields of study, as were their counterparts across Canada.

McMaster University education enabled women to fulfill their roles as wives, mothers and homemakers, thus having a 'beneficial' effect on society as a whole. The university training also provided those women who had to or wanted to work with the preparation for entrance into a suitable occupation. The opportunity to attend university provided a measure of choice for middle class women and facilitated the expansion of their 'proper sphere' to the public domain.

Moulton College was one of the few ladies' colleges to survive the last decades of the nineteenth century. Apparently, benevolent Baptists who had an interest in preserving this exclusive type of education helped keep the school supported. Eventually, most of the middle class population attended the less expensive universities and left private ladies' colleges to the wealthy. Unlike most universities in Ontario, McMaster did not resort to State support for quite a while. It was not until the 1930s with an expanded scope of operations and the move to Hamilton that McMaster became a publicly funded institution.

Considering the relative size and power of the Baptist denomination in Ontario during the nineteenth century, the establishment and continued support of Moulton College and McMaster University constitutes a unique achievement in educational endeavour. These institutions provided young women with academic and social training to rival any of the denominational or state supported establishments of the day.

FOOTNOTES

1. Charles M. Johnston, McMaster University: The Toronto Years (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976)p. 12.

2. A.J. MacLachlan, "Canadian Baptists and Public Questions before 1850", Unpublished B.D. Theses, McMaster University, 1937, p. 9.

3. Aileen Dunham, Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963) p. 88.

4. Walter Pitman "The Baptists and Public Affairs in the Province of Canada 1840-1940", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1956, p. 17.

5. S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948) p. 229.

6. S.D. Clark, "The Religious Sect in Canadian Politics", Social Space: Canadian Perspectives, (Toronto: New Press, 1971) p. 15.

7. Ibid., p. 15.

8. Op. Cit., p. 352.

9. Op. Cit., p. 17.

10. The Baptist Position, A statement prepared by the Commission on Baptist Principles and Policy for Study and Discussion within the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, (Toronto, 1947) p. 5.

11. Ibid., p. 8.

12. Walter Pitman "The Baptists and Public Affairs in the Province of Canada 1840-1940", Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1956, Chapter One.

13. John B. Richards, "Baptist Leadership: Autocratic or Democratic?" Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity, Jarold K. Zeman (editor), (Burlington: G.R. Welch Co. Ltd, 1980) p. 235.

14. A.J. MacLachlan, "Canadian Baptists and Public Questions before 1850", Unpublished B.D. Thesis, Mcmaster University, 1937. p. 33.

15. Ibid., p. 29.

16. S.D. Clark, "The Religious Sect in Canadian Politics", Social Space: Canadian Perspectives (Toronto: New Press, 1971) p. 18.

17. Rev. Leonard E. Tranter, "Why Should the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec support Education as Given in the Three Institution of our Convention", (Toronto: McMaster University, 1923) p. 5.

18. Ibid, p. 7.

19. Ibid., p. 14.

20. S. Delamont, "The Contradictions in Ladies' Education", The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World, S. Delamont and L. Duffin (editors) (London: Croom Helm, 1978) p. 644.

21. Paul K. Dekar, "Human Rights", Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity, Jarold K. Zeman (editor), (Burlington: G.R. Welch Co. Ltd, 1980) p. 127.

22. A.L. McCrimmon, The Educational Policy of the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec (Toronto: McMaster University, 1920) p. 19.

23. Rev. Fyfe became the first principal of the Canadian Literary Institute. In 1859 with a friend, Fyfe purchased the Christian Messenger and moved it to Toronto, renaming it the Canadian Baptist. He was its editor until 1863. Fyfe entered into the discussion surrounding the clergy reserve endowed rectories and the University Question. He supported the endowment of a non-sectarian college of Literature, Science and Arts with which a Baptist theological college could be affiliated. In later years, as a member of the University of Toronto senate, he advocated university reform. He was instrumental in opening University of Toronto examinations to women.

24. J.E. Wells, Life and Labours of Robert Alexander Fyfe (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., 1899) p. 291.

25. Ibid., p. 292. and A.L. McCrimmon, The Educational Policy of the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec (Toronto: 1920) p. 8.

26. In 1878 Professor J.E. Wells became principal of the Literary Dept., and Rev. John Torrence of the Theological. The Theological department trained male youth for the Baptist ministry and the Literary department trained male and female lay students.

27. Marc LaTerreur, (ed), Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 10, 1871-1880 (Toronto, 1972) p. 267.

28. Charles M. Johnston, McMaster University: The Toronto Years (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976) p. 19.

29. Ibid., p. 21.

30. C.B. Sissons, My Dearest Sophie: Letters from Egerton Ryerson to his Daughter (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959) p. 318.

31. Op. cit., p. 24.

32. Ibid., p. 26.

33. As a 'Christian Institution' the English Bible was a required subject of all McMaster students. It was also stated that all teachers had to be members in good standing of an evangelical church. At the same time however, the University was non-sectarian and no religious tests were demanded of any students except in the case of those in the theological department.

34. R.W. Sawtell, History of the first Woodstock Baptist Church (Woodstock Times, 1892) p. 105.

35. Woodstock College Alumni Minute Book (April 17, 1868-May 31, 1905) May 29, 1888.

36. Op. cit., p. 112. Susan Moulton McMaster's background and views on female education will be discussed later.

37. Woodstock College became an academic department of the university and a financial encumbrance to the administration. It was closed in 1926.

38. Prominent Baptist educators who were influential in resolution of this question were Chancellor MacVicar, Rev. Dr. Rand and Rev. Castle.

39. Reformers sought "the introduction of programs (political science, economics and sociology) that would not merely discipline but also prepare one for full active life in the task of bettering society" C.M. Johnstone, McMaster University, Volume 1: The Toronto Years (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976) p. 51.

40. S.D. Clark, Church and sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948) p. 246-7.

41. Jacqueline M. Norton, "Onward", The Heliconian: Fifty Year Edition, 1938, p. 159.

42. McMaster University Monthly, McMaster University (January 1893) p. 159.

43. Her first marriage was to James Fraser, an affluent Michigan lumberman.

44. Op. cit., p. 156.

45. Charles M. Johnston, McMaster University: The Toronto Years (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976) and letter from McMaster University Chancellor's Office to Mrs. McMaster, February 6, 1899.

46. Jacqueline M. Norton, "Onward", The Heliconian: Fifty Year Edition, 1938, p. 10.

47. Op. cit., Chancellor's letter.

48. McMaster University Monthly, McMaster University (January 1893) p. 157. Mrs. McMaster did not confine her interests solely to McMaster University and Moulton College but was also one of the chief promoters of the Women's Medical College in Toronto. She did however, keep especially close ties with her Moulton students throughout her lifetime. In a letter dated Jan. 1909 when she was 90 years of age she expressed her concern for the welfare of her Moulton "children" and signed the letter "mother" S.M. McMaster.

49. Jacqueline M. Norton, "Onward", The Heliconian: Fifty Year Edition, 1938, p. 159. She was representative of the perspective of most upper class reformers in her idealized role of womanhood and promotion of the advanced education of women for the moral benefit of society.

50. Moulton College Calendar, 1888-9 (Part of McMaster University Calendar) (Toronto: Dudley & Burns Priners) p. 71.

51. The care taken by denominational colleges to maintain religious observances among the students was a result of both their desire to retain their religion and the power of the opposition's arguments. Those opposed to higher education for women could hardly find fault with the mode of operation of these schools and universities.

52. General McMaster University Correspondence, Canadian Baptist Archives, Hamilton, McMaster University.

53. There were obvious parallels between the Protestant denominational Ladies' Colleges and Roman Catholic convent schools. Although religious observances varied and the latter was a more extreme form of seclusion, both systems ensured the 'safety' of the female children of wealthier families.

54. Letter from McMaster University Chancellor's Office to Mrs. McMaster, February 6, 1899.

55. The mail of one student was curtailed for one month because she had received letters from young men.

56. This was not an unusual regulation for young women of the upper classes. In fact not all these regulations can be regarded as completely superfluous. They could and did prevent robbery and assault.

57. A controversy existed over the suitability of the bicycle for women. Concern was expressed over the detrimental effects of bicycle riding for women's reproductive capacity. Practically, the 'new' method of transportation significantly improved the mobility of the nineteenth century woman.

58. Report of the Principal of Moulton College to the McMaster University Board of Governors, 1889. (Hamilton: Canadian Baptist Archives).

59. Jacqueline M. Norton, "Onward", The Heliconian: Fifty Year Edition, 1938, p. 10. Although actual data is not available, it is highly likely that many of these girls married the brothers or cousins of their classmates.

60. Mary P. Maxwell, James D. Maxwell, "Boarding School: Social Control, Space and Identity" in Social Space: Canadian Perspectives D.I. Davies and Kathleen Herman (eds) (Toronto: New Press, 1971) p. 157.

61. The library receipts of Moulton College for 1893 give an indication of the non-curricular reading material available to the students. The Union Signal, a women's temperance publication, as well as the Young People's Union were among the magazines and newspapers that the College subscribed to. Others included, Harper's Monthly, The Weekly Century, Missionary Review, Illustrated London News, Baptist Missionary Magazine, The Canadian Baptist and the McMaster University Monthly.

62. Report of the Principal of Moulton College to the

McMaster University Board of Governors, 1893. (Hamilton: Canadian Baptist Archives).

63. Ibid., Parents also complained of the workload. In particular, a rash of students began to drop Latin. As a result of the complaints, the performance expectations were cut down. This was especially the case with late nineteenth century specialization in the curriculum.

64. See for example, Paul Atkinson, "Fitness Feminism and Schooling" in The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World (London: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978) Emphasis on the physical health of women in attendance at college or university detracted from the strength of the argument that higher education would result in female physical deterioration.

65. Moulton College Prospectus, 1909/10, p. 35. Home economics, during this period, had particular importance as it improved domestic technology, thus raising living standards and saving lives. It also provided practical training for 'new' occupations such as retailing, food processing and teaching the subject in vocational schools. Domestic science was in many respects more attuned to the changing economy than a classical curriculum.

66. Carolyn Gossage, A Question of Privilege (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977) p, 76.

67. Robert Stamp, "Teaching Girls Their God-Given Place in Life: The Introduction of Home Economics in the School", Atlantis (Vol. 2, Number 2) p. 31.

68. Patricia Connelly, Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1978) p. 93.

69. Moulton College Prospectus, 1909, p. 33. Emphasis on the semi-managerial function of this type of education was important to maintain the status of the middle class 'lady'. These courses were also cheaper than the regular program, thus encouraging larger enrollments.

70. Report of the Principal of Moulton College to the McMaster University Board of Governors, 1889. (Hamilton: Canadian Baptist Archives).

71. Moulton College Calendar, 1888/89. (McMaster University Calendar, Toronto: Dudley & Burns Printers).

72. Letter from McMaster University Chancellor's Office to Mrs. McMaster, February 6, 1899.

73. My emphasis. One teacher was the niece of a prominent Montreal judge. The musical instructor of the college, who gave instruction in connection with the Toronto Conservatory of Music was very prominent in the Provinces musical affairs. His wife (Mrs. Torrington) later became the President of the National Council of Women.

74. Report of the Principal of Moulton College to the McMaster University Board of Governors, 1893. (Hamilton: Canadian Baptist Archives).

75. The school eventually became the major focus for public health reform. See "I See and am Silent: A Short History of Nursing in Ontario", Women at Work, Ontario, 1850-1930, (Toronto: Women's Press, 1974) p. 148.

76. Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching", The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977) p. 58.

77. The question of a 'written contract' between the Moulton teachers and the University Board was considered in Nov. 1892, but no action was taken (Faculty Minutes, Nov. 21, 1892).

78. Female factory workers earned approximately the same salary as the urban domestic (10-12 dollars a month) See Jean Thompson Scott, The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario, (Toronto: 1892).

79. Moulton College Prospectus (McMaster University Calendar) Introduction, Toronto: Dudley & Burns Printers, 1888.

80. McMaster University Monthly (Toronto: McMaster University, June 1895) p. 40.

81. Data presented where available; percentages are in brackets. * This figure (25) is based on the number of resident students (70). Figures for 1888-1894 are from the Calendars, Principal's Reports and Student's Register. The figures for 1895-1899 were obtained from the Chancellor's Letter of 1899.

82. In 1888-89, 23 or 36.1% of the students were enrolled in the English Scientific course while only 8 or 19.5% were in the matriculation course. The lowest enrolment

was in the classical program (3 or 7.3%). The figures for 1889/90 are similar.

83. Letter from McMaster University Chancellor's Office to Mrs. McMaster, February 6, 1899, p. 8.

84. Ibid., p. 7.

85. Ibid., p. 9.

86. Report of the Moulton College Principal, 1893 (Hamilton: Canadian Baptist Archives).

87. The combination of the availability of good high school training with financial depression influenced the attendance at Moulton College. Girls were admitted to high schools in 1871.

88. Letter from McMaster University Chancellor's Office to Mrs. McMaster, February 6, 1899. (The McMaster University Treasurer's annual reports were cited).

89. Ibid., p. 9.

90. Ibid., p. 10.

91. In November 1979 the Moulton College Alumni presented a stained glass window to Yorkminster Park Baptist Church to commemorate the college.

92. Jacqueline M. Norton, "Onward", The Heliconian: Fifty Year Edition, 1938, p. 159.

93. As an academic department of McMaster University, ladies in the 5th year of work at Moulton took this year at the university.

94. The small number of women who graduated from McMaster University during this period enabled and required intensive research into individual biographies. In the process, these pioneers in female education emerged as very vital, interesting and appealing personalities. Their educational histories and lives after graduation are intimately tied for this researcher to their names, family background and personal idiosyncrasies. In the interest of confidentiality we have not used the names of these women throughout this work. At this point, however, we would like to acknowledge and congratulate Annie May McKay and Eliza Pond Wells, the two 'solitary freshettes' who formed the female section of the class of 1890.

95. McMaster University Monthly (November, 1892) p. 95. Co-education, as we have seen, was a more viable alternative financially for the denominational institution.

96. McMaster University Monthly (January 1912) p. 180.

97. McMaster University Monthly (April 1908) p. 326.

98. McMaster University Monthly (November 1892) p. 97.

99. McMaster University Monthly (February 1893) p. 248.

100. McMaster University Monthly (February, 1906) p.228.

101. McMaster University Monthly (September 1908) p.89.

102. McMaster University Monthly (October 1908) p.30.

103. McMaster University Monthly (November 1907) p.75.

104. McMaster University Monthly (October 1907) p. 30.

105. McMaster University Monthly (October 1909) p. 200. This letter was invented by the editor of the women's department of the Monthly to amuse its readers.

106. As the principal of Moulton College noted in her report of 1893, "We have this year felt also the helpful presence of our older girls who have come back to live at Moulton while pursuing their university studies". This practice had a number of advantages; older girls could police and set an example for the younger girls, therefore perhaps cutting down on the duties of the Moulton College staff, the expensive building of a women's residence could be postponed for a longer period of time, and McMaster students would be under the watchful eyes of the Moulton College staff while attending the university. Links between the two institutions were also consolidated by social events and activities that both groups participated in. For example, in 1891, the Moulton faculty and students were invited to co-operate with other McMaster departments in publishing the McMaster University Monthly. Moulton had a separate section in the publication. Co-operation between the institutions also served to acquaint the Moulton students with life as a female university student, perhaps influencing enrollment at McMaster.

107. The senior students of McMaster University did, in later years, attempt to assist incoming students to find accomodation.

108. These figures were compiled from the 1909-10 McMaster University Calendar, which listed previous classes by the name and place of origin of the student. The breakdown is as follows:

Toronto	7 (18.4%)	
Ontario	15 (39.5%)	58% of the students
Other Provinces	10 (26.3%)	were from Ontario
U.S.A.	4 (10.5%)	84.2% were Canadians
Other	2 (5.3%)	

109. The contradiction is not surprising keeping the financial problems of denomination institutions in mind. Residences were constructed for men as a result perhaps of a number of considerations. For example, the early nature of the institution was theological and only men could be ministers at this time. The smaller female enrollment was probably also used as justification. It may also have been the case that university authorities regarded the female population as transitory in nature, although no hard evidence exists to corroborate this.

110. McMaster University Monthly (October 1908) p. 79.

111. McMaster University Monthly (June 1919) p. 258.

112. Ibid., p. 258.

113. Ibid., p. 258.

114. Ibid., p. 258.

115. A comparison of early female students with males at McMaster during this period could have been profitable. The large number of male students at this time made the in depth analysis of social background impossible given the scope of this work. Compiling such information on the female students alone was a very time consuming business given the lack of readily available data. Some patterns of male participation at McMaster emerged however, as a by-product of our primary study.
Male students at McMaster were either enrolled in Arts or Theology. They were 100% of the enrollment in Theology as this faculty was, during the period in question, closed to women. We can also safely assume that those men in Arts took Math and Science courses more often

than did women. As we have also seen, they were a smaller percentage of partial students than were women and were also overrepresented in the Graduate program. In addition, the bulk of the university organizations and athletics in the early years were designed for men (debating and sports for example, were segregated by sex). Also, at any one time during the period under examination, only one or two women were on the staff of the newspaper . After 1910, the students bodies were differentiated by sex, in that a different study body council was elected for men and women.
In a number of ways then, although women attended the university and it was therefore co-educational, men and women had very different on-campus lives which to a great extent mirrored the outside world. We doubt that the social backgrounds of male and female students would have differed significantly. Male students were quite likely to come from Baptist or evangelical Protestant families and communities. It may have been the case that early female students came from the upper middle class more so than did the males attending during the same period. Two points make this possible. First, there were more scholarships available to males entering the university, especially those headed for the ministry thus allowing poorer families to send their sons away for an education. Secondly, if finances were tight, as they would be for the middle class, parents were more likely to send their sons rather than daughters to university. Those who could finance a daughter's university education and could afford to have her presence removed from the household were probably wealthy.

116. Statistics Canada, Historical Compendium of Educational Statistics from Confederation to 1975 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, May 1978) p. 216-7.

117. General data are not available but it would seem that McMaster University was unusual in offering partial courses at this time.

118. McMaster University Monthly (January 1908) p. 179. Concrete enrollment course data unavailable.

119. Ibid., p. 179.

121. Data compiled/extracted from Statistics Canada, Historical Compendium of Educational Statistics from Confederation to 1975 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, May 1978) p. 16. Part of this increase may have been due the Provinces joining confederation. Since 1911, however, the population of Canada in school has doubled. Daniel Kubat

and David Thornton, A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1974) p. 116.

120. Data compiled/extracted from Statistics Canada, Historical Compendium of Educational Statistics from Confederation to 1975 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, May 1978) p. 216/7. Information for this time period is difficult to obtain. It is interesting to note that females as a percentage of the Arts programs were steadily increasing, while women as a percentage of the Medical faculties remained constant from 1881-1911, further indicating the curricular segregation of women.

122. These figures are unreliable and should not be taken as a statement of fact but rather as indicative of a trend. The following are the calculations involved:

1870/71 - # of universities - 17; # of inmates - 1014
(Vol. LL, Census of Canada, 1870/71)

p. 60 - Ages of the People, Ontario
Age 16 to 31 males=215,973
females=221,269
T=437,242
1014/437,242=0.2%

1880/81 - # of universities - 17; # of inmates - 874

Ontario Ages of the people (Vol. 11., Census of Canada, p. 118-9)

Age 15 to 23 males=172,064
females=176,314
T=348,378
874/348,378= 0.3%

1890/91 and 1900/01 figures were computed in the same manner.

These calculations also give an indication of the sex-ratio in Ontario at the time.

Amount that females outnumbered males:

1870 - 5,296
1880 - 4,250
1890 - 4,876
1900 - 6,257

Considering the age-group examined are marriageable, these figures give an added indication of the trouble faced by Victorian 'ladies' in 'finding' a husband.

123. John Moir, The Church in the British Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1972) p. 140. In 1851 there were 73,755 Presbyterians; 43,643 Baptists and 36,115 Anglicans in Nova Scotia (Also, 69,115 Roman Catholics) Source: "Adumbrations and Oppilations: The Carrer of Higher Education in Nova Scotia", D.F. Campbell in Education, Change and Society: A Sociology of Canadian Education, R. Carlton, L. Colley and N. MacKinnon (eds) (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1977) p. 106.

124. Dalhousie University was founded in 1821 and re-organized in 1863. Acadia was founded in 1838 and Mt. Allison was established in 1843.

125. The main source of this information is the McMaster University Calendar, 1909/10, although other calendars were also used to verify data. Reliable comparison data for Ontario and Canada are not available for this time period. However, in 1920 women earned 17.5% of B.A.'s; 22% of M.A.'s and 4.2% of PhD's in Canada. In 1973, women earned 41.5% of B.A.'s; 27.2% of M.A.'s and 12.3% of PhD's. (Source: Statistics Canada, Historical Compendium of Educational Statistics from Confederation to 1975 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, May 1978)p. 247)
The increase in B.A.'s awarded to women over the years is not surprising. The number of M.A.'s awarded has not, however, appreciably increased. It is difficult in this work to account for this phenomenon.
The previous schooling of McMaster female students was obtained in later years at collegiate institutes or high schools. Information on our time period shows 8 of the female students as graduated from Moulton College and 2 from Collegiate Institutes.

126. To obtain these figures, the names of the female Arts students were noted for each year. Their progress through the course of study was noted on a yearly basis, with the aid of class lists and graduation lists in the McMaster calendars, to determine the percentage that actually graduated.

127. In 1889 the average annual earnings of a carpenter in Ontario were $418.00. In 1905 the average annual earnings of supervisory and office employees in Canada was $846. It is unlikely that either group could really have afforded to send their children to university. (Source: Buckley and Urquhart (eds) Historical Statistics of Canada, Toronto: 1965) p. 96. In 1911, however, a Hamilton office manager could earn $1700.00, and most professionals earned between $1000.00-$2500.00. (Jane Synge, Untitled Manuscript, McMaster University, 1981).

128. Most students seemed to have come from religious backgrounds; in some cases, whole families were devoted to the Protestant ministry or overseas missions.

129. There is some indication that sons and daughters of female graduates of McMaster attended the university in later years. Friendship ties between some of the women remained strong, in one case the sons of one woman spent their summer vacations with another McMaster female graduate at her home in England.

130. Acton et al. (eds), Women at Work, Ontario 1850-1930, (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974) p. 294. One researcher has also noted that of the women born in 1890 about one quarter of those who lived to adulthood did not marry (Jane Synge, Untitled Manuscript) p. 635. We have already discussed the 'problem' of the single Victorian woman in this work.

131. In 1930, for example, married women only constituted 10% of the total women in the labour force. (Patricia Connelly, Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1978) p. 84)

132. See p. 166 of this work.

133. Jane Synge, Untitled Manuscript, McMaster University, 1981, p. 715.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

> ...the biographies of men and women, the kinds of individuals they variously become, cannot be understood without reference to the historical structures in which the milieux of their everyday life are organized. Historical transformations carry meaning not only for individual ways of life but for the very character - the limits and possibilities of the human being.[1]

An essential part of understanding the process of educational reform, involves a historical examination of the development of the university in Canadian society. This work has been specifically concerned with the evolution of 'advanced' education for women in nineteenth century Ontario. The educational experiences of middle and upper class women were placed within the context of transformations in the purpose and structure of ladies' colleges and universities as shaped by the nineteenth century socio-economic order.

The type of education available and deemed appropriate for women and men during this period was intimately linked to their class background and future role in society. In the early decades of the century higher education was controlled by and intended for the members of the wealthy colonial aristocracy. The slow displacement of this class by one whose activities were primarily financial and commer-

cial in nature meant the eventual restructuring of the university system to be more closely linked to the occupational structure of the capitalist enterprise. The 'democratization' of this institution involved the inclusion of men and later, women of the business and professional class.

Conflicts in the organization of the university were symptomatic of underlying alterations in the class structure and organization of production. In 1850, the secularization of King's College marked the beginning of the end of the classical university under denominational control. With industrialization and urbanization came the centralization of the system of education and a state supported organization of higher education. University reform in the last half of the nineteenth century would determine the form the institution would take. The entrance of women to co-educational universities was part of the 'liberal' expansion of their clientele to provide a suitably trained workforce for the expanding industrial and occupational structures.

Controversy raged during the 1870s and 1880s over the type of education suited to women. Arguments against the higher education of women were based on various physiological and biblical premises. The question of co-education was of particular interest. The women involved in the process of university reform were influenced by their sex role status as well as their class background. As women they were entering a male-defined world, but they also shared in the mater-

ial and cultural prosperity of their male counterparts. They had a short term interest in doing away with the more obvious indications of their low status, without actually challenging the underlying structures that gave rise to their position as both oppressor and oppressed. Women of the upper class were "guided by their class affiliation (and) consciously or unconsciously employed their power to protect and perpetuate their class' privileged position".[2] It was precisely this position that allowed these women the leisure time, financial means and preparatory education to actually attend ladies' colleges and later, universities.

Denominational ladies' colleges in the early and middle decades of the nineteenth century provided the type of education thought necessary for a 'gentlewoman'. These schools were instigated for the most part by concerned members of the community and were generally financed from within the denomination. Mainly ornamental in nature and classical in curriculum, these colleges provided a homelike retreat for the 'virtuous young womanhood' of the upper classes. Ladies' colleges fitted these women with the skills to fulfill their duties in life as chatelaines. They were however, because of their nature, fraught with financial difficulties. The state did not place high priority on funding separate education for women and in the latter decades of the century less expensive and more easily accessible co-educational university education became the popular alternative for the

middle class. Those private schools that survived "constituted a conscious (and often expensive) rejection of the new state system by parents who sought for their children, denominational education".[3]

Although many private schools continued to be church supported, the support (with the notable exception of the Baptists efforts), was spiritual rather than financial. Those institutions that did not find resources did not survive. Increasingly the ladies' colleges became the preserve of the wealthy. As one educator pointed out:

> Still there will always be a large number of our people who will prefer to have their daughters educated at the Ladies' Colleges. There will always be mothers who will think more of the surroundings of their children while receiving their education - of good taste, of delicacy of thought and action, of refinement of manners, of those items whose sum total constitutes true lady-like culture...they (ladies' colleges) will assuredly be preferred for many a day by the leading families of our country.[4]

The reality of women's position collided with the idealized version of their role at this time to effect a change in the conception of woman's 'true sphere'. The number of single middle class women who were faced with supporting themselves was on the increase. Industrialization had resulted in a number of social problems which were viewed as resulting from the erosion of the family and thus preventing the decline in civilization was seen as the expanded role of these women. An advanced education would enable them to

be better wives and mothers, socially conscious philanthropists and would enable those who remained unmarried to support themselves. Co-educational higher education was accepted by educational administrators and state officials as the most expeditious alternative.

The Baptist denomination in nineteenth century Ontario was concerned to strengthen its position in society relative to other religious groups. Their principles, most notably their advocacy of the separation of church and state, influenced their political stance during the period of university reform. Throughout the controversy surrounding university endowment the Baptists maintained their voluntarist position and supported the establishment of a non-sectarian Provincial university. Baptist democratic church organization, emphasis on the importance of individual salvation and evangelical orientation led to stress on the necessity of an educated membership as well as the training of ministers. These factors combined to produce a predisposition towards the education of girls and women. In the process of establishing educational institutions in the latter part of the century prominent Baptists such as William McMaster and Susan Moulton McMaster played a vital role. The schools that were set up provided an extensive education, socialization in Baptist values and principles, and in the case of female students, academics combined with the social attributes necessary for an educated Christian womanhood. Throughout

the period under examination the Baptists maintained a sense of community and purpose directed at the education of their youth. This denomination's educational efforts and political viewpoint worked against a uniform monopoly of the State in university affairs.

In this work, our historical analysis of Moulton College and McMaster University provided a study of the process of change in forms of advanced education for nineteenth century women. Enrollment patterns, attendance rates, the class and religious background of the students and their organizations and activities at Moulton illustrated the broader trends found in the denominational ladies' education of the day. Our analysis of the pioneering students at McMaster University gave an indication as to the common experiences of women who attended co-educational institutions of higher learning during this period, as well as the emphases unique to this institution as a result of its Baptist affiliation.

Women were a very small percentage of the student population at university, were segregated in certain courses and were primarily enrolled as undergraduates. Their unique position as women resulted in the formation of on-campus social and academic organizations to consolidate their position. The class background of these students was seen in their concern in religious and philanthropic organizations and the advocacy of a women's residence designed to promote

inculcation of the social amenities. Analysis of father's occupation pointed to the increased participation of women from the middle class, particularly after the turn of the century. Further research into female enrollment patterns at McMaster prior to, during, and after World War I would be of interest in assessing the role of women in the university in the early twentieth century.

Out of practical considerations, this work has limited itself to Canadian, and more specifically, Ontario developments. A more extensive study could examine the controversy surrounding access of women to the university in other countries. A cross-cultural comparison of Canada with the United States and Great Britain could point to variations in the progress of university reform within variously developed nineteenth century societies. The interaction of class and sex influences in specific historical periods would be of particular interest.

It is important to acknowledge the role of individuals in the process of change. Those middle and upper class reformers who advocated the expansion of women's sphere of influence as well as those pioneers who actually took the first step and invaded the male domain of the university were operating in a restricted environment and were subject to the political and ideological biases of the day. They were genuinely interested in elevating the status of some women

in society. Higher education, according to their view was one of the routes leading towards female emancipation. The basis for twentieth century emphasis on education as the panacea for social problems was laid by the limited mobility that was a result of university reform.

This formal democratization was however not designed to bring about long term structural change. Specifically, the entrance of upper middle class women to this form of higher education was possible because it did not bring the class structure and sex-role stereotypes of society under close scrutiny. In understanding the purpose and organization of the twentieth century university, it is vital to bear in mind the nature of nineteenth century university reform.

In this work, by examining the everyday milieu of the women pioneers in university education, we hope to have made their participation in that late nineteenth century institution comprehensible in the light of broad historical transformations.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) p. 158.

2. Ann Doris Duffy, "Upper Class Women: Power. Class and Sex Caste in New York, 1880-1920" (Unpublished PhD thesis, McMaster University, 1979) p. 66.

3. Carolyn Gossage, A Question of Privilege (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977) p. 59.

4. J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910 (Toronto: Warwick Bros., 1910) p. 234.

APPENDIX A

ENROLLMENT OF WOMEN IN THE FACULTY OF ARTS BY ACADEMIC YEAR, LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND FULL/PART-TIME STATUS, MCMASTER UNIVERSITY, 1890-1908

Arts	Academic Year *														
Year of Study	1890-1			1891-2			1893-4			1894-5			1895-6		
Full Time	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%
1st	2	16	12.5	1	21	4.8	5	36	13.9	5	22	22.7	3	32	9.4
2nd	—	—	—	3	18	16.7	1	21	4.8	7	31	22.6	3	20	15.0
3rd	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	—	2	19	15.8	5	27	18.5
4th	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	16	18.8	—	14	—	1	16	6.2
Grad (M.A.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	2	16	12.5	4	39	10.3	9	86	10.5	14	86	16.3	12	95	12.6
Partials	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	7	42.8

KEY: F=# of female students, T=# of Total Student Population
%=percentage female

* Some calendar years not included due to lack of information

Arts — Academic Year *

Year of Study	1896-7			1897-8			1898-9			1899-1900			1902-3		
Full Time	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%	F	T	%
1st	3	34	8.8	8	33	24.2	4	43	9.3	8	43	18.6	3	34	8.8
2nd	3	33	9.1	1	33	3.0	8	35	22.8	5	34	14.7	4	32	12.5
3rd	3	14	21.4	2	26	7.6	6	33	18.2	6	30	20.0	4	26	15.4
4th	5	27	18.5	3	16	18.8	2	25	8.0	5	36	13.9	4	32	12.5
Grad (M.A.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5	20.0	1	3	33.3	—	—	—
TOTAL	14	108	13.0	14	118	11.9	21	141	14.9	25	146	17.1	19	127	15.0
Partials	3	5	60.0	8	14	57.1	3	4	75.0	1	2	50.0	5	11	45.4

	1903-4			1905-6			1907-8			1908-9		
1st	7	36	19.4	9	33	27.3	7	37	18.9	12	34	35.2
2nd	4	30	13.3	9	36	25.0	12	51	23.5	13	36	36.1
3rd	4	32	12.5	6	22	27.3	7	32	21.9	12	55	21.8
4th	4	26	15.4	4	28	14.3	9	39	23.1	7	37	18.9
Grad (M.A.)	—	5	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	1	7	14.2
Total	23	129	17.8	28	149	18.8	35	160	21.9	45	175	25.7
Partials	5	9	55.5	6	12	50.0	13	27	48.1	18	33	54.5

SOURCE: McMaster University Calendars, 1890-1909 (Class and Graduation Lists)

APPENDIX B

MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN ATTENDING LECTURES, FACULTY OF ARTS, BY LEVEL OF STUDY, ACADEMIC YEAR AND FULL/PART-TIME STATUS, MCMASTER UNIVERSITY, 1890-1908

		Level of Study			
Academic Year*		FTU	FTG	PT	TOTAL
1890/1	M	—	—	—	—
	S	2	—	—	2
1891/2	M	—	—	—	—
	S	4	—	—	4
1893/4	M	—	—	—	—
	S	9	—	—	9
1894/5	M	2	—	—	2 (14.3)
	S	12	—	—	12 (85.7)
1895/6	M	1	—	2	3 (18.7)
	S	12	—	1	13 (81.3)
1898/9	M	—	—	2	2 (8.3)
	S	14	—	8	22 (91.7)
1899/ 1900	M	—	1	—	1 (3.8)
	S	21	3	1	25 (96.1)
1902/3	M	—	—	2	2 (8.3)
	S	19	—	3	22 (91.7)
1903/4	M	—	—	1	1 (3.6)
	S	23	—	4	27 (96.4)
1905/6	M	1	—	—	1 (2.9)
	S	27	—	6	33 (97.1)
1907/8	M	1	—	1	2 (4.2)
	S	34	—	12	46 (95.8)
1908/9	M	—	—	—	—
	S	44	1	18	63
Grand Total All Years	M	5	1	8	14 (-5.1)
	S	221	4	51	276 (94.9)

KEY: M=Married, S=Single
FTU=Full Time Undergraduate, FTG=Full Time Graduate
PT=Part-time

* Only where data available

SOURCE: McMaster University Calendars, 1890-1909 (class lists)

APPENDIX C

ARTS DEGREES AWARDED TO FEMALE STUDENTS BY TYPE AND YEAR, MCMASTER UNIVERSITY, 1894-1909.

Year	Degree			
	BA	MA	Combined	TOTAL
1894	3	2	—	5
1896	1	—	—	1
1897	7	—	1	8
1898	2	—	1	3
1899	1	—	—	1
1900	5	—	—	5
1901	5	—	—	5
1902	4	—	—	4
1903	5	—	—	5
1904	3	—	1	4
1905	3	—	—	3
1906	4	—	—	4
1907	4	—	3	7
1908	9	—	—	9
1909	8	—	—	8
TOTAL	64	2	6	72

Total Number of Graduates = 414, Women as overall percentage = 72/414 =17.4%

SOURCE: McMaster University Calendars, 1894-1909 (Graduate lists)

APPENDIX D: McMaster University Female Students, 1904-1919.

Information was also gathered as a by-product of the actual investigation on McMaster University students from 1904-1919 (more specifically from 1904-08 and the years 1913, 1916, 1919; pre, during and post World War II). The only source used was the Individual Student Files made available by the Registrar. Our figures are not thoroughly researched and are indicative only of trends supportive of the actual study.

Women who attended McMaster during this time period were not surprisingly, Baptists, single and approximately 17 - 22 years of age. Those who stated occupational interest on their application forms invariably cited teaching as their preference. One woman pointed to law and another to business as prospective careers. Most received their previous education at Collegiate Institutes (later High Schools), rather than denominational ladies' colleges.

Of the students and graduates listed, we examined the files of approximately 200 female students from 1904-1919. There seemed to be an increase in female enrollment during the war years. Data on father's occupation was available in only 59 cases (30% of the sample). The findings then may not be representative of the university population at the time. The figures do give an indication of some 'democratization' in the class backgrounds of the students. There seemed to be

more students from agricultural, skilled worker or 'middle class' backgrounds than in the very early years. Of those students examined, 54.2% came from what could roughly be called professional/business class:

32/59 included such occupations as; Accountant, Civil Servant, Manufacturer, Merchant, Physician, Professor, Stockbroker.

11/59 came from farm families, this may have been an indication that McMaster University was becoming more accepted by rural Baptists.

8/59 were skilled workers; i.e. clockmaker, mariner, mechanic...

8/59 were unclassified - retired, travellers.

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