

THE ACADEMIC LIFE OF CANADIAN COEDS, 1880-1900*

Jo LaPierre

On October 15, 1889, just two weeks after she registered as a first-year student in Arts at University College, Toronto, Bessie Scott recorded in her diary: "Decide to give up Math and take Moderns."¹ Mathematics had been Bessie's best subject when she wrote her junior matriculation exams in Ottawa the previous spring and she had only received third-class standing in French, German, and English.² She also enjoyed mathematics; the following May she again confided to her diary: "Our *last* exam in Mathematics. How strange it seems *never* to write on my beloved Math again."³

Why did Bessie decide so quickly to switch to modern languages? Unfortunately we shall probably never know. What we do know is that a great many of the first generation of women who attended Canadian universities made very similar decisions. At a time when Canadian universities were expanding their Arts faculties and offering new options in different fields, particularly in science, female students increasingly clustered in modern languages and music. Very few women, except for female medical students, took science or mathematics beyond the required minimum, and practically no women took Greek.

In this paper, part of a larger study on the first generation of female students at Queen's, McGill, and the affiliated colleges of the University of Toronto,⁴ I want to examine the academic aspects of women's university experience: what courses were available to them and which they chose to take, how the professors and male students reacted to their presence in the classrooms, how they felt about the faculty, how hard they worked and how well they did academically. I also want to examine how, and if possible why, their experience differed from that of male students.

This is not an easy task. Women slipped so silently into the classrooms of Canadian universities that they left remarkably little record of their presence. Tolerated rather than welcomed within these very patriarchal institutions, they were careful not to draw any undue attention to themselves. Any complaints or criticisms which they dared to express were very muted. Conscious that they were embarking on a potentially dangerous and controversial undertaking, they knew that their behaviour would be carefully scrutinized, particularly by those who had opposed their admission in the first place. As a result they seem to have made themselves almost invisible.

We can piece together the outlines of their academic life from calendars and student records but it is much harder to assess how they were perceived by other

groups within the universities or how they themselves felt about the whole adventure. Official bodies within Canadian universities rarely debated "the woman question" at any length. Once the decision to admit women was reached, any other decisions about how to integrate female students were usually deferred to a later meeting or delegated to another body which rarely got around to reporting back on the question.⁵ Consequently most decisions affecting women students were reached on a very temporary and *ad hoc* basis, after minimal debate. Occasional comments by or about the women students appeared in student journals or local newspapers and these provide some insights, as do alumnae memoirs, although these, usually written much later, often appear quite romanticized and must be used with considerable caution. It is only from the very rare contemporary sources, like Bessie Scott's diary, that we can begin to reconstruct the day-to-day experience of these early students.⁶

It has become a cliché to say that students have been left out of most of the history of higher education in Canada, but it is still true, and it is particularly true of women students. Almost none of the histories of Canadian universities have paid much attention to their students.⁷ However, this situation is finally beginning to change and several recent articles and the collection of essays entitled *Youth, University, and Canadian Society* give evidence of a growing interest in the largely undiscovered field of student life, including that of women students.⁸

Another problem has been the institutional nature of nearly all the work on Canadian higher education. With the exception of Robin Harris's *History of Higher Education in Canada*, there are no general works which look at more than one institution.⁹ There are a few unpublished Ph.D. theses on the development of English-speaking universities in Canada in the nineteenth century;¹⁰ however, none of these works raises the question of gender differences at Canadian universities.¹¹

Until very recently the focus of most of the literature on women and higher education has been on the debate over the admission of women to universities, not on their experience once they got there.¹² This lack is more serious in Canada than in several other countries. In England, in addition to some excellent works on the struggles of Emily Davies and others to gain entry for women to the Universities of London, Oxford, and Cambridge, there are several fascinating new studies on the experience of female university students.¹³ The literature on women university students in the United States is less rich than for England, but here too research has progressed well beyond the traditional institutional history.¹⁴ Thomas Woody's sixty-year-old study of women's education is still useful and there are several newer works which focus on the experience of female university students.¹⁵ There has also been some interesting work on early university women in Australia.¹⁶

The best works on gender differentiation, both generally and, in several cases, in specific educational institutions, have originated in England, although there are also several recent works which look at girls' secondary school experience in Australia.¹⁷ In Canada, there is still remarkably little published

material on secondary education for girls.¹⁸ Nor has there been much attention given to gender differentiation at the university level, at least for this first generation of women.¹⁹

The original debate in England over the admission of women to university focused on whether they were intellectually equal to men and capable of following the same curriculum.²⁰ Emily Davies was adamant that female students had to take exactly the same courses as male students, including both mathematics and Greek, even when it brought her into conflict with those demanding a reform of the traditional classical curriculum at Cambridge and Oxford.²¹ M. Carey Thomas was equally insistent about the curriculum at Bryn Mawr College.²² In Canada, although the idea that girls and boys had different educational needs had emerged very clearly in the debate over girls' position within the grammar schools of Ontario,²³ there was almost no discussion of what courses women would take once they were admitted to university.²⁴ The grammar school debate did serve to focus public attention on the needs of Canadian girls for access to more (or higher) education, and Egerton Ryerson's efforts to keep girls out of the grammar schools ultimately failed. By 1880, when women first entered the Canadian universities discussed here, the debate over women's comparable intellectual abilities was pretty well over, although whenever female students actually surpassed males for academic awards it continued to generate comment for years to come.²⁵

The curriculum available to the newly admitted women students at Canadian universities, the courses they chose to take, and how well they did in them are the most easily documented aspects of their academic life. University calendars show the slow evolution of Canada's small denominational colleges, primarily dedicated to training candidates for the clergy, into multi-faculty institutions serving a far more varied population. Class and prize lists show which courses women chose to take and where they tended to excel. At the beginning of the 1880s, all the universities considered here still offered a traditional, highly structured, classical Arts programme, but they were becoming aware that as their student body became more diverse, there was a growing demand for a more varied and practical curriculum.²⁶ There was remarkably little theoretical debate about the shift away from classics in Canada, which is surprising since nearly all the professors involved, who had themselves been trained in either England or Scotland, must have been aware that the traditional, classical curriculum was coming under attack in Britain.²⁷ Nor was there ever any discussion about making any changes in the Arts curriculum in order to accommodate women students.

Since women had absolutely no power in any of the decision-making bodies of Canada's universities, they played no role in the discussions of which new courses should be offered, but as curricular changes were introduced, particularly an increasing number of modern language courses, and more courses in English literature,²⁸ women students were quick to take advantage of them. They were much less inclined to pursue the increasing range of science and social science

courses which were also being added to the Arts curriculum. In addition to this expansion in the number of courses offered, the other major change in the Canadian Arts curriculum in the closing decades of the nineteenth century was the development of the Honours B.A. First introduced at the University of Toronto,²⁹ it was quickly copied by Queen's, always very sensitive to a possible loss of students to the provincial university. Once an Honours B.A. became the required prerequisite for a specialist teacher's certificate,³⁰ women students, for whom high school teaching was often the most attractive career option available, quickly switched to Honours programmes.

Frederick Rudolph has referred to the late nineteenth century as a period of "disarray" in the American university curriculum. This was equally true in Canada, although here there were no fiery debates like those which followed Charles William Eliot's introduction of a free choice of options at Harvard in 1869.³¹ In Canada, for purely economic reasons, no dramatic overhaul of the curriculum was possible. Canadian universities could not afford enough faculty to offer the degree of specialization available in the older, larger, and wealthier American institutions; yet they shared with Eliot a recognition that they had to offer their increasingly diverse student bodies a less structured and limited curriculum.

All these changes were just beginning when Annie Fowler became the first woman to register as a full-time student in the Faculty of Arts at Queen's University on October 24, 1880. Annie was soon joined by Laura Allen, the daughter of a Kingston shoemaker, and Jennie Greaves, whose father was dead. Both Laura and Jennie had attended the Kingston Collegiate Institute. Laura was twenty-one, Jennie and Annie were seventeen. Annie had graduated from high school in Fredericton, New Brunswick, and moved to Kingston when her father accepted the position of Lecturer in Natural Science at Queen's.³²

The arrival of women was just one of a number of changes at Queen's that year. In the spring of 1880 the Faculty of Arts at Queen's consisted of five professors, with another three positions listed as vacant. James Fowler filled the vacancy in natural science, and Professor George Ferguson, who already taught history and English, undertook to teach French and German as well until a lecturer in modern languages was appointed.³³ A new Arts Building was officially opened on October 16, and there were high hopes that this would help attract new students to the University, which had conferred only six B.A. degrees the previous spring. However, no official body within the university ever wrote one word about including women among these new students and no changes were made in the Arts curriculum to accommodate them.³⁴

The Queen's Arts programme presented the student with minimal curricular decisions. It offered a four-year B.A. which required the student to complete thirteen of the nineteen courses offered within the faculty. All students had to take junior and senior Latin and junior mathematics. Greek could be avoided by taking both French and German in its place; junior philosophy, English literature, and one of either physics or chemistry were also required.³⁵ Students took three

or four courses per year, writing monthly exams in each subject and final exams in April. Supplemental exams could be written in September. Students who had not written the University's own matriculation exams for entrance were judged to have matriculated successfully in a subject once they had passed their monthly exams during the fall term.³⁶ In order to proceed to the final exam a student had to have achieved at least 25% on the monthly exams and scholarships and prizes were awarded only to students who had obtained at least 50%.³⁷ Students had to attend four-fifths of all classes in order to be permitted to write the final examinations. Classes were offered on a standard grid; nearly all classes met five times a week for a one-hour period, between nine and four o'clock, with a two-hour break for lunch from twelve to two. The University recommended a set order in which the students should take their courses, although exceptions were made and gradually this practice was abandoned, creating a lot of problems with the timetable. The average student's workload was therefore either fifteen or twenty hours of lectures a week, plus a fairly demanding schedule of tests and examinations.

In addition to this very structured course load, students were surrounded with regulations. In order to be admitted they had to produce a character certificate from their minister "or some respectable person" and sign a declaration promising "due respect and obedience" to the University authorities, diligent attention to their studies, and "courteous and peaceable" behaviour towards their fellow students. There was a hierarchy of punishments for insubordination, immoral conduct, gross neglect of study, and other offences.³⁸ The library regulations were also severe. A one-dollar deposit had to be made for each book borrowed, to a maximum of three books, which had to be returned within seven days or a fine of three cents a day would be charged up to the price of the book. No student had access to the shelves and the library was open only three hours a day during the week and one hour on Saturdays.³⁹ Women students had the same access as the men but always studied in their own reading-room.

Annie Fowler and Jennie Greaves proceeded quite smoothly through their courses; Laura Allen apparently dropped out almost immediately. Annie won a prize for junior French in the spring of 1881 and another for senior French in 1882.⁴⁰ French was also Jennie's best subject,⁴¹ but having completed ten of the thirteen courses required for a degree she left the University after three years, quite possibly for economic reasons since her mother was a widow.⁴²

In 1881 three more women registered in Arts; one of them was Eliza Fitzgerald, a grocer's daughter who had attended the St. Catharines Collegiate Institute. Eliza was twenty-two by the time she reached Queen's. She had already passed the matriculation exams of University College, Toronto, in 1879, but the Principal, Daniel Wilson, was so adamant that University College would not become coeducational that he refused to admit women to lectures, so Eliza came to Queen's. Unlike most of the early women students, she pursued her study of both Greek and Latin, and graduated, along with Annie Fowler, in April 1884, winning the Gold Medal for classics.⁴³ The Chancellor of Queen's, Sir

Sanford Fleming, was so delighted at the prospect of "capping" a woman that he ordered a special pin from Tiffany's in New York "consisting of a silver mortar-board with tassel and a spray of silver bay leaves...with the words 'Laureated, 1884' enamelled on the mortar board." Principal Grant, who was to present the award, realized that there would actually be two women receiving their B.A. degrees and ordered a second pin from Tiffany's.⁴⁴

After 1884, Queen's women students were treated less effusively. They continued to graduate in small numbers, often excelling in modern language courses, but also often dropping out without completing their degrees. They lived a life apart from the male students, sitting separately at the front of the classrooms, studying in their own reading-room. Publicly they voiced few complaints or comments about their professors or courses, although John Watson⁴⁵ and Principal Grant, who had both supported their admission to Queen's, were their favourites. While the male students often expressed their views on all aspects of the University in the *Queen's College Journal*, the women students only initiated a regular column called "The Ladies' Corner" in the *Journal* in 1889 when they first used it to plead for a larger reading-room.⁴⁶

In contrast to Queen's, women entered the Arts faculties in the fall of 1884 at both McGill and University College, Toronto, in a blaze of controversy and publicity. However, the outcome for the women students involved was not very different, except that at McGill they took some of their lectures in separate classes. The big issue for both Sir William Dawson at McGill, and his close friend, Sir Daniel Wilson at University College, was not what women should learn but whether they should do it in a coeducational setting as was being done at Queen's, or in what they called a "ladies' college." Dawson won his fight for separate education, at least in part; Wilson lost his. At Queen's the question really never came up, at least not in the Faculty of Arts.⁴⁷

The story of women's entrance to McGill, the unexpected gift of Donald Smith (later Lord Strathcona), and the public debate over the creation of what finally became Royal Victoria College has already been told in detail.⁴⁸ Much less has been written about the academic life of the women who pursued their Arts degrees at McGill between 1884 and 1899, when RVC finally opened. Like Queen's, in 1884 McGill offered a four-year B.A. with a heavy emphasis on the classics and mathematics and a limited number of options.⁴⁹ The female students at McGill, called somewhat coyly the Donaldas in honour of their benefactor, Donald Smith, had to matriculate in Latin, Greek (or German), mathematics, and English. As at Queen's, students who had not completed the matriculation requirements could enter as partial students. If they took at least three subjects "of the ordinary course of study," they could then "make good their standing as Undergraduates at the Christmas or Sessional Examinations." There were also occasional students, described as "Ladies desirous of taking one or two Courses of Lectures," who did not intend to write the examinations.⁵⁰ All the female students were taught separately, usually between twelve and five o'clock, since

the professors were busy teaching duplicate courses to the male students in the mornings.

For their first two years the female students at McGill followed a set curriculum of Latin, mathematics, chemistry, and English, and, preferably, Greek, plus one modern language (either French or German). However, students could substitute German for Greek, and take French as their modern language. In their second year they took Latin, mathematics, Greek (or German), logic, French, botany, history, and English. Each of these years involved fourteen to sixteen hours of lectures. In their third and fourth years the female students had greater flexibility: mathematics and either Greek or Latin were still required as part of the "ordinary" course, plus three of a long list of "additional" courses including physics, zoology, English, logic, astronomy, philosophy, French, and German. These women's courses were also concentrated late in the day, while the men were taught between nine and one o'clock. Women could also take Honour courses, which were "mixed" (with male students), in classics, mathematical physics, mental and moral philosophy, English language and literature, history, geology, and "other Natural Sciences."⁵¹

The disciplinary regulations for students at McGill were also similar to those at Queen's. The women students lived very separate lives, closely chaperoned and protected from all possible dangers by the "aid and oversight of a competent Lady Superintendent."⁵² Originally women were instructed not to wear "academic dress"; then, when they protested this decision, the regulation was changed to require them to do so.⁵³ Otherwise the regulations were "the same as for men" which meant strict rules concerning attendance at class (professors often locked the classroom door after calling the roll), and orderly conduct. Although the McGill library was open from nine to four every day, its regulations were also severe: a deposit of five dollars permitted a student to take out up to three books for two weeks with fines of five cents a day for lateness. An additional deposit of four dollars permitted a student to take out another two books but any student accumulating a fine of over one dollar could be "debarred from the library." No students had access to the library shelves or "alcoves" and no conversation was permitted in the library.⁵⁴

Whereas at Queen's the women students were charged a fee for use of the gymnasium, but denied access to it,⁵⁵ at McGill the female students' need for physical education was recognized fairly quickly. Although there were complaints that the women were assigned the less desirable hours in the gym, a physical education "instructress" was appointed in December 1888 to teach optional courses in gymnastics.⁵⁶ However, the lack of equal athletic facilities for women continued well into the twentieth century until the RVC gym and pool were finally built.⁵⁷ There were other discriminatory pinpricks along the way: one was the lengthy debate over the names of the degrees that women would be granted. The Senate considered calling the women's degrees *baccalaurea*, *magistra*, and *doctrix* instead of *baccalaureus*, *magister*, and *doctor*, but this idea was ultimately dropped.⁵⁸ There was also a lot of concern about the strain

of competition for women, which led to a discussion of whether or not the women's marks should be ranked with the men's. Although the decision was made to rank the women separately it was never carried out and the practice of integrated ranking became institutionalized. The women students wrote the same exams as the male students, but wrote them in different rooms.⁵⁹

In spite of their marginalized role within the university, McGill's early women graduates remembered their student days very fondly. Georgina Hunter, one of the first eight women to graduate in 1888, wrote about the "liberality" of the University towards women, but then went on to recall the leaking roof in the women's classroom and the "occasional invasion of rats."⁶⁰ Elizabeth Hammond, who graduated in 1890, also wrote of how "the snow silted in overhead through the skylight."⁶¹ Octavia Grace Ritchie, another member of the class of 1888, who went on to study medicine in the face of much opposition, was more critical of McGill and its belief that "there were still subtle distinctions to be maintained between the men and women students." She also expressed her gratitude to John Clark Murray, the Professor of Philosophy, who was a steady defender of coeducation and the rights of the women students.⁶² Carrie Derick, another graduate in 1890, who was to become McGill's first woman faculty member, was also critical of the University and recalled the double standard imposed on the female students and "the weight of formulated womanhood" which they had to bear.⁶³

Grace Ritchie and several other members of the first class of women to graduate from McGill in 1888 were excellent students. Most of them had gone through the High School for Girls together. In fact Georgina Hunter had taught many of them there before she joined her former students in McGill's first class of women. Though the High School for Girls supposedly duplicated the Boys' High School, the girls' curriculum did not include Greek, and German was offered only as an option, so that to prepare themselves for the McGill entrance exams many of the women had to arrange for private tutoring in order to be able to present the required number of subjects. Rosalie McLea, a particularly brilliant student, managed to cover the three-year course in Greek in a single year with the help of a private tutor. In the examinations for Associate in Arts in the spring of 1884, Rosalie was at the top of the list for the province while Grace Ritchie stood second.⁶⁴ Rosalie went on to win prizes in Greek, Latin, French, and chemistry at McGill and Ritchie did equally well in mathematics, English, and German.⁶⁵ Although Rosalie dropped out of McGill after two years, most of the original eight graduated successfully and several went on to do graduate work after leaving McGill; Donald McFee went to Cornell and later to Leipzig where she earned a Ph.D. in 1895, and Grace Ritchie became a doctor.⁶⁶

The McGill Arts curriculum developed slowly over the next fifteen years, but as the staff expanded from its 1884 level of eight professors the women's separate classes could be spread more evenly through the day. By 1896, botany, logic, physics, and modern history were being offered to the women students along with the core subjects of Latin, Greek, French, German, and mathematics.⁶⁷

Principal William Peterson, who succeeded Dawson, was determined to improve and expand McGill's Arts programme, hoping to create new chairs in zoology, philosophy, economics, political science, education, geography, art, music, and additional modern languages. These ambitions often brought him into conflict with Donald Smith (by then Lord Strathcona), since the latter was determined to maintain separate classes for women and his original aim had been to offer "identical education for both sexes." Peterson felt the duplication of work this involved for his staff was becoming an increasing burden.⁶⁸ When Royal Victoria College finally opened in the fall of 1899, a Music Department for the women students was added, and Resident Tutors and Lecturers took over some of the teaching of the women students, as did the Lady Principal, later retitled the Warden. Yet the College staff were rarely recognized as full members of the McGill faculty, and more and more of the courses, particularly those in science, were only offered on a "mixed" basis.⁶⁹

Daniel Wilson, the Principal of University College, Toronto, thought that McGill's solution to the problem of admitting women to the university was ideal. Wilson disliked the idea of coeducation even more strongly than Dawson and refused even to consider allowing women students to attend classes until he was ordered to do so by the provincial government.⁷⁰ While trying to avert this growing threat, Wilson approved the setting up of a scheme of Local Examinations for Women, to permit women throughout the province to write the junior and senior matriculation examinations in their own communities. The scheme involved the formation of local committees prepared to guarantee at least six candidates, to pay the University for all costs involved, to provide overnight lodgings for any candidates coming a considerable distance, and to arrange for at least two lady members of the local committee to assist in supervising the exams. There were two levels of examinations, equivalent to the University's junior and senior matriculation examinations. The passing grade was to be not less than 25% on each paper, and 50% on the total number of marks.⁷¹

The scheme was an instant success: twenty-four candidates passed in 1878, twelve of them with first or second-class honours. One of these was Eliza Fitzgerald, who would turn up at Queen's three years later. The following year another twenty-four candidates passed, eight with first or second-class honours, and two of the previous year's candidates went on to pass the second examination.⁷² However, several other members of the first group proceeded to write the regular matriculation examinations, including Eliza Fitzgerald and Henrietta Charles from the St. Catharines Collegiate Institute, and Alice Cummings from the Hamilton Collegiate Institute, who won one of the Junior Matriculation Scholarships that year.⁷³

Actually a small number of women had begun writing the matriculation exams as far back as the spring of 1877, just when the scheme of Local Examinations was being discussed in the University Senate. In the spring of 1880 Henrietta Charles won a double first in modern languages and general proficiency in the first year Arts examinations.⁷⁴ Obviously Wilson's scheme had not solved

the problem of women attempting to get in to the University, and the numbers went on increasing: in 1877, two women passed the regular matric exams; in 1878, three; in 1879, eighteen; in 1880, nine; in 1881, twenty-one; in 1882, eighteen; in 1883, thirteen; in 1884, fifteen.⁷⁵ Meanwhile a growing number of other women were still writing the Local Examinations for Women, and the University Senate had been forced to allow women winning scholarships to be granted their awards, even though they were still being refused the right to attend lectures.⁷⁶ Henrietta Charles was one of several women who wrote Principal Wilson requesting admission to classes, to no avail; as a result she did not receive her B.A. until 1888.⁷⁷ In all, of the ninety-nine women who had passed their matriculation examinations before they were granted admission to classes at University College in the fall of 1884, only nineteen ever completed their degrees.⁷⁸

The B.A. curriculum to which women finally gained access at Toronto was not unlike that offered by Queen's and McGill. It was a four-year programme after junior matriculation, involving four years of Latin, English, and one modern language, plus at least one course in mathematics, physics, chemistry, history, or philosophy in the first two years. In the third year students had the choice of two of history, political science, philosophy, and physics, and in the fourth year, two of political science, philosophy, mathematics, and physics.⁷⁹ This added up to between fifteen and twenty hours of lectures each week, with the year being divided into three terms stretching from early October until late May.⁸⁰ Students taking the Honours B.A. also had certain core requirements in Latin, English, mathematics, and a modern language, but could concentrate more heavily in their Honour subject, particularly in the third and fourth years. There were no special accommodations made for women students. Many of them entered the expanding field of modern languages, which soon included Italian and Spanish as well as French and German, or the growing Honours programme in English language and literature.⁸¹ As Robin Harris has pointed out, the most prestigious Arts subject in the 1890s was philosophy, which included economics, political science, and psychology. It was usually taught in fourth year and its teachers were often the stars among the faculty: Watson at Queen's, Murray at McGill, and George Paxton Young at Toronto.⁸²

The period at which women entered Canada's major universities was one of dramatic expansion and change, particularly at Toronto. Classics were in decline in spite of the efforts of the energetic new classics professor, Maurice Hutton. This gave modern languages a new appeal and prestige. At the same time, English history was splitting away from general courses called English, and English literature was replacing rhetoric as a field of specialization.⁸³ Although many were concerned about the reduced emphasis on the classics, Toronto proceeded with the development of two distinct Arts courses, Pass and Honours, and other Canadian universities followed this lead. The introduction of a dual level of entrance, either by pass (junior) matriculation, or by remaining an additional year in high school and writing the honour (senior) matriculation,

reinforced this division; it also saved the students money. Since this development coincided with the introduction of the specialist certificate for teachers, it had an important impact on women students, who often saw high school teaching as an appealing career option.⁸⁴

Bessie Scott, whose diary I quoted at the beginning of this paper, was typical of the early women students in many respects. She was never a particularly strong student; in fact at the end of her first year at University College, where she was taking the Honours course in modern languages, she was classed as “below the line” in French, although she escaped having to write a supplementary exam in the fall.⁸⁵ By the end of her second year she was doing quite a bit better, and got a first class in English, Spanish, and Italian. For reasons that are never explained, she did not return for her third and fourth years, and never graduated. This decision seems to have been reached over the Christmas break in 1890, and during that spring her mother apparently helped her to look for a teaching job for the following fall, successfully as it turned out. She was hired by Ottawa Collegiate Institute (later Lisgar Collegiate) to teach English, at a salary of \$650, and although sad about not rejoining her friends at Varsity, she was delighted about getting the job and left Toronto hoping to return in 1892. Many of her friends also dropped out, which makes her typical in another respect; all the early female classes had very high dropout rates.

The delightful aspect of Bessie’s diary is her outspoken frankness about all aspects of her university experience, recorded each day in the diary she kept for her two years at U.C. After her arrival in October 1889, we see her making new friends, searching for somewhere to live, reacting, both favourably and unfavourably, to her professors, and throughout the two years working incredibly hard. She liked Professor Squair, the French professor, but described Professor Hutton as “perfectly abominable.” Professor Chapman, who taught geology, was seen as “very funny, a dear old man—denies that he objects to ladies,” and later “poor Prof. Chapman overcome at sight of 8 girls.” Her botany lectures are “fearfully dry,” and history, with Principal Wilson, is “not much better, dry lists of colonies.” Early in February of her first year she was in the library, consulting “last year’s exam papers.” A few days later she reported on the terrible fire at University College, and the readjustment of classrooms it necessitated. In mid-April, lectures stopped, and for the next two weeks Bessie put in thirteen to fourteen-hour days studying for the nineteen two-and-a-half hour exams she had to write between May 2 and May 19.

The following October, Bessie returned. That year she took French, German, Italian, Spanish, English, Latin, history, logic, and psychology. She seemed more confident about her work, and skipped a lot of lectures, particularly in German. She still found Professor Hutton “horrid,” reporting to her diary: “Livy! I don’t believe I will go any more.” In spite of her heavy workload she agreed to replace a friend teaching at the high school in Smithville for two weeks. After her first day of teaching she reported:

Fine clear morning—oh! what mingled feelings I had on setting out to teach in a High School—nice school and fine order but as I had no time to prepare work found it rather hard to put in time, prepared for tomorrow until 9 and then begin Varsity work until 11.

By Christmas she was discussing the possibility of teaching in a Model school in Ottawa, but returned to put in another busy term of studying, often working until 1:30 in the morning and getting up at 5:00 a.m. That year she wrote twenty-two final exams. On May 23, 1891, Bessie wrote:

Last day of exams! I am glad and yet oh! *so* sorry—last day with the girls of '93! how many have dropped already who started with us...still more next year—Bertha and I...Bid goodbye to all the girls...dear, dear, old '93...if only, but no I *must* not think of coming back.⁸⁶

Bessie never did “come back.” Her diary stops that spring and as with so many of her fellow students we know only the outlines of her later life.⁸⁷

Bessie left the University of Toronto just before it began to change dramatically in both size and structure. The University Federation Act of 1887 set up the structure it was to function under for almost a century and serious negotiations for federation with both Victoria University at Cobourg and Queen's at Kingston quickly followed. Queen's formally rejected the possibility of federation soon after but negotiations with Victoria continued until finally, in 1892, Victoria moved to Toronto, maintaining its own Arts and Theology faculties. Victoria, which had a much longer tradition of women's education than University College, continued to offer its women Arts students a curriculum integrated with that of the University, which took over responsibility for the technicalities of registration and recording grades.⁸⁸

Another university offering higher education to women in Toronto at this time was Trinity, which also considered federation with the University of Toronto in the 1880s, but rejected the idea then, only to reverse that decision later and become another federated College, offering Arts and Theology, in 1902. Like University College, Trinity first permitted women to write the Arts examinations and receive certificates, but not to attend lectures or be awarded degrees. The first “Course of Study for Women” appeared in the 1884 calendar, following a decision reached in June 1883.⁸⁹ This action was apparently in response to a request from the Principal of the Bishop Strachan School.⁹⁰ Trinity quickly made some adjustments to its matriculation requirements, permitting women to take one of Greek, German, or Italian, and to substitute elementary harmony for algebra. These same exceptions were carried forward into the Arts curriculum: harmony could be taken instead of mathematics, and any two of Greek, French, German, and Italian were required. In the final year geology and mineralogy could be substituted for Greek.⁹¹ Women were also admitted to take the examinations in the Music faculty, as many quickly did. Emma Mellish had already

registered in Music in 1883, to be joined the following year by Helen Gregory and Lillian Howland.⁹²

In the face of further pressure, the Trinity authorities, who shared many of Daniel Wilson's fears about the dangers of coeducation, agreed to set up St. Hilda's College. As at McGill, the women had separate classes, with the Trinity faculty repeating their lectures, except at the Honours level where the female students joined the men. This system lasted from 1888 until 1894, when, largely because of a financial crisis at Trinity due to the bursar having defrauded the University of a considerable portion of its endowment, stringent financial measures were instituted, including the abolition of separate classes for women. From 1894 on, St. Hilda's College functioned primarily as a women's residence.⁹³

St. Hilda's students thus enjoyed residential facilities, something the women at Queen's, University College, McGill, and Victoria lacked.⁹⁴ The tiny College continued to operate very much in the shadow of Trinity, and its small band of women students remained as modestly silent as those elsewhere, if not more so.⁹⁵ While St. Hilda's still offered some of its own courses, two of its early graduates joined the staff: Emma Mellish, who graduated in Music, taught harmony, and Clara Martin, later Canada's first woman lawyer, taught mathematics.⁹⁶ The majority of Trinity's women students registered in the Faculty of Music: nearly 150 in the period covered in this paper, of whom only twenty-seven actually graduated, although several others went on to be employed as music teachers.⁹⁷

By the turn of the century each of the institutions discussed here had integrated a small minority of women into their Arts faculties. This had not been an entirely painless process for any of the participants. Male faculty members nearly all displayed great uneasiness when confronted with female students. Some professors responded with courtly formality, others with obvious hostility. Male students were equally equivocal in their reactions. The female students recognized the inherent dangers in their position and did nothing to challenge their very marginalized role within the universities. Instead, they developed strategies to permit them to follow what they, and society, perceived as an appropriately "feminine" route to the B.A. degree. In doing so they were extremely careful not to challenge any of the accepted norms of feminine behaviour, although by focusing their efforts on subjects like music and modern languages, already acknowledged to be appropriate female "accomplishments," they also curtailed their future career options. Bessie Scott, who so enjoyed her brief time as a student and went on to put her training to profitable use as a teacher, expressed some of the pressures she and her fellow students felt in an unpublished essay entitled "College Women," written sometime before the turn of the century:

All honour to those brave women who were willing to bear that sobriquet and to have a slur cast upon their very womanhood. We who humbly

follow in their footsteps are able to do so with a very slight share of adverse criticism though we are not entirely free from this yet.⁹⁸

NOTES

- * I presented an earlier version of this paper at the CHEA Conference in London, Ontario, in October 1988. I would like to thank Paul Axelrod, Chad Gaffield, Ruth Pierson, Alison Prentice, Donna Ronish and Kit Szanto for their comments and suggestions on how to improve it. I would also like to thank OISE and the SSHRCC for their financial support, which permitted me to carry out the research involved.
1. Bessie Mabel Scott Lewis, *Diary, 1889-90*, University of Toronto Archives [hereafter Scott Diary and UTA], 15 Oct. 1889.
 2. *University of Toronto, Class and Prize List, 1890*, UTA, "Junior Matriculation, July 1889," 10.
 3. Scott Diary, 10 May 1890.
 4. For the purpose of this study these include University College, Victoria College (which federated with the University of Toronto in 1892) and Trinity College, although it did not formally join the federation until 1902. It does not include St. Michael's College since the college did not accept women during the time covered in this study.
 5. This practice occurs too often to cite specific examples here; it will be documented for important incidents elsewhere in this study.
 6. To date I have found only five diaries among approximately 1,000 women who attended the universities I am looking at; Bessie Scott's is one of the most detailed. Personal diaries must, of course, be used with caution and weighed against other more concrete forms of evidence before any generalizations can be made.
 7. This is not true of John Reid's *Mount Allison University: A History to 1963. Volume I: 1843-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984) and his article "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914," *Acadiensis* 12 (Spring 1983).
 8. One of the first of these to appear was Lynne Marks and Chad Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University, 1895-1905: A 'Little Sphere' All Their Own?" *Ontario History* 78 (Dec. 1986), which raised many of the questions I am interested in exploring, although unfortunately the other universities I am looking at do not have as complete records as Queen's does. See also Keith Walden, "Respectable Hooligans: Male Toronto College Students Celebrate Hallowe'en," *Canadian Historical Review* 67 (Mar. 1987); Nicole Neatby, "Preparing for the Working World: Women at Queen's During the 1920s," *Historical Studies in Education* 1 (Spring 1989); and Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays on the Social History of Higher Education* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
 9. Robin S. Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976). Harris does provide a useful comparison of the curricular developments at Canada's major universities, stressing particularly the development of the Honours course in Arts, but he pays little attention to women students and makes no reference to any gender differences within the Arts curriculum.
 10. David Ross Keane, "Rediscovering Ontario University Students of the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1981); Janet C. Scarfe,

"Letters and Affection: The Recruitment and Responsibilities of Academics in English-Speaking Universities in British North America in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1982); Marni de Pencier, "Ideas of English-Speaking Universities in Canada to 1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1977); Patricia Jane Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum: An Intellectual History" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 1987).

11. In a review essay of Margaret Gillett's *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981), Nancy Sheehan discusses the problem of trying to write women into the history of higher education in Canada while we are still lacking any general analysis of the role of Canadian universities: see "Collegiate Women in Canada," *History of Education Quarterly* 24 (Spring 1984).
12. The most complete survey on the admission of women to Canadian universities is Donna Yavorsky Ronish, "Sweet Girl Graduates: The Admission of Women to English-Speaking Universities in Canada in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, 1985); see also Nancy Ramsay Thompson, "The Controversy over the Admission of Women to University College, University of Toronto" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1974); and Paula J.S. LaPierre, "Separate or Mixed: The Debate over Co-education at McGill University" (M.A., McGill University, 1983).
13. There is a wealth of materials on this subject. Some of the latest and best are chap. 4 of Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985) and "'One Life to Stand Beside Me': Emotional Conflicts in First-Generation College Women in England," *Feminist Studies* 8 (Fall 1982); Perry Williams, "Pioneer Women Students at Cambridge, 1869-81," in *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950*, ed. Felicity Hunt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987); and chaps. 1 and 2 of Susan J. Leonardi, *Dangerous by Degrees: Women at Oxford and the Somerville College Novelists* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989). All of these works make extensive use of published and unpublished diaries and autobiographies by early women students. Unfortunately Canadian sources of this nature are much rarer.
14. David Allmendinger, *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth Century New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975) and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1987) are two good examples.
15. Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Science Press, 1929) and Maxine Schwartz Seller, "A History of Women's Education in the United States: Thomas Woody's Classic—Sixty Years Later," *History of Education Quarterly* 29 (Spring 1989). The best modern overview is Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); see also Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984).
16. Ailsa Zainu'ddin, "The Admission of Women to the University of Melbourne, 1869-1903," *Melbourne Studies in Education* (1973); Alison Mackinnon, *The New Women: Adelaide's Early Women Graduates* (Netley, S.A.: Wakefield Press, 1986).
17. Felicity Hunt, "Divided Aims: The Educational Implications of Opposing Ideologies in Girls' Secondary Schooling, 1850-1940," in *Lessons for Life*, and her Introduction

- to the same volume; Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981); "Towards a 'Feminine' Curriculum for English School Girls: The Demands of Ideology, 1870-1963," *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 1 (1978); "Good Wives and Little Mothers: Social Anxieties and the Schoolgirls' Curriculum, 1890-1920," *Oxford Review of Education* 3 (1977); and "Social Darwinistic Ideas and the Development of Women's Education in England, 1880-1920," *History of Education* 5 (Spring 1976); Joan Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); Anna Davin, "'Mind That You Do as You Are Told': Reading Books for Board School Girls, 1870-1902," *Feminist Review* 3 (1979); "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop Journal* 5 (Spring 1978); Sara Delamont, "The Contradictions in Ladies' Education," in *The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*, ed. Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin (London: Croom Helm, 1978); Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); Alison Mackinnon, *One Foot on the Ladder: Origins and Outcomes of Girls' Secondary Schooling in South Australia* (Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1984); Marjorie Theobald, "'Mere Accomplishments'? Melbourne's Early Ladies' Schools Reconsidered," *History of Education Review* 23 (1984); and Ailsa Zainu'ddin, *They Dreamt of a School: A Centenary History of the Methodist Ladies' College, Kew, 1882-1982* (Melbourne: Hyland House, 1983).
18. Even the vocabulary raises problems. The modern division of schooling into elementary, secondary, and post-secondary levels did not exist in the nineteenth century. The most commonly used term, particularly in reference to female students, was "higher education" but it is very unclear exactly what level preceded "higher education." In the case of girls' schools the terms "academy," "college," and "seminary" appear interchangeable. Marion Royce's work on denominational education for girls is still useful: "Education for Girls in Quaker Schools in Ontario," *Atlantis* 3 (Fall 1977), and "Methodism and the Education of Women in Nineteenth Century Ontario," *Atlantis* 3 (Spring 1978). There are also several interesting M.A. theses: Ann Margaret Gray, "Continuity in Change: The Effects on Girls of Coeducational Secondary Schooling in Ontario, 1890-1910" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1979), and Kate Rousmaniere, "To Prepare the Ideal Woman: Private Denominational Girls' Schooling in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1984). The best works on women's education in Quebec are Micheline Dumont and Nadia Fahmy-Eid, eds., *Maitresses de maison, maitresses d'école: femmes, famille et éducation dans l'histoire du Québec* (Montréal: Boréal, 1983) and *Les couventines. L'éducation des filles au Québec dans les congrégations religieuses enseignantes, 1840-1960* (Montréal: Boréal, 1986).
 19. In addition to Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily*, there are a few books sparked by anniversary celebrations: Margaret Gillett and Kay E. Sibbald, eds., *A Fair Shake: Autobiographical Essays of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1984); Anne Rochon Ford, *A Path Not Strewn with Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto, 1884-1984* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Joy Parr, ed., *Still Running...Personal Stories by Queen's Women Celebrating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Marty Scholarship* (Kingston: Queen's University Alumnae Association, 1987); and Barbara Sutton, ed., *Sanctum Hildam Canimus: A Collection of Reminiscences* (Toronto: St. Hilda's College, 1988).
 20. See Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, chaps. 4 and 5.

21. Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 125-26.
22. Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 49.
23. The lengthy debate over Ontario's secondary schools and the creation of the collegiate institutes which educated so many of the women who went on to university is discussed in R.D. Gidney and D.A. Lawr, "Egerton Ryerson and the Origins of the Ontario Secondary School," *Canadian Historical Review* 60 (Dec. 1979); R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); and George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1986). The position of girls in the grammar schools is also discussed in Marion Royce, "Arguments over the Education of Girls—Their Admission to Grammar Schools in This Province," *Ontario History* 67 (March 1975), and Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 321-28.
24. There was more discussion of women's role in the university at the turn of the century when new, female-dominated faculties such as nursing, social work, and library science were being established. The most interesting debate, still largely ignored in Canada, was over the addition of domestic science to the university curriculum early in the twentieth century.
25. Women who excelled in classics aroused particular comment, as did women in traditionally "masculine" faculties like medicine or law.
26. Jasen, "The English Canadian Curriculum," 37-49, 157-66. Since the vast majority of Canadian women entered Arts, I have focused attention on the Arts curriculum, although in this same period smaller numbers of women were also entering Medicine at Queen's, Trinity, Victoria, and Toronto, and Music at Trinity and Toronto.
27. Many Canadian faculty members maintained close ties to Great Britain, often returning for visits over the summer, and new faculty members were routinely recruited in Great Britain. British politics and debates were followed closely through British publications as well as in the Canadian press. In addition Canadian periodicals such as the *Canadian Monthly and National Review* and the *Canadian Educational Monthly* frequently published articles on educational questions. *The Week*, a Toronto periodical founded in 1883, published lengthy articles on the question of coeducation at both University College and McGill University during the 1880s.
28. Jasen, "The English Canadian Curriculum," 47, 49, 166-69, 173-78.
29. Harris, *Higher Education*, 42-43, 129-30; Jasen, "The English Canadian Curriculum," chap. 2; Alan Franklin Bowker, "Truly Useful Men: Maurice Hutton, George Wrong, James Mavor and the University of Toronto, 1880-1927" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1975), 9-14.
30. At Queen's the first formal reference to the need for an Honours degree to teach high school appeared in 1889: *The Calendar of Queen's University and College, Kingston, Canada for the Year 1889-90* (Kingston 1889), 36.
31. Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Course of Study since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1977), 135-38, 191-96.
32. Queen's University, Register of Students, Queen's University Archives [hereafter QUA], #1129 (Fowler), #1139 (Allen), #1157 (Greaves).
33. *The Calendar of Queen's University and College, Kingston, Canada for the Year 1880-81* (Toronto 1880), 4; the Board of Trustees at Queen's was already irked that

- Ferguson had been teaching German at the Royal Military College, and recommended his salary be reduced if he continued to do so. Queen's University, Board of Trustees Minutes, QUA, 29 Apr. 1880, 6-7.
34. Queen's is usually credited with having formally agreed to the admission of women to Arts in the fall of 1878 (Ronish, "Sweet Girl Graduates," 125, 139; Ford, *A Path Not Strewn with Roses*, 6; Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *The Proper Sphere: Women's Place in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), 120; Marks and Gaffield, "Women at Queen's," 333), but there is no record of such a decision in any of the Queen's records. I have concluded that the error originated in a rather fanciful history of Queen's entitled the "Domesday Book" which was compiled to commemorate the success of a money-raising campaign begun in 1888. Written by James Williamson, the Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, and Miss Lois Saunders, the Librarian, it stated that "early in the session of 1878-1879" the authorities of Queen's announced that "the University course would henceforth be thrown open to women." (Domesday Book, QUA, 1: 842-43.) Quoted but not acknowledged in D.D. Calvin, *Queen's University at Kingston: The First Century of a Scottish Canadian Foundation, 1841-1941* (Kingston: Trustees of the University, 1941), 237, this error has since crept into most of the secondary Canadian literature.
 35. *Queen's Calendar, 1880-81*, 24-25.
 36. Keane, "Rediscovering Ontario Students," 29-31 discusses the problem of the admission of unmatriculated students at different universities.
 37. These figures seem very low by modern standards but they are reasonably typical for this period: Queen's College, Senate Minutes, QUA, 26 Apr. 1880, 3: 113. They were raised slightly at Queen's but were then the source of much discussion when a common entrance examination for all Ontario universities was being agreed upon. The whole question of how "hard" university was compared to today is very difficult to answer.
 38. Apparently the female students never received any of these penalties, although the Senate minutes record numerous cases involving male students, the most common problems being drinking and cheating on examinations. See Queen's College, Senate Minutes, 7 Oct. 1880, 3: 114-16; 4 Mar. 1885, 3: 277; 6 May 1896, 4: 378; 12 Mar. 1897, 4: 392; 22 Apr. 1899, 5: 26.
 39. Each calendar contains some of these regulations, which were also discussed regularly by the Senate; a fairly complete compilation appeared in *The Calendar of Queen's University and College, Kingston, Ontario, 1889-90* (Kingston 1889), 1-4. See also Queen's College, Senate Minutes, QUA, 1 Oct. 1888, 4: 42 concerning the library regulations.
 40. *The Calendar of Queen's University and College, 1881-82* (Kingston 1881), 47; *The Calendar of Queen's University and College, Kingston, Ontario, 1882-83* (Kingston 1882), 48; Queen's University, Register of Students, QUA, Fowler (#1129).
 41. Queen's College, Senate Minutes, QUA, 23 Apr. 1881, 3: 139.
 42. Queen's University, Register of Students, QUA, Greaves (#1157).
 43. See *University of Toronto, Class and Prize List, 1880*, "Matriculation Examinations, 1879," 7-8. Eliza got first-class honours in English, French, and history and third-class in classics and mathematics; she had also written the Local Examinations for Women in 1878 (*ibid.*, 1879, 9) and passed mathematics, English, and German, without receiving honours, but got second-class honours in history and geography and French. At Queen's, Eliza also won a prize for junior chemistry in 1883. *The*

- Calendar of Queen's University and College, Kingston, Ontario, 1883-84* (Kingston 1883), 54; *The Calendar of Queen's University and College, Kingston, Ontario, 1884-85* (Kingston, 1884), 62-63; Queen's University, Register of Students, QUA, Fitzgerald (#1231).
44. "Closing Ceremonies," *Queen's College Journal* 12 (Midsummer 1884): 141; *Daily British Whig*, 30 Apr. and 1 May 1884.
 45. John Watson took over the Chair in philosophy at Queen's when John Clark Murray, another strong advocate of women's education, moved to McGill. See John Watson, "Female Education," *Queen's College Journal* 4 (27 Jan. 1877): 3.
 46. *Queen's College Journal* 16 (19 Jan. 1889): 54. It was suggested that the women's gym fee of \$1.00 be used to buy furnishings for their reading-room.
 47. The conflict over coeducation in the Faculty of Medicine at Queen's has been discussed in Veronica Strong-Boag, ed., *'A Woman with a Purpose': The Diaries of Elizabeth Smith, 1872-1884* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); A.A. Travill, "Early Medical Co-education and Women's Medical College, Kingston, Ontario, 1880-1894," *Historic Kingston* 30 (Jan. 1982); Hilda Neatby, *Queen's University, Volume I: 1841-1917* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978); and Ronish, "Sweet Girl Graduates," 138-52. There were a few discussions about Queen's affiliating with different ladies' colleges, but nothing came of them. See Queen's University, Board of Trustees, Minutes, QUA, 27 Apr. 1882, 78.
 48. LaPierre, "The Debate over Co-education at McGill"; Ronish, "Sweet Girl Graduates"; Stanley B. Frost, *McGill University: For the Advancement of Learning, Volume I: 1801-1895* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980); Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily*.
 49. *Annual Calendar of McGill College and University, Session 1884-85* (Montreal 1884), 19-53.
 50. *Annual Calendar of McGill College and University, Session 1885-86*, "Special Course for Women" (Montreal 1885), 63-69.
 51. *Annual Calendar of McGill College and University, Session 1886-87*, "Special Course for Women" (Montreal 1886), 65-69.
 52. *Ibid.*, 68. The Lady Superintendent was Miss Helen Gairdner, one of the original members of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association.
 53. McGill University, Faculty of Arts, Minute Book, McGill University Archives [hereafter MUA], 20 Oct. 1887, 3: 148 and Corporation Minute Book, 26 Oct. 1887, 386. See also *Annual Calendar, 1885-86*, 63, vs. *Annual Calendar, 1888-89*, 72 for the change in regulations, and *McGill Fortnightly* 2 (8 Dec. 1893): 117 for a letter complaining about the rigidity with which the regulation was enforced.
 54. *Annual Calendar, 1884-85*, 39-41.
 55. The gym fee had been a cause of controversy for years; in 1886 the Senate exempted "ladies" from paying it but it apparently was reimposed later. See Queen's College, Senate Minutes, QUA, 30 Sept. 1886, 3: 343.
 56. McGill University, Faculty of Arts, Minute Book, MUA, 30 Nov. 1888, 205; 14 Dec. 1888, 207; 22 June 1892, 360-63.
 57. See Zerada Slack, "The Development of Physical Education for Women at McGill University" (M.A., McGill University, 1934).
 58. McGill University, Faculty of Arts, Minute Book, MUA, 19 Dec. 1885, 72; 23 Jan. 1886, 75-77; 6 Feb. 1886, 77; 20 Feb. 1886, 80; 6 Mar. 1886, 83-84; 25 Mar. 1887, 131; 7 Jan. 1888, 160-61.
 59. *Ibid.*, 29 Oct. 1884, 14; 28 Nov. 1884, 20; 10 Dec. 1884, 22-23.

60. Georgina Hunter, "In the Beginning," *McGill News* 10 (Mar. 1929): 14-15.
61. Elizabeth A. [Hammond] Irwin, "Women at McGill," *McGill News* 1 (Dec. 1919): 40-42.
62. Grace Ritchie England, "The Entrance of Women to McGill," *McGill News* 16 (Dec. 1934): 13-17.
63. Carrie M. Derick, "In the 80's," *Old McGill*, 1927 29: 200.
64. *Ibid.*, 15; Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily*, 50.
65. *Annual Calendar, 1885-86*, "Special Course for Women," 145.
66. England, "Entrance of Women to McGill," 16-17; Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily*, 107.
67. *Annual Calendar of McGill College and University for Session 1896-97*, "Special Course for Women" (Montreal, 1896), 64-68.
68. For Peterson's plans for the Faculty of Arts, see Peterson Papers, MUA, RG 2, Peterson to Smith, 12 Oct. 1896; memo, Peterson's hand, 17 Apr. 1897; Peterson to Strathcona, 17 Feb. 1898; Faculty of Arts, Minute Book, MUA, 1 Mar. 1897, 124-27.
69. Hilda D. Oakeley, *My Adventures in Education* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1939), 73-74. (Miss Oakeley was the first Warden of RVC.)
70. Thompson, "Admission of Women to University College"; Ford, *A Path Not Strewn with Roses*, 6-16.
71. University of Toronto, Senate Minutes, UTA, 28 May 1877, 163-66; University of Toronto, Applications for Examinations in Arts, A-70-0051/001-003, 1881-82, and A-73-0051/270-21, 1882-88, UTA. It appears that the local exams were exactly the same as the regular matriculation exams and were held simultaneously, the only difference being that it cost only \$1.00 to write them as opposed to the \$5.00 fee charged for the regular matriculation exams.
72. *University of Toronto, Class and Prize List, 1879*, "Local Examinations for Women: First Examination," 9; *University of Toronto, Class and Prize List, 1880*, "Local Examinations for Women: 1879," 9.
73. *University of Toronto, Class and Prize List, 1880*, "Arts: Matriculation Examinations, 1879," 7-8 and "Scholarships: Matriculation, 1879," 22.
74. *University of Toronto, Class and Prize List, 1880*, "Faculty of Arts: First Year," 23.
75. John Squair, *The Admission of Women to the University of Toronto* (Toronto 1924), 1-3. (John Squair, who was a contemporary of many of these women and went on to university with some of them, had a long career at University College as the Professor of French.)
76. University of Toronto, Senate Minutes, UTA, 4 Mar. 1881, 406; *Calendar of University College, Toronto for 1885-86*, "Appendix" (Toronto 1885), 62-63; Squair, *Admission of Women*, 6.
77. Her letter to Wilson dated 31 Dec. 1881 is quoted in Squair, *Admission of Women*, 6. It was also published in the *Mail*, 1 Oct. 1883.
78. Squair, *Admission of Women*, 2-3.
79. Harris, *Higher Education*, 124.
80. *Calendar of University College, Toronto 1884-85* (Toronto 1884), 6, 13-15, 39.
81. *Calendar of University College, Toronto 1890-91* (Toronto 1890), 29-33.
82. Harris, *Higher Education*, 135; Jasen, "The Liberal Arts Curriculum," 42.
83. *Ibid.*, 46-48.
84. *Ibid.*, 65-81.

85. *University of Toronto, Class and Prize List, 1890 and 1891*; and Student Record, A73-0006/052, UTA.
86. Scott Diary, 1889-90, n.p.
87. Bessie was the first woman teacher employed at the Ottawa Collegiate Institute and taught English and calisthenics there until her marriage in 1906. In 1924 she returned as librarian and remained at the school until her retirement in 1939. She attended the school's centenary celebrations in Nov. 1943 and died in 1951. I hope to publish her diary. See *A History of the Ottawa Collegiate Institute, 1843-1903* (Ottawa 1904), 63, 66; *Lisgar Collegiate Institute, 1843-1943* (N.p., n.d.), 16, 102, 119; Charlotte Whitton, "Times Have Changed—Or Have They?" *Chronicle* 48 (1975-76): 8.
88. Ronish, "Sweet Girl Graduates," chap. 2, covers the admission of women to Victoria College when it was still located at Cobourg, Ontario.
89. Trinity University, Committee of the Curriculum, Minutes, 29 June 1883, Trinity University Archives [hereafter TUA]; *University of Trinity College, Calendar for 1884*, "Course of Study for Women" (Toronto 1885), 62-66.
90. Trinity University, Committee of the Curriculum, Minutes, 29 June 1883; Corporation Minutes, 14 Mar. 1883, TUA. The Bishop Strachan School apparently had a particularly bright graduating class in 1885; six students wrote the Trinity matriculation exams and one the University of Toronto exams.
91. *University of Trinity College, Calendar for 1885*, "Course of Study for Women" (Toronto 1885), 62-66. Trinity was the only university discussed here which made specific adjustments to its Arts curriculum, such as offering courses in Italian, which were available only to "ladies."
92. *Trinity Calendar, 1884*, 85.
93. Trinity University, Corporation Minutes, 19 Feb. 1894, 10 Oct. 1894; St. Hilda's College, Council Minutes, 16 Jan. 1888 to 20 Nov. 1894, TUA.
94. Royal Victoria College did not open until the fall of 1899. Victoria's first women's residence, Annesley Hall, opened in 1903. Queen's and University College did not provide residences for their women students until well into the twentieth century.
95. St. Hilda's students only began to contribute a regular column to the *Trinity University Review* in March 1895; the *St. Hilda's Chronicle* was started in 1901.
96. St. Hilda's College, *Educational Report of the Lady Principal for the Year 1888-1889*, TUA; Constance Backhouse, "'To Open the Way for Others of My Sex': Clara Brett Martin's Career as Canada's First Woman Lawyer," *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 1 (1985).
97. See *University of Trinity College Calendar, 1883-1900*, for lists of students in Music; the Appendix to Earl Davey, "The Development of Undergraduate Music Curricula at the University of Toronto, 1918-68" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1977), lists the members of the Associated Musicians of Ontario, 1899-1900, several of whom were Trinity women; Harris, *Higher Education*, Appendix, lists the numbers of men and women in different faculties but omits (625 n.9) the Trinity students registered in Music.
98. Bessie Scott, "College Women," I, UTA.