"THE 'FEMINIZATION' OF THE HIGH SCHOOLS"? WOMEN SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN TORONTO: 1871-1930*

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In August 1871, Mrs. Howe was engaged as "Lady Superintendent" of the new "Female Department" of the Toronto High School. Mrs. Howe, widow of the previous headmaster Rev. Michael C. Howe,[1] was hired on a six-month term at the rate of $500 a year. Early in the following year, Madame Dely was appointed on probation, at $30.00 a month, to teach French and German. In February 1872, the headmaster of the High School, Dr. Wickson, reported to the High School Board of Education regarding the "efficiency" of his two female staff members and the classics teacher Mr. Crawford. The three teachers were put on suspension until the school's headmaster, known as the rector, would see fit to have them reinstated. In May, Crawford was rehired as a temporary classics teacher at $2.00 a day. The following month, Madame Dely resigned, at which time she was given a "certificate of approval for her services."[2]

A subcommittee was appointed to investigate the complaints that had been brought against Mrs. Howe. They resolved that Mrs. Howe "must subject herself to the rector in reference to the management of the school." The subcommittee further stated that in order to create an atmosphere of proper discipline within the school "the rector must have full power and authority over the management of the school." They recommended that a Code of Rules be drawn up by the rector and submitted to the Board for approval. In September of the following year, Mrs. Howe was advised by the High School Board of Education that they could no longer employ an assistant high school teacher who did not have either a first or second-class teaching certificate. She was instructed that unless she took the teacher's examination to obtain legal qualification to teach she would be discharged by Christmas vacation. In November 1873, Mrs. Howe resigned her post at the Toronto High School (which had been renamed the Toronto Collegiate Institute) and on December 17 of that year, Miss Charlotte E. Thompson was appointed "Head Female Teacher" at $600 a year.[3]

Mrs. Howe's short and rocky career at the Toronto Collegiate stands out for several reasons. She was the first woman teacher hired in a school which had previously been an all-boys' grammar school. Her appointment was tied to changes in the structure of state-provided secondary education in Ontario as a result of the School Act of 1871, and the subsequent expanding provision of public secondary schooling for girls. The problems Mrs. Howe faced with the rector were largely the result of the way in which the Toronto High School Board of Education dealt with the changes in public secondary education; but the incident also points to the relationship between the development of public secondary schooling and the opportunities for women in public secondary school

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teaching. As the secondary school system in Toronto expanded, the number of women teachers increased. One objective of this paper is to examine the way in which this change occurred, and how women teachers established themselves in the system from 1871 to 1930.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Toronto's women secondary school teachers were part of an equally small but noticeable number who were pioneering this new public occupation for women in Ontario. At this time, not only were more women entering the paid work-force, but many were taking on non-traditional occupations.[4] Public secondary school teaching was considered such an occupation. The Provincial Department of Education records do not contain any evidence that women had been teaching in the province's grammar schools.[5] This is not to suggest that women were not teaching at advanced levels. A large number of women were teachers in the denominational private girls' academies that had been operating in the province since the middle of the century, where they were teaching advanced academic subjects in a formal setting.[6] Therefore, as was the case with elementary school teaching, the entrance of women into high school and collegiate institute teaching must be seen as the entrance of women into *public* secondary school teaching,[7] rather than something entirely new. Yet, from the onset, male educators were concerned with the number of women in collegiate and high school teaching jobs and, as the number of women multiplied, they became the object of increasing attention. A second objective of this paper, therefore, is to examine the reaction of leading male educators to the role of women in secondary school teaching.

I

The School Act of 1871 reflected several decades of change in the structure of the province's grammar schools and the secondary education of girls in Ontario. Traditionally a girl's education emphasized learning the three R's and the various skills that a woman would need for her role as a wife and mother. In Upper Canada during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, girls were educated in domestic situations, either by their parents, or employers. Early in the nineteenth century, private girls' schools, or dame schools, and convent schools were opening to meet the demand of parents for a more sound and formal education for their daughters. As common schools became more popular by the 1820s and 1830s, girls in rural areas could be found attending these schools for an elementary education.[8] By mid-century, private girls' academies, which had grown out of the smaller dame schools, were increasing in number throughout the province. These schools offered girls a formal education in advanced academic subjects, along with the traditional social and domestic pursuits.[9] Girls were also attending grammar schools, which provided a way to educate girls that was less expensive than the academies.[10] Formal schooling gave girls the necessary education to train for teaching and fill the increasing number of

common school positions being made available to women past the mid-nineteenth century.[11]

By the 1860s, the fact of girls attending grammar schools became problematic. Grammar schools in Upper Canada had originally been designed as separate from the common schools, to provide boys with a classical education in preparation for university and the public sphere, but many appeared not to be fulfilling this purpose as they admitted increasing numbers of young women.[12] The Ontario School Act of 1871 was designed to resolve this problem. It gave official sanction to the public secondary education of girls in the newly created high schools and collegiate institutes. High schools were to provide an English and commercial education with Latin and Greek optional upon parental choice. An additional grant of $750 a year would, however, be issued from the Superior Education Fund to high schools with a daily average attendance of sixty boys studying Latin and Greek under a minimum of four masters. High schools receiving this extra funding were to be classified as collegiate institutes. Girls were not restricted from attending the collegiates. However, Ryerson hoped that they would be encouraged to attend the non-classical high schools.[13]

In the case of Toronto, the School Act of 1871 marked a significant change in both the secondary education of girls and the employment of women in public secondary school teaching. The Toronto Grammar School had been one of only two grammar schools in the province that had not admitted girls prior to 1871, and the Toronto school was particularly proud of the standard of education they upheld because girls were not admitted.[14] With the passing of the 1871 School Act, the Toronto Grammar School, now the Toronto High School, was forced to admit girls for the first time. The Toronto High School Board decided to issue five scholarships to girls attending the city's public schools, but this and the admission of girls to the High School had to be delayed until a "Lady Superintendent" could be hired. An advertisement was put in the *Globe* and Mrs. Howe was employed.[15]

To further accommodate girls within the school, a separate "Female Department" was established. Indeed the Toronto High School was an extreme example of sexually segregated coeducation. The girls were taught in classrooms located in a separate wing of the building, which was partitioned from the boys' department by a set of double doors. When higher form classes had to be shared with the boys, because of the small number of students at this level, the girls were accompanied by a chaperon. Any further competition was avoided by continuing to issue scholarships separately, and by conducting extracurricular activities in separate groups. Social contact between boys and girls on school property was also avoided by means of a tall fence that divided the two-acre playground behind the school in half. "The only break in the fence was a pump with handles and spouts on each side."[16]

It was largely the sexually segregated structure of the school that determined the problem Mrs. Howe faced in her short time there. The expansion of the high school in this *ad hoc* manner by the High School Board in order to accommodate

girls created problems of authority between the rector and the new Lady Superintendent, resulting in a breakdown in authority based on gender. In his analysis of developing bureaucracies, Michael Katz has argued that when positions are added piecemeal within an institution, confusion arises over the definition of roles. As a result, the designation of duties within the hierarchical structure becomes blurred and tension results from overlapping functions.[17] In the case of the Toronto High School, the addition of a new and physically separate department within the traditional boys' school, and the title of Lady Superintendent, could have suggested to Mrs. Howe that her authority was autonomous. Any authority Mrs. Howe assumed within the school would no doubt have posed a threat to the long-standing male power figure, the rector. It is interesting to note that when Charlotte Thompson was hired by the new headmaster, Archibald MacMurchy (who had taken over the position of rector in 1872), Thompson was given the title of Head Female Teacher and not Superintendent. The new title would have eliminated any confusion over her position within the school hierarchy.[18]

Charlotte Thompson remained at the Toronto Collegiate Institute, which was renamed Jarvis Collegiate Institute in 1889,[19] for twenty-two years.[20] At the beginning, she taught the entire female student body, which at times numbered over fifty, every subject with the exception of French and drawing. French was taught by George F. Shaw, a teacher at the Toronto Collegiate, and drawing was taught by Richard Baigent, who was also on staff at Upper Canada College.[21] Thompson's duties were no doubt relieved somewhat when Helen MacMurchy was hired in 1880, and a third woman teacher, Janie Thomas, was taken on staff in 1888.[22] While the school remained sexually segregated until 1896, it was evidently possible for a male teacher to teach the girls. It is unlikely, however, that the women ever taught the boys in the school.

Expanding urbanization and an increasing demand for secondary schooling during the late nineteenth century[23] brought two new collegiate institutes under the jurisdiction of the city of Toronto by the early 1890s. When the Village of Parkdale was annexed to the City of Toronto in 1889, the newly built Jameson Collegiate came under the umbrella of the Toronto Collegiate Institute Board. Three women teachers—Nellie Spence,[24] Madge Robertson,[25] and Louise L. Rychman—were added to Jameson's staff during the first three years after the school opened. Robertson left Jameson in 1892,[26] and a third woman teacher was not hired at the school until the early twentieth century. When Harbord Collegiate opened in 1892,[27] two women teachers were appointed: Gertrude Lawler as English "Master" and Eliza May Balmer as Modern Language "Master."[28] Unlike Jarvis Collegiate, neither Jameson nor Harbord were sexually segregated; therefore, it is likely that the women teachers may have taught the boys as well as the girls. In the case of Toronto, the opening of public secondary schooling to girls, and especially the segregated coeducational structure of the first school, created the need for the first women teachers in the new public high school. As the secondary school system in the city expanded more teaching

opportunities were made available to women at this level in non-sexually segregated coeducational environments. But despite the expanding system, women were slow to enter secondary school teaching in Toronto. From 1871 to 1892, the number of women secondary school teachers in the city had increased from one to seven, representing only 21.9% of a total teaching staff of 32 (table 2). Provincially a similar expansion had occurred, but at a slightly different pace. In 1872, several high school boards had successfully applied to the province for approval to hire "female" teachers.[29] J.G. Althouse, in his history of teachers in Ontario, notes that in 1874 there were 15 women secondary school teachers in the province.[30] By 1881, the number of women had only increased to 16, which represented 8.4% of the secondary school teachers in Ontario. In 1892, there were 89 women secondary school teachers representing 17% of the total secondary school teaching population of 522 in Ontario (table 1).

There are several possible explanations that can be offered for this generally slow rate of entry of women into public secondary school teaching during the late nineteenth century. Firstly, the traditional image of the grammar school master as a male scholar made it difficult for women to qualify as public secondary school teachers. Most grammar school masters had been university educated, and many had been clerics. During the late nineteenth century, many educators continued to feel that a university education was sufficient preparation for teaching at the secondary level. Until 1895, an assistant could be employed with either a university degree or a teaching certificate.[31] Three years later, it became mandatory for an assistant to hold a university degree to qualify as a specialist, but it was not until 1920 that a B.A. was required for entrance into the secondary school assistant's teacher training programme.[32] Nevertheless, during the late nineteenth century the majority of secondary school teachers in the province did hold university degrees.[33]

It was the opening of university education to women in Canada during the late nineteenth century that gave them the ability to compete both academically and professionally for secondary school teaching positions. Toronto's early women secondary school teachers were part of a new generation of university-educated women, representing some of the first women to have graduated from the University of Toronto. The university had allowed women to write matriculation exams in 1875, but it was not until 1885 that they could officially register as undergraduate students and thereby receive degrees.[34] In addition to teaching certificates, Nellie Spence, Louise Rychman, and Eliza Balmer had B.A.'s, and Gertrude Lawler and Madge Robertson had Master's degrees when they began teaching.[35] In contrast to the women teachers at Jameson and Harbord, Thomas and MacMurchy earned their degrees after they began teaching. Janie Thomas was hired with a Professional Teaching Certificate and earned a B.A. by 1900, and an M.A. by 1910,[36] both from the University of Toronto.[37] Helen MacMurchy was hired without a degree or certification to teach. A year later, she was given a two- month leave of absence to take a "high professional certificate," at which time she was required to provide her own substitute for the period that

she was absent from the school. MacMurchy gave up teaching in 1901 to pursue a career in medicine.[38] Charlotte Thompson was the only woman in this early group of secondary school teachers who did not earn a university degree. She taught for over twenty years at Jarvis with a teaching certificate.[39] Although women had attained access to university education during the late nineteenth century, they accounted for only a small percentage of university students in Canada. In 1881-2 women represented .1% of students in Canadian universities; this increased to 12.2% by 1891.[40]

Secondly, secondary school teaching was viewed as a male occupation because the primary role of the secondary school was still seen as the education of boys. Despite the opening of public secondary schooling to girls, the concern remained to create a stable male teaching force. This, in turn, was to secure the best possible level of instruction to educate "the leading men of the next generation." The Chief Superintendent of Education, Egerton Ryerson, repeatedly drew the connection between secondary schooling and male concerns. In 1872 he designated the collegiate institute as a school that would

> prepare youths for certain professions, and especially for the universities, where will be completed the education of men for the learned professions, and for the Professorships in Colleges, and Masterships in the Collegiate Institutes and High Schools.[41]

Although girls were being admitted into secondary schools, including the classical programme, this education was not to prepare them for the profession of secondary school teaching.

Despite these views, it was Ryerson who in 1872 had approved of the "employment of a qualified female as the second teacher" in several of the secondary schools in Ontario.[42] But he was still primarily concerned with providing an adequate number of male teachers to facilitate the expansion of the secondary schools, to ensure the "quality of instruction" for the boys in attendance. In 1873 he stipulated that schools with an average attendance of less than 35 pupils could operate sufficiently with two teachers. When attendance reached between 35 and 60, three teachers had to be employed, and for each "successive increment of 25" an additional teacher should be hired. But this policy did not extend to the hiring of women teachers, for Ryerson went on to state that trustees should allow for the hiring of "one Female Teacher in every mixed school," increasing their number according to the proportion of female pupils only. There was no indication as to how many women teachers were to be hired per number of girls, possibly leaving this to the discretion of the individual school headmaster or principal. Ryerson's hiring policy for secondary school teachers reflected the traditional role of women as teachers of girls at the secondary level, specifying two separate procedures, one for male teachers and a second for the women.[43]

II

During the first decade of the twentieth century the number of women in secondary school teaching in the province increased greatly. In 1910 there were 288 women teachers, representing 35.1% of the total secondary school teaching population of 820 and double the percentage of 17.3% in 1900. By 1920 the proportion of women secondary school teachers had increased again, representing 50.9% or 594 compared to 574 men teachers. The proportion of women did however, remain stable by 1930, at 49.8% (table 1). Ontario educators were alarmed by this rapid increase in women secondary school teachers. They blamed low salaries and a shortage of qualified teachers.

In 1904, Richard Harcourt, Minister of Education, noted that since 1896 there had been increasingly fewer students attending County Model Schools in Ontario, and recently the numbers preparing for secondary school teaching had been decreasing as well. To meet their need for teachers many county school boards were issuing temporary certificates. Concerned with declining standards, Harcourt felt that the low salaries being paid to teachers had caused the shortage. He argued that in an era of general prosperity within the province, teachers' salaries had to be increased to attract more numbers to the profession.[44]

The following year, R.A. Pyne, the new Minister of Education, repeated the observation that many school boards were issuing temporary certificates in order to meet their need for secondary school teachers. Although teachers' salaries had increased, he argued, they were still the lowest salaries of all professions in the province. This not only discouraged many young people from entering teaching, but held back many new teachers from qualifying for first-class certification. As a result teachers holding second-class certificates, renewed third-class certificates, and "Old Country Board certificates" far outnumbered those with first-class certification. The solution, he felt, lay with the province. Legislative grants had to be given less freely to schools that continued to hire secondary school teachers who were not adequately qualified.[45]

But Pyne's attention had also been drawn to the number of women employed in secondary school teaching. In 1904, the Mosley Commission, which had been sent to the United States during the previous year to investigate education there, reported its findings to the Department of Education. The commissioners found that elementary schools in the United States, as in Canada, were mostly staffed by women. However, they also found that the number of male teachers in American high schools and universities was decreasing yearly. On receiving the Commission's report, Pyne became concerned with the fact that many urban secondary schools in Ontario were of "too great a disposition to employ, even for the more advanced pupils, women teachers." Still, the proportion of women secondary school teachers was not so great as to cause "alarm." He proposed that the poor salaries being paid to teachers could not attract male teachers to the secondary schools. The problem arose from "false views of economy," he stated.

"If trustees were willing to give proper salaries, the difficulty would be readily met."[46]

Pyne argued that if the objective of education was merely to impart knowledge then he would be willing to agree with the "frequently" heard statement that "the work of the woman [was] as good in the school as that of the man." But since an essential goal of education was character building, women were not suitable teachers for older boys.

> It is unreasonable to think that for large boys a woman is as competent as a man....If proper discipline is to be exercised, that force of character which a well trained male teacher should possess is essential.

Women were necessary in the secondary schools, but only because of the large number of girls in attendance. He therefore recommended that secondary schools not employ more than one woman teacher for every two men on staff.[47]

Writing in the *Queen's Quarterly* in 1909, J.F. Macdonald was concerned that many secondary schools in the province had started the school year understaffed. The greater demand for teachers, he stated, had resulted in an increase in the starting salaries of secondary school teachers since the late nineteenth century, and a general increase in the average salary earned over the last five years. But Macdonald contended that the reported shortages were localized, and that in fact over the last decade the number of secondary school teachers had nearly doubled. The real teacher shortage, Macdonald stated, was a decrease in the number of male specialists available. From 1900 to 1908, the number of specialists had declined from 51 to 32. Collegiates were required to have five specialists on staff, one in mathematics, science, classics, moderns, and English and history, and often to fill this need, school boards were promoting women teachers with "the lowest assistants' certificates" to fill the specialist positions. But what concerned Macdonald even more was that while the number of women secondary school teachers had increased between 1903 and 1909, the proportions holding university degrees and specialist qualifications had actually decreased. With the general increase in the average secondary school teachers' salary during this same time period, women secondary teachers on average were, therefore, earning $150 more in 1909 compared to 1904, while their qualifications had in fact declined.[48]

Macdonald cited two reasons for the shortage of male specialists. Firstly, few "college men" were willing to complete the "grind" of the specialists' course, which was the hardest university programme, and then go on to a fifth year at the Faculty of Education in order to teach, when they could earn higher salaries in business and in engineering. Since 1900 especially, an increasing number of men were choosing engineering, which, he stated, offered higher starting salaries to science graduates than they could possibly hope to achieve in teaching. Secondly, Macdonald argued that there had always been a "leakage of trained teachers" out of the profession. After working for a few years women left to marry, while

men took higher-paying jobs as insurance agents or inspectors in public schools in the Northwest. But recently the problem had intensified. Since 1904, at least half of the public school inspectors and high school teachers in Alberta and Saskatchewan had once been teachers in Ontario's high schools. Macdonald doubted that the number of male graduates seeking first-class certification for high school teaching would ever increase. In the last year, only 20 of the 112 women specialists were in mathematics, science, and the classics. With most women specialists "crowded" into history, English, and moderns, Macdonald felt confident that the larger schools would "continue to need male assistants for a good many years to come."[49] In 1911, the province attempted to address the teacher shortage problem by requiring normal and model school graduates to sign an agreement promising to spend their first year of teaching in Ontario.[50]

Macdonald predicted that the trend towards hiring more women secondary school teachers could continue, having already increased from 21% in 1903 to 32% in 1908. "Let the experts worry as much as they please over what they call the 'feminization' of the high schools, it is coming in Ontario," he stated. But he hoped that the secondary school teachers' salary figures quoted for the years 1904 to 1908, which showed the average male teacher's salary as having increased steadily above that of women, would serve to attract more men to the profession. When women held positions as department heads, they were paid at the same rate as men in these positions, but Macdonald claimed that the recent policy of many school boards to hire only those women with the "lowest grade of assistant's certificate" for junior positions in smaller secondary schools had resulted in keeping the average salary of women secondary school teachers $400 below that of the average male teacher's salary. Many school boards were "prejudiced in favour" of hiring male secondary school teachers; hence, given a choice, they would hire a man over a woman for secondary school teaching. This was carried out, he stated, in order to maintain proper discipline within the secondary schools. Although Macdonald was not willing to discuss the validity of the opinions behind these actions, he clearly supported them, for he believed that this would arrest what had been an "abnormally rapid increase" in women secondary school teachers.[51]

Macdonald's use of the term "feminization" must be addressed within its historical context, for he was clearly referring to more than the numerical dominance of women teachers in the secondary schools. Unlike Pyne, Macdonald was less concerned with women teachers' inability to provide the proper discipline to educate older boys as with the fact that women were posing a threat to the status of the teaching profession. While Pyne and Harcourt both addressed declining standards generally as the shortage of teachers increased, it was Macdonald who recognized that the increasing number of women being hired as specialists was pulling "standards" down within the profession. Unlike Pyne, Macdonald was resigned to the fact that women would continue to increase in secondary school teaching. However, he contended that if the *number* of women could not be limited in the long run, then women had at least to be kept out of the

higher-paying positions and schools. Over the next decade the campaign to limit women in secondary school teaching gained greater momentum, as the efforts to increase salaries and improve standards within the profession were directed at men, with the hope of attracting more men to teaching.

Writing in the journal *The School* in 1914, Peter Sandiford, a member of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto, also argued that the average salaries of women secondary school teachers were below those of male teachers in these schools. Years of experience determined the rate of pay, and since women did not stay in teaching as long as men, their salaries were being kept, on average, below those of men. By calculating the distribution of the province's secondary school teachers' salaries by years of experience and gender, he concluded that during the early years of teaching women earned on average lower salaries than men; however, "after fourteen years there are so few women left in the profession that to all intents and purposes the [salary distribution] curve for men and women is the same as for men teachers alone." Sandiford stated that the "facts probably indicated that in many cases there must be unequal pay for equal work"; however, he argued that the major reason for the generally low salaries earned by women teachers was the high rate at which they left the profession. Men left teaching to take up other professions, but women left at an even higher rate for marriage, causing a great "leakage of women teachers" in the province. Male secondary school teachers, Sandiford claimed, had an average professional life of 14.2 years, whereas women on average taught for only 5.85 years. Although it was to be expected that women give up teaching upon marriage, it was still of value to the community to train women for teaching. He maintained that school boards had to realize that since 1882, considering both public and secondary school teaching, women had been crowding men out of the profession. He concluded by stating that since many people felt that children should not be taught exclusively by women, "there is a premium put upon the services of men teachers...[and this] is probably a deciding factor in favour of higher salaries for men."[52]

At the end of World War I, Macdonald again addressed the problem of the shortage of male secondary school teachers. He maintained that men returning from the war were still choosing professions which offered more freedom than teaching, such as business, law, medicine, and engineering. "The Ontario educational system is the most thoroughly regulated and beruled on earth," he stated. Bureaucratic regulations were chasing bright young men to other professions, where they would have "more elbow room." He continued that men on the whole did not work well under the "rigid Paternalism" characteristic of the Department of Education, while "women seemed to suffer it more gladly, whether from great docility of nature or because three out of four of them have no intention of staying in the profession." To attract more men to the profession, Macdonald demanded that secondary school teachers be granted greater professional responsibility.[53]

Macdonald also argued that men would not be attracted to a profession where women were being paid equal salaries when initially hired. Urban schools made

no distinction in salaries paid to both men and women secondary school teachers. Any differences in salaries were due to variations in individual qualifications. Macdonald warned that equal pay for apparently equal work would continue to result in fewer men entering secondary school teaching, as well as forcing many more to leave.

> Let us get the main point clear; if women receive the same pay as men, men will not go into the profession. Moreover, many men will leave it and the feminization of the schools, as someone has called it, will be rapidly completed.

Questioning what was meant by equal work, he proposed that, on the surface, the work of men and women teachers appeared equal, whereas in reality men performed two services and women only one. Men not only served the school board by teaching, they also provided a service to the state by marrying and rearing children. Most women teachers were spinsters and constituted "practically a celibate teaching order, though not under vows." They therefore provided only one service, that of teaching.[54]

In 1920, school inspector I.M. Levan reported that many secondary schools were staffed with only one male teacher, if indeed they had any. He argued that many boys, having never studied under a male teacher in public school, should for this very reason at least have the influence of a male teacher in secondary school. He was willing to concede that generally women teachers were "quite as effective" as men, but the "stronger personality" and "refined manners" of the male teacher were still essential to the education of boys. Particularly alarmed by the fact that more girls than boys were attending secondary school, he felt that male teachers were essential to keep boys in school by encouraging them in sports. Appealing to the Department of Education to attract more men to secondary school teaching, Levan proposed that the Department influence school boards and trustees to pay higher salaries to men as opposed to women in secondary school teaching.[55]

In 1922, when the Department of Education reported an increase in men enrolled in teacher training courses, especially the high school assistants' programme,[56] the change was attributed to an increase in salaries, and the consequent reduction in the movement of teachers to other provinces, and to commerce and industry. R.H. Grant, the Minister of Education, felt certain that this trend would continue and that the number of certified male teachers would increase; and that within a short period of time the "supply" of male teachers in the province would "restore the former proportion of men and women teachers."[57] In 1926, the shortage of teachers was reported to be over, the Department of Education stating that in fact there was a surplus for the elementary and secondary schools.[58]

III

During the early twentieth century Toronto's secondary school system grew in both size and structure. The increasing number of schools and courses offered demanded that more teachers staff the collegiates and high schools. With the pressing shortage of male teachers in the province, women were increasingly relied upon to fill the available positions. An examination of women secondary school teachers in Toronto between 1900 and 1930 shows that they did not increase at the same rate as within the province as a whole.[59] The percentage of women teachers in the province's secondary schools had doubled during the first decade of the century from 17.3% to 35.1%, increasing again during the following decade to 50.9% by 1920 (table 1). In contrast, the percentage of women teachers in Toronto's secondary schools increased only during the 1910s. In 1900 and 1910 the percentage of women teachers compared to the total number of secondary school teachers in Toronto was 19.4% and 18.4% respectively. During the 1910s the proportion of women teachers increased by the highest amount, accounting for 32.7% of the total in 1920. By 1930, the percentage of women had changed very little, reading 33.4% in that year. Women teachers held approximately one in three teaching positions in Toronto's secondary schools in 1920 and 1930, compared to one in four in 1900 and 1910 (table 2).

Between 1900 and 1930, increasing urban expansion and changes in provincial educational policy can be seen to have affected both the size and structure of the secondary school system in Toronto. At the beginning of the century there were three collegiate institutes: Jarvis, Jameson (Parkdale), and Harbord. Expansion occurred primarily with the addition of five existing high schools that were brought under the jurisdiction of Toronto's secondary school system by 1910. With the annexation of surrounding areas to the city of Toronto, North West High School (renamed Oakwood), Humberside, East Toronto High School (renamed Malvern), and Riverdale High School became part of the Toronto system.[60] In 1910, the Technical School, which had been operating under business and labour interest since 1891,[61] was brought within the control of the Toronto Board of Education as the Technical High School.

The addition of the Toronto Technical School in 1910 was the most important change in the structure of the public secondary school system in the city to occur during the early twentieth century and was to mark the beginning of a trend in the expansion of vocational schooling during the following two decades. In 1915, the Technical School was relocated in larger premises and renamed the Central Technical High School. In the following year a second specialized school was opened, the Central High School of Commerce.[62] During the 1920s, nine new secondary schools were built within the Toronto system; eight were vocational high schools—two technical, three commercial, and three auxiliary/vocational.[63] The Eastern High School of Commerce and the Danforth Branch Technical School were opened in 1925. Western Branch Technical School was built in 1928 and housed in the same building as the newly established Western

High School of Commerce. They operated as two schools under the same roof until they were separated in 1930. Northern Vocational High School opened in 1930 as a commercial school, offering a programme of technical, commercial, and academic courses. In comparison to the growth of the vocational high schools during the 1910s and 1920s, only two new collegiates appeared in the city. In 1912, North Toronto High School (renamed Malvern) was annexed to the city's system; and in 1925, Bloor Collegiate opened the same year that Jarvis Collegiate expanded to accommodate more students.[64]

In the late 1920s, three auxiliary/vocational high schools were opened in the city. These schools were promoted by Mrs. Edith L. Groves,[65] a member of the Toronto Board of Education, who had been sent to the United States to investigate vocational schools there. Toronto's auxiliary schools offered a two-year programme designed to train "subnormal adolescent children" over the age of thirteen. These youths had either attended auxiliary training classes in public school or were selected from regular elementary schools by a board consisting of the school principal, an inspector, and a health officer.[66] The students were segregated by gender in separate schools. The Edith L. Groves School for girls and the Junior Vocational School for boys offered academic and vocational courses for adolescents who, school officials felt, were not being adequately educated within the existing system. Educators considered that the auxiliary programme would do more to train these adolescents "to become useful and self-supporting citizens."[67] The Bolton Avenue School for Girls offered a similar curriculum as the Edith L. Groves School, but it was designed to give troublesome girls, who did not fit into the regular school programme, a vocationally "corrective" education. To channel problem thirteen-year-old girls out of the regular schools and into Bolton Avenue, school principals and Board psychiatrists worked together to convince the parents of these adolescents of the benefits that this school had to offer their daughters. Educators saw Bolton Avenue as providing an alternative to the home environment rather than working in conjunction with it.[68]

The introduction of vocational high schools within the Toronto public school system between 1910 and 1920 was largely the result of provincial efforts to make public secondary schooling responsible for providing youths with job-related skills training. In 1904, there had been seven possible courses available in the collegiate institutes and high schools: general, commercial, manual training, household science, agriculture, university matriculation, and normal school entrance.[69] Harcourt noted that the objective of manual training and technical classes in the high schools was to prepare adolescents for the changes in the mechanical sciences. Foreseeing the disappearance of unskilled labourers, Harcourt felt it was necessary for the high schools to offer non-academic courses to prepare students for industrial work.[70] The Industrial Education Act of 1911 opened the way for a more theoretical application of vocational education, whether technical, commercial, or agricultural, within specialized commercial, technical, and vocational high schools.[71]

During the 1910s and 1920s, the secondary school curriculum in Toronto became increasingly diversified, largely as a result of the introduction of the vocational high schools. In 1910, the Technical High School taught commerce and finance along with industrial and technical subjects including architecture. By 1930, the technical schools were offering a wider variety of subjects such as engineering and courses relating to the construction industry. The boys' auxiliary/vocational school primarily taught skilled trades such as barbering, shoe repair, painting, and typewriting. With the opening of the commercial high school the technical school no longer taught commerce. Although several of the collegiates continued to teach commerce and finance, and bookkeeping,[72] by 1910, they were no longer teaching stenography and typing as they had been earlier.[73] The commercial high schools were able to offer a wider variety of clerical, secretarial, and business subjects including economics, salesmanship, and advertising. Domestic or household science was first taught in the Technical High School in 1910. During the following two decades domestic science was more widely offered in the technical high schools, although several collegiates and one commercial high school did teach household science. Besides teaching household science, the vocational curriculum of the girls' auxiliary high schools was largely made up of subjects designed to prepare the students for jobs in the needle trade, in the service industry, and as clerical typists.[74]

Expansion of the secondary school system during the 1920s occurred in response to a greater demand for vocational education as an increasingly greater number of adolescents were attending these high schools. In 1900, enrolment in the city's collegiates was 1,298; this increased to 4,446 in 1910. By 1930, secondary school enrolment had reached 22,367, which included 12,778 students attending the technical, commercial, and auxiliary high schools. This was a substantial increase of 13,997 over the total enrolment figure of 8,370 reported for 1920, the majority of this increase having taken place in the vocational high schools, where enrolment rose by 8,727 from 1920. In 1930, enrolment in the vocational high schools accounted for 57.1% of the total secondary school enrolment, compared to 48.4% in 1920 and 25.3% in 1910. Girls made up 59.1% of the Technical High School enrolment in 1910. With the opening of the commercial high school this changed, and girls represented 37.9% of the technical school enrolment in 1920 and 34.4% in 1930, while making up 70% of the commercial high school student body in both these years.[75] The trend towards commercial education for girls probably reflected the fact that since the late nineteenth century the number of women employed in clerical jobs had been steadily increasing; by 1911, they represented 32.6% of all clerical workers, increasing to 41.8% in 1921.[76]

In 1922, the Department of Education reported that secondary school attendance in the province had increased by 22.5% for the year 1921-22, compared to 1920-21, and was the highest it had ever been in Ontario.[77] Credit for the increase in attendance was attributed to the Adolescent School Attendance Act of 1921, which extended the compulsory school-leaving age from fourteen to sixteen.[78]

Since fourteen was the customary age of public school completion, there had been no means to enforce secondary school attendance in the province. The Adolescent School Attendance Act would make secondary school attendance compulsory for the first time in Ontario.[79]

Robert Stamp concludes that the School Act of 1921 was a symptom rather than a cause of change, for many contemporary educators had observed that school attendance had been increasing before the beginning of the first World War. After the war, the economic and social conditions that had been developing before 1914 were accentuated, and secondary school attendance continued to grow at a higher rate. Parents recognized that with increasing industrialization, jobs for those without a secondary school education were declining, and they were therefore encouraging their adolescent children to attend secondary school.[80]

The demand for compulsory adolescent school attendance had largely come from the appeal to expand vocational education after the First World War. Ontario educators were concerned with the fact that a large number of adolescents were not continuing on to secondary school. In 1919, F.W. Merchant, Director of Technical Education for the province, stated that at least 80% of young people were not attending secondary school after completing the elementary grades.[81] Merchant wanted high schools to play a large role in Ontario's post-war reconstruction programme by training skilled labour. Educators felt that with the decreasing demand for adolescent labour and the collapse of the apprenticeship system, greater responsibility had to be placed on the secondary school to train working-class youths who might have otherwise gone directly from elementary school to industry without attending high school.[82] The vocational high school programme would provide the job-related training they needed. Adolescents between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, who could prove the need to work, would be issued employment certificates, and those who were needed by their parents at home to do "household tasks" would be issued home permits. The government, recognizing that working youth was largely an urban problem, stipulated in the School Act that municipalities with a population of 5,000 and over were required to provide part-time classes for these adolescents, who would have to attend school for 400 hours a year.[83] Secondary school fees were also abolished in schools still charging them.[84] The Toronto Board of Education had stopped charging fees for first form ten years earlier.[85]

What was the distribution of women teachers in the expanding secondary school system in Toronto during these years? As Table 3 shows, in 1900 each of the three schools employed two of the six women teachers in the city. With the exception of Julia Hillock, who had been appointed to Jameson Collegiate in that year, the remaining five teachers were all original women staff members. By 1910, despite the addition of six secondary schools, only a small number of new women teachers appeared within the system. Only four schools had more than

one woman teacher on staff, and only in three of them did women represent between 21% and 25% of the total staff. The Technical High School had both the largest staff of teachers and the largest number of women teachers of the city's secondary schools, representing 21.4% of the total women teachers in the school. The decade between 1910 and 1920 was the period of the greatest expansion in the proportion of women teachers during this thirty-year period. In 1920, women represented between 27.3% and 44.4% of the teaching staff in all of the secondary schools but one. During the 1910s, collegiate expansion was accomplished with the hiring of more women than men teachers. This pattern was visible in the seven schools that had existed in 1910. In contrast, the technical high school expanded by hiring almost double the number of men to women teachers. Between 1920 and 1930, although almost twice as many male teachers were hired to staff the expanding system, women still retained as high a percentage of the teaching staff in the same schools as had existed in 1920, as six schools doubled their number of women teachers. In only one secondary school did the percentage of women teachers on staff in 1930 show a substantial decline from 1920. The proportion of women teachers on staff in twelve secondary schools in 1930 ranged between 29.4% and 43.2% and in only one school did the proportion of women fall below 25%. The three auxiliary schools presented a different teaching environment for women during the 1920s. The two girls' schools, Edith L. Groves School and Bolton Avenue, both had a teaching staff totally composed of women, whereas the boys' Junior Vocational School was staffed by twenty male teachers and one woman (table 3).

By 1930, the collegiates no longer claimed a majority of secondary school teachers in the city, either men or women, as in 1910 and 1920. In 1910, 68.4%, and in 1920, 65.6% of the women secondary school teachers in the city taught in the collegiates; this declined to 44.4% in 1930. With commercial school expansion during the 1920s, 26.5% of the women secondary school teachers in 1930 were now teaching in these four high schools, compared to 12.3% in 1920. In contrast, the percentage of women teaching in the technical schools declined from 21.9% in 1920 to 19.1% in 1930. Lastly, 10% of the women secondary school teachers in 1930 taught in the three auxiliary high schools.[86]

The figures in Table 4 represent the numbers and relative percentages of women teachers who taught each subject; but they do not correspond with the total number of women teachers on staff in each particular year of this study as the majority of women teachers employed during this period taught more than one subject. In 1900, all of the women secondary school teachers taught either English or a language such as French or German. Only one woman taught history and one mathematics, both as a second subject. With collegiate expansion during the first decade the majority of women taught English, representing 73.7% of the women teachers in 1910. The second largest number of women teachers in 1910 taught a language and English, or history, or the new collegiate subject of calisthenics, representing 57.9% of the total number of women teachers that year. The demand for more teachers during the 1910s to staff the expanding secondary

schools, especially the collegiates, found a smaller percentage of women teaching English, languages, and history. In 1920, 46.6% of the women secondary school teachers taught English, 27.4% taught one or more language, and 13.6% taught history. Women were now teaching a larger number of collegiate arts subjects that had previously been taught by men, such as Latin, commerce, art, geography, and science. With collegiate expansion more women were teaching physical training in 1920 compared to 1910, resulting in a proportional increase of these teachers from 21.1% to 27.4%, 80% of whom were employed in the collegiates. In 1910, the majority of women in the technical school taught English and/or a language, whereas in 1920 ten of the sixteen women teachers in the technical school were now teaching one subject, domestic science (and an eleventh taught art and design and embroidery) (table 4).

There were more women teaching the same arts subjects in 1930 as in 1920, but there was a decrease in the percentages of women teaching most of these subjects. By 1930, the percentage of women teaching English and languages had decreased to 40% and 21.7% respectively. A proportional decrease can be particularly noted in the case of physical training, where the percentage of women teaching this subject declined from 27.4% in 1920 to 10.4% in 1930. Although the majority of women employed in all the secondary schools were still teaching arts subjects in 1930, the increasing number of vocational high schools provided more opportunities for women teaching the expanding gender-related vocational subjects. In 1930, 23% of the women teachers in the secondary schools taught domestic science (and the varied vocational subjects offered for girls in the technical and auxiliary schools), compared to 17.8% in 1920. All of the women teaching domestic science were employed in the technical and vocational schools, with the exception of one in 1920 and two in 1930 who taught household science in the collegiates. Expansion of the commercial high schools found more women teaching commercial subjects, which had largely been taught by men just ten years earlier. The percentage of women teaching commercial subjects represented 11.3% in 1930, compared to 4.1% in 1920 (table 4), which accounted for 45% of the women teaching in the commercial and auxiliary high schools. Despite the large percentage of girls who were attending the commercial high school in 1920, and the Technical High School in 1910 when it taught commerce, women had been slow to be accepted as teachers of commerce. One possible explanation is that this trend followed the generally slow acceptance of women in clerical work, for it was not until the 1920s that clerical work became identified as acceptable women's work.[87] By 1930 the large number of women teaching high school commercial subjects reflected the changing attitude regarding women's work. In 1930, over half of the women teachers in the city were employed in the vocational high schools, but only one-third of these teachers taught arts subjects, while the remainder taught the wide variety of gender-related vocational subjects being offered for girls.

In 1900 the majority of all collegiate teachers, both men and women, held positions as specialists. Only two categories of teachers were noted in 1910,

principal and assistant, thus making it impossible to draw a comparison between the positions held by men and women until 1920 and 1930. Table 4 shows that in 1920, there were six women department heads and four directors (three in the Technical School), which represented 4.5% of the teaching population that year. In the next decade year there were seventeen women department heads and nine directors (two in the Technical School). The two gender-segregated auxiliary/vocational high schools provided a different opportunity for women teachers, for it was in these two schools that women were employed for the first time in the city as secondary school principals. While a larger proportion of male teachers held positions as principals, directors, department heads, and specialists in both 1920 and 1930, the number of women in these positions increased proportionally during the decade, representing 4.5% and 17.7% of the total number of teachers in 1920 and 1930 respectively (table 5).

From 1900 to 1930, the largest number of teachers, including both women and men, held academic degrees. By 1930, there were an increasing number of teachers with pedagogical degrees, but no woman held one until 1930, when there were four women with a Bachelor of Pedagogy. Table 6 indicates that between 1900 and 1930 there was a slowly declining percentage of teachers with degrees, which was especially true for the male teachers by 1920. In 1920, there was a substantially larger percentage of men than women teachers holding teaching certificates. Approximately half of these men held only a teaching certificate and were employed in the Central High School of Commerce teaching commercial subjects, representing three-quarters of the male commercial teachers in the school. In 1930, there was a considerably larger percentage of women teachers than men who held teaching certificates (table 6). The majority of their certificates were either in household science, manual training, or auxiliary and vocational teaching, in comparison to 1920, when all of the certificates held were either first-class or specialist, with the exception of one in manual training.[88] The auxiliary schools employed a larger percentage of women teachers holding these certificates, 73.3%, compared to 57.1% of the male teachers. All of these teachers, with the exception of four women and three men, held only teaching certificates, and not a university degree.[89]

From 1920 to 1930, the percentage of teachers who did not hold either a university degree or a teaching certificate increased from 6.8% to 12.6% for women and 9.3% to 15.5% for men (table 6). A closer examination of the data reveals that 71% of the teachers who were not certified staffed the three technical schools in 1930. The number of uncertified women teachers in the technical high schools represented 52.3% of the total women teaching in these schools. In contrast, uncertified male teachers accounted for only 39% of the total male technical high school teaching staff. Twenty-one of the twenty-three uncertified women technical high school teachers taught household science, including sewing and millinery, representing 37.7% of the household science teachers in 1930. The technical high schools had been able to expand during the 1920s by

employing a large number of vocational teachers, especially women, who did not hold teaching qualifications.[90]

During the first two decades of the twentieth century there was a shortage of teachers in Ontario's public schools which was acutely felt in the secondary schools. Educators were concerned that this shortage of secondary school teachers had led many school boards to hire an increasing number of women teachers. They were not prepared to accept the increase of women in secondary school teaching, arguing that if more than one-third of any secondary school was staffed by women teachers, the quality of education received by older boys would be compromised. It was the responsibility of the school boards, these educators argued, to attract more men into secondary school teaching by offering them higher salaries than were paid to women. By 1910, the percentage of women teachers in the province's secondary schools had increased to 35.1%, double that of 1900. In contrast, the percentage of women teachers in Toronto's secondary schools increased only during the 1910s, representing 32.7% in 1920, compared to 19.4% and 18.4% in 1900 and 1910 respectively. The Toronto Board may have been trying to prevent the trend toward a large number of women secondary school teachers that educators saw and deplored in the province as a whole.

The history of women in public secondary school teaching is the history of women entering a non-traditional aspect of public teaching. The evidence drawn from Toronto indicates that, prior to 1871, no woman had ever taught in the grammar school in the city, but with the extension of financial and moral support to the secondary schooling of girls we find women gradually entering this new public occupation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. And as university training was extended to women they were able to compete both academically and professionally for teaching positions. The data in this study tell us how women fitted into this occupation in Toronto as the secondary school system in the city expanded in size and scope. The percentage of women teachers increased greatly during the 1910s as they were filling an increasing demand for secondary school teachers in the collegiates that men could not meet. And by 1920, women were teaching a greater variety of arts subjects that had previously been taught by men. By the next decade, despite the fact that more men were available for more secondary school positions, women were able to compete for the growing number of vocational and collegiate teaching positions. The increasing number of vocational schools created more positions for women to teach the gender-related vocational subjects being taught to girls. Although the trend towards women teaching these subjects had been visible a decade earlier, by 1930 both the expanding system and changing social factors increased the secondary school teaching opportunities for women. An increasing number of women who did not hold university degrees were hired to fill many of the vocational teaching positions. As the school structure and bureaucracy expanded, women took their place with men, although not always on equal grounds. Women had been

represented in all positions except that of principal until 1930, when the gender-segregated auxiliary schools, devised by a woman, provided the first two secondary school principalships for women in the city. The expansion of the gender-related vocational high school courses during the 1920s made it possible for women to retain their foothold in secondary school teaching and not lose their ground proportionally.

Table 1

Number and Percentage of Women and Men
Secondary School Teachers
in Ontario: 1881-1930

	1881	1892	1900	1910	1920	1930
Women Teachers	16	89	98	288	594	1589
Percentage of Total	8.4	17	17.3	35.1	50.9	49.8
Male Teachers	175	433	470	532	574	1600
Percentage of Total	91.6	83	82.7	64.9	49.1	50.2
Total Teachers	191	522	568	820	1168	3189

Note: The figures for 1920 do not include 177 day vocational school teachers as they were not reported by gender in the *Annual Report* for 1919.

Sources: *Annual Report* (1880-81): 100-101; (1892): 306; (1899): 210; (1909): 608; (1919): 352; (1931): 91, 298.

Table 2

Number and Percentage of Women and Men
Secondary School Teachers
in Toronto: 1881-1930

	1881	1892	1900	1910	1920	1930
Women Teachers	1	7	6	19	73	230
Percentage of Total	11.1	21.9	19.4	18.4	32.7	33.4
Male Teachers	8	25	25	84	150	458
Percentage of Total	88.9	78.1	80.6	81.6	67.3	66.6
Total Teachers	9	32	31	103	223	688

Note: The number of teachers reported for Toronto in the *Annual Report* for 1880-81, unlike the Collegiate Institute Minutes, does not reflect the presence of a second woman teacher.

Sources: *Annual Reports* (1880-81): 100; (1892): 299; The Toronto Collegiate Institute Board Minutes, 1900; Toronto Board of Education Handbooks, 1910, 1920, and 1930.

Table 3

Distribution by School of Women and Men
Secondary School Teachers in Toronto: 1900-1930

Name of School	1900 W	1900 %W	1900 M	1910 W	1910 %W	1910 M	1920 W	1920 %W	1920 M	1930 W	1930 %W	1930 M
Collegiate Institutes												
Jarvis	2	20.0	8	4	25.0	12	5	29.4	12	10	29.4	24
Parkdale	2	22.0	7	3	21.4	11	6	33.3	12	11	37.9	18
Harbord	2	16.6	10	2	13.3	13	6	27.3	16	12	36.4	21
Oakwood				1	10.0	9	12	44.4	15	16	43.2	21
Humberside				1	11.1	8	6	35.3	11	14	38.9	22
Malvern				1	33.3	2	3	30.0	7	8	30.8	18
Riverdale				1	12.5	7	8	42.1	11	10	30.3	23
North Toronto							2	11.1	7	13	33.3	26
Bloor										8	36.4	14

Table 3 (con't)

Name of School	1900 W	1900 %W	1900 M	1910 W	1910 %W	1910 M	1920 W	1920 %W	1920 M	1930 W	1930 %W	1930 M
Vocational High Schools												
Central Tech.				6	21.4	22	16	28.6	40	27	30.0	63
Danforth Tech.										10	24.4	31
Western Tech.										7	19.4	29
Central Comm.							9	32.1	19	19	31.7	41
Eastern Comm.										17	39.0	29
Western Comm.										9	25.0	27
Northern Voc.										16	12.8	31
Auxiliary High Schools												
Junior Voc.										1	4.8	20
E.L. Groves										13	100.0	—
Bolton Ave.										9	100.0	—
Total Teachers	6		25	19		84	73		150	230		458

Sources: Toronto Collegiate Institute Board Minutes, 1900; Toronto Board of Education Handbooks, 1910, 1920, and 1930.

Table 4

Subjects Taught By Women Secondary School Teachers in Toronto: 1900-1930

	1900		1910		1920		1930	
Subject	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
English	3	50.0	14	73.7	34	46.6	92	40.0
Languages	3	50.0	11	57.9	20	27.4	50	21.7
History	1	16.6	4	21.1	10	13.6	33	14.3
Mathematics	1	16.6			6	8.2	14	6.1
Latin					5	6.8	21	9.1
Science					4	5.5	5	2.2
Geography					2	2.7	7	3.0
General Subj.					2	2.7	2	.9
Art					4	5.5	10	4.3
Music							4	1.7
Library							1	.4
Health							1	.4
Drama							1	.4
Current Events							1	.4
Physical Tr.			4	21.1	20	27.4	24	10.4
Domestic Sci.			3	15.8	13	17.8	53	23.0
Commerce					3	4.1	26	11.3
Industrial Art							1	.4
Horticulture							1	.4
Total Women Teachers	6		19		73		230	

Note: Vocational subjects such as sewing, dressmaking, embroidery, millinery, handicrafts, laundry, cooking, and home nursing have been included with domestic science. In 1900, 66.7% of the women teachers taught two subjects; in 1910, 63.2% taught between two and four subjects, with one woman teaching seven subjects; in 1920, 75.3% and in 1930, 50.9% of the women taught between two and four subjects.

Sources: Toronto Collegiate Institute Board of Education Minutes, 1900; Toronto Board of Education Handbooks, 1910, 1920, and 1930.

Table 5

Positions Held By Women and Men Secondary School Teachers in Toronto: 1900-1930

Position	1900		1910		1920		1930	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Principal		3		8		10	2	17
Assistant Principal						1		1
Director					4	5	9	29
Department Head					6	42	17	62
Specialist	4	14					94	129
Sub-total	4	17		8	10	58	122	238
%	12.9	54.8		7.8	4.5	26.0	17.7	34.6
Assistant	2	8	19	76	62	85	80	166
Male Industrial Teachers						6		33
Teachers							21	19
Temporary					1	1	7	2
Sub-Total	2	8	19	76	63	92	108	220
%	6.5	25.8	18.4	73.8	28.8	41.2	15.7	32.0
Total Teachers	6	25	19	84	73	150	230	458
%	19.4	80.6	18.4	81.6	32.7	67.3	33.4	66.6

Sources: Toronto Collegiate Institute Board Minutes, 1900; Toronto Board of Education Handbooks, 1910, 1920, and 1930.

Table 6

Degrees and Certificates Held By Women and Men Secondary School Teachers in Toronto: 1900-1930

	1900		1910		1920		1930	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Degrees	5	23	17	74	63	117	178	360
%	83.3	92.0	89.5	88.0	86.3	78.0	77.4	78.6
Teaching	1	1	2	5	6	20	29	28
Cert. %	16.7	4.0	10.5	5.9	8.2	13.3	12.6	6.1
No Degree		1		6	5	13	29	71
or Cert. %		4.0		7.1	6.8	9.3	12.6	15.5
Total Teachers	6	25	19	84	73	150	230	458

Note: Totals for some years will exceed the total number of teachers, as several teachers held both a degree and a teaching certificate. Where teachers held more than one degree or certificate only one was counted.

Sources: Toronto Collegiate Institute Board Minutes, 1900; Toronto Board of Education Handbooks, 1910, 1920, and 1930.

NOTES

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1. Toronto Board of Education Archives, Jarvis Collegiate File, *The Telegram*, 29 Sept. 1922.
2. Collegiate Institute Board Minutes (hereafter Collegiate Minutes), 14 and 21 Aug. 1871, 19 Jan., 7 Feb., 6 Mar., 10 May, and 27 June 1872.
3. Ibid., 10 May, 27 June, 26 Feb., 6 Mar. 1872.
4. Alison Prentice et al., *Canadian Women, A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 113-41.
5. Susan Houston and Alison Prentice have noted that Letitia Youmans was listed in the 1861 census as an assistant at the Colborne Grammar School in Northumberland County: Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 11; 347-48, note 5. However, as the Colborne school was a union grammar and common school, she may have been in charge of the common school department. W. Millar and R. Gidney suggest that in the few cases in which women taught in grammar schools during this period, they were the teachers of the common school departments in such union schools, although they might very well have taught some subjects to the grammar school pupils. Private communication, W. Millar to author, 18 Dec. 1989.
6. Kate Rousmaniere, "To Prepare The Ideal Woman: Private Denominational Girls' Schooling in Late-Nineteenth Century Ontario" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1984), 42-43.
7. Alison Prentice states that the entrance of women into common or elementary school teaching during the mid-nineteenth century was not the entrance of women into teaching as such, but into public school teaching, for there were many women teachers in the numerous "small private schools" that had been operating in the province since the early nineteenth century. See "The Feminization of Teaching," in *The Neglected Majority*, ed. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).
8. Beth Light and Alison Prentice, *Pioneer And Gentlewomen of British North America, 1713-1867 (Toronto: Hogtown Press, 1980), 63-64.*
9. Rousmaniere, "To Prepare The Ideal Woman," 38-47.
10. Marion V. Royce, "Arguments Over The Education Of Girls—Their Admission To Grammar Schools In This Province," *Ontario History* LXVII, 1 (Mar. 1975): 3-13.
11. Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching," 49-65.
12. For a discussion of grammar schools in Ontario, the issue of girls attending these schools, and the background to the 1871 legislation, see Royce, "Arguments Over The Education of Girls"; R.D. Gidney and D.A. Lawr, "Egerton Ryerson and the Origins of the Ontario Secondary School," *Canadian Historical Review* LX, 4 (Dec. 1979): 442-65; Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars*, 310-37.

13. J.G. Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1894-1910) [*DHE*], 1871, 112-13. In 1883 the Collegiates lost their original gender designation and were classified as such according to the provisions and structure of the schools and the qualifications of the teaching staff. Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1867-1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 7.
14. The second grammar school in the province that did not admit girls prior to 1871 was in Galt. Ann Margaret Gray, "Continuity In Change: The Effects On Girls Of Coeducational Secondary Schooling In Ontario 1860-1910" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1979), 23-24, 36.
15. Collegiate Minutes, 20 May, 14 and 21 Aug. 1871.
16. Gray, "Continuity In Change," 36-37.
17. Michael B. Katz, "The Emergence Of Bureaucracy in Urban Education: The Boston Case, 1850-1885," *History of Education Quarterly* (Summer, 1968): 155-87.
18. Collegiate Minutes, 17 Dec. 1873.
19. Honora M. Cochrane, ed., *Centennial Story, The Board of Education for The City of Toronto, 1850-1950* (Toronto: Nelson, 1950), 145.
20. Toronto Board of Education Archives, Jarvis Collegiate File, *The Telegram* (Toronto), 9 Sept. 1922.
21. Ibid.
22. Collegiate Minutes, 14 Dec. 1880, and 1888. Both women were students at the Toronto Collegiate, and Helen MacMurchy was the daughter of the headmaster, Dr. Archibald MacMurchy. Cochrane, *Centennial Story*, 145, and W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 4th ed. (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1978), 541.
23. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 38.
24. Cochrane, *Centennial Story*, 145.
25. Collegiate Minutes, 7 Jan. 1890.
26. *Annual Reports of The Minister of Education of Ontario* [hereafter *Annual Report*], 1891, 342, and 1892, 299.
27. Cochrane, *Centennial Story*, 148.
28. Collegiate Minutes, 6 Oct. 1891.
29. *DHE*, 1872, 179.
30. J.G. Althouse, *The Ontario Teacher: A Historical Account Of Progress, 1800-1910* (Toronto: The Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1967), 140; [D. Paed diss., University of Toronto, 1929].
31. Robin S. Harris, *Quiet Evolution, A Study of The Educational System of Ontario*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 78, 80-81.
32. "New Certificates," *The School* IX, 4 (Dec. 1920): 237.
33. *Annual Report*, 1892, notes that 326 of the 522 secondary school teachers employed that year held university degrees. In Toronto 24 of the 32 teachers held degrees: 296-306.
34. Nancy Ramsay Thompson, "The Controversy Over The Admission of Women To University" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1973), 50-53.
35. *Annual Report*, 1899, 200. Eliza Balmer had been one of the women responsible for exerting pressure on the University of Toronto administration to allow women into lectures: Thompson, "Controversy," 50-53. Gertrude Lawler remained at Harbord as Head of the English Department until 1919, at which time she left to teach at the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto, having been a member of the University Senate since 1910. In 1927 she was granted a Doctor of Law Degree.

Lawler was also a member of the Women's Voters' League. "Our New Doctors of Law," *Teachers' Bulletin*, OSSTF, 7, 2 (June 1927): 49.

36. Collegiate Minutes, 7 Dec. 1881.
37. *Annual Report*, 1910, 428.
38. For more on the life of Helen MacMurchy see Kathleen McConnachie, "Methodology in the Study of Women in History: A Case Study of Helen MacMurchy, M.D.," *Ontario History* LXXV, 1 (Mar. 1983): 61-70. The Department of Education Annual Report shows Helen MacMurchy on the list of teachers at Jarvis for January 1900, whereas the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* and McConnachie's article both state that MacMurchy graduated with a medical degree in 1901.
39. Cochrane, *Centennial Story*, 145; *Annual Report*, 1888, 326.
40. Gray, "Continuity In Change," 158.
41. *DHE*, 1871-72, 260.
42. *DHE*, 1872, 179.
43. *Annual Report*, 1873, 9-10.
44. *Annual Report*, 1903, xliv, xlv.
45. *Annual Report*, 1904, xliv.
46. *Annual Report*, 1904, xxxvii-xxxviii.
47. Ibid., xxxvii.
48. J.F. Macdonald, "Salaries In Ontario High Schools," *Queen's Quarterly* XXII, 2 (Oct., Nov., Dec. 1909): 132-34.
49. Ibid., 134-35.
50. *Annual Report*, 1911, x.
51. Macdonald, "Salaries In Ontario High Schools."
52. Peter Sandiford, "Salaries of Teachers In Ontario," *The School* III, 2 (Oct. 1914): 176-82; III, 4 (Dec. 1914): 250-54.
53. J.F. Macdonald, "Men In Ontario High Schools," *Queen's Quarterly* XXXIV, 2 (Oct., Nov., Dec. 1918): 229-35.
54. Ibid.
55. *Annual Report*, 1920, 49-51.
56. *Annual Report*, 1922, 97.
57. *Annual Report*, 1922, xii.
58. *Annual Report*, 1926, 2.
59. The data presented in this section of the paper were taken from three main sources: The Toronto Collegiate Institute Board Minutes for 1900, the Toronto Board of Education Handbooks for 1910, 1920, and 1930 (following the amalgamation of both boards in 1904), and the Department of Education *Annual Reports* from 1900 to 1930. The handbooks and minutes provide a list of all teachers employed in the city's collegiate institutes, and commercial, technical, and vocational high schools. The Department of Education *Reports* include a schedule of teachers listed by collegiate institute and high school for each municipality from 1889 until 1921, as well as the total number of teachers by gender. But the *Reports* do not offer as complete a source of information for secondary school teachers in comparison to the handbooks, which for the purpose of this study consistently provide more information on Toronto's secondary school teachers, including the positions they held, the subjects they taught, and their education. In addition, the names of the teachers employed in the technical schools were not included in the Department of Education *Reports in* 1910 and 1920. And in 1910, the total number of teachers in the province's technical schools was not provided by gender.

60. Cochrane, *Centennial Story*, 120-21.
61. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 44.
62. The Central High School of Commerce was the first commercial high school in Ontario. Cochrane, *Centennial Story*, 120-21.
63. Toronto Board of Education Handbooks (hereafter Handbooks), 1920, 1930.
64. Cochrane, *Centennial Story*, 120, 150, 210.
65. Edith Groves, a former teacher at Ryerson Public School, sat on the Board of Education for eleven years and was elected as chairman in 1929. "Toronto's First Woman Chairman," *Teacher's Bulletin*, OSSTF, 9, 1 (Feb. 1929): 29.
66. *Annual Report*, 1924, 50-51.
67. "Edith L. Groves School," *Canadian School Board Journal* VI, 9 (Aug. 1927): 6.
68. Miss C.I. Mackenzie, "Vocational Training For The Adolescent Girl," *Canadian School Board Journal* IX, 6 (June 1930): 15.
69. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 80.
70. *Annual Report*, 1903, xix.
71. *Annual Report*, 1921, 24.
72. Toronto Collegiate Institute Board Minutes, 1900; Handbooks, 1910, 1920, 1930.
73. Cochrane, *Centennial Story*, 210.
74. Handbooks, 1910, 1920, 1930.
75. *Annual Report*, 1901, 36; 1911, 70, 78; 1920, 242, 250, 258; 1931, 232, 298. In contrast to the percentage of girls enrolled in the technical and commercial high schools in 1910, 1920, and 1930, the percentage of girls enrolled in the collegiate in 1910 and 1920 was 51.7% and 49.1% respectively, declining to 42.8% in 1930.
76. Prentice, *Canadian Women, A History*, 113, 423.
77. *Annual Report*, 1922, ix, xi, 34-35.
78. *Annual Report*, 1919, 17-18.
79. *Annual Report*, 1921, 39.
80. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 110.
81. *Annual Report*, 1919, 15.
82. *Annual Report*, 1918, 20, 23, 26.
83. *Annual Report*, 1919, 17.
84. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 107.
85. Cochrane, *Centennial Story*, 121.
86. Gelman, "The 'Feminization' of The High Schools?" Table 2, 85.
87. Prentice, *Canadian Women, A History*, 128.
88. Gelman, "The 'Feminization' of The High Schools?" Table 10, 94.
89. Handbooks, 1930.
90. Ibid.