

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AT MCGILL

ABSTRACT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AT MCGILL UNIVERSITY
FROM 1857 TO 1899 WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF SIR JOHN

WILLIAM DAWSON

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, Faculty of Education, McGill University.

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This thesis traces the development of a system of higher education for women at McGill, from the inauguration of McGill Normal School to the opening of Royal Victoria College.

The first chapter of the study outlines the progress in the creation of women's colleges and in the admission of women to universities in England, Canada and the United States. This section includes a biographical sketch of Principal John William Dawson and a summary of his statements on the subject of higher education for women.

The second chapter examines the foundation and growth of various institutions (both public and private) which served to fill the existing void in formal educational schooling opportunities for girls.

The third chapter focuses on women's pioneer years at McGill.

The fourth chapter reviews Sir John William Dawson's involvement in the extension of higher educational privileges to women.

RESUME

LE DEVELOPPEMENT A L'UNIVERSITE MCGILL DES HAUTES ETUDES
POUR FEMMES DE 1857 A 1899, AVEC REFERENCE SPECIALE AU ROLE
DE SIR JOHN WILLIAM DAWSON

Cette thèse trace le développement d'un système de hautes études pour femmes à McGill, depuis l'inauguration de l'Ecole Normale McGill jusqu'à l'ouverture du College Royal Victoria.

Le premier chapitre de l'étude présente un aperçu du progrès accomplis dans les domaines de création de collèges pour femmes et de l'admission des femmes aux universités en Angleterre, au Canada, et aux Etats Unis. Cette partie comprend aussi une courte biographie du recteur John William Dawson et un compte rendu de ses déclarations au sujet des hautes études pour femmes.

Le deuxième chapitre traite de la fondation et de la croissance de divers institutions (tant publiques que privées) qui ont parvenues a remplir le vide qui existé en ce temps dans le domaine d'opportunités d'éducation formelle accessibles aux jeunes filles.

Le troisième chapitre s'occupe des premières années des étudiantes à McGill.

Le quatrième chapitre traite des contributions de Sir John William Dawson a l'extension aux femmes des privilèges de hautes études.

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PREFACE

In 1857 McGill Normal School opened, admitting women as well as men. This marked the beginning of a chain of events which was highlighted by the admission of women to McGill University in 1884 and which culminated in 1899 with the opening of a residential women's college, Royal Victoria College, on the university campus. John William Dawson's principalship of McGill spanned thirty-six of these years. Even after his resignation in 1893, for reasons of ill health and advancing age, Sir William's interest in the higher education of women continued, to be severed only by his death in November of 1899.

The development of a system of higher education for women at McGill has, to date, been dealt with very superficially. Only two university histories have made reference to the subject. McGill: The Story of a University, edited by Hugh MacLennan, makes mention of the chartering and status of Royal Victoria College in one sentence. Even this brief statement is incorrect. A chapter was allotted to the topic by Cyrus Macmillan in his history, McGill and its Story 1821-1921. Apart from the first page and the final few paragraphs, the material is a plagiarism of a chapter in Sir John William Dawson's autobiography, Fifty Years of Work in Canada: Scientific and Educational. Even in the transposition, inaccuracies were created. Of the more general histories, W.C. Percival's Across the Years contains a number of questionable statistics and incorrect statements. In The Development of Education in

Canada, C.E. Phillips draws a number of conclusions which are unsupported by available Dawsonian material. Jean Bannerman, whose book Leading Ladies: Canada 1639-1967 deals with women's accomplishments, refers to the admission of women to McGill and mentions specifically a number of the university's eminent women graduates. Unfortunately, not all her data are correct. Dr. Muriel Roscoe's "The Royal Victoria College 1899-1962, A Report to the Principal of the History of the College Together with Brief Accounts of the Pioneering Years and Activities (Prior to 1844 [sic]) and of the Classes Under the Donalda Endowment (1884-1899), March 20, 1964," while providing a good outline of the developments in higher education for women and an indication of sources to be consulted, contains many minor inaccuracies. The writer of the present thesis has endeavoured to deal specifically with the errors in historiography in her footnotes.

A vast quantity of primary source material relevant to the early years of women's education at McGill is held by the University Archives. This material includes two recently discovered trunks containing Sir John William Dawson's official papers and a coffer holding Women's Alumnae records. The minute books of the Corporation (now referred to as the Senate), Board of Governors, Faculty of Arts and Medicine are available for reference. In addition to the collections of papers of various individuals connected with women's education at the university, the University Archives also hold early copies of McGill calendars and yearbooks. The Rare Books and Special Collections division of McLennan Library holds some John William Dawson papers as well, most notably, for the purposes of this thesis, Dawson's scrapbook. Also held are early issues of student

publications such as the University Gazette and the McGill Fortnightly. The McGill News office has back copies of the McGill News, some of which contain articles written by early women graduates. Considering the quantity and quality of the source material which is available, there is no need for this vital segment of McGill's history to remain obscured.

The 1970s have focused on women and their position in today's society. The emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement has demonstrated that many women still feel that equal rights are denied them. In Canada, the findings of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women lend support to this feeling. At McGill similar concern has prompted an inquiry into the standing of women faculty members. This seems, then, to be a most auspicious time to look back to the nineteenth century when women's right to equal education was first recognized on a large scale, and to reconstruct a part of McGill's history of that era which for too long has been neglected.

To Mr. John Andreassen, University Archivist, go my thanks and appreciation for his interest and advice.

To Miss Sandra Guillaume, Assistant Archivist, I wish to extend my thanks for her generous assistance.

To the director of my research, Dr. Margaret Gillett, I wish to express my appreciation for her guidance and encouragement.

CHAPTER I

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The provision of higher education for women is a part of recent history, dating back only as far as the nineteenth century. Prior to that time, colleges and universities were attended exclusively by men seeking to enter such professions as law, medicine, teaching and the ministry. For women, unless favoured by wealthy and enlightened parents, even the most elementary education was considered unessential. Women's sphere was the home. Nor were women in most societies accorded any rights which would allow them to demand more. The extension of higher education to women was, therefore, an integral part of the emergence of women as individuals with definite rights.

Securing access to higher education for women involved more than the establishment of new colleges or the opening up of existing colleges and universities to them. It pointed to the need to redefine women's role and to structure a sound and widespread system of instruction which would recognize university studies as a logical conclusion to formal education. The establishment of normal schools to which women were admitted marked the beginning of such a shift in thinking. Not only did these teacher training institutions provide women with the opportunity to extend their limited academic horizons, but they opened to women a legitimate and respectable profession. The admission of women to normal

schools could be traced to the shortage of men teachers and to the realization that women could be employed more cheaply. Ultimately, however, attitudes were to be reversed and women were to come to be regarded as best suited to teach, at least at the lower levels. The provision of public secondary schooling for girls represented another significant gain. It made secondary level education available to many more girls than had private schools and assured a degree of standardization not possible in the latter institutions. As well, it brought into focus the need for equal credit. Women could not hope to attain educational parity without equal recognition of their academic achievements.

By mid-nineteenth century the movement promoting the extension of higher education to women had gained momentum in England and more particularly in the United States. It was to these two countries that McGill authorities were to turn for data when in the early 1880's they were considering the possibility of admitting women to the university.

In England during the latter half of the nineteenth century, earnest debate was punctuated by the creation of separate colleges and by the opening of some universities to women. In connection with the former, the work of Emily Davies deserves particular mention. It was she who, in keeping with her belief that women should be admitted to the degree on equal terms with men, pressed for the establishment of a women's college to be connected with the University of Cambridge.² Her efforts led to the opening of Hitchen (1869) which was incorporated as Girton College in 1873.³ In 1871 a group of Cambridge people less insistent about the importance of identical examinations for both sexes, opened Merton Hall which in 1880 was incorporated as Newnham College.⁴ Similarly Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville were founded on the periphery

of Oxford in 1879.⁵ It was not until well into the twentieth century, however, that the universities of Oxford and Cambridge conferred their degrees upon women.⁶ In comparison, the University of London was much in advance, opening its degrees to women from 1878.⁷

In the United States the movement for the higher education of women took root much earlier than it had in England. Prior to the Civil War (1861-63) the first successful efforts had been made to secure for women access to a college level education. Some institutions such as Oxford Female College, Illinois Conference Female College and Ingham University which were chartered in 1852, 1854 and 1857 respectively, and evolved from lower level schools into colleges offering a four year course of studies leading to a degree.⁸ Others, notably Georgia Female College (1836), Mary Sharp College (1851), Elmira College (1855) and Vassar College (1861),⁹ were founded as colleges.¹⁰ A number of existing colleges admitted women during this same period, the earliest being Oberlin (1837) which granted three women the A.B. degree in 1841.¹¹ In 1852 a policy of coeducation was instituted at Antioch College.¹² The University of Iowa, a state university, admitted women from its opening in 1856.¹³ On the whole, however, the state universities opened to women on a large scale only after the Civil War.¹⁴

In Canada higher education for women became a reality in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Mount Allison was the first Canadian university to confer a degree upon a woman. In 1875 the University granted a Bachelor of Science degree to Grace Annie Lockhart, thereby making her "the first woman in the British Empire to receive a university Bachelor's degree."¹⁵ The first Bachelor of Arts degree

granted a woman was also conferred by Mount Allison, in 1882.¹⁶ Acadia College granted its first degree to a woman in 1884.¹⁷ In 1881 classes at Dalhousie University were opened to women,¹⁸ while three years later an endowment of \$50,000 from Sir Donald A. Smith (later Lord Strathcona) enabled McGill University, then under the principalship of John William Dawson, to admit its first women students.

SIR JOHN WILLIAM DAWSON, CHAMPION OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

John William Dawson was born in Pictou, Nova Scotia in October of 1820, the elder son of Scottish immigrants, James Dawson and Mary Rankine. From their earliest years, John and his brother were taught the value of hard work, of earnest study and of strict adherence to the Presbyterian faith. These principles were to be reflected in all John William Dawson endeavoured to do throughout his life.¹⁹

Dawson's earliest formal schooling took place in what must have been a dame school. He described his first teacher as "a woman of a degree of culture and refinement not common, at that time, in our little community."²⁰ She had been educated in Scotland, "in the subjects then usual in schools for ladies."²¹ Dawson credited her with cultivating "tastes and desires for knowledge beyond the limits of the three R's."²²

Dawson next attended grammar school, "intended for boys only, and managed on the good old-fashioned plan of long hours, hard lessons, no prizes, but some punishment."²³ He spent many hours after school collecting "shells, fossils, insects, and rare birds."²⁴ This passion for collecting specimens was destined to become more than a short-lived past-time indulged in by many youths.

Upon completion of grammar school, Dawson enrolled at Pictou Academy. This college had been established by Rev. Dr. Thomas McGulloch and was modelled on the arts course at the University of Glasgow. It was during this period that Dawson acquired the skill of preparing specimens and put it to use assembling collections of birds, butterflies and moths. He studied drawing and elocution. Dawson found the latter to be especially beneficial. It provided him with his first experience in lecturing which in the future would stand him in

good stead. While at college, Dawson continued fossil hunting in which he had earlier been encouraged by McCulloch, supplementing his collecting with the acquisition of such books and articles as he could find on the subject.

At the end of his four years at the Academy, Dawson faced the decision of choosing a career. At this point in his life he had hoped to train for the ministry. To this end he had undertaken, upon completion of the required course of studies, the study of Hebrew "and allied subjects."²⁵ The death of his brother, however, left him feeling duty-bound to stay home and assist his parents.

Fortunately, Dawson was given the opportunity to satisfy his longing for geological knowledge when his parents allowed him to study in Edinburgh. It was at the University of Edinburgh that Dawson devoted himself to the study of natural science. The museum, the library and field trips provided him with the background material in geology which he felt he so greatly lacked.

On a return visit to Nova Scotia, Dawson had the fortune to meet Sir Charles Lyell, "who more than any other man gave form to modern geological science."²⁶ Lyell's friendship proved to be of great value to Dawson. Not only did Lyell encourage Dawson to extend his scientific work and to direct this into papers for scientific societies, but he was also responsible for introducing the latter to Sir Edmund Head. It was this introduction which ultimately led to Dawson's long association with McGill University. It is significant to note, in view of Dawson's ultimate destiny, that Lyell had warned him against involvement in educational work as in the latter's experience such an involvement very often prevented "promising men"²⁷ from continuing their scientific research.

While in his first year at the University of Edinburgh, Dawson met Margaret Mercer who was later to become his wife. Dawson considered his marriage to be "the crowning joy"²⁸ of his life. He wrote that Margaret had "proved herself fitted to adorn [*italics mine*] every position in which we have been placed."²⁹

In 1847 Dawson returned to Nova Scotia with his wife. Although he was unaware of it at the time, he was about to begin an involvement in education which was destined to change his life. The contacts he was to make with important figures in the educational sphere and the experience he was to gain from his various undertakings would provide him with a solid base for his future work. In 1849 Dawson was asked to deliver a series of lectures on "natural history subjects,"³⁰ at Dalhousie College. These lectures formed part of a program of what now would be termed extension courses, and were attended by the general public, "students of the higher schools"³¹ and of the college. In addition to lectures, Dawson organized "a practical class for special subjects, particularly mineralogy and the study of fossils."³² Field trips were taken in order to collect related specimens. Dawson also had the opportunity of offering a "short course"³³ at the Pictou Academy and of preparing lectures for a local scientific society.

While in Halifax, Dawson renewed his friendship with Joseph Howe who at that time was active both in government and on the Board of Dalhousie College. Subsequently this was to lead to Dawson's being offered the newly created post of Superintendent of Education for the province. The offer surprised and dismayed Dawson as he had had no intention of becoming a candidate for the position. He was, at that time, thoroughly occupied by his studies of local geography and by the preparation of papers on this subject for presentation before the

Geological Society of London. Furthermore, Dawson felt that he was not the ideal man for the post because of the fact that he was not a teacher by training and profession. Howe would not accept a refusal, but pointed out that the travelling required by the position would acquaint Dawson with all parts of the province. And so John William Dawson became Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia, undertaking, as he was destined to do for the rest of his life, to combine educational work with scientific endeavours. The following paragraph provides some indication of the scope of Dawson's efforts.

In summer I travelled from county to county, convening meetings of the commissioners of schools and of persons interested in education; examining schools and collecting statistics concerning them; lecturing on education, and explaining the means of introducing agriculture into the schools; occasionally convening teachers' institutes in central places; introducing uniform textbooks and new apparatus; devising plans for better schoolhouses; and with all this carrying on a geological reconnaissance and collecting specimens. In winter, in addition to much correspondence and issuing an educational journal, I worked up my statistics and reports, and spent much time in Halifax, explaining to members of the Legislature my new educational projects. I also, chiefly in the evenings, wrote out my geological observations for the Geological Society, and made extensive notes in preparation for a separate work on the physical geography and geology of the province.³⁴

While in office, Dawson was invited by Sir Edmund Head to join a number of others, including Rev. Dr. Ryerson, then "the leading school authority in Canada,"³⁵ in reporting on the reorganization of the University of New Brunswick. Not only did this enable Dawson to further study "university matters,"³⁶ but it also provided him with the opportunity to become well acquainted with Ryerson, who in the near future would furnish the former with valuable assistance in connection with the organization of a normal school in Montreal.

Dawson was prevented from continuing in his position as Superintendent of Education by an illness which almost cut short his life.

The last undertaking in connection with education in Nova Scotia was his work as "one of the commissioners for the foundation of the Normal School."³⁷ Although Dawson had no way of knowing it, this was to be among the first of his responsibilities at McGill. At the time of his retirement from the post, however, he was not contemplating any further educational commitments. Instead he hoped that, upon completion of his book, Acadian Geology, he could devote his time to detailed geological study. Such was not to be the case.

In 1854 the Chair of Natural History at the University of Edinburgh was left vacant by the death of Edward Forbes. Dawson received a letter from Lyell advising him to become a candidate and offering him "his support and that of other men of influence."³⁸ The position was one which Dawson would have gladly assumed. In Halifax, where he was about to board a steamer for England, he received the news that the "candidate of the Biological party, and more especially favoured by the medical professors"³⁹ had been appointed to the Chair. Almost at the same time, a letter arrived from Judge Day, the president of the Board of Governors of McGill University, offering Dawson the principalship. Dawson had not applied for the position, nor was he aware that it was Sir Edmund Head who had spoken on his behalf. Having discussed the offer with his wife and his father, Dawson accepted the post even though it involved sacrifices on his part.

The office was a very different one from that in Edinburgh, involving much work of a purely educational kind, and likely to remove me further from my cherished work among the rocks of the coal period.⁴⁰

Dawson first saw McGill in 1855. The sight of the grounds alone must have come as a shock to him.

Materially, it was represented by two blocks of unfinished and partly ruinous buildings, standing amid a wilderness of excavators' and masons' rubbish, overgrown with weeds and bushes. The grounds were unfenced, and pastured at will, by herds of cattle, which not only cropped the grass, but browsed on the shrubs, leaving unhurt only one great elm. . . . The only access from the town was by a circuitous and ungraded cart track, almost impassable at night. The buildings had been abandoned by the new Board, and the classes of the Faculty of Arts were held in the upper story of a brick building in the town, the lower part of which was occupied by the High School. I had been promised a residence, and this, I found, was to be a portion of the detached buildings aforesaid, the present east wing. It had been very imperfectly finished, and was destitute of nearly every requisite of civilized life, and in front of it was a bank of rubbish and loose stones, with a swamp below, while the interior was in an indescribable state of dust and disrepair.⁴¹

McGill was far from being a large and prestigious university.

The University at this time comprised three faculties - those of law, medicine and arts. The Faculty of Law, then recently organized, had two professors and two lecturers. The faculty of Medicine, the oldest and most prosperous of the three, had ten professors and a demonstrator. The faculty of Arts had four professors and a lecturer, and all of these, ⁴² except one, gave only a part of their time to college work.

Such then was the state of McGill when Dawson assumed its principalship. At the time of his retirement in 1893, however, the University would have an attendance of over one thousand (in 1855 enrolment stood at eighty), and a reputation that in 1855 few would have dreamed of. In the words of Dr. Craik, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, Dawson "did for McGill what perhaps no other man could have done, - he saved its very existence."⁴³

During his thirty-eight year principalship, one of Dawson's major undertakings was that of extending the privileges of higher education to women. That McGill opened its doors to women in 1884 was, in large measure, an outgrowth of efforts initiated by Dawson long before.

Extremely important for the social historian are the records Dawson left behind. From these emerge a series of statements on woman and her

position in society which, in turn, afford one a better understanding of one man's involvement in McGill's extension of university benefits to women.

In Dawson's opinion, the desirability of higher education for women was indisputable. The two major issues were merely "whether the higher education of women should be precisely similar to that of men; and . . . whether the two sexes should be educated together or separately."⁴⁴

Believing that women's academic capacities, although equal to men's, were sensitized because of certain constitutional differences, Dawson felt that it would be advantageous to develop a system of education to suit their "excitable nervous temperament, and special liability to be unduly stimulated by emulation, love of approbation, and . . . ambition, to undue exertion."⁴⁵ He did not support the notion of permanent employment for women, and was therefore confident that "general culture" and not professional education would best serve women's interests.⁴⁶ As well, he recognized in the evolving of an educational program for women, an opportunity to improve certain features of the blueprint which had long served men.

I would not here be supposed to bespeak for women precisely the same education . . . according ^{to} our young men in our existing colleges, but something better.⁴⁷

Given these demands, "special education in separate colleges" appeared to offer the ideal solution.⁴⁸

Although he agreed that the final examinations should be the same for both sexes, Dawson was convinced that women should be offered a wider selection of courses than was available in the tradition-bound curriculum of the men's colleges.⁴⁹ However, the curriculum revisions he proposed seem to have been made more in consideration of women's familial

and social roles than in regard to her intellectual development. Women were to be encouraged to remedy the traditional deficiency in philological studies by including Hebrew, Chinese or "those old Assyrian and Chaldean tongues now so much studied."⁵⁰ Scientific education was to be "conducted under improved methods, and with all the aids and appliances that our time can furnish."⁵¹

The rest of the proposed curricular revisions clearly subordinated intellect to wifely arts, as is evident in the following exhortation of the value of physical education.

First, then, may we place Physical Education. . . . Let nothing satisfy short of full healthy development of the physical frame, fitting it first for the performance of the duties of the wife, the mother and the worker; and then for the indwelling of a strong active intellect and rightly-balanced will.⁵²

In the same way, physiology, hygiene, nursing and household surgery were considered by Dawson to be essential courses for women.

These are arts which should be taught to all women, and the trained nurse of the present day is no substitute for this, since her services are too costly for all but the wealthy, and therefore inaccessible to many. The remedy lies with the colleges. They only might make every woman a nurse and hygiene expert.⁵³

Even the proposed study of the Old and New Testaments⁵⁴ was not measured as much in educational terms as it was in terms of social benefits. According to Dawson, a thorough grounding in religion would result in "giving a christian woman a clear perception of the essentials of Christianity . . . enabling her to meet the tendencies to superstition on the one hand and infidelity on the other, with a clear and reasoned faith."⁵⁵

Dawson favoured separate education for a variety of reasons. Teaching methodology could be appropriately modified.

There should be a difference . . . in the manner of teaching . . . suited to the difference in mind and character between the sexes, and to the different spheres of social and professional action open to men and women.⁵⁶

Free from the competitive atmosphere found in mixed classes, women could avoid having "to assert themselves in an unwomanly manner."⁵⁷ There would be no danger of men and women of "very different social grades" being in the same classes.⁵⁸ In this way, even if the courses offered women were identical to those followed by men, the university could, at least in part, satisfy the aim of "a culture for woman higher, more refining and better suited for her nature than that which we provide for men."⁵⁹ But the greatest advantage of separate education was, in Dawson's opinion, its potential for allowing women's "refining influence" to be felt in education.⁶⁰ As evidence, he offered the following observation:

Lectures assume a different and higher tone when delivered to a class of women or to a class in which women are the great majority.⁶¹

Dawson's ultimate goal appears to have been the establishment of a separate women's college in affiliation with the university. Only such an institution could be expected to satisfy the demands which had been enumerated. Waiting halls and lady superintendents, thought of as essential in the presence of men, could be dispensed with. Special lecturers could be appointed, thereby reducing the burden which would otherwise be placed on professors who had to duplicate their lectures. In Dawson's mind there appeared to be no better alternative than a separate college for women which would allow "full development without being trammelled with the disabilities and limitations which had heretofore attended the colleges for men."⁶²

Firmly believing that it was only a "world . . . out of joint" with the basic tenets of Christianity which would force a woman to seek

permanent employment,⁶³ Dawson felt that woman's sphere revolved around her home and family. He did, however, concede the suitability of teaching and nursing, but only in so far as they were logical extensions of domestic responsibilities and were sanctioned by the Bible.⁶⁴ Teaching did not "in any way interfere with the true functions and duties of a woman"; while a "higher kind" of nurse was needed "to supplement the scanty attentions of the physician, and to govern and instruct or to replace altogether less competent attendants on the sick."⁶⁵

When reduced to their essentials, Dawson's suggestions reveal that for women a university education was to be considered sufficient in itself. Dawson firmly believed that educated women constituted "an important factor in the higher civilization and in the progress of humanity"⁶⁶ by virtue of their capacity to "bring to bear the influence of . . . practical good sense and right feeling on the side of truth, honesty and good taste."⁶⁷ But, when he attempted to apply this belief to daily realities, Dawson could envision nothing more revolutionary than teaching and nursing to open to women the horizons beyond home and family. The ultimate qualities which, according to Dawson, women could share with the world were not the fruits of their intellectual endeavours but their benevolence and refinement.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDATIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AT MCGILL UNIVERSITY

MCGILL NORMAL SCHOOL

McGill Normal School opened in the fall of 1857 with Principal Dawson assuming the added responsibilities of the principalship and a lectureship in natural history.¹ From the beginning, it was intended that the Normal School "give a thorough training to male and female [*italics mine*] teachers."² Regulations were to apply equally to both sexes.³ There was, however, one paragraph in the prospectus which indicated the true position of women vis-à-vis the institutions of higher education.

It is also contemplated, that such of the male pupil-teachers as may be distinguished by previous education & ability and industry, shall have the further privilege of entering on the University course as free students, with the view of qualifying themselves for teaching in colleges,⁴ academies, and other institutions for superior education.

Despite such privileges, very few men enrolled in the Normal School. Dawson attributed the small male enrolment in the opening year to the short interval between the announcement of and the actual commencement of classes which made it difficult for prospective male students to leave their jobs.⁵ Nor was Dawson surprised when this situation continued, as he was well aware that there were "so many avenues for more lucrative employment"⁶ than teaching open to men. From the start he realized that women stood to gain much more from the program offered at the Normal School than did men. In his inaugural address, he noted:

A raison du petit nombre de carrières où son intelligence peut se déployer, je dois ajouter qu'il [le beau sexe] profite généralement beaucoup plus de nos leçons que ne le font les hommes.⁷

Certainly there was a great demand on the part of women for admission to McGill Normal School. The limited opportunity for higher education for women, the respectability of the teaching profession and the possibility of earning an independent livelihood helped to keep women's enrolment figures high. The Normal School thus became "practically a professional college for women."⁸ Letters of application reveal that women in the United States and Canada West were aware of educational opportunities for their sex at the McGill Normal School. However, not all who applied were familiar with the school's admission policies, witness the following lines from Hannah Holway of Augusta, Maine.

Principal of N.S.

I have been informed that you admit pupils to your school from the States, and without regard to their age or attainments if such is the case. I would like to enter for six months or thereabouts providing my expenses would not be too exorbitant.⁹

And inquiries were directed to Principal Dawson on behalf of interested individuals who possessed varying qualifications.

I request you will be pleased to inform me what steps are necessary to be taken to obtain the admission of my Grand-daughter. . . . Her age is nearly fifteen years, and she is already a tolerably good arithmetical, grammatical and musical scholar.¹⁰

The following requirements were necessary for admission:

An extract from the Register of Baptism or other evidence, shewing that he is fully sixteen years of age, . . . a certificate of character and conduct. . . . that the candidate can read and write sufficiently well, knows the rudiments of grammar in his mother tongue, - arithmetic as far as the rule of three, inclusively, and has some knowledge of geography.¹¹

When instituted, the McGill Normal School offered two programs of

study. Students were able to terminate their studies after one or two years. The certificate issued upon completion of the first year permitted one to teach at the elementary level.¹² Those who continued successfully were granted certificates enabling them to teach in the Model Schools.¹³ By 1860, progress was such that the preparation of students for teaching positions at the level of academies could be contemplated.¹⁴ The first efforts in this direction were limited to offering two bursaries to selected graduates of the university, in order that they might "practice the art of teaching in the High School."¹⁵ This excluded women. When in 1864 the Normal School extended its program to three years, granting Academy Diplomas to its graduates,¹⁶ the course was opened to both sexes. The original aim had been realized.

The work of the Normal School will thus be complete, according to its original intention, and the School will be able to embrace the interests of the higher as well as of elementary education.¹⁷

The students of the Academy Class studied essentially the same subjects as they had in the second year, but in greater depth.¹⁸ The single most important addition to the curriculum was that of Greek. The fact that Greek was taught was not as important for the men in attendance as it was for the women. The former were able to continue their education in the university. For the latter, the Academy Class program represented the highest systematic course of study available. The creation of such a class was, therefore, the next most significant step after the admission of women to the Normal School.

The admission of both men and women to the Normal School was not undertaken without thorough consideration of the moral implications. Certainly the instructions listed in the prospectus reflected this concern. The regulations governing conduct in the school itself were explicit,

permitting little or no contact between the two sexes.¹⁹ These rules extended to the boarding houses, which at that time took the place of residences. Approved by the Principal, the boarding houses were to provide accommodation for students of one sex or the other²⁰ who could not reside at home. Visiting was strictly prohibited.²¹

Perhaps because it was not yet accepted practice that women attend school with men, the conduct of the former was also subject to the scrutiny of the residents of Montreal. The following letter was intended for the editor of the Gazette.

Dear sir -

Will you be kind enough to inform me whether the Parents of those young Ladies who attend the Normal School, & parade Great St. James St. every afternoon until dark, - are cognisant of the fact - there are several of them that carry on in a disgraceful manner, talking to young men whom they do not know - &c &c -, whilst their poor Mother's or Father's (as the case may be) are toiling from morning till night to gain a subsistence.

If you think the above worthy of a place in your valuable Journal you can insert it & oblige
A Subscriber²²

On the whole, however, students seem to have taken the regulations seriously. This was certainly the case with thirty-one members of one class, who sent Principal Dawson a petition protesting a leniency of the punishment used to deal with a young woman whose conduct was something less than that considered befitting a lady.²³

The admission of women to McGill Normal School was of some significance in light of the very limited educational opportunities for women at that time. It seems remarkable that such a step could be considered when no comprehensive system of elementary or secondary education was open to the female sex. The Normal School offered two definite benefits to women. It provided them with an opportunity to expand somewhat their academic horizons. As well, it furnished them with the training

which opened to them one of the few professions considered respectable for women. At the same time one cannot ignore the glaring inadequacies which this "step forward" brought into focus. For women the Normal School courses were a beginning and an end in themselves. There was no possibility that women could further their education at the University. Even within the Normal School itself, deterrents, in the form of a three year obligatory teaching post, were applied to assure that women were not entering the Academy Class simply to benefit from the additional course work.²⁴ Nor were the women who trained to be teachers very much more privileged. Often school boards wanted to employ male teachers, perhaps because they felt that men could undertake more work within the community, but resorted to hiring female teachers because they could not afford to pay more than a minimal salary.²⁵ The practice of paying women teachers less than their male counterparts is still uncomfortably close in our memories.

In the discussion of the early years of McGill Normal School's existence, one cannot ignore the involvement of John William Dawson. Not only was he instrumental in the organization of the School, but he also played a very active part in the Normal School's administration from the time of the inauguration until his resignation in 1870.²⁶ It was during this time that Dawson had his first experience in teaching natural history to women.²⁷ The experience was one which was destined to prove very useful in the near future.

MONTREAL LADIES' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

In 1870 the possibility of admitting women to McGill University still seemed remote. Apart from the Normal School, no institution existed capable of providing a thorough and systematic education on a large scale. Women's education consisted of the limited fare offered by a multitude of private schools. Moreover, McGill's financial condition was strained even without the added cost of classes for women. Nevertheless, at a meeting of citizens convened by the Board of Governors on February 10, 1870, a resolution to extend university benefits to women as soon as possible was unanimously adopted.²⁸ This commitment, coupled with a determination to find a means of expanding educational opportunities for the women of the community without further taxing the university's finances, prompted Principal Dawson to devote some of his research time in Great Britain to investigating women's educational institutions and their methods.²⁹

Dawson was particularly impressed by the work of the Ladies' Educational Association of Edinburgh in "bringing young women up to the standard of the college degree" through a program of regular lectures.³⁰ He therefore undertook to organize a similar association in Montreal. Aided by his wife, he made an appeal to a number of the city's most influential women.³¹ On May 10, 1871, at Belmont Hall, the home of Mrs. John Molson, Dawson's efforts resulted in the formation of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association. The Association had as its aim the provision of lectures on the Literary, Scientific and Historical subjects for the higher education of women, and eventually, if possible, the establishment of a College for Ladies in connection with the university.³²

According to the plan formulated by a sub-committee of the Association, a total of eighty lectures (this number was later reduced to

sixty and finally to forty)³³ was to be presented each session with scientific and literary lectures scheduled simultaneously. Courses offered during the two terms of a session were to be related. However, from year to year different subjects were to be introduced, allowing new students to attend the lectures of any session without disadvantage and also providing continuing students with a broader academic perspective.³⁴

Principal Dawson, inaugurating the courses in October, 1871, encouraged women to use their innate intellectual abilities to their full potential and to reject the notion that educated women were unfeminine.

The prevalent tone of the feminine mind has come to be proverbially feeble. Men smile at woman's logic, and think it quite out of place to discuss any of the graver or deeper questions of practical science or business in her presence; and a woman of any power and culture is pointed at as a strong-minded woman, or a blue-stocking. . . . It is time that such false notions were at an end.³⁵

The first session opened with twenty lectures each on Mineralogy (Useful and Ornamental Stones), French Literature, English Language and Chemical and Physical Geology delivered by Principal Dawson, Professor Darey, Rev. Professor Cornish and Dr. Sterry Hunt, respectively. As well, two lectures on English History were presented by Professor Goldwin Smith of Cornell University.³⁶

The annual admission fee of twelve dollars gave members the option of attending as students or auditors,³⁷ although the former choice was encouraged.

It is part of our system to make mere listeners welcome, but the lecture should not be prepared for their benefit. Popular lectures are useful in their season. But they are pioneers only - rough, unfinished introductions to new subjects of thought, quite unworthy of a place in an institution like this.³⁸

Certificates of standing were presented to students who had been successful in their examinations,³⁹ while prizes from the Hannah Willard

Lyman Memorial Fund (see p. 28) were awarded to the student with the highest first class standing.⁴⁰ From the beginning it was observed that large attentive audiences tended to reveal disproportionately small numbers of students prepared to hand in assignments, and even fewer still prepared to present themselves for examinations. This was a great source of regret, especially when noted in practical courses as in Dr. Roddick's lectures in Hygiene.

The attendance was large and regular, and too much cannot be said in praise of the attention displayed by all, through every lecture during the entire course.

As to the examinations, it is to be regretted, considering the exceedingly practical character of the subject, that a greater number of young ladies did not present themselves.⁴¹

Principal Dawson regarded this phenomenon as an indication that "in the future the ordinary pass certificates of the Association will be highly valued by those who may be so fortunate as to possess them."⁴² The executive committee of the Association concluded that the majority of the women were unwilling to receive less than a first class standing. "If this fear prevailed in Colleges, the number of graduates would be very small," the committee further commented.⁴³

But if the number of students presenting themselves for examinations was small, the level of achievement was unexpectedly high. (The only failure recorded was noted in the first year of the Association's existence, in the English Language course given by Rev. Professor Cornish.)⁴⁴ Correspondence recorded in the annual reports bears witness to a degree of excellence which surprised even the lecturers.

I suffered . . . from an "embarrassment of riches" in the form of a superabundance of the best answering.⁴⁵

I must candidly own that the results . . . surprised me, that I was not prepared for the style, quality and quantity of work which the ladies sent up, and which would have done credit to a class of the best trained students in our English universities.⁴⁶

I must express my gratification at the exceedingly high average obtained by the candidates - higher than I am accustomed to in other examinations on the same subject.⁴⁷

It has never been my good fortune to examine a set of papers in any department, more generally free from errors or, showing a more intelligent appreciation of the work studied.⁴⁸

And the only weaknesses in the examinations which prompted any comment, have at one time or another been brought to the attention of almost every student. Professor Moyses noted that it would "be well if the students depended less on remembering the lecturer's words."⁴⁹ Rev. Principal Lobley mentioned that he had noticed "a tendency in some cases to be content with a mere vague indication of the facts asked for, instead of a distinct and circumstantial account of them."⁵⁰

Although the Association had hoped to maintain a strictly academic orientation, it did in time sponsor a number of practical courses. Lectures in Domestic Economy and Cookery, Household Surgery, Domestic Medicine, Nursing and Personal Hygiene met with great success. But these subjects might not have been presented had not they been in the source of attraction to larger numbers of women than were usually in attendance for the academic lectures. The annual reports reveal a certain ambivalence towards the idea of the Association offering practical courses. In the report for the fourth session, reference is made to the subject of hygiene, on which lectures had been given and very well received, as being "of such vital importance to us all,"⁵¹ while a few pages later, hope is expressed that "as the taste for knowledge increases, we shall . . . become more strictly educational."⁵² It should be noted that when in the spring of 1873 the suggestion was made by one of the committee members that arrangements be made to include in the program "one popular course of lectures, instead of all being strictly educational," it was voted down.⁵³

This decision, as has been shown, was later reversed. Although the inclusion of practical courses may not have been enthusiastically supported by all the executive of the Association, it was certainly encouraged by Princess Louise, Patroness of the Association from 1878, who suggested that special attention be given Domestic Economy "which properly lies at the root of the highest life of every true woman."⁵⁴ While not indifferent to the advice of their Patroness, the ladies of the Association, true to their aim, were more concerned with providing lectures in Music, believing that an understanding of its theory would "lead to the forming of taste for, and appreciation of the study, as one of those most leading to cultivation and refinement."⁵⁵

The Association had hoped to broaden its scope by establishing full-time rather than extension courses. It had seemed to be a step closer when, in 1877, it was deemed necessary to present a certificate to students who had attended courses for three consecutive years, successfully passing examinations.⁵⁶ Financial problems, however, appeared to loom larger every year, retarding the realization of the Association's goal. By the third session (1873-74) it was obvious that expenses would barely be covered. In the opinion of the President, Mrs. John Henry Molson, the "novelty was wearing off."⁵⁷ By 1876-77 it was necessary to borrow money from a fund reserved for covering the costs incurred by lectures involving experiments.⁵⁸ It was only because of the great response to the lectures on cookery that the Association was able to meet expenditures in 1878-79.⁵⁹ Despite this financial pressure, the Association carried on its work. The thirteenth session (1883-84) proved to be a turning point. Following the example of the Ladies' Educational Association of Edinburgh, the organization after which they had been modeled, the Association instituted an Associate membership. Ninety.

four such memberships were recorded--each subscriber having paid a fee of three dollars for the privilege.⁶⁰ This means of raising funds assured the financial stability which the Association had been lacking and allowed the program to be continued.

Since there is no annual report for the 1884-85 session to refer to, it is necessary to reconstruct the final part of the history of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association from a number of indirect sources. From the Association's Student Register one can only assume that courses were not continued after the fourteenth session, as no entries are recorded after 1884-85.⁶¹ An article written by Principal Dawson and published in the Gazette, reveals that the Principal had approached the Association in the fall of 1884 to assist him in setting up classes for women at McGill.⁶² Had this plan been carried through, the Association would have been a step closer to its ideal of establishing a women's college in affiliation with the university. Both the Association and the university would have been able to share the financial burden. Ironically, the financial support offered by Sir Donald A. Smith helped to hasten the end of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association.

In his "Report on the Higher Education of Women," which was presented to the Corporation in October of 1884, Principal Dawson wrote that it was not necessary to discontinue the work of the Association because of the fact that the university was opening classes for women. He even saw the possibility of admitting members and students of the Association to certain of the university lectures. In this way the resources of the Association could be better used to serve women who were unable or unwilling to undertake a full-time course of study at the university.⁶³ However, the lectures of the Association were not continued

beyond the fourteenth session. Apart from the cryptic endorsement written in Principal Dawson's hand on the back cover of the annual report containing the prospectus for the 1884-85 session which reads "Last session of the Association before handing over work to the University,"⁶⁴ nothing has been found referring to the Association's last lectures or to the reason for their discontinuation.

During its fourteen year existence the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association had offered to the women of Montreal a long list of courses on a wide variety of subjects including Electricity (Frictional and Voltaic) and Magnetism, Applied Logic, Architecture, Light, Ethics and Rhetoric, proving to the lecturers, and more important to the women themselves, that higher education was within women's range. Having been organized at a time when little value had been attached to providing education for women, the Association had carried on its work long enough to see the first class of women admitted to McGill University.

William Dawson's involvement with the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association spanned every phase of the Association's history. Conscious of the financial conditions at McGill and of the educational standing of the women of the community, Dawson was able to search out a model for an organization which would suit the particular needs of both. Once the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association had been organized, its executive naturally assumed the responsibility for the continuing organization even to the point of informing the professors of the subjects which they were to teach. Nevertheless, Dawson's influence continued to be felt. He delivered at least two addresses, including the inaugural speech, as well as numerous series of lectures in such subject areas as Mineralogy, Geology, Botany and Zoology. He was responsible for

directing money from the Hannah Willard Lyman Memorial Fund to the Association for use as a scholarship. Dawson personally contributed to the Association the larger portion of the salary paid him for lecturing, keeping only the amount necessary to cover expenses. On more than one occasion this generosity saved the Association from financial disaster. It was, however, in the capacity of Principal of McGill that Dawson was able to make his greatest contribution to the success of the Association. Had Dawson not been associated with the organization, it is doubtful that the Association could have attracted as high a calibre of staff or that it could have been assured of the relative parity of course work and examination standards with that of the university. That there existed a common standard in the Association's program and in the courses offered men students at McGill is most evident by the ultimate absorption of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association into McGill.

HANNAH WILLARD LYMAN MEMORIAL FUND

Miss Hannah Willard Lyman was the principal of a private girls' school in Montreal for a period of sixteen years from 1850.⁶⁵ In 1866 she left to take up appointment as Lady Principal of Vassar College in the state of New York (see p.3).⁶⁶ While in Montreal, Miss Lyman accepted an offer from Principal Dawson to have a number of her students attend lectures in Natural Science delivered by the latter at McGill.⁶⁷ Wrote the Principal: "At that time, our classes of men were small, the ladies occupied a separate part of the hall, and Miss Lyman always accompanied them."⁶⁸ For unknown reasons these classes were discontinued after "one session."⁶⁹ One cannot be certain whether by "one session" Dawson meant a term or a year. Whatever the interval involved, this appears to have been the only time that women were permitted to attend university classes at McGill prior to 1884.

Following the death of Miss Lyman in 1871,⁷⁰ a number of her former students established the Hannah Willard Lyman Memorial Fund.⁷¹ The Fund was to be held in trust by "the Board of Royal Institution; Governors of McGill College"⁷² and was to be used, according to Principal Dawson "with a prophetic instinct,"⁷³ as a scholarship or prize to

Students of any non-denominational College for Ladies in Montreal, affiliated to the McGill University or approved of by it as of sufficient educational standing.⁷⁴

Until such time as a college for women was established, it was decided that the interest from the endowment which initially amounted to \$940⁷⁵ could "be given as a Scholarship or as prizes in the classes of the Ladies' Educational Association of Montreal or other similar classes approved by the University."⁷⁶

The Montreal Ladies' Educational Association offered the money

under the following conditions:

The income to be divided into two equal Prizes, to be given to the regular students who, having passed creditably in the subjects of Examination before Christmas, shall take the highest marks in the First Class, in the Written Examinations, in one of the subjects at the end of the Session.

The Lecturers to be Examiners, and the answers of the successful candidates to be transmitted to the Corporation of the University, with the Reports of the Examiners.

The Prizes to be given in books, properly inscribed.⁷⁷

A further condition was set by the Corporation in 1876, at the request of the executive of the Association.

Any student having taken one of the Prizes may compete in a subsequent Session, but not in the same subjects in which the previous Prize was taken; and in no case shall more than two Prizes be awarded to the same student.⁷⁸

When the number of lectures was cut from sixty to forty in the 1877-78 session, an amendment was passed requiring candidates "to have passed creditably in all the subjects of the Session."⁷⁹

The Hannah Willard Lyman Memorial Fund was used as a source of prize money by the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association until the Association disbanded in 1885. The Fund was then put towards prizes for deserving students of the women's classes at McGill.⁸⁰ The ultimate aim of the donors was realized when money from the Hannah Willard Lyman Memorial Fund was used to supply prizes for eligible students of the Royal Victoria College for women which was opened in 1899.⁸¹

The significance of the Hannah Willard Lyman Memorial Fund should not be underestimated. This scholarship fund, directed at recognizing academic excellence among women at the college level, was established at a time when neither a public nor even a widespread standardized system of education existed for women. From the beginning the worth of the prizes was assured by virtue of the university's administration of the fund.

Both the courses and the examinations had to meet with McGill's approval. Consequently, even though the original aim of the benefactors was realized almost three decades after the establishment of the Fund, the provisions made for the administration of the bequest allowed the Hannah Willard Lyman Memorial Fund to benefit countless women students.

MONTREAL HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Before the admission of women to university could be seriously contemplated, there had to exist a sound system of secondary level education for girls. Principal Dawson recognized this need and, as a member of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners, became involved with the establishment of a high school for girls in Montreal.

Although the matter was first formally broached in a report delivered in 1871,⁸² it could not be given serious consideration until 1874.⁸³ At a meeting of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners held on the fourth of February of that year, Principal Dawson brought the subject up for discussion.⁸⁴ Consequently a committee of three, including the Principal, was appointed "to make inquiries as to a suitable site, and to suggest to the Board a plan of operation for the same."⁸⁵ Although both the plans and a proposed site were presented by the end of the same month, unexpected delays postponed any definite action.⁸⁶ At the end of May 1875 it was decided to set up classes of a temporary nature.⁸⁷ Rooms were rented; a lady principal and four teachers, all with McGill Normal School training, were hired.⁸⁸ Thus the school was able to function in temporary quarters until a permanent building to house the Montreal High School for Girls was erected. In September of the same year, attendance at the High School for Girls stood at 149, while an enrolment of 188 was recorded in the High School for Boys.⁸⁹

According to Principal Dawson, the success of both the McGill Normal School and the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association greatly aided in the movement to secure equal secondary schooling for girls.⁹⁰ Dawson had anticipated that the Montreal High School for Girls would be,

as was the High School for Boys, one of the prime sources of university-oriented students.⁹¹ Future events supported his conjectures, since the first women to meet with the Principal and request entrance to McGill were graduates of the High School for Girls (see p41).

It seems ironical that in the fall of 1883, only a year before the first class of women (composed at least partially of graduates of the Montreal High School for Girls) was admitted to McGill, a committee was formed to report to the Protestant Board of School Commissioners on the possibility of, "without unfairly impairing the efficiency of the Girls High School," reducing "the amount of work . . . so as to cause less pressure on the brains of the pupils."⁹² This action was prompted by a complaint of "the severity of competition" in the High School for Girls "causing excessive pressure on the brains of both teachers and pupils" contained in a petition addressed to the City Council by one, Thomas Dirling.⁹³ So seriously was the matter taken, that in June of 1884 the Chairman of the committee reported the intention of soon submitting "a scheme which, by making the Honour Courses in the School optional, must remove all strain, mental or bodily, that might be supposed to arise from over-work."⁹⁴

TRAFALGAR INSTITUTE

The development of public high schools for girls was paralleled in the creation of private secondary schools. The contributions to the latter area of Donald Ross (1811 - 1877),⁹⁵ a Scottish-born resident of Montreal and member of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, merit considerable attention.⁹⁶ His will, which was drawn up in 1867 (ten years after the opening of McGill Normal School), provided the blueprint for the first Protestant private girls' school in Montreal.⁹⁷ Certainly it was not Ross's intention to direct women to the university. Rather, his goal was to establish a seminary or institute, to be known as the Ross Institute, where girls from the ages of fourteen to eighteen might enjoy the benefits of a superior education with emphasis on religious and moral training.⁹⁸ Such an education, hoped Ross, would "qualify young persons for discharging in the best manner such duties as ordinarily devolve to the female sex."⁹⁹ Although the Ross will did not go beyond preparing upper and middle class women¹⁰⁰ for any but the socially accepted role of chattelaine, it did reveal a very forward-looking approach in respect to other phases of the school's organization.

The Institute, unlike the McGill Normal School, was to be run on a residential basis, since character building was of prime concern.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, Ross wished the principal to be "not only the head of the house, but the prudent, loving, and anxious mother of the girls"; the school was to be "as much as possible an imitation of a well governed house, or household, where lady-like behaviour, unselfish consideration of others, quiet, gentle courtesy, are made the presiding influences."¹⁰² Much the same principles governed the establishment of Royal Victoria College, the residential college built for McGill women students

approximately thirty years later.

Ross enumerated the following subjects to be taught at the Institute:

religious and moral instruction, based on the Bible.

The English and French languages, writing, arithmetic, use of the globes, history, elements of mathematics, horticulture, needle work, vocal and instrumental music, drawing and German if required.¹⁰³

He proposed generous remuneration with the intention of securing the most competent staff. Scholarships were to be offered "by fair honorable competition," with examinations set by outside examiners--"the Governors,¹⁰⁴ or a committee of them, who . . . have the power to call in one or more of the Professors of McGill College to their assistance." As well as providing the students with the benefit of this invaluable link with the university, Ross called for the setting up of a system of guest lectures, to be held once a month in December, January, February and March of each year. In addition, the Governors were expected, on the occasion of their school visits, to deliver speeches or to arrange lectures in science, history, literature and religion. Ross stipulated that lecturers were to be selected on the basis of their ability.¹⁰⁵

The incorporation of the Trafalgar Institute was effected in 1871.¹⁰⁶ (The name had been altered to maintain the historical association of the property to be used as the site of the school.)¹⁰⁷ The Corporation was made up of the following men:

Mr. Donald Ross and such successors as may be appointed by the Board of Trustees of St. Paul's Church: Very Rev. W. Snodgrass D.D., Principal of Queen's College, Kingston, and his successors in office: Ven. William Leach L.L.D., Archdeacon of Montreal, and his successors in office: (Sir) J. William Dawson L.L.D., Principal of McGill College, and his successors in office: Rev. John Jenkins D.D., Minister of St. Paul's Church and his successors: Rev. Gavin Lang of St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, and his successors; Rev. Donald Ross B.D., Chatham, Que. Alexander Mitchell, and such successors as may

be appointed by the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Church and Alexander Macpherson, and such successors, as may be appointed by the Kirk Session of St. Paul's Church.¹⁰⁸

Donald Ross died in 1877,¹⁰⁹ leaving the remainder of his estate after settlement of legacies, debts and funeral expenses to the Trafalgar Institute. The value of the estate did not amount to £100,000 as Ross had stipulated in his will, and so there seemed little likelihood that the school would be opened for some time to come. However when Rev. James Barclay of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church came to Montreal in 1883, he succeeded in interesting Sir Donald Smith in contributing toward the establishment of the Institute.¹¹⁰ The latter's donation of \$30,000 coupled with a bequest of \$16,000 from Miss Ann Scott made it possible to undertake the establishment of the school.¹¹¹ The Trafalgar Institute was opened in 1887, housed in the Chalderton Lodge on the Chalderton property.¹¹² Sir Donald Smith's stipulation that the school be within the city limits had necessitated the sale of the original land and the acquisition of the new.¹¹³ At the time of opening Classics, English, Mathematics, Music, Vocal Music and Drawing were taught.¹¹⁴ German, French, Art and "other Departments" were to be added as soon as suitable teachers, of "the best available talent in Montreal," could be engaged.¹¹⁵ The intended principal, Miss Fairley of Edinburgh, was detained in Scotland because of illness and so did not take up her position until after Christmas.¹¹⁶ Miss Woollan, who had previously taught three years in a "large ladies' school" as well as in "high families in England," took up the post temporarily.¹¹⁷

In keeping with Ross's wish that "the young ladies . . . take an interest in household duties,"¹¹⁸ resident students were required to undertake a certain amount of domestic work. According to the prospectus, the

the rationale behind the requirement was "that whilst higher intellectual culture is the chief aim, the ordinary duties of home life should not be entirely overlooked."¹¹⁹ Neither was physical wellbeing ignored. Gymnastic classes were undertaken under the supervision of Miss Barnjum,¹²⁰ who was similarly employed at McGill (see p. 63). The concern with the girls' health is very evident. Even in the description of the Institute found in the prospectus, the statement is made that the "high situation" is . . . healthful."¹²¹

Despite such benefits, first year attendance was very small--three resident students to Christmas, double that after the holiday.¹²² A limited number of day students was also accepted.¹²³ (Whether they were all holders of scholarships, as Ross had specified,¹²⁴ is not known.) By the second year the number of resident students had risen to twenty.¹²⁵ They came from all parts of the Dominion.¹²⁶ The Institute could house no more without expanding its facilities.¹²⁷

The Trafalgar Institute had not been conceived of as a publically-oriented, comprehensive school. Nor was it intended as an equalizer of educational opportunity for women. By its definition in Ross's will, the Institute was restricted to offering to a small segment of the female population of Montreal, what was then considered a thorough and superior education. Though the aims may seem limited to the contemporary reader, it is understandable that the Ross-inspired school offered the relatively barren field of women's education a great deal. The Institute was intended to provide schooling for girls of an older age group, up until then largely neglected. It was to offer an education which, through an extensive curriculum and a system of residential involvement, stressed both intellectual and character development. Academic achievement was to be recognized through the awarding of scholarships. Interest in

intellectual developments was to be stimulated through lectures by eminent and able lecturers. The Institute was also fortunate in its association with the university, both through the choice of trustees and through the decision to select outside examiners. (This link was to be further strengthened by the affiliation of the Institute to McGill in 1888.)¹²⁸ Above all commendable was Ross's insistence on quality. These features which would have almost been taken for granted in a private school for boys, were nothing short of remarkable in the context of women's schools.

The Institute is considered here because it helped provide some of the academic preparation essential as a preliminary to university work. Along with the Montreal High School for Girls, its public counterpart, the Trafalgar Institute was one of the hidden foundations for women's admission to McGill.

In three decades considerable gains had been made in diminishing the distance between women and the university. The McGill Normal School, the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association, the Montreal High School for Girls and the Trafalgar Institute helped to fill the existing void in formal schooling for women. Experience in the first three institutions (Trafalgar Institute opened after women had gained access to McGill) had left no doubt as to the academic capabilities of the women students. The focus would now shift to the university.

CHAPTER III

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AT MCGILL UNIVERSITY

INITIAL SURVEY

A basic question in the nineteenth century was whether or not women should be admitted to the established institutions of higher education. Once the matter was resolved in favour of women's entry, a number of subsidiary but very important issues arose: should women attend classes with men, or separate from them?; should they be required to attend the library?; should they be permitted to join existing clubs?; should they be allowed to wear academic dress?; should they receive the same degree?; should they be admitted to medical studies? These were matters that engendered almost as much controversy as the basic question itself.

By the 1880s, with the progress of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association behind them, McGill professors were prepared to deal with the question of higher education for women in a less abstract and less distant manner. On the 25th October, 1882, Dr. Murray stated on behalf of the Corporation that "the time has come when educational advantages of the Faculty of Arts should be thrown open to all persons without distinction of sex."¹ The issue was referred to a committee of eight (among whose number were Principal Dawson, Dr. Johnson and Rev. Dr. Murray) for consideration at the January 24th 1883 meeting.²

The Committee of Corporation upon the Higher Education of Women, as it was called, sent out questionnaires to various institutions of higher education in Canada, the United States and Britain. Owing to the

late receipt of answers from the British institutions, it was necessary to postpone the discussion of findings to the sixth of June.³ At this meeting the Committee made known its conclusions, which had been formulated on the strength of both the recent publications on the topic and the formal replies they had received.⁴ Generally the members of the Committee agreed that women had the same right to the privileges of a higher education as did men. They also noted that "most" British and Continental universities had undertaken to provide some form of education for women. The difficulty, it was found, was in deciding the form the education should take. Should it be separate or mixed?

Answers received from institutions operating on a coeducational basis revealed no ill effects to either the institution or the students. The Committee qualified these findings with the following statement:

Your Committee, however, deem it right to add that in Canada the system has been tried but for a short time and on a small scale, the number of regular Students more especially, in any Canadian University, being very small.

The Committee also pointed out that as an alternative to providing separate education for women in the established universities, there existed the possibility of establishing separate colleges for women as had been successfully tried in the United States.

Basing his resolution on the findings favourable to coeducation in the Committee report, Dr. Murray proposed that "in the opinion of the Corporation, as soon as the arrangements can be made, this University should admit Women to the Faculty of Arts, on substantially the same terms as men." Dr. Johnson's proposed amendment appears to have been slanted in an entirely opposite direction.

Resolved, that this Corporation approves of the admission of Women to all the examinations in Arts, and will hail with pleasure the establishment of a separate Women's College, to be

affiliated to the University, for the purpose of specially preparing female students for the examinations.

At a meeting of the Corporation held on June 13th, the question of separate and mixed education was once more discussed.⁵ By now it was obvious that a serious rift had developed. A "grave difference of opinion" existed as to the advisability of the university instituting coeducation. Nor did the implementation of separate education offer an ideal solution, as it involved an expense factor which was inhibiting. Pointing out that there was no pressing demand which would require immediate action and emphasizing the need for more information on both separate and mixed education, Sir Francis Hincks proposed that further discussion and decision be deferred until the October 1884 meeting of the Corporation. In the interval Principal Dawson travelled to Britain, where he further investigated the provisions for women's education, particularly the approach employed.⁶ These findings were also to be presented to the Corporation in October.

THE DONALD A. SMITH ENDOWMENT FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

In June of 1884 two young women, students of the Girls' High School, received the highest grades in the Associate in Arts examinations.⁷ One of them, wrote Principal Dawson, had "remarkably high marks."⁸ That summer a group of eight women, all graduates of the Girls' High School and holders of the Associate in Arts certificates, met with the Principal and asked to be admitted to McGill University as undergraduates.⁹ The circumstances which led to this meeting were later described in an article published in the McGill News.

Upon the High School girls the success in the examinations had had an unforeseen effect. Stimulated and exhilarated, a little group of four gathered at the house of Mrs. Robert Reid, the mother of one of them, to discuss plans for the future with her. And soon the question arose "What about asking for admission to McGill?" Encouraged by the sympathy and support of Mrs. Reid, an enthusiastic optimist, they resolved to approach the Principal and place their request for Higher Education before him.¹⁰

The immediate results of the meeting were not very encouraging. The problem was that of finding the means to finance full-time classes for women. Even had Principal Dawson not been involved with preparations for the August meeting of the British Association and therefore had been able to give the matter his complete attention,¹¹ the problem could not have been instantly resolved. The only possible solution appeared to be a joint effort, using the resources of Bishop's College, the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association and the Trafalgar Institute.¹² From this union, thought the Principal, classes could be established to get women up to the level of the Senior Associate in Arts examinations.¹³ Dawson was able to accomplish little more than, in cooperation with Canon Norman of Bishop's, issue a circular to the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association before the opening of the meetings of the British

Association.¹⁴

It was never necessary to bring these plans into operation. Most unexpectedly, the Honourable Sir Donald A. Smith offered Principal Dawson an unsolicited gift of \$50,000 to be used to provide higher education for women.¹⁵ The Principal described the occasion and his reaction in his autobiography, Fifty Years of Work in Canada: Scientific and Educational.

It was while this the meeting of the British Association was in progress, that my friend Sir Donald A Smith . . . called me out of the geological section to intimate his wish to bestow the handsome sum of \$50,000, on the University, in aid of separate classes for women.¹⁶

I confess that the coincidence of the demand for higher education, made by those who had so great claims upon us, and the offer of so liberal a benefaction, by a gentleman to whom no application for aid had been made on my part, seemed to me to constitute one of those rare opportunities for good, which occur but seldom to any man, and which are to be accepted with thankfulness, and followed up with earnest effort.¹⁷

The cheque for the said amount was forwarded to Sir William Dawson¹⁸ with a covering letter dated September 11th, 1884, stipulating that the money was to be invested and "the income thereof to be employed in sustaining a College for Women, with Classes for Higher education in Collegiate Studies." As well, the letter enumerated a number of other conditions which were to be met. At a meeting of the Board of Governors held on September 13th, the cheque was accepted under the conditions stated and a resolution passed that "the thanks of the Board be conveyed to the Hon^{ble} Mr. Smith on behalf of the University and of all interested in higher education of Women."¹⁹ At their September 20th meeting, the Corporation signified their concurrence with the stand of the Board of Governors and added that they would "have much pleasure in enacting such regulations as may render this important benefaction effectual for the purposes intended."²⁰ At the same meeting a series of resolutions was passed

outlining the preparatory work involved in setting up classes for women. It was decided to have the women's classes "conducted as a Special course in the Faculty of Arts." There were, in Sir William's opinion, certain immediate advantages to such an arrangement.

The advantages of the arrangement are, that a special course comes at once under the operation of all the machinery of the faculty. Its regulations are already made, and the appliances for carrying on its ordinary work are at hand, so that means being provided, a new branch of the university may at once start into existence with no derangement of the other work.²¹

The Faculty of Arts was requested to prepare any particular regulations applying to the women's courses. Meetings were to be arranged with the Executive Committee of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association and with the Trustees of the Trafalgar Institute as to possible cooperation and in the case of the latter, affiliation with McGill. The Normal School Committee was to be asked "to consider the question of the relation of the Classes for Women to the interest of teachers in training and to report on the subject if necessary."²²

With the initial issues cleared away, matters moved quickly into the concrete stages. It was announced that classes for women under the Donald A. Smith Endowment would begin on October 6th, with lectures to be conducted in the Peter Redpath Museum.²³

At a meeting of the Faculty of Arts the following regulations were adopted, providing the general framework for women's classes:

That, in general, all the regulations applying to Classes in Arts as hitherto existing, should apply to these new Classes, except in as far as the Faculty deemed it necessary to modify them now or hereafter.

That Candidates for entrance may substitute German or French for Greek in the First Year.

That Associates in Arts who have passed in Latin, Algebra and Geometry may enter without further Exam.ⁿ

That while Partial Students may be admitted, there shall be no Occasional Students except Students from the Ladies' Association, who may be admitted to one or two classes on presentation of tickets from the Ladies' Association. The fees in this case shall be \$4 (four dollars) for each class, of which \$2 may be retained by the Ladies' Association.

All other fees shall be the same as in Calendar at present, except the Library fee which shall be optional and the Gymnasium fee which shall not be required.

The Lectures to be given either in the Redpath Museum or in the Synod Hall, or in Chemical Class-room.²⁴

At the October 2nd meeting a final clause was added.

That women who have taken the Academy Diploma of the Normal School shall be allowed to join the Classes as occasional Students taking one or two classes, on payment of \$4 for each class: A certificate from²⁵ the Principal of the Normal School to be presented by each.

It was arranged that first year lectures would be given in Classics, French, Chemistry, German, English and Mathematics by Professors Cornish, Darey, Harrington, Markgraf, Moyse and Lecturer Chandler respectively.²⁶

To begin with, plans for providing classes for women did not go beyond the first two years. Nevertheless, by the end of October the Corporation expressed an interest in extending classes for the full four year span.

That the Corporation is desirous to continue the education of the women who have entered its classes to the final examinations, and that the Faculty of Arts be requested as soon as possible to report on the best method of effecting this, either in separate or mixed classes for the 3rd and 4th years.²⁷

On November 28th discussion on the arrangements for classes in the second, as well as the third and fourth years began.²⁸ Classes in the second year, it was decided, would be separate--at least in the "ordinary" regular B.A. program. The honour classes would be held in mixed classes if the numbers of students involved were small. In this way two or more classes could be carried on simultaneously in one large classroom. At the

January 16th, 1885 meeting of the Faculty of Arts, a timetable for second year classes was presented for consideration and was approved.²⁹ It was a logical extension of the first year lecture schedule, with three changes. Chemistry was not continued beyond the first year; botany and logic were added.

The Faculty of Arts report on arrangements for women's classes in the third and fourth years was presented to the Corporation for discussion on January 28th.³⁰ The report examined three basic factors--the methods of teaching and the arrangement of classes, the classrooms required and the expense--in an attempt to derive the best method of organizing such classes. The primary concern in the discussion of the first factor seems to have been that the courses be offered in such a way that classes remain separate for compulsory subjects, but that mixed classes be permitted for optional subjects. Such an approach required a number of changes in the set up of compulsory and optional subjects, especially in such cases as the professor was unable to duplicate his lectures. However, it was believed to offer very definite advantages.

By the above scheme Female Students will have the privilege of proceeding to the Degree Examination by attending only classes which are separate, and at the same time may, if willing to join mixed classes, take any other of the Optional Subjects of the Course.

Because of the small numbers involved, it seemed feasible to have women following the honours course attend classes with men. However, it was suggested that a wider variety of courses be opened to women, by permitting them to choose not only from among the courses in the "additional" category but also from among those termed "regular." This recommendation was based on the fact that "additional" courses were also part of the honours course and were therefore attended by men.

The report next dealt with the question of accommodating the women's classes. Two possibilities existed, depending on the way in which the courses were to be conducted. If separate classes were held throughout the four years, then the Redpath Museum could be used. If, on the other hand, a limited number of mixed classes were permitted, as in the case of the honours courses, then it would be necessary to have two additional classrooms, a waiting room and a separate entrance. It was suggested that a remodelling of the East Wing would supply the needed space.

The expense was relative to the approach implemented. In the case of completely separate education, accommodation would entail no expense unless attendance was greatly augmented. The cost of duplicating as wide a selection of courses as offered the men, however, would be considerable. With entirely mixed classes there would be no additional expense in providing lectures, but the cost of added classrooms and of a salaried "Lady Superintendent" would be high. It was therefore recommended that a combination of separate and mixed education, with some expense for lectures and some for rooms, be implemented when establishing classes for women in the third and fourth years of the B.A. course.

In the report the question was raised of the type of recognition to be granted women upon successful completion of the final examinations. No recommendation was made as to whether the women should receive a B.A. degree, a Licentiate in Arts or a "Certificate of having passed in the examinations." It was suggested that, given the consent of the donor, all prizes be open to both sexes. It was hoped, however, that separate endowments such as the Hannah Willard Lyman Memorial Fund would be established to provide prizes for women. The latter was considered preferable since it was thought that "conditions of competition" between

the two sexes differed and that competition, if extreme, was injurious to women's health. Discussion of the report was adjourned to February 11th, at which time the question of rooms, expenses and prizes was referred to the Board of Governors since such considerations came under its jurisdiction.³¹

One month later Sir Donald Smith offered to augment his original endowment by \$70,000, on the condition that separate classes be established for women following the regular B.A. program.³² This offer was accepted by the Corporation and the Board of Governors.³³ It was left to the Faculty of Arts "to modify its scheme for classes in the Third and Fourth Years and to prepare the necessary regulations to be submitted to the Corporation."³⁴ This accomplished, the new plan and a timetable for third and fourth year classes were forwarded to the Corporation for approval.³⁵ The only resolutions which were not passed, but were sent back to the Faculty of Arts for discussion were those dealing with the title to be conferred upon women graduates of the university.

In the fall of 1886, Sir Donald presented a Notarial Deed to McGill, stipulating the conditions under which he had given to the university the sum of \$120,000. The donation, to be known as "The Donalds Endowment for the Higher Education of Women"³⁶ was to be used "in providing a collegiate education for women." At first this was to be provided within the Faculty of Arts as a "Special Course," but was ultimately to be organized into a separate college for women to be affiliated with the university. Classes were to be carried on separately from those for men. The standard of education, however, was to be identical. Nor were any changes to be introduced that might lower this standard. Women were to receive the same degree and be eligible for the same prizes and honours. They were not, however, eligible to be Fellows.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN STUDENTS

The admission of women to McGill prompted the institution of a multitude of new policies of the type which suggest that women students were, on the whole, isolated from the mainstream of campus life. From the start, classes for women were regarded as a separate entity and were conducted as a special course in the Faculty of Arts. Not only were separate lectures arranged for the men and women students following the regular B.A. course, but the men and women were housed first in different buildings and then later in separate parts of the same building.³⁷ Provision was also made for a waiting room, expressly for the women's class.³⁸ Ladies from the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association supervised some of the earlier classes.³⁹ However, when the women students chose to attend honours classes which were coeducational because of the small numbers involved, Miss Gairdner, former secretary of the Association, was hired as "Lady Superintendent."⁴⁰ It was her function to attend classes with the women students, and to be with them when they waited to enter the classroom.⁴¹ That chaperoning was considered to be a responsibility of the university is not surprising when attitudes such as those expressed in the following anecdote persisted.

One [Donalda], at least, was innocently under the impression that it was the girls who were being guarded, until one day in 1891 she had a conversation upon co-education with the wife of a college dignitary. The latter feared that love affairs, possibly serious ones, might occur between men and women listening to the same lectures. When in answer the platitudinous opinion was advanced that women mature faster than men and are unlikely to fall in love with students of their own age, she received the crushing rejoinder, "I was not thinking of the young women, but of our sons."⁴²

In the 1890s the policy of segregating the sexes was applied to the library as well (see p. 81). When women were first admitted to McGill,

however, they were given the option of paying the library fee and therefore of using the library, while for men payment of this fee was obligatory.⁴³ This leaves one with the impression that women were not really considered to be seriously involved in the academic work of the university.

Some of the new regulations which now appear to be very trivial, were no doubt considered essential in view of the terms of the Smith endowment and of the popular belief that competition between the sexes was undesirable and at times even harmful. Thus women's names were entered on a separate page in the Matriculation book.⁴⁴ In the same way it was thought preferable "that the women's names should be put in a separate list in the reports of the Examinations."⁴⁵ The latter, however, was never put into practice, a fact which was commented upon by the men students in the University Gazette.

One unaccountable thing has been the vacillation of the Faculty, who publicly announced that the ladies would not be ranked with the other students and afterwards gave no intimation of a change in their determination until the examinations were over. An explanation of this variation of purpose will be eagerly looked for.⁴⁶

The examinations themselves were held separately for the two sexes and the results were announced in different rooms and at different times.⁴⁷ It is significant to note that it was not the university authorities alone who supported the different treatment of the men and women students. The opinions expressed by the men in the University Gazette at times reflected the same preference. In the November issue, the women students were given the assurance "that we the men shall watch your success, not with jealous and spiteful eyes, but with appreciative and delighted attention."⁴⁸ Less than a month later, with examinations approaching, it seemed that the earlier enthusiastic greeting was not

endorsed by all.

Editors McGill Gazette:-

Dear Sirs, I write to enquire if there is any truth in the report that Freshmen in Arts are petitioning the Faculty to give them separate papers from the ladies at the 'Xmas Exams. Poor dear little Freshies! What a shame it is that the Faculty should ask them to compete⁴⁹ with the girls, and be ranked in the same class-list with them!

In all probability, the desire on the part of some of the men to introduce separate evaluation for the two sexes arose from the uncertainty inherent in the new situation in which they found themselves. Certainly subsequent issues of the University Gazette bore no traces of such an attitude.

Apart from efforts to maintain a definite physical distance between the men and the women students, there appears to have been an attempt made to prevent the latter from sharing with their male counterparts certain very important college privileges. The women students had to petition before they were permitted "the wearing of the Academic dress during lectures and more especially at the Convocation for the Conferring of Degrees."⁵⁰ As well, at Sir William's request, the customary valedictory speech was, in the case of the women, referred to as "an address to the University."⁵¹ The difference in terminology between the two was never explained. The issue which raised the greatest discussion and ire, however, was that of the title to be granted women upon their graduation from the university. At one point it appeared that a further distinction would be made between the sexes and the feminine equivalents to the traditional Latin terms used. Thus baccalaurea, magistra and doctrix were to be substituted for baccalaureus, magister and doctor.⁵² Furthermore, the use of "Baccalaureate" rather than "Bachelor" was contemplated.⁵³ According to the stipulations of the Smith Notarial Deed, however, the same terms were to be applied to graduates of either sex.

Even so, the privilege of being elected a Fellow of the university was withheld from women--still the subtle suggestion that they were not wholly a part of the university.

It seems ironical that the same endowment which aimed at giving women a university education equal to that provided men at the same time served to deny women students the opportunity to experience university life as men students knew it. The practice of referring to the women students as "Donaldas" alone functioned, as a constant reminder that they were somehow different.

COEDUCATION CONTROVERSY

If Principal Dawson was convinced that such an endowment as the one offered McGill by Sir Donald A. Smith should not be turned down, there were others who did not share his conviction. Dr. Murray particularly opposed the acceptance of the benefaction under the terms which it had been proffered. He made his views known to the press which did not hesitate to expose the issue to the public. The Montreal Daily Star interviewed members of the Corporation, asking those who had attended the September 20 meeting the following questions:

I. At the date of the special meeting of the Corporation called to consider the Donald A. Smith Donation in September last was there not in the orders of the day for the October meeting of the Corporation a resolution proposing to open the Arts Faculty to women on the same terms as to men?

II. When the resolution accepting the Smith Donation was submitted to the Corporation, was it not opposed on the ground that it might be interpreted as committing the Corporation to a particular policy with regard to the subject of co-education, and was it not amended in deference to such opposition in order to avoid that interpretation?

III. When the said resolution was allowed to pass was it not on a specific assurance given by Sir William Dawson that it should not in any manner affect the discussion upon the question of the policy of the University in the matter?⁵⁴

The members who had not been in attendance at the meeting were asked to state their "views as to the wisdom of instituting separate classes, taking into account the financial condition of the University."⁵⁵ These questions were intended to bring the public to the realization that the question of the educational approach to be implemented for women's classes at McGill was not settled, despite the acceptance of Sir Donald Smith's endowment, but that some members of the Corporation believed that the acceptance had been made at too great an expense to the flexibility and freedom of the university. The articles in the Daily Star further

intimated that it was the Principal who, guided by his personal convictions, had pressured the university authorities into accepting the endowment.⁵⁶ The early editorial comments in the University Gazette voiced similar sentiments. In the December 1, 1884 issue support was expressed for coeducation because it would allow money to be directed towards the improvement of the existing Faculty of Arts, thereby allowing McGill to keep "pace with the advance of rival schools."⁵⁷ It was suggested that Principal Dawson had been involved with Sir Donald Smith's decision to make the benefaction dependent upon the maintenance of separate classes for women.

It must be patent to all that this is the real state of the case, for the last benefactor of the University is not an educationist, and the conditions of his gift have probably been determined upon the advice of some one in authority, presumably the Principal.

Moreover, the editorial which appeared in the January 15, 1885 issue stressed that unless the Corporation decided against separate education and the subsequent loss of prestige to the university which this approach would entail, it would "risk the loss of the people's confidence" and consequently would forfeit further financial donations.⁵⁸

Following this wave of protest both the Montreal Daily Star and the University Gazette lapsed into silence. In the case of the latter, the changes in staff appear to have drastically altered the editorial board's way of thinking. The new editors wrote:

We shall strive as much as lies in our power to heal the wounds made by late hostile criticisms against the governors of the university and more particularly against our esteemed Principal--Sir William Dawson. We feel that we dare not, even were we so inclined, abuse the trust committed to us by calling in question the motives by which the man whom, of all others, students and citizens delight to honor, was actuated in regard to the question of the admission of women to the educational advantages of the university, and we but voice the sentiments of the large majority of McGill men--whether graduates or

undergraduates - when we state that our faith in Principal Dawson has not wavered and that we believe he ever acts to the best of his ability in the interests of the university.⁵⁹

Not even such fervent pledges of support could cause the undercurrent of dissatisfaction to disappear. In 1888, as the first class of women students looked ahead to Convocation, it surfaced and again was given exposure by the press. The accusations which it sparked were bitter, and it is difficult even now to assess the positions taken by those most intimately involved.

The controversy had its source in a disagreement over policy between Principal Dawson and Dr. Murray. The Principal believed that Murray had been involved in efforts to encourage dissatisfaction with the policy of separate education adopted by the university. The former singled out four such instances to support his claim: Dr. Murray had had a letter published in the Daily Witness in February of 1888 "in which he had strongly denounced our system, and alleged that it reduced his lectures to a farcical condition"; in April he had taken part in a Delta Sigma Society debate on coeducation (a topic not approved of for discussion) which was reported on by the press "with the statement that only two of the students had voted for separate classes as carried on in the University"; at the University dinner he and others had commented on the subject disparagingly, whereupon the press, in their reports, carried "statements to the effect that our system was a failure"; at a meeting of the Delta Sigma Society held on May 1st he had "congratulated the Students on having voted against our methods for their education . . . and advised the Students to make their voices heard against the rules under which they were being educated."⁶⁰ When Principal Dawson asked Dr. Murray to furnish a statement of explanation for his alleged actions at the May 1st Delta Sigma Society meeting, Murray evaded the issue.⁶¹

The matter was put in the hands of the Board of Governors,⁶² but again was not satisfactorily resolved. The Board expressed the desire that Murray co-operate in upholding the policies of the university even if these were contradictory to his personal convictions as was demanded of all professors by the university regulations.⁶³ Dr. Murray, however, was more concerned by other aspects of the issue. It was his conviction that the letter Principal Dawson had submitted to the Board (the same as had been earlier sent to Murray) contained a slanderous accusation, that of "subverting discipline and morals in the university."⁶⁴ Despite the fact that the Board gave assurances to Murray that no such accusation was contained in any of the records in its possession and further that no such charge was to be laid against him,⁶⁵ nevertheless he is known to have maintained his claim as late as 1891.⁶⁶

The dispute was not destined to be contained to correspondence and discussion between the Board of Governors and Dr. Murray. The press played no small part in the continuing controversy. In its eyes, the battle was a personal one between Principal Dawson and Dr. Murray. Certainly the Principal fared badly in the hands of some of the correspondents to the Toronto journal, the Week.

All who know anything of McGill will recognize in it the natural outcome of the manner in which this separate class hobby was forced upon an overwhelming opposition. A despotism which ignores all voices but its own, must, for its very existence, choke public discussion. It may proceed to maintain the hobby it has introduced, and to remove the man who represents the sentiment of the undergraduates, the graduates, and the community. But it cannot avoid its own doom. Just as soon as the Principal shall retire from McGill--and we presume that he cannot fail to see that in his own interest, as in that of the University, he can hardly remain--the scheme will collapse.⁶⁷

Dr. Murray, by contrast, had the sympathy of most, as is obvious in the above quotation.⁶⁸

The university authorities did not concede to such pressures. The coeducation controversy appears to have come to a gradual end. The little material that has been found which pertains to the subject would suggest that by the time severe illness forced Sir William to retire in the spring of 1893, the earlier vociferousness of discussion had to a large extent been diminished.⁶⁹ Certainly there was no major change in policy which could be interpreted as a rejection of the original implementation of separate education for women. Dr. Murray neither resigned nor was he fired, but remained on the McGill staff until his retirement in 1903.⁷⁰

The coeducation controversy essentially reflected a difference of opinion on university policy regarding the education of women. In the process of this disagreement two individuals were pitted against each other--Principal Dawson as advocate of separate education and Dr. Murray as supporter of coeducation. Available material seems to indicate although he was personally in favour of separate education, Dawson acted in his capacity as principal in trying to keep from incurring the displeasure of Sir Donald Smith and from compromising the agreement with the latter which made the education of women possible at McGill. It would appear that Dr. Murray, on the other hand, regarded the disagreement as a personal one. Perhaps without the intervention of the press the matter might have been settled in a shorter time. Certainly the press's involvement complicated any attempt to assess the stand taken by the university.

THE QUESTION OF MEDICAL EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

The right to pursue graduate studies in Arts at McGill was assured women students according to the terms of Sir Donald Smith's notarial deed.⁷¹ No such guarantee existed in regard to medical education for the female sex. Nor it seems were all as forward-thinking as the grandmother of one of the Donalds who, when asked by her grand-daughter "May I be a doctor?," replied "You may be anything you like."⁷² At the time of the convocation of McGill's first class of women mere mention of the subject before the public was apparently disapproved of by the university authorities. Grace Ritchie's plea for the admission of women to the medical faculty was deleted from her valedictory speech by Sir William, to whom all such presentations had to be submitted for approval.⁷³ When Miss Ritchie read her address in its entirety, the Principal acknowledged the appeal only in the very vaguest terms.

You speak of professional work. Some important professions are already open to you here and elsewhere. The question as to others, and as to opportunities here, is like⁷⁴ that for education in arts, one of demand and supply.

The demand proved to be not far distant. On February 12th, 1889 two Donalds, Maude Abbott and Helen Day, supported by a number of doctors and "ladies . . . of rather advanced views," sent a petition to the Principal and Governors of the university asking that medical education be made accessible to women.⁷⁵ When this request was rejected for essentially financial reasons, a second petition was forwarded to determine the sum of money required and to assure that, should it be raised, the money would be accepted "as an endowment for the Establishment of Medical Classes for women involving a plan of study which would lead up to the McGill degree of MD."⁷⁶

With no progress evident, some "lady friends" organized the Association for the Promotion of Professional Education of Women and promptly enlisted the support of many influential men and women.⁷⁷ The Association, in which Donaldas played an active part,⁷⁸ arranged a meeting with a committee of doctors from McGill's Medical Faculty to discuss the possible means of making medical education at the university available to women.⁷⁹ Three plans of operation were proposed--coeducation, separate education or a combination of the first two.⁸⁰ The Association favoured the third approach. Again a petition was sent.⁸¹ The final reply was negative.

The Faculty of Medicine begs respectfully to report with reference to the Petition of the Association for the Professional Education of Women, that it cannot see its way to undertaking the Medical Education of Women in Connection with the Faculty.⁸²

The Medical Faculty proposed as an alternate solution "the Establishment of an incorporated Medical School for women, which, when fully organized and in successful operation might be affiliated with the University."⁸³ This course of action had been discussed earlier at the meeting of doctors and Association members and seemed hardly feasible. At that time, Dr. J.C. Cameron had underlined the difficulties which would be encountered in such an undertaking.

It would be an expensive matter to start a separate medical college, and it would only be in the course of years that any degree of completeness could be attained for the purposes of medical education. McGill had worked 56 years to accumulate the large amount of material now at its disposal for teaching purposes.⁸⁴

According to an editorial which appeared in the University Gazette a few months subsequent to the Medical Faculty's refusal to admit women to its classes, women wanting to study medicine in Montreal were left two alternatives, "Either that some wealthy benefactor should see fit to

undertake the full endowment of a medical college for women, or that one of the institutions in the city should throw open its doors to female students."⁸⁵

That women students would be refused admission to McGill's Medical Faculty had not been anticipated by many. On March 29, 1889 the Gazette had published an article commenting on the progress of the women students who, when their application for entry to medical classes at the university was turned down for financial reasons, had undertaken to raise the necessary money by public subscription. The report predicted the success of the venture.

A few enthusiastic young ladies have set the heather on fire, and the movement for the medical education of women is in a fair way of being accomplished.⁸⁶

In its April 2nd issue, the University Gazette had carried two references to the same subject which echoed the same feeling.

There is no doubt but that the endowment will be forthcoming. The movement is a popular one, and is backed by men of money and position.⁸⁷

The medical education of women in connection with McGill University is, we believe, an accomplished fact.⁸⁸

However, these sentiments proved to be premature. Donalda graduates were forced to look beyond their Alma Mater for medical training.

That women were refused admission to medical classes at McGill is not surprising in view of the unstable situation which still prevailed in regard to the education of women in the B.A. program. The maintenance of separate classes for women studying medicine was financially impossible. Nor was there any evidence to suggest that Sir Donald Smith contemplated augmenting his earlier endowment to include provision for medical education for women. If mixed classes in the Faculty of Arts represented a danger to some university authorities, then coeducation in medical

classes must have appeared as nothing less than revolutionary. Certainly the thought of allowing women to pursue medical studies at the university evoked a greater emotional response than had the admission of women to McGill a few years earlier. Sir William was said to have been "aghast" at the idea of women studying medicine "in all its branches."⁸⁹ Dr. Francis J. Shepherd, professor of anatomy, expressed the view that the admission of women to medical study "would be nothing short of a calamity," but that there "was much maudlin sentiment on the subject; marriage would probably be the natural solution to it."⁹⁰ At least one professor of medicine threatened to resign if women were permitted to enter the program.⁹¹

PHYSICAL EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

When women were admitted to McGill in 1884 no provision was made for their participation in any but academic classes. Thus the Gymnasium fee required of the men was eliminated altogether in the case of the women students (see p. 44). Although no reasons were given for such a policy, one might assume that the uncertainty as to whether or not women would acquit themselves adequately at the university level, the fear that the strain of full-time studies would be injurious to the women's health and the very real possibility that classes for women could not be continued beyond the intermediate (two year) level would have made it very unlikely that any extracurricular activity would be offered for women students. One cannot assume that the university's course of action was determined by the still limited public acceptance of the value of gymnastic exercise for the female sex. In so doing one would underestimate the influence of Mr. Frederick S. Barnjum, a well-known promoter of gymnastic training for girls and women, who had been closely associated with McGill since 1865.⁹²

The earliest recorded reference to the importance of physical education for girls and women was made by Mr. Barnjum in an address given at the McGill Normal School on January 12, 1867.⁹³ In his talk, Barnjum criticized the physical "straight jacket" imposed upon the female sex by existing codes in fashion and manners.

But what shall we say of the girls, who, by the conventional rules of society, are debarred from taking more than the semblance of exercise. They have not the same opportunity for romping as boys. Poor little missie must walk home in the most genteel manner possible indulging in a softened laugh with some companion, her arms carefully hugged to her sides, motion of the lower extremities only being permitted, added to which her poor little body is in all probability forced in by one of those instruments of death called corsets, binding up the

naughty muscles that are begging and praying to be let loose and have an opportunity of strengthening themselves, and the young lady is considered to be in a highly satisfactory condition if she is pale and weak; but, no matter, it is the natural thing for girls to be weak.

He described a systematic program of exercises which could be executed by both boys and girls from childhood.

For these little ones I would, during the first period of their training, most emphatically protest against any exercise other than such as can be performed unaided by apparatus of any kind. After a time I would introduce light, wooden dumbbells, and if space permitted wands. After a certain amount of dexterity had been attained with these, the ring exercises might be taught; which latter are of the highest value in strengthening the muscles of the abdomen and loins. In all these courses I would insist upon a proper alternation of marching exercises of which the variety may be extended indefinitely. When practicable, all these exercises should be accompanied by music, not only because it is more pleasant, but for another and much more important reason, namely, that the strain on the nervous system is so immensely lessened, that an amount of work is gone through without any injurious fatigue, which would be impossible were the mind concentrated on the act itself during each movement.⁹⁵

This type of exercise, extremely limited by today's standards, was considered so radical an innovation that for girls to go on to the "fixed apparatus" was simply out of the question.⁹⁶ Fully aware of the incompatibility of any form of physical activity with the popular image of a "lady," Barnjum felt it necessary to assure his audience that "any young lady placed under the care of an intelligent, well educated teacher could not fail to attain a degree of health which otherwise she would never have dreamed of."⁹⁷

In March of 1868 Barnjum organized "Special Classes for girls, and for boys under fifteen."⁹⁸ At the same time mention is made that Miss Barnjum was to assist her brother. In December of the same year the Daily Witness announced that "besides little girls Mr. Barnjum has, we believe, classes of grown young ladies."⁹⁹ Newspaper coverage of the annual demonstrations abounded with accounts favouring this type of exercise for girls:

As a proof of the completeness of these gymnastic exercises, it may be mentioned that the first physician of the city remarked in conversation that very few of the muscles of the body were neglected in them. It was also mentioned as a proof of their salubrity, that one of the young ladies had come to the class by medical advice; but her physician thinking that she exerted herself too much, advised her to leave off. She, however, finding the exercises beneficial, persevered, though in moderation, and now she was able to take her share in them with all the strongest members of the class.¹⁰⁰

. . . a signal bell was struck and on the instant bounded in some twenty ladies--sight of whom alone was sufficient to prove that Mr. Barnjum's branch of education should receive the countenance and support of every parent in our city, thoughtful of the physical welfare of his children. With mathematical precision they fell into position for the "Bar bell exercises" which they performed so gracefully as to elicit the hearty admiration of all present. A description of the combined grace and force of the movements would be utterly impossible. Then succeeded the Dumb-bell, Ring and other exercises, all of which were models of exact execution, and precision with which the ladies entered the Hall, took up their position and retired, being a frequent theme of admiration and surprise. Perhaps the most extraordinary performance of the evening was the "Indian Club" exercise. . . . At the closing exercise the young ladies showed no symptom of fatigue, though the actual work of the evening might have tired many a seemingly tougher frame.¹⁰¹

It was not until the first class of Donaldas had graduated that official mention was made of the possibility of physical education for women students at McGill. On November 30, 1888 the following resolution was recorded in the Faculty of Arts Minute Book:

Resolved. That if a number of students in the Donaldas Department, not less than 12, be willing to form a class in Gymnastics on the same term of payment as men, the Faculty will recommend to the Governors that the necessary arrangements be made.¹⁰²

Faculty of Arts minutes for December 14 of the same year reveal that seventeen women students had signed up and that, not surprisingly, Miss Barnjum had been hired as their instructor.¹⁰³ In his annual report to the university, Principal Dawson made note of the existence of such a class, underlining the fact that the inconvenient location of the gymnasium and the voluntary nature of the classes had rendered the attendance smaller

than was hoped.¹⁰⁴ The annual report for 1889 gave as sixteen the number of Donaldas enrolled in gymnastics classes.¹⁰⁵ Larger attendance was not possible because of "the difficulty of arranging suitable hours."¹⁰⁶ It is obvious from the Principal's report that the health of the women students was a major concern. Yet it seems that he was more worried by the possibility of harm from full-time study, than he was by the lack of physical exercise.

With the arrangements made for their [the women students'] separate instruction and the careful supervision by Miss Gairdner, as Lady Superintendent, there seems no reason to believe that any injury to health has resulted or is likely to result from their taking the full work of the regular course of study. It is proper to make this statement, since so much discussion has recently taken place elsewhere as to alleged injury to health arising from academical study.¹⁰⁷

Even the "walk to and from classes"¹⁰⁸ was examined in terms of benefit or detriment to the Donaldas' health.

With regard to the health of the women students, it appears that the daily walk . . . , though involving some fatigue and exposure, has been advantageous.¹⁰⁹

Despite the difficulties, Gymnastics classes for women students continued. In February of 1890 the Board of Governors passed a resolution that "two prizes of \$20 and \$10⁰⁰ respectively be offered in the Gymnastic Class for Women out of the Donaldas Fund."¹¹⁰ Even with such encouragement only 27 of a total of 108 women students took advantage of the classes offered.¹¹¹

In 1892 the Director of physical education for men, Dr. McKenzie, issued a report on the state of physical education at McGill.¹¹² A major portion of the report was devoted to a summary of findings on the value of physical education in terms of students' health, academic performance and morals and to an outline of the type of program required to best suit the needs of students who McKenzie had classified in three groups --"the athletic, the sedentary and the bookworms." The report did not ignore

the difficulties faced in the continuing efforts to increase attendance at the gymnastics classes for women students. McKenzie favoured the hour from five to six in the late afternoon for classes of this nature.

At this hour both mind and body require relief from the strain of an afternoon's work. And the eyes are saved from the temptation to read in the half light between daylight and darkness.

He pointed out, however, that gymnastics classes for women students could not, as in the case of the men, be scheduled for this hour because they would conflict with lectures. In addition to noting the inconvenient location of the gymnasium, the Director described the building itself as being in very poor condition:

The bathing facilities, a most important hygienic agent, consist of a cold shower in a dark corner. . . .

The lighting involves the escape of a large quantity of gas every time it is used.

The heating by two wood stoves is totally inadequate on a cold day and there is little chance for ventilation.

The ceiling is in such a condition that frequently large pieces of plaster drop and endanger the men exercising beneath.

The roof is so leaky that on a rainy day the floor is covered with pools of water, which besides the inconvenience when many are on the floor, are dangerous to the health from dampness and wet feet.

For the women students who nevertheless attended gymnastic classes, McKenzie reported a correlation between academic achievement and excellence in gymnastics, as well as an improvement in general health.

There is a growing feeling among them that any sacrifice is well worth while, for the gymnasts not only make as good a showing at examinations, but are much less exhausted than the others. A senior and junior prize has been given by Sir Donald A. Smith and the standing of the winners for the last three years is significant. In 1889-90 the winner of the senior prize took first rank honours and the philosophy medal. The junior prize was captured by a young lady who came out first in the ordinary course.

In 1890-91, the holder of the first prize took a good stand in her B.A. examinations and the junior winner had first rank honours and the philosophy prize to her credit.

In the session 1891-92, the medal prize and first rank honours in philosophy were won by the best gymnast, and the junior winner besides six other prized took a higher stand than has ever been taken by a lady undergraduate before. Three out of four of the medalists in the Donalda course were gymnasium girls, as one of their number writes, "The girls who come through their examinations with the fewest headaches and back-aches and with the brightest faces are those who give the hour or two weekly to the delightful work with Miss Barnjum."

One who has distinguished herself pre-eminently both as a student and as a gymnast, writes: "I myself feel so much the good that I received that I cannot say more than is in my heart. The difference in strength between my first and last year has been so marked that all my friends notice it, so nothing is too strong for me to say."

It appears that even such favourable accounts issued in an official university report could not overcome for all female students the inconvenience of early morning classes or of long walks to and from the gymnasium. The following article contributed to the McGill Fortnightly by Mabel Norton Evans,¹¹³ one of Miss Barnjum's assistants, appeared in print in the fall of 1892 and leaves one with the feeling that widespread acceptance of systematic physical education for women was still far away.

In the last number of the McGill Fortnightly there appeared an excellent paper on the importance of gymnastic training for men;--what has been there so admirably urged applies with still greater force to women.

When girls are young they join with their brothers in many games, and nothing contributes more towards their healthy development; but as time goes on they must gradually withdraw themselves from this active fun, even a good romp among themselves being looked upon as unbecoming. The gradual lengthening of the skirt and tightening of the dress make such exercise difficult if not impossible, and the girl soon finds that walking is now almost the only exercise within her reach, and one which is very difficult to keep up unless a special object demand it. The inevitable results follow, the color leaves the cheek and the brightness the eye; headaches, the proof of indigestion, are too frequently present; the muscles become soft and flabby for want of exercise, and the circulation is impaired. Under such condition the brain cannot be properly fitted to carry on the heavy mental work which forms such a large part of the occupation of this time of life.

In providing for the higher education of women, McGill College has not neglected this important matter of physical improvement. Few teachers are more thoroughly up in their subject than Miss Barnjum in that of gymnastics for girls and women. To the thorough system which was the result of her

brother's long and enthusiastic study she has constantly been adding by visits to the gymnasiums of other large cities, and the greater part of last summer was spent by her at Chatagua, where all the most modern methods, were being brought forward and discussed.

Whilst urging upon all the Donaldas a regular attendance upon these classes, those for whom this is out of the question must also bear in mind that much may be done by themselves in their own homes. For instance--after hard reading, stand straight with the shoulders held down and back in an easy position, very slowly draw in the breath till the lungs are fully expanded, hold it thus a few seconds, and as slowly expel it, and much will be done to overcome the tendency to stooping so common among students.

In her recent Delsarte Lecture in this city, Mrs. Bishop said: "A good stretch of the entire frame is invaluable at examination time, and a yawn should never be suppressed!" Such advice, however, must be cautiously followed till the general public more fully appreciate the necessity of mens sana in corpore sano.¹¹⁴

The McGill Fortnightly provides an indication of the developments in physical education for women at the university, as seen through the eyes of some of the Donaldas. The November 9, 1894 issue¹¹⁵ noted that gymnastic classes were somewhat better attended despite the fact that the twice weekly meetings were scheduled for nine o'clock in the morning and that some students had to leave early to be on time for lectures at ten. Mention was also made of the ill-effects of rainy weather on the gymnasium and its occupants.

Even on the most miserably wet days, the Donaldas turn out at this unseasonable hour, and while "tying the knot at the double" round the largest pool of water on the floor, their cheerful smiles and rosy cheeks present a happy contrast to the gloomy, gray weather outside. Should they ever be so fortunate as to have a Gymnasium wind and water tight, how much happier they would be and how many more would join in this health-giving exercise!

Although gymnastics lessons were not described in detail, reference was made to vaulting and ladder exercises and especially to walking.

Much attention is paid to walking, in this class, and the members of it ought to be, and we hope are easily recognized by their graceful carriages.

Regret was expressed that the only spectators at the annual Spring competition were three judges and Miss Barnjum's assistants.

In the March 16 issue of the same year,¹¹⁶ the Donaldas' column entitled "Feathers from the East Wing" (see p. 75) was devoted to encouraging greater participation in tennis.

We would like to draw the attention of our Undergraduates to the fact that our tennis court is once more making its appearance.

Since tennis is the only physical recreation offered to the Donaldas inside the College grounds, would we not do well to enter more heartily into the game? There is more benefit to be had from a 20 minutes' tossing of the ball than from an hour's walk, for this is conducive to meditation, so that by an imperative demand for a quick eye, steady hand and swift foot, precludes the possibility of deep thought. Ethics and Euclid's problems are alike banished for the time, while all our energies are directed to the deft handling of the ball.

No class of persons, we venture to state, needs this thorough relaxation from thought as the student, to whom it is of incalculable benefit.

Again the desire was expressed for a gymnasium on the campus. For the first time the proposed women's college was referred to in this connection.

The March 22 issue¹¹⁷ reiterated the belief that faithful attendance at gymnastics, "at least once a week . . . was amply rewarded."

Much more could be said, but people will never see what is for their own good. How can those over studious Donaldas, who pore over their books "from morn till dewey eve," fail to sacrifice Library for Gymnasium, when they see the elastic step, graceful carriage and beaming faces of those bright maidens as they come late for lectures, with the gay question: "Why weren't you at the Gym?"

Exercises with clubs were specifically referred to.

Another Donaldas . . . , although she endangered the lives of those around her by the wild swinging of clubs at first, now manages them so skillfully as to inspire wonder instead of dread.

It was also mentioned that Miss Barnjum had arranged for Donaldas to attend Normal School classes in gymnastics on Wednesday afternoons to compensate for classes missed due to timetable conflicts with lectures.

The Donaldas' column in the October 16, 1895 McGill Fortnightly¹¹⁸ reported "a very fair attendance." Notice was given that Miss Evans had taken over the class owing to Miss Barnjum's illness. The February 5, 1896 issue¹¹⁹ noted that Miss Barnjum was recovering and that attendance had diminished since the holidays. After a considerable silence on the subject, the Donaldas' column of October 14, 1897¹²⁰ again referred to the Gymnasium, specifically that "Victoria College" was reported to have "a fine gymnasium." In the November 11 Fortnightly¹²¹ the only mention of gymnastics was the news that one of the undergraduates, Miss Seifert, might "claim the proud distinction of being, probably, the first Donaldas who has come to grief in the athletic line." The November 25 issue¹²² informed the readers that Miss Seifert's accident had been serious enough to require her withdrawal from "College life." No mention was made of the nature of the accident.

In the February 17, 1898 Fortnightly,¹²³ a chart was printed showing the sums of money given in grants to the various athletic clubs on campus. Of the seven organizations receiving money, only one was for women students--the "Ladies' Tennis Club." And of the total of \$775 which was available for grants, only \$25 was given to the women's tennis club. The smallest grant designated for the men was \$50 and was given to each of the cricket, hockey, skating and tennis clubs. The Athletic Association received \$300 and the football club was given \$250. Four men students protested that the sums of money awarded the Athletic Association, and the football, cricket, skating, and hockey clubs were insufficient and they proposed that the Grounds' fee be increased to three dollars from two. This obvious imbalance in the number of clubs is easily explained.

women. It was this roughness which James Naismith, former instructor of physical education for men at McGill,¹²⁴ had consciously attempted to eliminate when in 1891 he invented the game of basketball.¹²⁵ The game was quickly taken up by American girls. Basketball, however, was not yet being played on a large scale in Canada.¹²⁶ The difference in the size of the grants given to the men's and women's lawn tennis clubs is more difficult to explain, since no indication is given of the factors taken into account in the apportionment of the funds. Was the size of membership considered or was it that men's athletics were taken more seriously? Perhaps the answer lies somewhere in the middle.

There is no doubt that the men's athletics program was far more extensive than any organized for the women students. One must consider, however, that McGill men students had played football as early as 1865 and that the first intercollegiate game took place in 1874, with McGill matched against Harvard.¹²⁷ A major boost was given campus athletics in 1884, with the establishment of the McGill University Amateur Athletic Association.¹²⁸ As well, the first Field Day had been held in 1873 and had since become an annual event, being considered "par excellence McGill's grand fête day."¹²⁹

By comparison women's efforts in athletics were small indeed. When the Donalds expressed an interest in forming a lawn tennis team they were granted a half of the existing field--according to the Old McGill '98, the "better half . . . much to the chagrin of the majority, and the empty joy of a miserable few."¹³⁰ The men were eventually provided with a new field and club house.¹³¹

The turning point in the development of a physical education program for women at McGill proved to be the opening of Royal Victoria College. The new gymnasium in the basement of the College was described in

Old McGill '01 as the "spot most loved by every Royal Victorian."¹³² One familiar name did not appear on the list of staff appointments--that of Miss Barnjum.¹³³ Miss Vendla Holmström was appointed in her place,¹³⁴ since physical education was to be an important part of the College curriculum. Under Miss Holmström the Swedish system of gymnastics was to be introduced. Women were to practice certain exercises "scientifically chosen and graded, and so varied that the attention is kept on the alert and the interest prevented from flagging."¹³⁵ The women were to become avid basketball players.

The gymnasium game of basket-ball has been enthusiastically taken up by the girls, and bids fair to occupy as high a place in their conversations and affections as football does in those of their brothers.¹³⁶

In addition to the "invigorating game" of basketball, the "health-giving science" of fencing was to be introduced.¹³⁷ In less than a decade obligatory physical education classes would be begun.¹³⁸ The claim made in the Old McGill '01, that "the opening of the Royal Victoria College brought with it a new era with regard to gymnastics and athletics for the girl student at McGill,"¹³⁹ appears not to have been far wrong.

STUDENT SOCIETIES

Despite the demands of their studies, the women students found time to organize and take active part in a variety of university societies. The earliest of these, a literary and debating club, was formed in 1884 but did not apply for official recognition until 1887.¹⁴⁰ According to Dr. Grace Ritchie England, B.A. '88, the club had issued out of the "need of a common-meeting ground, where we could give expression to our views on general subjects."¹⁴¹ At first the members of the Delta Sigma Society¹⁴² restricted themselves to the reading of essays which they had written.¹⁴³ In fact the introduction of debating in the 1886-87 session was greeted with "great timidity" and strong support for the idea that the debaters be permitted to read their speeches.¹⁴⁴ In the words of an early member, "this method was wisely voted against, and it was decided that speakers should be allowed the use of their notes only."¹⁴⁵ It appears that the club members gained confidence, since in later years they were accustomed to participate in "impromptu debates or stump speeches" following their regular program.¹⁴⁶ One such impromptu debate on the subject of coeducation received press coverage and invoked the censure of Principal Dawson.¹⁴⁷

Considering the seriousness with which the members regarded the activities of their society, one can understand their concern when by the 1897-98 session, some doubt existed as to the function of the club.

But it is astonishing, and dampening to our pride, that even yet there are those who think that the mysterious-looking Greek letters denote a frivolous social club.¹⁴⁸

However, as late as 1929, Georgina Hunter, B.A. '88, one of the club's earliest members, was to refer to the Delta Sigma Society as having been "the training school for some whose eloquent voices have become a power

in the land."¹⁴⁹

An interest in the betterment of humanity resulted in the formation of the Theo Dora Club, Begun in 1887, the club centred its activities around an interest in missionary work.¹⁵⁰ When in 1891 it was subsumed by a larger organization, the Y.W.C.A., the club transferred its original name to the missionary division.¹⁵¹ Under its new name the organization broadened its scope to include Bible study classes, mission study and charity involvements both in Montreal and overseas.¹⁵² At that time missionary work had great appeal and it was not uncommon for visiting missionaries to address the women students and to invite them to a "noble sphere of usefulness."¹⁵³ According to an article by Helen Reid, B.A. '89, which appeared in the May 1892 issue of the Dominion Illustrated Monthly, four or five Y.W.C.A. members had volunteered for the "foreign service."¹⁵⁴ It is known that Annie Williams, B.A. '90, soon after graduation married a minister and went with him to West Africa as a missionary.¹⁵⁵

In 1889 the Mu Iota Society¹⁵⁶ was organized when a number of graduates of the class of '88, eager to continue "some of the mental exercise to which they had become accustomed in undergraduate days"¹⁵⁷ and "to keep in touch with the University and each other," began meeting at one another's homes on a regular basis to carry on discussions.¹⁵⁸ Soon the graduates of the class of '89 were asked to join them.¹⁵⁹ In 1890 the name of the organization was changed to the McGill Alumnae Society.¹⁶⁰ During the first three years meetings took the same form as those of the Delta Sigma Society's, with their emphasis on the discussion of "the questions of the hour" and the reading of papers on "most abstruse subjects."¹⁶¹ Georgina Hunter, recalling those early meetings, described them with some humour.

We took ourselves very seriously and thought our College Degree invested us with the right and power, for example, to pronounce on the merits and demerits of Tennyson and Browning and Swinburne, of Ruskin and Meredith and Morris. I . . . am filled with amazement at the prodigious learning we must have possessed in those far off glamorous days when we did not hesitate to deal with such diverse subjects as the Awakening of Art in Italy, the High Renaissance, or Classicism versus Romanticism--to give only a few examples.¹⁶²

Discussion alone soon proved to be insufficiently challenging. The Alumnae members eagerly sought "work which would bring University women and women engaged in industries and shops into closer connection." In 1891 the Girls Club and Lunchroom was opened at 47 Jurors Street, making available to working girls the benefits of classes, a lending library, a social meeting place and inexpensive lunches. The following year, full dinners at cost price were offered by the Alumnae members. By 1894, housed in new quarters on Bleury Street, the Girls Club had classes in singing, gymnastics, Botany, English and Bible study. As well, three meals a day were provided. A year later classes in cooking and dress-making were added to the program.¹⁶³

When Royal Victoria College was opened in 1899, the Alumnae Society meetings were conducted in the Common Room. To the Warden, who was concerned that the women of McGill might not accept the leadership of a British educated woman in a distinctly Canadian university, this arrangement "seemed significant of an important step towards the desired unity of outlook."¹⁶⁴

In the same year, Carrie Derick, B.A. '90, was asked to deliver an address on the subject of "Clubs for Working Girls" at the annual meeting of the National Council of Women in London, Ontario. Her address was, in fact, an account of the Alumnae Society's work.¹⁶⁵

In this early period at least one club was organized for purposes other than those intellectual or humanitarian. First mention of the Glee

Club was made in the University Gazette of February 16, 1889.¹⁶⁶ By November of the same year an instructor had been hired and practice sessions had been begun on a weekly basis.¹⁶⁷ According to reports in the January 27, 1890 issue of the University Gazette, the formation of an "Inner Glee Club, the members of which are to take private lessons from Mr. Bohrer the instructor for the purposes of leading in the general meetings of the club" was being undertaken.¹⁶⁸ The Glee Club was, however, destined to be shortlived. By 1892 Helen Reid wrote that the Delta Sigma Society meetings were "sometimes enlivened by music from the former members of, alas! the now extinct Glee Club."¹⁶⁹

In the October 31, 1887 issue of the University Gazette one of the women student's names first appeared in the list of editors. Blanche Evans was named corresponding editor for the Donalda department.¹⁷⁰ Under her direction a regular column took shape under the title "Feathers from the East Wing."¹⁷¹ It is significant that in the spring of 1887 the University Gazette carried a lengthy letter to the editor written by one of the men undergraduates requesting that the possibility of securing "lady representatives on the editorial staff of the Gazette" be given serious consideration.¹⁷² The writer of the letter anticipated a mixed reaction to his suggestion.

I feel that the idea would be a popular one, but for an indescribable sentiment (by no means confined to students), bordering on the confines of timidity and doubt as to the propriety of such an act.

However, he stressed that a closer association with the women students would be very valuable to the Gazette. Moreover, he expressed the belief that were the women students not invited to join the staff in the near future that they would begin a journal of their own. A later letter to the editor, published in the University Gazette in December of 1889,

revealed an interest on the part of the men students in the women's contributions to the Gazette which went beyond a mere curiosity in the latter's activities.

Editors of the University Gazette

Without in any way depreciating the excellent contributions from the ladies, would it not be well if they would write shorter reports of their societies' transactions, which, at best, interest but a limited number, and contribute short little notes on the doings, saying and thoughts of their own College life. Even that professional growler, the Medical, would read this with avidity.¹⁷³

The fact that women students were represented on the editorial staff of the college journal with no ill effects did not guarantee their membership in other established men's organization. When in 1896 Principal Peterson wrote to Sir Donald Smith to discuss the matter, the top honours student in Classics "being a women, was excluded from membership in the Classics Club."¹⁷⁴ The admission of women to the club in the 1897-98 session was recorded in the Old McGill in the following manner:

The present year marks an epoch in our history since, for the first time, the meetings have been graced by the presence of our fair sisters of the Ala Oriens.¹⁷⁵

The outcome of a similar situation in the Honours French Club is uncertain. When approached for his approval, Sir Donald expressed his willingness to have the matter "dealt with as may be considered best in the interests of the University generally."¹⁷⁶ He added the reminder "that the principle of separate education adopted and agreed upon for the Donald Course is to adhere to in the Royal Victoria College."¹⁷⁷ No mention was made of the club, however, in subsequent issues of the Old McGill.

The importance of the women students' efforts to establish certain societies and to participate in existing ones should not be underestimated. Perhaps because of their very different status as compared to that of the men students, the women seemed to have placed great stress on

such activities as a means of assuring their association with the university and with their fellow students.

The students of the Donalda Department have year by year strengthened the ties that bind them to McGill and to each other by instituting certain societies and customs, which constitute so much of what is termed college life in a University.¹⁷⁸

DONALDAS' IMPRESSIONS

The early years of women's education at McGill are perhaps best described by the Donaldas themselves. The memories of these pioneer students seem to capture the highlights of this segment of the university's history and bring them to life.

Women's classes at McGill began on October 6, 1884. Separately conducted, according to the agreement with Sir Donald A. Smith, the classes were accommodated in the Redpath Museum. There Mr. Redpath "had kindly furnished a 'retiring room,' adequately, but not luxuriously furnished with tables, chairs, hooks for hats and coats, and most certainly a mirror."¹⁷⁹ Doubtless the last item proved to be useful, for the fact that they were university students had prompted the women to effect some changes in their appearance.

To mark the dignity of our new status, we had lengthened our skirts, and put up our hair, coiled smoothly at the nape of the neck.¹⁸⁰

And so lectures began, a new experience for students and professors alike.

If all was new and experimental to us it must have been equally so to the professors, but I cannot recall that we were made to feel the difficulties in these new adjustments.¹⁸¹

The smallness of the classes fostered a closeness between professor and student keenly appreciated by the latter.

The professors, awe-inspiring in the beginning, we soon learned to regard as friends. So small, indeed, were the classes, even with the addition of partial and occasional students, that the lectures assumed an almost tutorial character. We were thus brought into close intellectual contact with our teachers.¹⁸²

Two professors in particular were mentioned in this connection--the Principal and Dr. Murray.

the Principal, able ruler, scholar, writer, polished speaker, who yet found time to be our friend when we roamed the countryside, tapping the rocks with our little hammers.¹⁸³

His nobility of character and high standards of learning and conduct are . . . a strength to those who in those early years knew him as friend and teacher.¹⁸⁴

Dr. Clark Murray, the ardent champion of our rights and our ever revered teacher and friend. . . . He ever directed our thoughts to high and noble ends, and was an abiding influence on our lives.¹⁸⁵

When women were first admitted to the University, there existed the possibility that their classes would not be continued beyond the level of the Senior Associate in Arts examinations. The Donaldas, however, refused to give up hope.

In spite of repeated warnings that the classes might not be continued beyond the second year, we were sustained by an unwavering faith that a way would be found.¹⁸⁶

When classes were extended for a full four year course, it became necessary to move out of the Redpath Museum into larger quarters. The new accommodations had both advantages and disadvantages, as was pointed out by Georgina Hunter, a member of the first class.

In 1886 new class-rooms were provided in the East Wing, or rather in the space between the Central Arts Building and the East Wing, which was the Principal's residence. We felt that now the Donaldas had a local habitation that we could proudly call our own; but this was not an unqualified success, as I have recollections, somewhat vague of rain coming in on our undefended heads, and, much sharper, of occasional invasions of rats.¹⁸⁷

But even such difficulties could not quash the joy of the Donaldas who were now assured of being able to complete the B.A. program.

Coeducational classes in the honour courses necessitated the hiring of a chaperone, the Lady Superintendent, who accompanied the Donaldas to their classes where she "sat with her knitting."¹⁸⁸ Mixed classes were especially appreciated by the women students who attended them. There "the men welcomed them cordially and learned to regard them merely as fellow students."¹⁸⁹ According to another Donaldas, Helen Reid, B.A. '89, the men students "always behaved themselves as gentlemen, with an

occasional ebullition of boyishness from the younger ones."¹⁹⁰ There were times, however, when the men subjected the Donaldas to much teasing.

Up and down the avenue we passed daily, frequently to the tune of "Hop Along Sister Mary, Hop Along, Hop Along," loudly chanted by drawn up lines of men students. At first blushing self-conscious, we grew indifferent to the refrain, but for many years¹⁹¹ the performance was a source of great diversion to the men.

The demands of studies left the women students with little time for socializing. Accordingly one Donalda described the typical student thus:

She has little time for evening dissipation and cannot stand the drain of late hours. The time not spent in the class room is devoted mostly to study and exercise.¹⁹²

The women students did, however, have their light-hearted moments as well.

Eager and earnest students though we were, enjoying our new privileges to the utmost, we were not at all typical "blue stockings;" on the contrary we were¹⁹³ full of life, fun-loving, and at times even irrepressible.

The women students were acutely conscious of their newly acquired status as university students and were equally determined to enjoy all the traditional privileges accompanying it. When they were not permitted to wear academic robes to classes and convocation exercises, they voiced their protest. The policy was consequently changed.

At the request of the lady students, the "academic silks," or rather "rusty gowns," have been donned by them, their classes showing, as a result, the same pleasing uniformity and orderly appearance to be seen in the men's rooms. (?)¹⁹⁴

A more volatile issue was that of the degree to be conferred upon the Donaldas. There appeared to have been some doubt as to whether the term "Bachelor" should be used in referring to women. Wrote one student: "We did not hesitate to voice our dissatisfaction."¹⁹⁵ Finally, to the satisfaction of the women students, it was decided to confer identical degrees on all graduates, regardless of their sex. In 1888 eight Donaldas--Eliza Cross, Blanche Evans, Georgina Hunter, Donalda McFee,

Martha Murphy, Alice Murray, Jane Palmer, and Grace Ritchie--became McGill's first women graduates, "bachelors" all.¹⁹⁶ The occasion of their convocation was a momentous one.

that - to us - great and thrilling day when for the first time in the history of McGill, women came forward to have repeated over them the Latin formula that made them members of the great University. The hall was far too small to hold the throng that crowded there on that occasion, the importance of which was heightened by the presence of Vice-royalty, and when our Valedictorian Grace Ritchie read her stirring address we felt that the climax was reached.¹⁹⁷

The doubt was over, women had won themselves a place at McGill.

One of the members of the first class of women graduates, Georgina Hunter, had among her students at Montreal High School for Girls, Elizabeth A. Hammond (later Mrs. Seferovitch) who in 1892 enrolled as an undergraduate at McGill.¹⁹⁸ The latter's account of her years of study at the University provide a glimpse of a later period in the Donalda history.

Looking back to the time of her entrance into McGill, Mrs. Seferovitch recalled that the presence of women at the University was accepted as natural.

It controversy was all over by the time I went to college. Everything was going harmoniously as if we'd . . . always been there.

Of coeducational classes which she attended because she had elected to follow the honours classics course and which she personally viewed as "perfectly natural," Mrs. Seferovitch said:

We had to use the same classrooms. There were no other classrooms. They had to put them the men and women students together. But I never saw any difficulty made about it.

In the library, however, it was considered necessary to separate the men and women. This arrangement, at least at one stage, proved advantageous to the latter.

They [the library staff] set aside four tables in the Redpath

Library for the women. And then for a short time they gave us a room upstairs. It wasn't bad at all because it was quieter up there.

The early Donalds had had to petition for the right to wear academic gowns to classes. Later, the students, men and women alike, found themselves unable to attend classes unless they were wearing their gowns.

We'd never go to a lecture without a proper gown . . . never! . . . if a student came in without a gown he'd [the professor] send him out.

Moreover one professor referred to ungowned students as being "academically naked."

Mrs. Seferovitch was very active in the Delta Sigma and Alumnae societies. She particularly recalled her involvement in the lunchroom project organized by the latter association.

We took turns, most of us did. I guess if you happened to have free time you could choose between lectures. It was pretty hard for me but I went on Saturdays. I don't remember if we cooked the lunch or not. I think we probably had a permanent woman to cook. . . . But we did everything else.

After her graduation in 1896,¹⁹⁹

I graduated with first class honours . . . with the Henry Chapman Gold Medal for Classics--the first . . . woman to get it.

she entered the teaching profession, one of the few fields open to her sex. She quickly noted that women teachers were at a disadvantage.

If you had to earn your own living there was nothing else you could do. And then when you did get a position it was teaching the juniors.

However, Mrs. Seferovitch was not one to meekly accept any position offered her.

I refused the first position they offered me when I graduated because they'd offered me a class of boys of eleven years old and I was annoyed at taking a position like that.

She was subsequently hired to teach Greek in the upper classes of high school.

By the time Mrs. Seferovitch entered McGill several of the earlier Donaldas had enrolled in medical studies. The former considered medical education "very necessary," but felt herself unsuited to undertake the necessary training.

I wanted to do it [study medicine] myself. But I never could have done it. . . . I would have fainted to see the lectures.

But whatever Mrs. Seferovitch and the other Donaldas chose to do following graduation, they did not emerge from university reduced to "threads and patches" and doomed to "disappointment and nervous prostration in middle life," as one sceptic had predicted.²⁰⁰

ROYAL VICTORIA COLLEGE

The possibility of erecting a separate college for women was first voiced in 1884, on the occasion of Sir Donald A. Smith's offer of \$50,000 for the establishment of separate classes in higher education for women at McGill.²⁰¹ The realization of the project, however, spanned a decade and a half. The bitter controversy over coeducation had certainly been one of the inhibiting factors.

That Sir Donald chose to endow a college for women was not a quirk of fate, but an attempt on his part to make concrete the memory of his sister, Margaret. Beckles Willson, in this biography The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, explained the circumstances behind the gesture thus:

Margaret had a great ambition to excel in study. This ambition was probably foiled by the scant opportunities then existing for female education. None the less, the desire was very strong; and when, nearly a half a century after her death, her brother John suggested that it was a thought of Margaret that had inspired his brother to found a great college for women in Montreal, Donald replied: "You are quite right in thinking that, in the matter of this college, the memory of our sister Margaret was present in my mind. You well remember her gifts and her ambition to be a scholar."²⁰²

The Donalds hoped that the college would be named Strathcona Hall. However, the Y.M.C.A. succeeded in honouring their benefactor in this way first. As was preferred by Lord Strathcona, and with royal permission granted, the college was given the name Royal Victoria in honour of the Queen.²⁰³

Royal Victoria College was to be a residential college, offering its residents and its non-resident students the best of academic and social environments. The importance of this dual influence should not be underestimated. It formed the core of Lord Strathcona's concept of the

ideal education for women. The ultimate aim of the education provided in the college was, according to the benefactor, "not alone in teaching its pupils to be clever or even learned women but also in instilling into their minds those principles without which they cannot be true gentlewomen."²⁰⁴ This ideal seemed, to many, to better fit the context of the British upper class. There were those who wondered whether the college would operate successfully under these conditions. Consequently, Royal Victoria was regarded as somewhat of a "white elephant."²⁰⁵

After the initial delays, it was hoped that Royal Victoria College would be inaugurated during the 1892-93 session.²⁰⁶ Had this been the case, the completion of the college would have afforded Sir William Dawson a satisfying conclusion to his thirty-eight year involvement with the higher education of women. Instead, Sir William retired as principal of McGill on the thirty-first of July, 1893,²⁰⁷ while the actual construction of the building was not begun until 1895.²⁰⁸ Thus the realization of this project was left to Sir William's successor, Dr. William Peterson, who was appointed principal June 4, 1895.²⁰⁹ The projected date of completion was now to coincide with Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in June of 1897.²¹⁰ In January of 1897, with the building nearing completion, Sir Donald Smith wrote Principal Peterson, "I am glad to know that . . . its front elevation is regarded as being sightly and not inappropriate for the purpose for which the edifice is intended."²¹¹ But as late as the twenty-second administration of the college.²¹² In July of 1898 much still remained to be done; the building to be "furnished, staffed and conveyed to Trustees" and suitable women lecturers to be hired.²¹³ In the interim, Donald courses were continued as before, with additional financial assistance provided by the benefactor.²¹⁴ By May of the same year it was

necessary for the Principal to write Lord Strathcona to inquire about the latter's arrangements for the inauguration, as well as about "the terms upon which the College should be conducted as a college of McGill University."²¹⁵ Plans for the opening of the college were postponed to the fall of 1899. Reports published in August of 1899 stated that the official opening would be further delayed because of Strathcona's poor health and the pressures of office.²¹⁶ According to newspaper reports, the college was to be formally opened during Christmas of 1899.²¹⁷ This date was later changed to the end of January.²¹⁸ The official ceremonies finally took place on the first of November, 1900.²¹⁹ However, Royal Victoria College was opened unofficially for classes in September of 1899.²²⁰ Sir John William Dawson died a month later, on November 19, 1899.²²¹ He had lived long enough to see the first students take up residence in the women's college his years of work had helped to make possible.

The selection of the staff for Royal Victoria College was a matter of vital concern to both Lord Strathcona and Principal Peterson. Strathcona himself was personally involved in securing the services of Hilda Diana Oakeley, graduate of Somerville College, Oxford as Lady Principal.²²² This title was later changed, at Miss Oakeley's request, to "Warden"--with peculiar results.

I preferred the title "Warden," on being consulted. This was a cause of difficulty to Americans, who asked if I was head of a prison!²²³

From the beginning, Miss Oakeley felt that the position especially suited her ambition to be involved not only in the philosophical but in the practical as well. Her only anxiety was that her British education and upbringing would not be accepted in the Canadian context of Royal Victoria College.²²⁴

A second appointment made by Lord Strathcona was that of Miss Clara Lichenstein as Resident Instructor and Lecturer in Music.²²⁵ Miss Lichenstein was a graduate of the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest and the first to be granted the Academy's "Certificate of Teaching."²²⁶

The staff numbers were further extended by the appointments of Susan Cameron, B.A., Resident Tutor in English; Annie MacLean, Ph.D., Resident Tutor in Philosophy and Political Science with History; and Harriet Brooks, B.A., Non-Resident Tutor in Mathematics.²²⁷ Thus, in addition to the regular program of lectures delivered by McGill professors, assistance in studies was available from the tutors.²²⁸

The appointment of Miss Vendla Holmström as instructor of physical education (see p.71) completed the College teaching staff. According to newspaper accounts, Miss Holmström was "a lady of high culture and the University authorities could hardly have found anyone better qualified."²²⁹

Mrs. A.L. Jarvis was appointed Housekeeper,²³⁰ to be responsible, according to an article in the Montreal Daily Star, for "well prepared and sensibly chosen diet; spotless cleanliness throughout the building, irreproachable laundry; young ladies in such good humour as nobody knows but healthy school girls in a well appointed and well conducted home."²³¹ As well, although it falls beyond the immediate scope of this thesis, it should be noted that in April of 1900 Miss Gairdner was named Assistant Secretary for Royal Victoria College²³² enabling her to continue her association with efforts for the promotion of higher education first undertaken in connection with the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association.²³³

But what of the College building itself? The College was located on the property bounded by University and Sherbrooke Streets, facing south to the head of Union Avenue. According to the plans the building

was one hundred and ninety-six feet in length and seventy-six feet in width, with a central section extending fifty feet beyond the wings.²³⁴

The exterior of Royal Victoria College was "built of Montreal rock-faced limestone, . . . in the simple, but imposing, baronial style."²³⁵

The interior was described as "more glowing and not less imposing."²³⁶

Perhaps the best description of the varied facilities housed in this structure is that which appeared in Old McGill '01.

On entering by the central door one finds oneself in a square lobby, with offices on either hand. Directly opposite, separated by a corridor which runs from east to west the entire length of the building, is the dining room, into which the profane outsider may seldom enter. It is an enormous room, almost as large as the Assembly Hall above it, and is decorated in an odd but effective shade of red. The remainder of the first floor, on the north side, is occupied by large class-rooms admirably equipped; by offices, and by two staircases and the elevator; on the south side is a large class-room (which rumour dedicates to examinations, a professors' room and more offices. The next floor is the students' par excellence. Here, on the south side, beginning at the east end, we find the common room, with its dozens of comfortable arm-chairs and its fine Steinway piano. Here the various societies hold their meetings, free from the restraint exercised by the formal aspect of a class-room. Here, too, take place the festivities in which student gravity sometimes unbends; and here, last but not least, one may chatter to one's heart's content, unhaunted by a "silence" notice. Passing west, we reach the drawing room, a region visited rarely, and then with respectful awe, by the day student. Next to it is the reading room, where are kept the magazines subscribed for by the students as a body. It is smaller than the rooms near it, and its peculiar blue and white walls, as well as its coziness, make it in general estimation the prettiest. Passing through noiseless swinging doors, we enter the library. . . . Class-rooms take up the ends of the northside, and in the centre is the entrance to the Assembly Hall, an imposing room, with lofty ceiling, and walls finished in green and gold. It is whispered that the floor is extremely satisfactory. The upper part of the building is given up to the residents. The rooms are furnished in uniform style, but are of various shapes and sizes. A charming sitting-room is provided for every two bedrooms. One notes at once that the architect has been very successful in avoiding the wearying sameness of shape so often noticeable in the plans of large institutions. There remains for our investigation only the ground floor. Here are, of course, the kitchens, revealed to the passing student only by an occasional glimpse; and . . . here is the gymnasium.²³⁷

There was only one deficiency and that a major one--the limited sleeping accommodation. For although quarters were to have been provided for approximately one hundred students, only thirty-seven bedrooms and seventeen sitting rooms had been built. These were expected to accommodate the staff as well as the students. After the Warden, Tutors and House-keeper took over five bedrooms and an equal number of sitting rooms, very little accommodation could be offered the students.²³⁸

Certainly the establishment of the Royal Victoria College for women did not proceed without its share of difficulties. Carrying out the benefactor's wishes presented a number of problems. Over all, noted the first principal of the college, Lord Strathcona was apt to generate a definite vagueness in his dealings with the university authorities. This, Miss Oakeley attributed to his satisfaction in leaving administrative matters in the hands of the administrators.²³⁹ This manner of dealing with individuals was referred to in a more direct and less complimentary fashion by one of Lord Strathcona's biographers. John Macnaughton wrote that Strathcona often left Principal Peterson "hanging in the air."²⁴⁰ However, the most demanding aspect of the entire project appears to have been Lord Strathcona's stipulation that the education of women be carried on entirely separately from that of men. Even Sir William Dawson, a staunch supporter of separate education, had recognized certain difficulties in adhering to its practice.²⁴¹ As years passed, experience had demonstrated that deviations could be and in fact, at times, had to be made.²⁴² Thus it fell to Principal Peterson to make these conditions known to Lord Strathcona.²⁴³ Certainly, some flexibility was required--if only for future generations.

Principal Peterson was not the only individual concerned by the

demands of the benefactor's stipulation. The prospect of separate education in a separate building gave rise to a fear among some of the women students that they would be even more isolated than they had been up to then from campus life as the men knew it.²⁴⁴ Stephen Leacock captured the humour of this aspect of Royal Victoria College's history.

Sir Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona), in his foundation . . . of the Royal Victoria College (the more feminine part of McGill), laid down certain restrictions. Sharing the fear of women common to his time, he insisted that the college girls must not come near the men for two years. The Royal Victoria opened thus, as safeguarded and secluded as an Indian purdah, a harem in Hyderabad. Its very doors and its curtained windows looked mystery. Its entertainments were opened ²⁴⁵only to professors over sixty and governors over seventy.

The opening of Royal Victoria College in 1899 marked the ending of the first chapter of women's education at McGill and the beginning of a second. As well as representing the culmination of almost four decades of work for the promotion of higher education for women, it denoted the recognition of the importance of intellectual, social and physical development not evident when women were first admitted to McGill. From the start, Royal Victoria College gave evidence of her benefactor's concern not only with the comprehensiveness but also with the quality of the education to be provided therein. Excellence was demanded of staff and surroundings alike. If there was any cause for dissatisfaction, it was that the issue of separate versus mixed education still had not been resolved. Many of the students and staff believed coeducation to be more beneficial. Lord Strathcona, however, controlled the finances and therefore the direction the college would follow. The debate on the issue was very much a product of the era. Ultimately time would settle the matter in favour of coeducation.

The admission of women to McGill in 1884 gave rise to many issues,

not all of which were destined to be resolved in the nineteenth century. By the time the first women students graduated in 1888, they had been accorded the right to wear academic dress and to be granted identical degrees to those conferred upon men. However, the Donaldas who pressed for the right to enroll in medical studies were refused. In subsequent years, women students became involved in an increasingly broader range of campus activities. It was not unusual to see them in the library or the gymnasium. They organized and took an active part in a variety of student societies. They wrote a regular column for the university journal. No longer were the women students confined solely to the classrooms. In 1899 a milestone was reached when the newly constructed residential college for women admitted its first students. Women were assured a permanent place at McGill.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

In light of the developments of the nineteenth century it was almost inevitable that women would be admitted to McGill University. That women were admitted to McGill in the 1880s, however, was in large part due to the efforts of one man--Sir John William Dawson.

Admittedly Dawson was not the originator of the resolution which forced the university authorities to contemplate the possibility of women's entry into McGill. His cautious attitude would not have permitted him to initiate such an action, a factor which during the coeducation controversy caused many to underestimate the extent of his contributions to the development of a system of higher education for women at the university.

Dawson's involvement with the provision of higher education for women was not restricted to the 1880s, but dated back to the opening of McGill Normal School in 1857. His thirteen year principalship of the Normal School provided him with a very real understanding of the vast inadequacies of educational provisions for women. Moreover, Dawson's was an undertaking which extended beyond the immediate bounds of the university and which embraced both the public and private sectors of education. It was evidenced by the growth of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association, the Montreal High School for Girls and the Trafalgar Institute, three very different institutions operating at

different levels to meet the need for expanded educational opportunities for women.

By the time McGill was prepared to consider opening the university to women, no doubt existed as to whether or not they were capable of handling college level studies. Past experience with the Normal School and more particularly the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association had clearly demonstrated women's academic capabilities. Nor was there any fear that in allowing women into the university there would be any lowering of traditional standards. The founding of the Montreal High School for Girls, the female counterpart of the Montreal High School for Boys, had eliminated that possibility. Moreover, the girls' High School promised a steady supply of university entrants. (Similarly, Trafalgar Institute, which opened in 1887, was to be regarded as a prime feeder of the university.) Consequently, the university authorities could safely contemplate the admission of women to McGill, as Dawson's efforts assured the relative success of the undertaking.

Without doubt Sir Donald A. Smith's endowment greatly facilitated the entry of women to McGill. As well, it made possible the establishment of a full four year course of study leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree. The university, suffering from financial instability, could not have implemented the latter step so quickly. The terms under which the endowment was given, however, imposed severe restrictions on the university and on the women students especially. All energy appears to have been diverted into maintaining separate classes for women and then into justifying their existence. Moreover, the same bequest which enabled women to attend university, by its stipulations, prevented women students from being a part of the university in the fullest sense. Even

Royal Victoria College, which housed facilities far superior to those available to the men students, served as a barrier to cut the women students off from the university proper.

For Dawson, however, separate education appeared as the only means of assuring women an environment as sheltered as the home. Moreover, for him coeducation could never be totally acceptable because it treated men and women as one entity, while his upbringing had taught him to regard men and women as being different. His outlook was typical of the era in which he was born and certainly harmonized with Sir Donald Smith's convictions. Nevertheless one should not assume that the former, because of his personal beliefs, would not have co-operated fully had the latter wished to finance coeducational classes. Dawson was a most able administrator, intent on seeing university policy carried out without deviation.

Sir John William Dawson's personal convictions should not be allowed to obscure his pivotal role in the development of a system of higher education for women at McGill. For it was his efforts which spanned decades and involved a number of institutions which laid the groundwork for the admission of women to McGill.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

1. Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792) and John Stewart Mill's The Subjection of Women (1869) gave impetus to this movement.
2. Josephine Kamm, Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History (Hereinafter referred to as Hope Deferred) (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1965), pp. 251-52.
3. Ibid., pp. 257-59.
4. Ibid., pp. 259-60; Vera Brittain, The Women at Oxford: A Fragment of History (Hereinafter referred to as Women at Oxford) (London: George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd, 1960), pp. 35-36.
5. Brittain, Women at Oxford, p. 50.
6. Kamm, Hope Deferred, pp. 261, 264.
7. Ibid., p. 261.
8. Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, II (Hereinafter referred to as History of Women's Education) (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), pp. 146-47.
9. James Monroe Taylor, Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar (New York: Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 39.
10. Woody, History of Women's Education, pp. 140-41, 145.
11. Ibid., p. 231; Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for American Women (Hereinafter referred to as Century of Higher Education) (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1959), p. 5.
12. Woody, History of Women's Education, p. 237.
13. Ibid., p. 238.
14. Newcomer, Century of Higher Education, p. 13.

15. Raymond Clare Archibald, Historical Notes on the Education of Women at Mount Allison 1854-1954 (Hereinafter referred to as Historical Notes) (Sackville: Centennial Committee, Mount Allison University, 1954), p. 6; Jean Bannerman, Leading Ladies: Canada 1639-1967 (Ontario: Carrswood, 1967), p. 46, qualifies this statement in the following way: "In 1875, Grace Ann Lockhart . . . became the first woman in the British Empire to receive a degree openly [*italics mine*]. The fine distinction is made because Dr. James Barrie--a woman--actually established the precedent by graduating from Edinburgh University (1812) disguised as a man!"

16. Archibald, Historical Notes, p. 7. There appears to be some uncertainty as to the woman's name. Archibald refers to her as Harriet Starr Stewart, while Bannerman, Leading Ladies: Canada 1639-1967, p. 46, identifies her as Harriet Stewart Starr.

17. Ronald Stewart Longley, Acadia University, 1838-1938 (Wolfville: Kentville Publishing Company, Limited, 1939), p. 93.

18. Centenary Committee, Dalhousie College, One Hundred Years of Dalhousie 1818-1918 (Halifax: n. p., 1919), p. 34.

SIR JOHN WILLIAM DAWSON, CHAMPION OF HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

19. The biographical material in this chapter is based entirely on Sir John William Dawson's autobiography, Fifty Years of Work in Canada: Scientific and Educational (Hereinafter referred to as Fifty Years), ed. by Rankine Dawson (London and Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1901).

20. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 26.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., p. 27.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid., p. 28.

25. Ibid., p. 42.

26. Ibid., p. 50.

27. Ibid., p. 61.

28. Ibid., p. 65.

29. Ibid. Dawson's use of the word "adorn" was very much in keeping with his belief that a woman's "highest mission" was "to be the guide and ornament of a family." John William Dawson, "Educated Women," Educational Lectures, Addresses, &c. 1855-1895 (Hereinafter referred to as ELA),

McGill University Archives, p. 9.

30. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 69.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., p. 68.
34. Ibid., pp. 72-73.
35. Ibid., p. 87.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., p. 77.
38. Ibid., p. 90.
39. Ibid., p. 91.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., pp. 98-99.
42. Ibid., p. 101.
43. Ibid., p. 292.
44. Dawson, "The Future of McGill University," ELA, p. 9.
45. Dawson, "Educated Women," p. 5.
46. Ibid., p. 11.
47. Ibid., p. 6.
48. Dawson, "The Future of McGill University," p. 9.
49. Dawson, "The Recent History of McGill University," ELA, p. 14.
50. Dawson, "Educated Women," p. 8.
51. Ibid., p. 6.
52. Ibid., p. 14.
53. Dawson, "Thoughts on an Ideal College for Women," ELA, p. 8.
54. Ibid., p. 14.
55. Ibid., p. 15.

56. Dawson, "The Recent History of McGill University," p. 14.
57. Dawson, "The Higher Education of Women in Connection with McGill University" (Hereinafter referred to as "Education of Women"), ELA, p. 12.
58. Dawson, "The Future of McGill University," p. 9.
59. Dawson, "Education of Women," p. 12.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Dawson, "Thoughts on an Ideal College for Women," p. 7.
63. Dawson, "Educated Women," p. 11.
64. Ibid., p. 13.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., p. 14.
67. Ibid., p. 11.

CHAPTER II

MCGILL NORMAL SCHOOL

1. It was not originally intended to have Dawson assume the principalship of the Normal School. Dawson explained the circumstances thus: "We had hoped to get as principal, an eminent and experienced educationist, but it was found that his services could not be secured, and it became necessary to add to my already numerous duties the principalship of the school, and some lectures in natural science." Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 121.
2. Prospectus of the University of McGill College, Montreal 1857-8 (Hereinafter referred to as Prospectus) (Montreal: J.C. Becket, 1857), p. 32.
3. Ibid., p. 33.
4. Ibid.
5. "Inauguration de l'Ecole Normale McGill," Journal de l'Instruction Publique (Mars, 1857), p. 69.
6. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 191.
7. "Inauguration de l'Ecole Normale McGill," p. 70.
8. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 231.
9. Letter, Hannah Holway to John William Dawson, June 29, 1859, McGill University Archives, 927/11.
10. Letter, H. Smith to John William Dawson, October 22, 1858, McGill University Archives, 927/9.
11. Prospectus, p. 33.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. "Memo for Annual Report to Visitor Jan^y [January] 1860," McGill University Archives, 927/13.
15. "Corporation Minute Book," I, McGill University Archives, 208.
16. Calendar of the McGill University, Montreal, Session of 1863-4 (Montreal: J.C. Becket, 1863), p. 60.
17. "Corporation Minute Book," I, 208.
18. Calendar of the McGill College and University, Montreal, Session

of 1864-5 (Montreal: J.C. Becket, 1864), p. 69.

19. Calendar of the McGill College and University, Montreal, Session of 1865-6 (Montreal: J.C. Becket, 1865), p. 76. According to Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 120, the presence of both sexes in classes gave rise to "anxieties which . . . necessitated a large infusion of trained and educated women in the staff of the school." C.E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W.J. Gage Co., 1957), p. 238, reacts to the Principal's statement thus: "It is safe to conclude that the staff acquisitions were not selected with a view to making conditions of work more pleasant or permitted to set an example which would encourage 'female infusion' in other faculties." Dawson's reports in "Corporation Minute Book," I, July 23, 1863, 173 and "Corporation Minute Book," I, April 28, 1869, 451 refute Phillips's statement.

20. Prospectus, p. 33.

21. Ibid.

22. Letter to Editor Gazette, December 1859, McGill University Archives, 927/11.

23. Petition, to John William Dawson, n.d., McGill University Archives, 927/11.

24. "McGill Normal School, Mtl.," "McGill Scrapbook," I, McGill University Archives, 24; "McGill Normal School," Gazette, May 29, 1885.

25. Letter, William Hume to John William Dawson, June 8, 1860, McGill University Archives, 927/13 is an example: "I think from what you say it will be more advantageous for us to get a Female Teacher as I do not think that a higher salary than that mentioned in my letter could be given."

26. Letter of resignation, John William Dawson, Jan [?] 28, 1870, McGill University, Rare Books and Special Collections, McLennan Library, JW Dawson MSS Collection.

27. Dawson, Fifty Years, pp. 121-22.

MONTREAL LADIES' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

28. The resolution read as follows: "That this meeting rejoices in the arrangements made in the Mother Country, and on this Continent, to afford young women the opportunities of a regular College course; and being persuaded of the vital importance of this matter to the cause of higher Education, and to the wellbeing of the Community, respectfully commends the subject to the consideration of the Corporation of the University, for such action as the expected addition to the Endowment may enable them to take." MSS, February 10, 1870 among "Old College Papers About 70/&71," McGill University Archives, 927.

29. Dawson, "The Recent History of McGill University," p. 13; Dawson, "Thirty-Eight Years of McGill," ELA, p. 13.

30. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 238.

31. Dawson, "The Recent History of McGill University," p. 13; Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 239. In W. C. Percival, Across the Years (Montreal: Gazette Printing Co., 1946), p. 184 and Old McGill '06, p. 33, it is incorrectly written that the women approached Dawson to organize such an association.

32. Report of The Montreal Ladies' Educational Association (Hereinafter referred to as Report of TMLEA), First Session, 1871-72 (Montreal Printing House, 1872), p. 3; "Suggestions for Classes for the Higher Education of Women," n.d., McGill University, Rare Books and Special Collections, McLennan Library, JW Dawson MSS Collection. In Percival, Across the Years, p. 184; Old McGill '06, p. 33; Hilda D. Oakeley, "The Royal Victoria College," McGill University Magazine, I, No. 1 (1901), p. 85, 1870 is incorrectly cited as the year in which the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association was formed. In the same article Oakeley refers to the Association as "The Ladies' Educational Association." MacMillan, McGill and its Story 1821-1921 (London: John Lane, 1921), p. 251, states that the Association's founding meeting took place in the fall, rather than spring of 1871. In Old McGill '06, p. 33, the Association's program of courses is incorrectly identified as part of McGill's Arts course.

33. Report of TMLEA, Report of Committee (Montreal: Gazette Printing House, 1874), p. 11; Report of TMLEA, Sixth Session, 1876-77 (Montreal: Gazette Printing House, 1877), p. 12. Copies of Report of TMLEA with the exception of the thirteenth session (see n. 60), are held by the McGill University Archives under accession 909A/b36.

34. "General Plan for Lectures to Ladies in Connection with Ladies Educational Association As at Present Organized," appended to Report of TMLEA, First Session.

35. John William Dawson, Thoughts on the Higher Education of Women (Montreal: Gazette Printing House, 1871), p. 12.

36. Report of TMLEA, First Session, pp. 3-6.

37. "Suggestions for Classes for the Higher Education of Women."

38. Report of TMLEA, First Session, p. 12.

39. "Suggestions for Classes for the Higher Education of Women."

40. Report of TMLEA, First Session, p. 6.

41. Report of TMLEA, Fourth Session, 1874-75 (Montreal: Gazette Printing House, 1875), p. 9.

42. Report of TMLEA, Report of Committee, p. 10.

43. Report of TMLEA, Fifth Session, 1875-76 (Montreal: Gazette Printing House, 1876), p. 11.
44. Report of TMLEA, First Session, p. 5.
45. Dr. A. Johnson (Electricity and Magnetism) in Report of TMLEA, Sixth Session, p. 9.
46. Rev. Principal J. A. Lobley (Grecian History and Literature) in Report of TMLEA, Sixth Session, p. 11.
47. Dr. W. Osler (Physiology of Nutrition) in Report of TMLEA, Eighth Session, 1878-79 (Montreal: Gazette Printing House, 1879), p. 8.
48. Prof. J. Campbell (Early History of America) in Report of TMLEA, Eleventh Session, 1881-82 (Montreal: Gazette Printing Co., 1882), p. 9.
49. Report of TMLEA, Tenth Session, 1880-81 (Montreal: Gazette Printing Co., 1881), p. 9.
50. Report of TMLEA, Sixth Session, p. 11.
51. Report of TMLEA, Fourth Session, p. 8.
52. Ibid., p. 12.
53. "Ladies' Educational Association Minute Book" (Hereinafter referred to as "LEA Minute Book"), April 5, 1873, McGill University Archives, 1326, p. 29.
54. Report of TMLEA, Eighth Session, p. 7.
55. Report of TMLEA, Tenth Session, p. 12.
56. Report of TMLEA, Sixth Session, p. 15.
57. Report of TMLEA, Third Session, p. 11.
58. Report of TMLEA, Sixth Session, p. 14.
59. Report of TMLEA, Eighth Session, p. 13.
60. Report of TMLEA, Thirteenth Session, 1883-4 (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1884), McGill University Archives, 927/46, p. 13.
61. "Montreal Ladies' Educational Association Register of Certificates," McGill University Archives, 1326. Oakeley, "The Royal Victoria College," p. 85, and Macmillan, McGill and its Story 1821-1921, p. 252, incorrectly cite 1884 as the year in which the Association disbanded. As well, Macmillan writes that the Association existed for thirteen rather than fourteen years.
62. Dawson, "Education of Women," p. 13.

63. Dawson, "Report on the Higher Education of Women," ELA, p. 13.
64. Endorsement on cover of Report of TMLEA, Thirteenth Session.

HANNAH WILLARD LYMAN MEMORIAL FUND

65. Helen S. Gairdner, "Miss Hannah Willard Lyman and Miss Annie Macintosh" (Hereinafter referred to as "Miss Lyman and Miss Macintosh"), Alumnae News, (April, 1920), 21.
66. Ibid., p. 22.
67. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 232. Macmillan, McGill and its Story 1821-1921, p. 249 incorrectly writes that Miss Lyman approached Dawson.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., p. 237; Gairdner, "Miss Lyman and Miss Macintosh," p. 22, incorrectly cites 1872 as the year of Miss Lyman's death.
71. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 237.
72. "Board of Governors Minute Book," II, December 2, 1871, McGill University Archives, 1.
73. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 237.
74. "Board of Governors Minute Book," II, December 2, 1871, 1.
75. Ibid., January 18, 1872, 15.
76. Ibid., December 2, 1871, 1-2.
77. "LEA Minute Book," April 8, 1872, p. 11.
78. Report of TMLEA, Fifth Session, p. 11.
79. Report of TMLEA, Sixth Session, p. 12.
80. Annual Calendar of McGill College and University, Session 1885-86 (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1885), p. 63.
81. Muriel V. Roscoe, "The Royal Victoria College 1899-1962, A Report to the Principal of the History of the College Together with Brief Accounts of the Pioneering Years and Activities (Prior to 1844 [sic] and of the Classes Under the Donalda Endowment (1884-1899), March 20, 1964" (Hereinafter referred to as "Royal Victoria College"), p. 10.

MONTREAL HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

82. Dawson, "Thirty-Eight Years of McGill," p. 14.
83. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 257.
84. "Minute Book of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of Montreal, commencing January 1870" (Hereinafter referred to as "Minute Book PBSM, 1870"), February 4, 1874, p. 215.
85. Ibid.
86. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 257.
87. "Minute Book PBSM, 1870," May 27, 1875, p. 302. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 257 mistakenly writes that the decision was made in 1874.
88. Dawson, Fifty Years, pp. 257-58.
89. "Minute Book PBSM, 1870," September 30, 1875, p. 324.
90. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 258.
91. Ibid.
92. "Minute Book PBSM, October 14th, 1880 to August 29th, 1888" (Hereinafter referred to as "Minute Book PBSM, 1880"), p. 194.
93. Ibid.
94. "Minute Book PBSM, 1880," June 10, 1884, p. 240.

TRAFALGAR INSTITUTE

95. "Trafalgar: The Story of the School," Trafalgar Echoes, June, 1937, pp. 15-16.
96. Ibid., p. 15.
97. Trafalgar Echoes, June, 1963, n.p.
98. "Last Will and Testament of the Late Donald Ross, Esq." (Hereinafter referred to as "Will"), Trafalgar Institute: Foundation, Act of Incorporation, By-Laws, Etc. (Montreal: Gazette Printing Company, 1885), McGill University Archives, Acc. 927/35, pp. 5, 7, 10.
99. Ibid., p. 7.
100. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
101. Ibid., p. 13.

102. Ibid.
103. Ibid., p. 10.
104. The Governors were the gentlemen and their successors to whom Donald Ross bequeathed, in trust, the Trafalgar property and the residue of his estate.
105. "Will," pp. 10-11.
106. "Trafalgar: The Story of the School," p. 16.
107. Edgar Andrew Collard, "Of Many Things . . ." Gazette, May 16, 1970.
108. "Trafalgar: The Story of the School," p. 16.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid., p. 17.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid., p. 19.
113. Ibid., p. 17.
114. Trafalgar Institute, prospectus, McGill University Archives, 927/35.
115. Ibid.
116. Trafalgar Echoes, June, 1963, n.p.
117. Letter, Marion E. Woollan to Sir John William Dawson, October 31, 1887, McGill University Archives, 927/35.
118. "Will," p. 13.
119. Prospectus.
120. "Trafalgar: The Story of the School," p. 19.
121. Prospectus.
122. "Early Days, by a Girl," Trafalgar Echoes, June, 1918, p. 12.
123. "Early Days, by a Teacher," Trafalgar Echoes, June, 1918, p. 9.
124. "Will," p. 13.
125. "Early Days, by a Girl," p. 12.

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. "Corporation Minute Book," III, January 25, 1888, McGill University Archives, 401.

CHAPTER III

INITIAL SURVEY

1. "Corporation Minute Book," III, October 25, 1882, McGill University Archives, 473. Georgina Hunter, "In the Beginning," McGill News, X, No. 2 (1929), 14 and Helen R.Y. Reid, "Women's Work in McGill University," Dominion Illustrated Monthly, May, 1892, p.213 incorrectly cite 1883 as the year in which the resolution was proposed.

2. "Corporation Minute Book," III, October 25, 1882, 473.

3. "Corporation Minute Book," III, January 24, 1883, 13.

4. "Corporation Minute Book," III, June 6, 1883, 43-50.

5. "Corporation Minute Book," III, June 13, 1883, 51-53.

6. Dawson, "Report on the Higher Education of Women," p. 3.

7. The Associate in Arts examinations, a battery of tests administered at the end of high school, were instituted for boys in 1865. In 1877 policies were reviewed and the same examinations were opened to girls. Dawson, "Thirty-eight Years of McGill," p. 15; Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 259.

THE DONALD A. SMITH ENDOWMENT FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN

8. Dawson, "Education of Women," p. 9. Bannerman, Leading Ladies: Canada 1639-1967, p. 46 identifies one of these girls as Rosa McLean. According to the "Register of Attendance on Lectures etc 1843 to 1902/03," Session 1884, McGill University Archives, 639/24, n.p. and Grace Ritchie England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," McGill News, XIII, No. 1 (1934), 17, who was a member of the first class of women admitted to McGill, the name was Rosalie McLea.

9. Dawson, "Thirty-Eight Years of McGill," p. 14; Dawson, "Report on the Higher Education of Women," p. 11. Hilda D. Oakeley, "Progress of Higher Education for Women," Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, XXIII, No. 6 (1904), 501 and Marjorie Smith, "Golden Anniversary of Women at McGill," Old McGill '35, p. 63 incorrectly write that four girls met with Principal Dawson who promised classes if their numbers could be increased to eight.

10. Grace Ritchie England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," p. 15.

11. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 227.

12. Dawson, "The Recent History of McGill University," p. 14; "Report on Higher Education of Women," p. 11.
13. Dawson, "Education of Women," p. 9.
14. Ibid; A copy of the circular, The Higher Education of Women, is found in the JW Dawson Scrapbook, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections, McLennan Library, JW Dawson MSS Collection.
15. In Old McGill '06, p. 33, 1885 rather than 1884 is cited as the year in which the Smith endowment was offered. Bannerman, Leading Ladies: Canada 1639-1967, p. 46, incorrectly names the sum as \$120,000. She also refers to the benefactor as Lord Strathcona. This title was bestowed upon him in the late 1890s (see chapter III, n. 202).
16. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 227.
17. Ibid., p. 261.
18. Dawson was knighted in 1884. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 307. The Corporation acknowledged the Principal's knighthood at its September meeting. "Corporation Minute Book," III, September 20, 1884, McGill University, Archives, 145. "This Corporation has heard with great pleasure of the honour which it has recently pleased Her Majesty to confer upon the Principal in recognition of his great scientific attainments, and his services to this University and to the cause of Public Education; and . . . it desires to convey it's [sic] congratulations to him."
19. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, September 13, 1884, McGill University Archives, 24; As a consequence of his endowment to McGill, Sir Donald A. Smith was nominated "a Trustee of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, and a Governor of McGill College and University." "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, October 25, 1884, 37-38. In 1889, Sir Donald was appointed Chancellor of McGill. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, June 15, 1889, 420.
20. "Corporation Minute Book," III, September 20, 1884, 142.
21. Dawson, "Report on the Higher Education of Women," p. 5.
22. "Corporation Minute Book," III, September 20, 1884, 142-43. As a result of the admission of women to McGill, responsibility for literary and scientific education of the Academy Class was transferred from the McGill Normal School to the university. "Corporation Minute Book," III, June 27, 1888, 467.
23. Macmillan, McGill and its Story 1821-1921, p. 253, states that women's classes were held in the East Wing of the Arts building. This was true only after 1886 (see p. 79).
24. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, September 22, 1884, McGill University Archives, 2-3.

25. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, October 2, 1884, 5.
26. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, December 27, 1884, 58.
27. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, October 29, 1884, 14.
28. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, November 28, 1884, 21.
29. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, January 16, 1885, 26.
30. "Corporation Minute Book," III, January 28, 1885, 188-89.
31. "Corporation Minute Book," III, February 11, 1885, 191.
32. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, March 21, 1885, 76.
33. Ibid.; "Corporation Minute Book," III, April 29, 1885, 221.
34. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, March 28, 1885, 80.
35. "Corporation Minute Book," III, January 27, 1886, 254-56.
36. "Copy of Notarial Deed," October 16, 1886, McGill University Archives, 909A/2/2/20, pp. 1-4; The term "Donalda" came to be used in referring to the women students. Macmillan, McGill and its Story 1821-1921, p. 253 and Susan E. Vaughan, "Fundator Noster," McGill News, X, No. 3 (1929), 18, incorrectly apply the term "Donalda" to the women students admitted to McGill in 1884.

THE STATUS OF WOMEN STUDENTS

37. The women students were accommodated first in the Redpath Museum and later in the East Wing of the Arts building.
38. "Corporation Minute Book," III, January 27, 1886, 264.
39. Dawson, "Education of Women," p. 11.
40. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, June 24, 1885, 102.
41. Letter, Mrs. G. M. Edwards to Mrs. David Legate, February 14, 1959, McGill University Archives, 1326.
42. Carrie M. Derick, "In the 80's sic ," Old McGill '27, p. 200.
43. Annual Calendar of McGill College and University, Session 1884-85 (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1885, p. 41.
44. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, October 29, 1884, 14.
45. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, December 10, 1884, 23.

46. "Ladies First," University Gazette, January 1, 1885, p. 3.
47. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, November 28, 1884, 20;
"Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, April 15, 1885, 45.
48. University Gazette, November 15, 1884, p. 5.
49. University Gazette, December 1, 1884, p. 14.
50. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, October 20, 1887, 148.
51. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, November 26, 1887, 287.
52. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, January 23, 1886, 75.
53. Ibid.

COEDUCATION CONTROVERSY

54. "McGill University and the Higher Education of Women," Montreal Daily Star, December 5, 1884, McGill University Archives, 909A/2/36.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.; "McGill University and the Higher Education of Women," Montreal Daily Star, December 6, 1884; "McGill University and the Higher Education of Women," Montreal Daily Star, December 20, 1884. These articles are held in the McGill University Archives, 909A/2/36.
57. "The Present Problem," University Gazette, December 1, p. 4.
58. "Which is it to be?," University Gazette, January 15, 1885, p. 4.
59. University Gazette, February 15, 1885, p. 3.
60. "Memo, Respecting the Occasion of the Late Principal's Letter to Rev. Dr. Murray, of May 2nd. 1888" (Hereinafter referred to as "Memo"), December 23, 1893, McGill University Archives, 909A/3/10.
61. Letter, John Clark Murray to John William Dawson, May 5, 1888, McGill University Archives, 909A/3/21.
62. "Memo"; "Letter of Explanation addressed to the Chancellor," May 14, 1888, McGill University Archives, 909A/b3/18.
63. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, June 27, 1888, 346.
64. Letter, John Clark Murray to John William Dawson, April 21, 1891, McGill University Archives, 909A/1/22.
65. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, June 27, 1888, 346.

66. Letter, John Clark Murray to John William Dawson, April 21, 1891.

67. "Methods of McGill," Week, November 1, 1888, p. 782; Week, August 2, 1888, n.p., McGill University Archives, 909/6/1.

68. Ibid.; The following issues of Week, held in McGill University Archives, 909A/6/1, are also favourable to Murray: "Autocracy in McGill College," July 5, 1888, p. 507; "Further Developments of the McGill College Question," August 23, 1888, pp. 620-21.

69. "Memo"; By the winter of 1891 Dawson regarded the "dangers which arose from the unfortunate difficulty of May 1888" to have passed. Letter, John William Dawson to John Clark Murray, February 4, 1891, McGill University Archives, 909A/1/16.

70. Register of Staff, McGill University, Personnel Office.

THE QUESTION OF MEDICAL EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

71. "Copy of Notarial Deed," October 16, 1886, p. 2. According to the Graduates of McGill University (Montreal: Witness Printing House, 1901), pp. 50-52 in the period up to 1899 the following Donaldas earned Master of Arts degrees at McGill:

Binmore, Elizabeth	1894
McLeod, Euphemia	
Derick, Carrie	1896
Cameron, Susan	1899
Lyman, Katherine	

72. Autobiography, Maude E. Abbott, McGill University Archives, 684/38, 38/108/4/42, p. 8.

73. Derick, "In the 80's," p. 350.

74. "McGill University, Annual Convocation of the Faculty of Arts," Gazette, May 1, 1888.

75. Autobiography, p. 8.

76. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, March 22, 1889, 399.

77. Autobiography, p. 8; "Women and Medicine," n.d., "McGill Scrapbook," I, McGill University Archives, 71.

78. Grace Ritchie was elected secretary and Maude Abbott assistant secretary. As well, a number of Donaldas were members of the Association. "Women's Education," April 13, 1889, "McGill Scrapbook," I, 72.

79. "Corporation Minute Book," IV, April 24, 1889, McGill University Archives, 45.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., pp. 45-46.
82. "Corporation Minute Book," IV, July 26, 1889, 58.
83. Ibid.
84. "Women and Medicine," p. 71.
85. "Medical Education of Women," University Gazette, February 10, 1890, p. 107.
86. "Medical Education," Gazette, March 29, 1889, "McGill Scrapbook," I, 68.
87. University Gazette, April 2, 1889, p. 132.
88. "The Medical Question," University Gazette, April 2, 1889, p. 128.
89. John William Dawson cited by Edgar Andrew Collard, "They Wanted Higher Education," Gazette, April 2, 1966.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AT MCGILL

92. Frederick S. Barnjum was employed by McGill as instructor of gymnastics from 1865 to 1888. Staff Index, McGill University Archives.
93. Montreal Evening Telegraph, January 12, 1867 in "Athletic Clippings: Montreal and McGill, 1864-1900" (Hereinafter referred to as "Clippings"), McGill University Archives, 197, p. 7.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. Daily News, March 19, 1868, "Clippings," p. 10.

99. Daily Witness, December 17, 1868, "Clippings," p. 12.
100. "Gymnastic Entertainment," March 30, 1870, "Clippings," p. 15.
101. "Mr. Barnjum's Gymnasium," Daily News, May 23, 1870, "Clippings," p. 16.
102. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, November 30, 1888, 205
103. Ibid, December 14, 207.
104. "Corporation Minute Book," IV, January 23, 1889, McGill University Archives, 15.
105. "Corporation Minute Book," IV, January 22, 1890, McGill University Archives, 103.
106. Ibid. The gymnasium was not located on the McGill campus, but at 19 University Street.
107. "Corporation Minute Book," IV, January 22, 1890, 103.
108. Ibid., p. 102.
109. Ibid.
110. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, February 21, 1890, 470.
111. "Corporation Minute Book," IV, January 21, 1891, 199.
112. "Report on Physical Education in McGill University," Corporation Minute Book, IV, 360-63.
113. An unidentified newspaper of March 29, 1895, "Clippings," p. 42, lists Miss Barnjum's assistants as "the Misses Annie Walker, Katie Campbell, Mabel Norton Evans, Lillian Norton Evans and B. May Hamilton.
114. Mabel Norton Evans, "To the Students of the Donalds Department," McGill Fortnightly, November 10, 1892, p. 16.
115. McGill Fortnightly, November 9, 1894, p. 39.
116. McGill Fortnightly, March 16, 1894, pp. 305-6.
117. McGill Fortnightly, March 22, 1895, p. 211.
118. McGill Fortnightly, October 16, 1896, p. 16. In this article Miss Lillian Evans is identified as the accompanying pianist and "Miss Evans" as substitute gymnastics instructor, while in the "Board of Governors Minute Book," IV, November 9, 1895, 406, Miss Lillian Norton Evans is noted as Miss Barnjum's temporary replacement.

119. McGill Fortnightly, February 5, 1896, p. 170.
120. McGill Fortnightly, October 14, 1897, p. 14.
121. McGill Fortnightly, November 11, 1897, p. 63.
122. McGill Fortnightly, November 25, 1897, p. 81.
123. McGill Fortnightly, February 17, 1898, p. 173.
124. Naismith was gymnastics instructor at McGill from 1888 to 1890. "Corporation Minute Book," IV, January 23, 1889, 14; "Corporation Minute Book," IV, January 22, 1890, 103.
125. James Naismith, Basketball: Its Origin and Development, with an Introduction by Clair Bee (New York: Association Press, 1941), pp. 47-48, 51.
126. Ibid., p. 144.
127. Old McGill '98, p. 114.
128. Old McGill '99, p. 112.
129. Ibid.
130. Old McGill '98, p. 126.
131. Ibid.
132. Old McGill '01, p. 139.
133. Miss Barnjum's death was recorded in the "Board of Governors Minute Book," V, June 24, 1899, McGill University Archives, 118.
134. "Board of Governors Minute Book," V, October 28, 1899, 125.
135. "The Gymnasium," in Old McGill '01, p. 143.
136. Ibid.
137. "Physical Education," Star, October 4, 1899 in "McGill Scrapbook," I, McGill University Archives, 351.
138. Zerada Slack, "The Development of Physical Education for Women at McGill University" (unpublished thesis for Higher Diploma of the McGill School of Physical Education, 1934), p. 16.
139. "The Gymnasium," p. 143.

STUDENT SOCIETIES

140. "Faculty of Arts Minute Book," III, October 20, 1887, 148.
Reid, "Women's Work in McGill University," p. 215, incorrectly cites 1886 as the year in which the Society was officially recognized.
141. England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," p. 16.
142. The name "Delta Sigma" was chosen to correspond with Sir Donald Smith's initials. Reid, "Women's Work in McGill University," p. 215.
143. "The Delta Sigma Society," Old McGill '99, p. 116.
144. England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," p. 16.
145. Ibid.
146. "Delta Sigma Society," Old McGill '00, p. 148.
147. Derick, "In the 80's," p. 350; "Memo."
148. "Delta Sigma Society," p. 148.
149. Georgina Hunter, "In the Beginning," McGill News, X, No. 2 (1929), 15.
150. "The Young Women's Christian Association," Old McGill '96, p. 105.
151. "YWCA," Old McGill '99, p. 111.
152. "The Young Women's Christian Association," p. 105.
153. "McGill's Lady Students," "McGill Scrapbook," I, McGill University Archives, 48.
154. Reid, "Women's Work in McGill University," p. 215.
155. Donalda McFee, "Some Biographical Notes on the Earliest Women Graduates of McGill, 1884-1890," McGill University Archives, 1326, p. 9. According to Dr. McFee, Annie's was "one of the most romantic and inspiring careers of any of the graduates."
156. The Greek letters stood for mutual improvement. "A History of the Alumnae Society of McGill University" (Hereinafter referred to as "History of Alumnae Society"), The History of the Alumnae Society of McGill University 1889-1959, McGill University Archives, 1326, p. 7.
157. "Alumnae Society: 1888 - (Record down to 1923)" (Hereinafter referred to as "Alumnae Society"), McGill University Archives, 1326, p. 1.
158. Hunter, "In the Beginning," p. 15.

159. "Alumnae Society," p. 1.
160. "History of Alumnae Society," p. 1.
161. Hunter, "In the Beginning," p. 15.
162. Ibid.
163. "Outline of the 'Girls Club' history" (Hereinafter referred to as "Girls Club History"), appended to handwritten version of "History of Alumnae Society," McGill University Archives, 1326. p. 1.
164. Hilda D. Oakeley, My Adventures in Education (London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 1939), pp. 78-79.
165. "Girls Club History," p. 3.
166. "Physical Culture," University Gazette, February 16, 1889, p. 101.
167. "Glee Club," University Gazette, January 27, 1890, p. 77.
168. Ibid.
169. Reid, "Women's Work in McGill University," p. 215.
170. University Gazette, October 31, 1887, p. 15.
171. The first column under the title "Feathers from the East Wing" appeared in the University Gazette, January 24, 1888, p. 70.
172. University Gazette, March 9, 1887, p. 127.
173. University Gazette, December 24, 1889, p. 47.
174. Memorandum, Principal Peterson to Sir Donald Smith, November 17, 1896, McGill University Archives, 641/33. Principal Peterson succeeded Sir William Dawson after the latter's retirement (see p. 85).
175. "Classical Club," Old McGill '99, p. 114.
176. Letter, Sir Donald Smith to Principal Peterson, December 12, 1896, McGill University Archives, 641/33.
177. Ibid.
178. "Physical Culture," p. 100.

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179. England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," p. 15.
180. Ibid.
181. Hunter, "In the Beginning," p. 15.
182. England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," p. 16.
183. Hunter, "In the Beginning," p. 15.
184. Derick, "In the 80's," p. 350.
185. England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," p. 17.
186. Ibid.
187. Hunter, "In the Beginning," p. 14.
188. Derick, "In the 80's," p. 200.
189. Ibid.
190. Reid, "Women's Work in McGill University," p. 217.
191. England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," p. 17.
192. Reid, "Women's Work in McGill University," p. 217.
193. England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," p. 16.
194. Reid, "Women's Work in McGill University," p. 213.
195. England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," p. 17.
196. "Corporation Minute Book," III, April 25, 1888, 446-47.
197. Hunter, "In the Beginning," p. 14.
198. Elizabeth Seferovitch, private interview with the author of this thesis, Toronto, October 31, 1970. At the time of this writing, Mrs. Seferovitch is the oldest living alumnae of McGill.
199. Mrs. Seferovitch received her M.A. degree from McGill in 1900.
200. Pauline G. Wiggin cited by Edgar Andrew Collard, "They Wanted Higher Education," Gazette, April 2, 1966.

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201. "Board of Governors Minute Book," III, September 13, 1884, 82.
202. Beckles Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal (London: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1915), p. 10. Sir Donald Smith was elevated to the peerage in the summer of 1897. John Macnaughton, Lord Strathcona (London and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 322.
203. Vaughan, "Fundator Noster," p. 18.
204. Letter, Lord Strathcona to Miss Oakeley, September 4, 1899, Royal Victoria College, Historical Corridor.
205. Oakeley, My Adventures in Education, p. 73.
206. "Corporation Minute Book," IV, January 21, 1891, 198.
207. "Board of Governors Minute Book," IV, May 31, 1893, McGill University Archives, 249.
208. Oakeley, "The Royal Victoria College," p. 86.
209. "Board of Governors Minute Book," IV, June 4, 1895, 390.
210. "Memo Royal Victoria Col," n.d., McGill University Archives, 641/33.
211. Letter, Sir Donald Smith to Principal Peterson, January 9, 1897, McGill University Archives, 641/33. Apparently not everyone was certain of the intended function of the Royal Victoria College building. The following anecdote was published in the McGill Fortnightly, December 9, 1897, p. 97: Two people were passing our (the Donalds's) College-to-be. "What a fine building!" one exclaimed. "Yes," replied her companion. "A big ladies' hotel, is it not?"
212. "Board of Governors Minute Book," IV, April 22, 1897, 517.
213. Letter, William Peterson to Lord Strathcona, July 20, 1898, McGill University Archives, 641/33.
214. "Board of Governors Minute Book," V, August 24, 1898, McGill University Archives, 75.
215. Ibid., p. 114.
216. "Strathcona Cannot Come Home," Montreal Daily Star, August 25, 1899, "McGill Scrapbook," I, 347.
217. "Victoria College," Gazette, October 13, 1899, "McGill Scrapbook," I, 351.

218. "Strathcona Coming," Montreal Daily Star, December 14, 1899, "McGill Scrapbook," I, 362.
219. "Royal Victoria," Gazette, November 2, 1900, "McGill Scrapbook," I, 384; Roscoe, "Royal Victoria College," p. 56; "Opening Ceremonies at the R.V.C.," Old McGill '02, p. 35; Oakeley, "The Royal Victoria College," p. 87. Willson, The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, pp. 535, 537, incorrectly states that the official opening of Royal Victoria College took place in the summer of 1900.
220. Oakeley, "The Royal Victoria College," p. 86.
221. Dawson, Fifty Years, p. 286. In McGill: The Story of a University (London: George Allan and Unwin Ltd., 1960), p. 16, edited by Hugh MacLennan, it is written that Royal Victoria College was chartered "at the end of the nineteenth century." In fact, the college was not chartered until 1923. "Annual Report," 1922-23, McGill University Archives, p. 74.
222. "Board of Governors Minute Book," V, September 23, 1899, 122.
223. Oakeley, My Adventures in Education, p. 75.
224. Ibid., pp. 73-74.
225. "Board of Governors Minute Book," V, September 23, 1899, 123.
226. "Miss Clara Lichenstein," McGill News, X, No. 4 (1929), 18.
227. "Board of Governors Minute Book," V, September 23, 1899, 122-23. Both Susan Cameron and Harriet Brooks were McGill graduates. The former was granted a B.A. in 1895, the latter in 1898. Old McGill '01, p. 141.
228. "Lectures are given by the Professors and Lecturers of the University, either in the College or in the University buildings, and students attend the University Laboratories for practical instruction. In addition to the instruction given in lectures and laboratory practice, the students of the Royal Victoria College are assisted in their studies by the Resident Tutors." Annual Calendar of McGill College and University, Session 1900-1901 (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1900), p. 119.
229. "Physical Education," Montreal Daily Star, October 4, 1899, "McGill Scrapbook," I, 351.
230. "Board of Governors Minute Book," V, September 23, 1899, 123.
231. "College Housekeeper," Montreal Daily Star, July 6, 1899, "McGill Scrapbook," I, 346.
232. "Board of Governors Minute Book," V, April 20, 1900, 152.
233. Miss Gairdner's name appears on a regular basis in the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association annual reports. She is referred to as assistant secretary.
234. "Women's College," Gazette, May 7, 1896, "McGill Scrapbook," I, 248.

235. "The Royal Victoria College for Women," Old McGill '96, p. 106.
236. "The New Building," Old McGill '01, p. 137.
237. Ibid., pp. 137-38.
238. Roscoe, "Royal Victoria College," p. 51.
239. Oakeley, My Adventures in Education, p. 81.
240. Macnaughton, Lord Strathcona, p. 376.
241. Memorandum, Principal Peterson to Lord Strathcona, July 22, 1898, McGill University Archives, 641/33, p. 7.
242. Memorandum, Principal Peterson to Lord Strathcona, November 4, 1897, McGill University Archives, 641/33.
243. Letter, J. S. Archibald to Dr. Peterson, January 26, 1899, McGill University Archives, 641/33.
244. McGill Fortnightly, October 28, 1897, p. 41.
245. Stephen Leacock, Montreal: Seaport and City (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1942), p. 308.

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