

“One of the Boys”: Women at the Ontario Veterinary College in the Twentieth Century

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ABSTRACT

For much of the twentieth century, veterinary medicine was a male-dominated profession. This dominance extended to the veterinary schools, which acted as professional gatekeepers. Gender, therefore, was a central organizing principle of the veterinary profession as well as of veterinary education. We argue that the Ontario Veterinary College (OVC) was central to the process of professional gatekeeping and was a key site for the training of women veterinarians. Women applying to OVC faced admission practices that favoured male applicants. Those women who were accepted to OVC were met with the masculine culture of veterinary medicine. Despite these difficulties, women actively pursued veterinary training at OVC, including in areas for which they were widely believed to be unsuitable. However, while the number of women at OVC increased during the 1970s and 1980s, the view that women were not suited to veterinary medicine persisted among at least some faculty members.

RÉSUMÉ

Pour une grande partie du vingtième siècle, la médecine vétérinaire est une profession à prédominance masculine. Cette dominance s'étend en fait à l'ensemble des écoles vétérinaires qui agissent comme de véritables gardiennes de la profession. Le genre est dès lors l'un des principes organisateurs centraux de la profession vétérinaire ainsi que de l'enseignement de cette profession. Le Collège vétérinaire de l'Ontario joue un rôle central dans le contrôle d'accès à la profession et est, à l'époque, l'un des principaux sites de formation des femmes vétérinaires. Les femmes qui s'inscrivent au Collège vétérinaire de l'Ontario font face à des pratiques d'admission qui favorisent les candidats masculins et celles qui sont acceptées au Collège sont confrontées à la culture masculine de la médecine vétérinaire. Malgré ces obstacles, les femmes poursuivent assidûment leur formation au Collège vétérinaire de l'Ontario, y compris dans des domaines pour lesquels on les considère généralement inaptes. Pourtant, alors que leur nombre au sein de cette institution ne cesse d'augmenter durant les années 1970 et 1980, l'opinion selon laquelle les femmes ne conviennent pas pour la médecine vétérinaire persiste auprès de certains membres de la faculté.

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Introduction

While women now make up the majority of veterinarians (58 per cent of practitioners) and veterinary students (about 89 per cent), for much of the twentieth century the veterinary profession was predominantly male.¹ The profession's heavy focus on the health of livestock and the economic needs of agriculture during the first half of the twentieth century was coupled with a belief that women were physically unsuited for the heavy labour involved in caring for horses, cattle, and other farm animals. Women were also faced with early-to-mid-twentieth-century, middle-class gender and professional norms that emphasized women's place as being in the home with the professional world reserved for men. This influenced wider concerns among the veterinary establishment that women would leave the profession soon after graduating from veterinary school, having taken the place of a male student who would supposedly have put his training to better use. The male dominance of veterinary medicine extended to the veterinary schools, which acted as professional gatekeepers determining who could enter and eventually practise veterinary medicine. Gender, therefore, was a central organizing principle of the veterinary profession as well as of veterinary education.

We argue that the Ontario Veterinary College (OVC), Canada's oldest and, for much of the twentieth century, only English-speaking veterinary school, was both central to the process of gendered professional gatekeeping and a key site for the training of women as veterinarians. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, women applying to OVC faced admission practices that heavily favoured male applicants. Women—both those applying to and those who managed to gain entry into the veterinary program—were met with the masculine culture of veterinary medicine that viewed them as less than capable veterinary practitioners. Despite these difficulties, women actively pursued veterinary training at the Ontario Veterinary College, including in areas such as large animal medicine for which they were widely believed to be unsuitable. However, while the number of women at OVC increased during the 1970s and 1980s, the view that women were not suited to veterinary medicine persisted among at least some faculty members, who continued to believe that women would not be able to lead full and productive careers as veterinary practitioners.

Founded in Toronto in 1862 by Scottish veterinarian Andrew Smith, OVC is Canada's oldest continually operating veterinary school. Under Smith, OVC was a privately-run proprietary school. It became affiliated with the University of Toronto in 1897, which granted the college's degrees until the University of Guelph was founded in 1964. In 1908, Smith sold the OVC to the Ontario department of agriculture. The department of agriculture relocated OVC to Guelph in 1922, because it was believed that Guelph would provide OVC with a better location in which to focus on livestock medicine. Its move to Guelph also allowed OVC to partner with the department's other school, the Ontario Agricultural College. As alluded to above, the OVC's formal relationships with the University of Toronto and the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food (OMAF) ended in 1964 when the college joined

the University of Guelph, although the OMAF continued to provide the OVC with research funding.²

This study relies heavily on the records of the Ontario Veterinary College, which are housed at the University of Guelph Archival and Special Collections. We examined the history of women at the OVC through the correspondence and recollections of several of the earliest women to study at the college, including Geraldine Fritz (OVC 1938), Jean Rumney (OVC 1939), Edith Williams (OVC 1941), and Joan Budd (OVC 1950). Student publications, such as the University of Toronto and University of Guelph yearbooks and student newspapers, have also been particularly fruitful sources for our analysis of the attitudes of male students (often the authors of these publications) towards women at the college as well as for insights into the attitudes and ambitions of women students. Besides student- and alumni-generated sources, we have examined the college's routinely generated sources, particularly its annual reports. We likewise examined articles in professional journals, particularly the *Canadian Veterinary Journal*, which provide details about the views of both the profession's elite (including OVC faculty) and of ordinary practitioners about the place of women in veterinary medicine. Finally, the OVC Registrar's Office has kindly provided data recording the number of graduates each year from 1866 through 2006, differentiated by gender.³

According to Carol Dyhouse, gender represents one of the most significant areas of social change in higher education in the twentieth century. She argues that the popular image of the typical university student at the beginning of the twentieth century, a full-time male undergraduate, was no longer accurate by the end of the century.⁴ As women increasingly sought out a postsecondary education in the late nineteenth century they were opposed on the grounds that they were not physically or mentally capable of taking the strain of intense academic study. Particular alarm was expressed over the potential harm that intense study would cause to women's reproductive abilities.⁵ Sara Burke argues that the coeducation of women and men, in particular, was feared as potentially undermining the prevailing ideology of separate spheres for men and women.⁶ University coeducation in the late nineteenth century became linked to changes in women's work, including new professional opportunities for middle-class women. Coeducation allowed women to study the same subjects as men and compete directly with them for academic honours and awards. This also raised the implication that women could successfully compete with men in other aspects of public life.⁷ Christine Lundt, Susan L. Paulson, and Leslie Miller-Bernal argue that a significant aspect of the coeducation debates was a fear of a breakdown in gender distinctions and the masculinization of women students. As coeducation spread, however, arguments that women were inferior mentally and physically were increasingly discredited. This led to a shift in the discourses around women's postsecondary education to questions of what were appropriate subjects for the supposed future responsibilities of women.⁸

Throughout the late nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, according to Lisa Panayotidis and Paul Stortz, women were heavily clustered in the humanities, rather than in mathematics or science, for which they were considered unsuited.⁹ As

Claire G. Jones argues, even as women's access to higher education was increasing, the male dominated nature of technical training as well as gender prescriptions by the wider society created a powerful disincentive for women to study technical and scientific subjects.¹⁰ Julia Horne, writing in the Australian context, notes that although women were enrolling in fields such as the humanities and even some sciences in significant numbers by the early twentieth century, they were underrepresented in disciplines such as law and engineering. This led to a persistent and continuing gendered ordering of higher education. Horne notes that while working towards a university degree was normalized for women in some fields, degrees in other fields remained largely closed to women.¹¹

By the late nineteenth century, women were also increasingly seeking training for a variety of professions. The professions offered both prestige and a way in which to earn a living. As Mary Kinnear notes, gender was a "central organizing principle of the professions."¹² Tracey L. Adams, writing about the professionalization of dentistry in Ontario, argues that the gender norms of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century middle class, particularly those of the white, male middle class, were fundamental in defining the parameters of dental professionalism. Professional leaders in dentistry and other fields drew upon gender relations as a way in which to define the professions as the exclusive preserve of middle-class white men.¹³ Interestingly, as Wyn Millar, Ruby Heap, and Bob Gidney argue, the University of Toronto's faculties of engineering, medicine, and dentistry saw an increase in the socio-economic diversity of its students after the Second World War, with a growing proportion coming from working-class backgrounds. However, students from the middle classes still predominated. They also note that the proportion of women entering these faculties, even by mid-century, was miniscule.¹⁴ Indeed, women's demands for entry into the professions were frequently met with opposition from the men who monopolized these fields.¹⁵ Furthermore, it was believed that married women would have difficulty managing a professional career and a family at the same time, although there were professional and business women who did manage both.¹⁶ It was also argued that single women were just sojourners in the workforce, who would abandon their work after marriage in order to care for their families. This led to less incentive to invest in training and professional opportunities for women.¹⁷

Opposition often manifested itself when women sought admission to professional programs at universities. The level of opposition varied among professions, with the engineering, legal, and veterinary professions being the most hostile to women.¹⁸ The masculine culture of engineering, and engineering schools, bears a striking resemblance to that of veterinary medicine. As Ruby Heap and Ellen Scheinberg demonstrate, engineering was dominated by men, with the presence of women seen as both exceptional and strange. They argue that, while there was no systematic barrier to women's enrolment, the University of Toronto's Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering (FASE) in the mid-twentieth century was designed, in part, to inculcate in its students the masculine culture of engineering. The ideal engineer, as conceptualized by the FASE, was a male professional. Such a conception left little room for women. Even as the number of women at the FASE increased between 1939 and

1950, this was offset by a massive increase in male enrolment, leaving women in the minority.¹⁹ As will be demonstrated below, much of what Heap and Scheinberg describe for the FASE can be seen at OVC as well.

According to Regina Morantz-Sanchez, women doctors and their supporters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century believed that women belonged in the medical profession due to their "natural gifts as healers and nurturers."²⁰ However, women's early attempts to secure a medical education in Canada, the United States, and Europe beginning in the later nineteenth century were met with "shock and disbelief" over the perceived violation of prevailing codes of femininity and the separate spheres ideology. Particularly disturbing was the possibility that women in coeducational medical schools would attend anatomy lessons (including classes on male anatomy) alongside the men in their classes. Cheryl Krasnick Warsh argues that as medicine began to professionalize, male medical practitioners increasingly viewed women who offered health services to other women, particularly midwives, as a source of competition. Warsh notes that part of the male medical establishment's reluctance to train women physicians was to prevent women from moving into these lucrative areas of practice.²¹

Partially in response to the difficulties women faced enrolling in medical schools, a number of women's medical colleges were founded in both Canada and the United States, such as Toronto's Women's Medical College, established in 1883. However, by the early twentieth century, as opposition to medical coeducation declined throughout North America, enrolment at women's medical schools fell.²² Although opposition to medical coeducation was declining during the early twentieth century, the number of women in medical schools (and consequently in the medical profession) remained uniformly low in North America until at least the 1970s.²³ R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar note that at the University of Toronto Faculty of Medicine during the 1920s and 1930s the proportion of women plateaued at approximately 10 per cent of the student body. Likewise, Edward Shorter argues that it was "an open secret" that there was a quota on women at the faculty during the 1950s.²⁴

The first woman, Augusta Stowe-Gullen, graduated from a medical school in Canada in 1883 and the first woman, C. L. Josephine Wells, graduated from a Canadian dental school in 1893. However, it was not until 1928 that a woman graduated from the Ontario Veterinary College: Elizabeth Barrie Carpenter, who was part of a graduating class of nineteen students.²⁵ The daughter of a veterinarian and originally from Detroit, Michigan, not much is known about Carpenter's career as a veterinarian, although it appears that she moved to California after graduating from the OVC and opened a hospital for cats.²⁶ It was a full decade before another (American) woman, Geraldine Fritz, graduated from OVC. The low enrolment of women at OVC was consistent throughout the period between the late 1920s and 1960s (see Figure 1). For example, 58 men and only 1 woman graduated in the class of 1940. A decade later, 127 students graduated with the class of 1950, one of the largest classes in the history of the college. Of these 127 students, only 3 were women. The class of 1960 graduated 41 students of which only 1 was a woman.²⁷ Such low enrolments of women at OVC, as well as at American veterinary schools,

meant that, like the medical profession, for much of the twentieth century there were relatively few women veterinarians in North America. By 1941, there were approximately fifty women practising veterinary medicine in Canada and the United States (the majority of whom were in the United States), increasing to around two hundred women veterinarians between both countries by 1963.²⁸ By contrast, there were an estimated 15,305 practising veterinarians by 1950 in the United States alone.²⁹

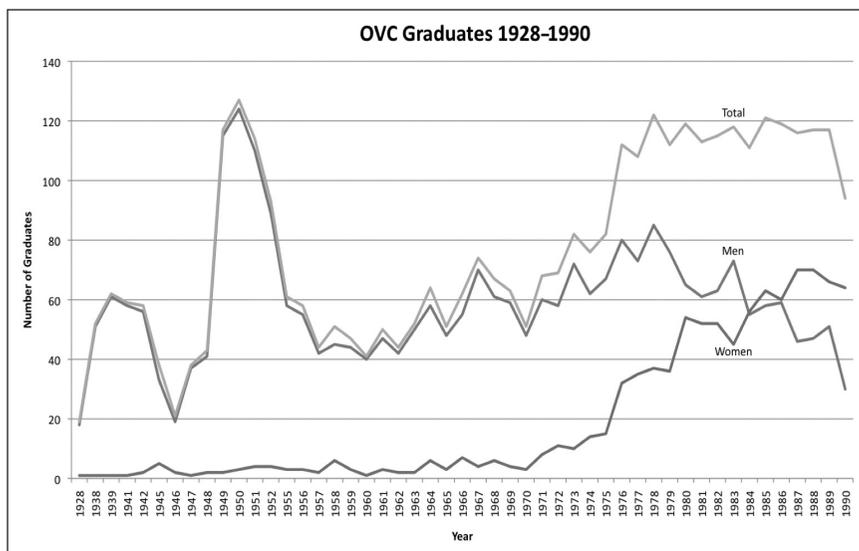


Figure 1. *Ontario Veterinary College Graduates, 1928–1990. Data Courtesy of OVC Registrar.*

Much as Canada lagged behind the United States in the training of women doctors, Canada and OVC lagged behind their American counterparts in the enrolment of women in veterinary schools.³⁰ In 1903, Mignon Nicholson obtained a doctor of veterinary medicine degree (DVM) from McKillip College in Chicago, becoming the first woman to graduate from a veterinary school in the United States. Two more women obtained their DVM degrees in 1910: Elinor McGrath at Chicago College and Florence Kimball at Cornell University. By 1936, there were an estimated thirty women practising veterinary medicine in the United States.³¹ By comparison, only one woman had graduated from the OVC by 1936 and only two more would graduate by the end of the decade. It was not until 1939 that a Canadian woman, Jean Rumney, from Hamilton Ontario, graduated from the college. There were also more veterinary schools in the United States than Canada, including private schools such as the abovementioned McKillip and Chicago Colleges, leading to a need for more fee-paying students, including women. Until the Western College of Veterinary Medicine at the University of Saskatchewan opened in 1965, there were only two veterinary schools in Canada. These were OVC and the francophone college at the University of Montreal, although the latter did not admit women until 1965.³² As Canada's only English-speaking veterinary school, OVC consciously prioritized male

applicants whom many of its administrators believed would be better veterinarians.

Women could stake a claim for themselves in human medicine, as well as in dentistry to a certain extent, by virtue of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century gender ideals that viewed women as natural "healers and nurturers" who would be more sympathetic to the problems of women and children. There were also growing demands throughout this period that women physicians treat women patients.³³ Veterinary medicine, by contrast, was considered a thoroughly masculine profession until at least the last quarter of the twentieth century. Indeed, the first formal veterinary schools, established in Europe in the later eighteenth century, were founded in order to produce trained (male) animal health practitioners to care for military horses.³⁴ By the twentieth century, veterinarians viewed themselves as "scientists devoted to protecting the livestock economy and human health."³⁵ Even companion animal medicine, one of the few, and until the mid-twentieth century, less lucrative areas of veterinary practice for which women were thought to be suitable, was dominated by men, often in mixed practices that combined livestock with companion animal practice. Veterinarians adopted the masculine culture of the stable and the barnyard that was becoming popular as aspects of agriculture previously dominated by women, such as dairying, were taken over by men during the nineteenth century due to mechanization and increasing scales of production.³⁶ A female veterinarian would not only violate the masculine livestock culture, but also threaten efforts at the professionalization of veterinary medicine in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁷ A further consequence of the heavily masculine culture of veterinary medicine was that, in contrast to medicine, there were no veterinary schools established exclusively to train women.

The masculine culture of veterinary medicine was occasionally displayed publicly, particularly during OVC's early twentieth-century initiation exercises.³⁸ In 1910, the *Globe* provided a detailed description of the college's initiation rituals. The "new students were compelled to crawl over a long table along which were mounted husky lads with leather straps, who knew how to weild [*sic*] them." At the end of the table, they were met by second- and third-year students who were "plentifully supplied with talcum powder," and they "used it freely and some of the unfortunate swallowed enough of the chalky powder to save them the expense of a meal."³⁹ The masculine culture of the college persisted into at least the interwar years. Geraldine Fritz recalled that her time at the college in the mid-to-late 1930s were the "rough and tough days.... Culture had not yet invaded the institution." According to Fritz, the "fellows played a type of soccer with the spittoons in the halls. These were sawdust filled so there was nothing to dampen the fun. The tile floors enhanced the sliding qualities of these receptacles as the boys booted them up and down the hall." She recalled that a favourite prank to pull on classmates bringing horses up in the elevator to the anatomy lab was to "listen for the starting of the motors, wait a few minutes and then push on the third-floor doors. This broke the electrical circuit, the elevator would stop suddenly and the horse being transported would kick." Hinting that she herself may have been the victim of this trick, Fritz recalled that: "One learned to move quickly in those days."⁴⁰

Within the veterinary medical profession in general there was a belief that large animal medicine was too physical for women, who were also thought to be too delicate for the “dirty work” associated with performing surgery on horses and livestock.⁴¹ Throughout the early-to-mid-twentieth century, OVC courses were oriented towards training for livestock practice, and clinical and surgical training focused heavily on livestock animals. Part of clinical and surgical training included learning and practising how to “cast” or manoeuvre a large animal (such as a cow) to the ground using ropes and a halter in order to administer an anaesthetic.⁴² During the interwar years in particular, students would have dealt largely with livestock animals as clinical subjects. In 1925, for example, OVC’s teaching hospital treated 132 horses, 418 cattle, and 111 swine, compared to 156 dogs and 38 cats.⁴³

It was believed that upon entering practice veterinarians would be working primarily with male clients. In medicine and dentistry, female practitioners could treat their patients, often women and children, in a clinical setting during defined office hours. Veterinarians in large animal practice, however, had to drive their trucks to race tracks, breeding stables, and isolated farms, often at irregular hours, particularly in cases of emergency, something to which many veterinarians (male and female) expressed a deep dissatisfaction. Veterinarians also dealt with all types of diseases, including reproductive disorders of male and female animals.⁴⁴ Female veterinarians could also be met with a degree of skepticism on the part of farmers, who may have doubted their competency and physical ability in the highly masculine field of livestock management. This was the case as late as the 1980s and 1990s, with one female veterinary student recounting that she had had “encounters with farmers” (likely during a summer externship) although she also noted that their attitudes towards women veterinarians could be explained in part by a lack of exposure to women in such roles. This student found the discriminatory attitudes of male veterinarians much more egregious than the reactions of farmers.⁴⁵

The admissions staff at the Ontario Veterinary College used the perception that women were unsuited to large animal medicine as a justification for limiting the admission of women. When Lynn Benson attempted to apply to OVC in 1960, the registrar, F. E. Gattinger, sent her a very discouraging letter to convince her to give up on the application. According to Gattinger, “professional openings for women in the veterinary field are rather limited.” Benson was bluntly informed that: “few women are suitable for establishing themselves in large animal practice,” and, “for this reason, and also because we have a preponderance of male applicants, our Committee on Admissions is held to a quota of four women per year.” Gattinger also informed Benson that “it is our policy to defer applications of women until the files of male applicants have been reviewed.”⁴⁶ Fortunately Benson, undeterred by Gattinger, applied, gained admittance, and went on to graduate from OVC in 1965.

Other women applicants faced similarly cool, and in some cases, openly discouraging receptions during the OVC admissions process. Geraldine Fritz believed her admission to the college was “a special favour and concession.” In her acceptance letter, OVC Principal C. D. McGilvray commented that “while this is not a co-educational institution, your admission has been approved.”⁴⁷ Likewise, both Jean Rumney and

Edith Williams noted that during their admissions interviews in the late 1930s that McGillvray "affected not to be interested in women applicants."⁴⁸ Williams herself applied to, and was rejected by, OVC regularly over a ten-year period before finally gaining admission in 1937.⁴⁹ Joan Budd (OVC 1950) decided at a young age that she wanted to be a veterinarian and applied to the OVC just after she finished high school in the late 1930s. The college, however, replied with a "very discouraging answer," and she was unsuccessful. In the fall of 1946, after leaving the Royal Canadian Air Force Women's Division, Budd re-applied to OVC. Applying for the second time was not any easier than the first. Budd had to write "a very convincing letter" as to why she should be admitted, discovering later that the other two women in her year (also ex-servicewomen) had relied on their local politicians for assistance.⁵⁰

With a policy preferential to men, women applying to the college had to distinguish themselves from the rest of the applicant pool and demonstrate that they were academically strong enough to study veterinary medicine. By the postwar years, candidates for admission to OVC from Ontario were expected to have an Ontario Secondary School Graduation Diploma and the Ontario grade thirteen certificate with a grade of at least 60 per cent in English, a foreign language, chemistry, physics, advanced mathematics, botany or zoology, and history. Furthermore, OVC required applicants to "have at least four months' practical experience and experience with farm livestock."⁵¹ Applicants were left to their own devices about how they acquired this experience. Edith Williams acquired her experience with livestock on her own twelve-acre (4.85 hectares) farm near Aurora, Ontario, which she inherited in 1927. Williams, who originally wanted to study at the Ontario Agricultural College, spent roughly ten years raising chickens and pigs before entering OVC.⁵² For non-farm women, however, this could prove to be a particularly difficult barrier to overcome unless they could find a veterinarian willing to take on a female volunteer to help around the practice.

Many of the first women to study at OVC had already obtained a significant degree of postsecondary education before starting at the college. Geraldine Fritz began her postsecondary education at Cornell University, while Jean Rumney completed a business education in Toronto before working at a Blue Cross animal hospital in her home town of Hamilton.⁵³ Edith Williams briefly attended the University of Toronto prior to studying at OVC, while Florence Morgan (OVC 1946) obtained a bachelor's degree in science from the University of Saskatchewan.⁵⁴ Such extensive prior education was paired with OVC tuition fees, which in 1950 were \$160 per year for domestic and Commonwealth students and \$360 for all others. Much like other professional fields and postsecondary education more broadly, tuition fees created a class barrier in addition to a gender barrier for women who wanted to study veterinary medicine.⁵⁵

The available contemporary evidence is largely silent about the strategies employed by the women who gained entry to OVC during the early-to-mid-twentieth century. However, Kathryn Ann Douglas's research on a later generation of OVC women who attended between 1989 and 1997 can shed some light on the admissions interview, a key element in the overall admissions process. Douglas argues that the

women in her study understood the interviewers to be gatekeepers, a realization that caused “considerable anxiety.” Some of the women Douglas interviewed prioritized memorizing veterinary facts in an effort to prepare for any technical questions they might be asked and partly to boost their confidence ahead of the interview. Several of Douglas’s participants reported that they compromised their personal values and, in one case, altered her appearance and mode of dress in order to present herself “more conventionally.”⁵⁶

Student Life at OVC

Once accepted into OVC, the earliest women students faced a degree of resistance to their presence on the part of some of their male classmates and faculty. Edith Williams reflected in 1946 that one of the greatest obstacles she faced, both at the college and in practice, was “the prejudice which men already in the field held against women.”⁵⁷ Geraldine Fritz recalled that one of her professors “objected to my sex.... Apparently he had forgotten that ‘By an act of God’ I had been created female and really had no control over the matter.” According to Fritz, his attitude did not change during her entire time at OVC.⁵⁸ In addition, Dean Percy (OVC 1957) recalled that in his second year, “one instructor, on viewing our class... stated that we have just three years to get rid of the girls in this class.”⁵⁹ Likewise, E. E. Ballantyne (OVC 1943) recalled that in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the OVC student government was waging a campaign to stop women from wearing slacks to lectures and force “the ladies to dress properly.”⁶⁰ This enforced femininity was not limited to veterinary students however. In her study of dentistry in Ontario, Tracey L. Adams notes that practising women dentists as well as dental students were “expected to maintain their femininity while pursuing professional roles.” She argues that women studying dentistry had to “balance their femininity with masculine dental education.” Adams notes that student publications often depicted less popular women students as masculine while praising the femininity of other women studying at the University of Toronto’s dental school.⁶¹

Fears over the loss of femininity were even greater at OVC due to curriculum requirements that students handle horses, cows, pigs, and other livestock animals on farms or in the teaching hospital. Women students, and potential students, could also be criticized by fellow students for being too feminine, with the attendant assumption that they were uninterested in studying veterinary medicine. In February 1938, a first-year female student at the neighbouring Ontario Agricultural College, who was considering a transfer to OVC, observed a veterinary class during what Edith Williams described as a “very messy horse operation.” Williams described the OAC student as a “Greta Garbo looking creature—short-long straight hair and bangs and she wears slacks all the time and looks very disillusioned.” After the OAC student left the lab, “one of the boys” reportedly said “We don’t want her over here—all she is interested in is us—not the animals!” Williams thought that this comment was “quite bright of them” and noted that their nickname for the OAC student was “Aggie-Pants.”⁶²

At least one woman adopted aspects of the masculine culture at OVC in an attempt to fit into college life. According to Geraldine Fritz, while most OVC students smoked their own hand-rolled cigarettes or chewed tobacco (often as a defence against the smell of formaldehyde in the laboratory), cigar smoking was reserved for senior students. When she became a senior, Fritz herself admitted to occasionally joining her classmates in cigar smoking, "lest some visitor be un-aware of the fact that I was close to the coveted 'Sheep Skin.'" According to Fritz, the "technique of the day was to hook one heel on the return-flow water pipe that ran above the base board in the large animal clinic, lean backwards to rest your shoulders on the radiators, and puff away." When she first started at OVC, Fritz also wore the "Frosh hat and tie" and recalled that "many of the Guelph natives would take a second look to be sure they weren't having a vision problem. I suppose I did look silly with a tie and ruffled blouse."⁶³ For Fritz, partaking in the masculine traditions of OVC allowed her a way in which to identify with her male classmates, and, when she became eligible, mark herself out to the rest of the college as a nearly qualified veterinarian.

However, much as Heap and Scheinberg demonstrate for engineering, while veterinary women might be able to gain acceptance into the gang, the masculine culture of veterinary medicine made it much more difficult for them to be seen as "one of the boys."⁶⁴ Indeed, throughout the second half of the twentieth century, OVC itself sought to train the wives of male students as veterinary auxiliaries, articulating a role for women not as veterinarians but as helpmates both in the practice and in the home, similar to the roles women undertook in medical and dental practices. The OVC Student Wives' Auxiliary, founded in 1951, undertook as one of its mandates to provide its members with "an intelligible knowledge of veterinary medicine." OVC faculty and senior students provided lectures and demonstrations on such topics as pre- and post-operative care as well as on managing the business side of a practice. At its founding, and for many years thereafter, the student wives greatly outnumbered the women students at OVC, reinforcing the exceptionalism of women as veterinarians. The auxiliary's work continued until the early 1990s when the changing demographics of the profession led to its disbandment.⁶⁵

Some OVC student publications reflected the male dominance of veterinary medicine in the mid-twentieth century and were often directed towards the college's primarily male readership. The OVC section of the University of Toronto's 1946 yearbook, *Torontonensis*, features a photograph of a man holding a baby otter. In the background can be seen the side of a woman's head. The subject of the photograph is clearly the man holding the otter. However, rather than commenting on this, the caption reads, "the co-ed in the background has probably turned away so that the baby otter won't see the gleam in her eyes as she dreams of fur jackets."⁶⁶ While the male student handles the real work of veterinary medicine, the female student is depicted as preoccupied with material desires. The school yearbook, however, could also be a site for women to stake their claim to a place in veterinary medicine. In the 1941 edition of *Torontonensis*, the caption printed beside Jean Brewster's graduate portrait read that she "believes the trouble with men is they are afraid of competition, so she is out to show them it can be done." According to the yearbook, Brewster, whose

nickname appears to have been “Doc,” had a special interest in horse medicine.⁶⁷

Student publications could occasionally drift into more openly blatant misogyny. A 1947 article in the OVC *Fluoroscope* student newspaper, titled “A Qualitative Analysis of Female Structure,” discussed three female “body types.” The article began with “the undernourished kind — you know — Miss Emaciation of 1947,” and noted that “this young lady is as esthetically stimulating as an ironing board and just about as curvacious [*sic*].” The piece then turned to “the young lady who missed meat terribly during the war and filled up on potatoes instead.” Finally, the article “analyzed” the “local garden variety, Llana Turner,” who “reckon themselves as ‘femmes fatales’ of the first water just because they make drips drool.” The article concludes by noting that “every girl that reads this will find a catty pleasure out of the two thirds that don’t apply to her and will find the other third grossly exaggerated.”⁶⁸

It should be noted that many of the women who graduated from the college in the mid-twentieth century downplayed the levels of discrimination they faced. Geraldine Fritz was careful to note that, even though one of her professors objected to her admission, many more of the faculty welcomed her and went out of their way to ensure her success.⁶⁹ Joan Budd argues that “the so-called discrimination against women is a figment of the immature mind... unless one considers admittance.”⁷⁰ In the case of Budd, it is possible that her service in the Second World War, coupled with the fact that the majority of her classmates were fellow veterans, deflected some of the treatment faced by other women.⁷¹ Mary Kinnear notes that the reminiscences of women who attended medical school in Manitoba were a mixture of happy memories and scathing criticism.⁷² This can also be seen at the Ontario Veterinary College. Fritz was quick to defend the college from any insult. In her response to Gattinger’s request for information for his history of the college, Fritz took a “personal affront” to Gattinger’s “intimation that OVC could possibly have any weak points.”⁷³ However, in the same letter, she noted that her male classmates habitually locked her in her coat locker, noting that “the fellows would push me in, lock the door and take off to class. Eventually Bill Harris the janitor would hear my pounding and let me out.” When she inevitably arrived late to class, “Dr. MacIntosh... would cease lecturing and say ‘Miss Fritz, you are late.’ The routine answer was ‘I was unavoidably detained, sir’ — to which the fellows would all hoot — and class would resume.”⁷⁴ While we should be careful not to label all male students and faculty as sexist, some clearly did not approve of women in veterinary medicine, including one professor who had the habit of only addressing the “gentlemen” in his classes.⁷⁵

Despite prevailing views about women and large animal practice, some of the earliest women to study at OVC enjoyed participating in the seemingly more masculine areas of the curriculum, particularly around large animals. Geraldine Fritz appears to have had no qualms working on large animals in the anatomy laboratory and fondly recalled that she “had many baptisms with juicy horse meat.”⁷⁶ Likewise, Edith Williams and Jean Rumney were able to joke after the dissection of a horse in February 1937 that the smell was “so bad that Rumney says that she can smell it over the telephone.”⁷⁷ Women won a wide cross-section of the college’s academic awards, many of which were related to large animal practice. In 1951, Ellen M. Brown (OVC

1951) was awarded the C. D. McGilvray Memorial Prize, awarded to the most diligent student in the senior year, while Audrey Shaw (OVC 1951) captured the W. J. R. Fowler Scholarship, given to the graduating student who had shown a special interest in equine diseases.⁷⁸ A year later, another woman, Beverley Jean Calverley (OVC 1952), took home the prestigious McGilvray prize.⁷⁹ During her time at OVC, Barbara Bradbury (OVC 1955) won both the General Proficiency Prize and the Keenan Memorial Award, sponsored by the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and awarded to "the junior student considered most promising and worthy from the Province of Quebec."⁸⁰ In 1968, Marion Gudgeon (OVC 1968) became the first woman to win the coveted Andrew Smith Memorial Medal, awarded to the graduating student deemed most "proficient in both theoretical and practical work." She was also awarded the Upjohn Company Large Animal Medicine Award.⁸¹

However, while women engaged with all aspects of the veterinary curriculum, classes taken at the college did not always translate into work opportunities. Joan Budd recalled that she was denied the opportunity to do meat inspection work during the summer between her third and fourth year at the college. According to Budd, the "fellows went into the government labs for meat inspections, but the girls weren't allowed to go in meat inspections."⁸²

Although early women physicians and dentists were often relegated to treating women and children, it is more difficult to use gender norms to determine women veterinarians' choice of patients. While many women graduating from OVC expressed a desire to work with companion animals (often called "small animals"), this may have been due to the increased emphasis on companion animal medicine at the college itself and the expansion of opportunities in this field more broadly as pet owners increasingly sought out veterinary care. Male veterinarians actively cultivated this growing client base in the face of changes to the livestock industry around the mid-twentieth century.⁸³ Beginning in the interwar years and expanding in the years following the Second World War, OVC broadened its academic focus to include a greater emphasis on companion animal medicine, with male faculty such as F. J. Cote and James Archibald overseeing the work.⁸⁴ Indeed, after graduation, at least some women joined companion animal practices run by men. For example, Jean Rumney went to work in her brother's companion animal practice in Hamilton.⁸⁵

Gendered perceptions of women as nurturers did, however, enter the discourses surrounding women and companion animal practice. The decision made by some women to focus on companion animals may have reflected the dominant belief that women were only suitable for companion animal practice because of the heavy physical labour involved in livestock medicine and the image of the companion animal veterinarian as being more like a caring, nurturing pediatrician. Likewise, Julie Hipperson argues that during the interwar years in Britain, the efforts of the principal of the Royal Veterinary College at recruiting women focused on channeling them towards what was at that time the much less lucrative field of companion animal practice, due to a perception that women "were better suited to the affectionate care of small domesticated animals."⁸⁶ This is partially illustrated by an experience of Edith Williams when a dog owner sought her out while she was still a student at OVC in

November 1937. According to Williams, the client, a Mrs. Seymour (and her black Pekinese dog), chose her rather than going to the OVC clinic or to a male veterinarian because she thought that Williams, whom she had seen walking around Guelph, “looked kind or pleasant or something of that sort.” When Williams related the experience to Professor Cote, who specialized in companion animal care, he joked that “if you can pick up patients like that I’ll give you a fellowship the minute you graduate!”⁸⁷ In this case, Mrs. Seymour specifically sought out Williams, (even though she was still a student), based on an assumption that Williams would be kind and gentle to her dog, much in the way the ideal female pediatrician was expected to be kind and gentle towards a child.

The OVC women took advantage of the extracurricular activities offered by the college. However, their roles could sometimes revolve around more feminized tasks. For example, Jean Rumney and Edith Williams took part in planning several college social activities. Rumney helped design the dance program for the class of 1939 third year dance, and she assisted with the floor and lunch arrangements for the senior class farewell dance in 1938. Likewise, Williams was credited as “Hostess” for the 1939 sophomore dance.⁸⁸ Many women also joined the various clubs and sports teams offered at OVC. One of the most popular clubs among women appears to have been the OVC Science Association. This club was among the more academically focused extracurricular activities at OVC and members spent much of their time presenting scientific and medical papers. Women also took part in clubs such as the Union Literary Society and the OVC Camera Club, and served on the *Libranni* yearbook staff.

While women did participate in numerous extracurricular activities, there was one area of college life that remained male dominated until the mid-1960s. Despite the dozens of women who had passed through OVC by the 1960s, men most often occupied the highest student government offices. Prior to 1965, only a small handful of women had served on the executives of individual classes, including Joan Budd, who served as both secretary and treasurer for the class of 1950 (a role she retained for the next fifty years). It was not until the 1968–69 academic year that a woman, Anne McLeish (OVC ’69) held the presidency of OVC’s student governing body, the Guelph chapter of the Canadian Veterinary Students Association.⁸⁹

The significant gender gap at OVC did not begin to close until the Ontario Human Rights Code was amended in 1972 to include sex, which ended sex-based institutional discrimination in Ontario.⁹⁰ While the growth of women in postsecondary education in the 1950s and early 1960s has been characterized by historians as largely stagnant, the late 1960s and 1970s saw growing agitation from within the second-wave feminist movement. The result was that, by the 1980s, women students were beginning to achieve parity on university and college campuses.⁹¹ The enrolment of women during this period also slowly but steadily increased in male-dominated professional fields such as forestry and accounting. In the case of forestry, 1960 and 1965 saw the first two women graduate from a Canadian forestry program. By the 1990s, according to Peggy Tripp-Knowles, women represented a sizable minority in forestry programs at Canadian universities.⁹² The Ontario Veterinary College fits

this broader pattern of slow but steady growth in the enrolment of women during the 1970s and 1980s. The class of 1984 was the first to have equal numbers of men and women students, fifty-five men and fifty-six women. From this point on, women increasingly outnumbered men at OVC (see Figure 1).⁹³

Although the admission of women did increase throughout the 1970s and 1980s, some attitudes at the college were slower to change. In an article written for the *OVC Alumni Bulletin* in 1976, Dr. T. J. Hubbard lamented that at the college the perception persisted that women would not be "consistent participants in the practice of veterinary medicine." Because veterinary medicine was considered a "costly commodity" that had to be run in a "publicly accountable manner," it was considered socially responsible to admit more men than women.⁹⁴ Dr. Hubbard also noted that despite the end to institutional discrimination, an admissions process that included an interview "could still be subject to subtle abuses."⁹⁵ This is illustrated by the experience of one female applicant in the 1990s who recalled that, during her interview, "this one fellow [an interviewer] just harassed me.... I simply couldn't answer their questions on stable management because that's not what I did." She left the interview in tears and was not accepted.⁹⁶

In 1977, Associate Dean T. J. Hulland, while debating veterinary "manpower" needs, articulated these beliefs. Hulland foresaw that "between one-third and one-half of all future Canadian graduates will be women." Although he claimed to be unable to predict the "full impact of this 'feminization' of the profession," he did, however, argue that it "is obvious that women veterinarians, on average, will have shortened [and] less vigorous careers than veterinarians of the past have had." According to Hulland, women's "career wastage has been estimated in different studies as being between one-quarter and three quarters," and lamented that this made the "recent expansion of the three existing Canadian schools... less substantial."⁹⁷ Hulland's comments sparked an angry reply from veterinarian Janet Steiss who asked "what 'different studies' estimate the career wastage as one-quarter to three-quarters" and quipped that "in Canada, there probably have not been enough female veterinarians graduated to furnish data for any studies." Steiss pleaded "let us not polarize our profession by such tactics as using the female minority as a scapegoat for the problems in manpower that presently face the entire [Canadian veterinary] association."⁹⁸

Conclusion

Veterinary medicine and the Ontario Veterinary College provide a unique case study for the history of women and professional education. Indeed, given the relatively small size of the veterinary profession when compared with medicine, the attitudes of the college towards women during the early-to-mid-twentieth century were likely replicated at other North American institutions, contributing in part to the low numbers of women in veterinary medicine until the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Unlike medicine and dentistry, it was much more difficult for women to gain entry to veterinary medicine. With its heavily economic rationale and deep connections to livestock and agriculture, veterinary medicine was a highly masculine

profession. Much like the engineering profession and engineering schools, professional and student veterinary culture prized a vigorous, professional masculinity, which was coupled with a belief among the profession's elite (including OVC faculty) that women were unsuited to the heavy labour involved in large animal medicine. Professional working conditions often required veterinarians to spend long hours working on their own on farms, at race tracks, or in breeding stables, often for male clients. This was in contrast to medicine and dentistry, where women were able to carve out a gendered space for themselves by the late nineteenth century through linking their work with the wider belief that women were natural healers and caregivers. The economic rationale of large animal veterinary medicine did not leave much space for the presumed sentimentality of female practitioners of medicine and dentistry. Similarly to medicine and dentistry, however, women veterinary students could be channeled towards companion animal practice which was believed to offer more of an outlet for women's supposed nurturing qualities and what was, prior to the later twentieth century, a less lucrative area of practice.

Gender was a central organizing principal of veterinary medicine and veterinary education. The Ontario Veterinary College, as a professional gatekeeper, subscribed to an admissions policy that heavily favoured men for much of the twentieth century. Those women who applied often received cool and occasionally highly discouraging responses to their applications. The college itself was a bastion of the masculine veterinary culture, which could manifest itself in a variety of ways ranging from raucous initiation rituals to decidedly misogynist student publications. Despite this, women did pursue veterinary education at OVC and were active participants in subject areas such as large animal medicine for which they were traditionally labeled unsuited. While provincial anti-discrimination legislation and feminist agitation in the 1970s ultimately led to changes in admissions policy, attitudes at the college changed slowly, with at least some faculty holding on to the older view that women were not suited to veterinary medicine.

Notes

- 1 Canadian Veterinary Medical Association, Statistics, Veterinary Demographics, 2018, <https://www.canadianveterinarians.net/about/statistics>. This represents an increase from 43 per cent of practicing and 80 per cent of veterinary students in 2003. Jeanne Lofstedt, "Gender and Veterinary Medicine," *Canadian Veterinary Journal* 44, no. 7 (July 2003): 533–35.
- 2 Kevin Woodger and Elizabeth A. Stone, "The Ontario Veterinary College Comes to Guelph, 1922–1932," *Historic Guelph* 51 (2012): 33; Kevin Woodger and Elizabeth A. Stone, "The Ontario Veterinary College and the Establishment of the University of Guelph," *Ontario History* 108, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 43, 58–59.
- 3 With regards to our methodology, we have chosen to focus on the number of women who graduated from OVC rather than the number who enrolled with each first-year class because complete enrolment records from the early-to-mid-twentieth century do not appear to have survived. Additionally, tracking graduates rather than entrants allows for a better picture of just how many women were entering the profession over the

- course of the century. The quantitative data was combined with a qualitative analysis of the extant archival materials in order to reconstruct the experiences of women as well as wider attitudes towards women as veterinarians and veterinary students at OVC. For example, we combined a study of the *Torontonensis* and *Libranni* yearbooks with the registrar's data to put names to the raw numbers.
- 4 Carol Dyhouse, *Students: A Gendered History* (New York: Routledge, 2006), ix–x.
 - 5 Catherine Gidney, "Shaping Student Bodies and Minds: The Redefinition of Self at English-Canadian Universities, 1900–1960," in *Bodily Subjects: Essays on Gender and Health, 1800–2000*, ed. Tracy Penny Light, Barbara Brookes, and Wendy Mitchinson (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 103.
 - 6 Sara Z. Burke, "New Women and Old Romans: Co-Education at the University of Toronto, 1884–1895," *Canadian Historical Review* 80, no. 2 (June 1999): 221. For more on the history of separate spheres ideology, see, for example, Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).
 - 7 Sara Burke, "Women of Newfangle: Co-Education, Racial Discourse and Women's Rights in Victorian Ontario," *Historical Studies in Education* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 112–13.
 - 8 Christine Lundt, Susan L. Paulson, and Leslie Miller-Bernal, "To Coeducation and Back Again: Gender and Organization at the University of Rochester," in *Going Coed: Women's Experience in Formerly Men's Colleges and Universities, 1950–2000*, ed. Leslie Miller-Bernal and Susan L. Poulson (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 61–62.
 - 9 Lisa E. Panayotidis and Paul Stortz, "Introduction," in *Women in Higher Education, 1850–1970*, ed. Lisa E. Panayotidis and Paul Stortz (New York: Routledge, 2016), 5; Leslie Miller-Bernal, "Coeducation: An Uneven Progression," in *Going Coed*, 5.
 - 10 Claire G. Jones, *Femininity, Mathematics and Science, 1880–1914* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 70–71.
 - 11 Julia Horne, "The Final Barrier? Australian Women and the Nineteenth-Century Public University," in *Women in Higher Education*, 76–77.
 - 12 Mary Kinnear, *In Subordination: Professional Women, 1870–1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 6, 8, 16.
 - 13 Tracey L. Adams, *A Dentist and a Gentleman: Gender and the Rise of Dentistry in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 3–4.
 - 14 Wyn Millar, Ruby Heap, and Bob Gidney, "Degrees of Difference: The Students in Three Professional Schools at the University of Toronto, 1910 to the 1950s," in *Learning to Practice: Professional Education and Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Elizabeth Smyth, Wyn Miller, and Ruby Heap (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2006), 160, 162, 164, 171, 176.
 - 15 Elizabeth Smyth, Sandra Acher, Paula Bourne, and Alison Prentice, "Introduction," in *Challenging Professions: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Women's Professional Work* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 4–5.
 - 16 Melanie Buddle, *The Business of Women: Marriage, Family, and Entrepreneurship in British Columbia, 1901–51* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 2–3. This was the case in veterinary medicine as well, with veterinarians such as Joan Budd who continued her research work after marrying her biologist husband. Budd's career did, however, suffer, because she had to abandon a major research project to move with her husband to remote Manitoulin Island to advance his career. Florence Partridge, transcript of her interview with Dr. Joan (Belcher) Budd, March 20, 1990, Alumni in Action Oral History, University of Guelph Archives and Special Collections (hereafter UGA).
 - 17 Kinnear, *In Subordination*, 17–18.

- 18 R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 324–25; Susan D. Jones, *Valuing Animals: Veterinarians and Their Patients in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 139–40.
- 19 Ruby Heap and Ellen Scheinberg, “Just One of the Gang’: Women at the University of Toronto’s Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, 1939–1950,” in *Learning to Practice*, 190–91, 193. See also Ruby Heap, “The Only Girl in Such a Big Class’: Women Students at the University of Toronto’s Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering during the 1920s and 1930s,” *Scientia Canadensis* 29, no. 2 (2006): 47–73.
- 20 Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 4–5.
- 21 Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, *Prescribed Norms: Women and Health in Canada and the United States since 1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 175–76. See also Anne Digby, *The Evolution of British General Practice, 1850–1948* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Ruth Watts, *Women in Science: A Social and Cultural History* (London: Routledge, 2007). For more on the medicalization of childbirth, see Cynthia Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies: Saving Ontario’s Mothers and Children, 1900–1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993).
- 22 Thomas Neville Bonner, *To the Ends of the Earth: Women’s Search for Education in Medicine* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 123, 156; Edward Shorter, *Partnership for Excellence: Medicine at the University of Toronto and Academic Hospitals* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 561–62.
- 23 Bonner, *To the Ends of the Earth*, 123, 156; Shorter, *Partnership for Excellence*, 561–62; Mary Roth Walsh, “Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply”: *Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835–1975* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 185, 205; Ellen S. More, Elizabeth Fee, and Manon Parry, “New Perspectives on Women Physicians and Medicine in the United States, 1849 to the Present,” in *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*, ed. Ellen S. More, Elizabeth Fee, and Manon Parry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 3–6.
- 24 R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, “Medical Students at the University of Toronto, 1910–1940: A Profile,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 13, no. 1 (Fall 1996): 37; Shorter, *Partnership for Excellence*, 549. As Ruby Heap demonstrates, the Faculty of Medicine also took steps after the First World War to ensure that feminized paramedical fields such as physiotherapy remained subordinated to medicine. Ruby Heap, “Training Women for a New ‘Women’s Profession’: Physiotherapy Education at the University of Toronto, 1917–40,” *History of Education Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 135–58.
- 25 Veronica Strong-Boag, “Canada’s Women Doctors: Feminism Constrained,” in *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s–1920s*, ed. Linda Kealey (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1979), 112; Adams, *A Dentist and a Gentleman*, 148.
- 26 P. J. G. Plummer to C. A. V. Barker, December 19, 1991, 3, RE1 OVC A0292, UGA.
- 27 Data on the total number of graduates from 1866 to 2006 courtesy of the OVC Registrar’s Office; University of Guelph, *Libranni* yearbooks 1950 and 1960, boxes 5 and 7, RE1 OAC A0195, UGA. The three women in 1950 were Joan Budd, Cherry Hooper, and Joan Tailyour. Alison Mowbray was the only woman to graduate in 1960.
- 28 “News and Views: Increase in Number of Women Veterinarians,” *Canadian Journal of Comparative Medicine and Veterinary Science* 27, no. 8 (August 1963): 203.
- 29 “Health Manpower in the US,” *Public Health Reports* 67, no. 6 (June 1952): 591.
- 30 Thomas Neville Bonner argues that by the 1860s the United States had emerged as a western leader in the medical education of women, although primarily through sectarian and women’s medical colleges rather than university-based medical schools. Bonner, *To the Ends of the Earth*, 28.

- 31 Sue Drum and H. Ellen Whitely, *Women in Veterinary Medicine: Profiles of Success* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991), xi.
- 32 C. A. V. Barker and T. A. Crowley, *One Voice: A History of the Canadian Veterinary Medical Association* (Ottawa: Canadian Veterinary Medical Association, 1989), 154.
- 33 Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 4–5; More, *Restoring the Balance*, 42–43.
- 34 Margaret E. Derry, *Horses in Society: A Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing Culture, 1800–1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 215–16.
- 35 Jones, *Valuing Animals*, 116.
- 36 For more on the masculinization of dairying, see for example, Nicola Verdon, “Business and Pleasure: Middle-Class Women’s Work and the Professionalization of Farming in England, 1890–1939,” *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 2 (April 2012): 393–415.
- 37 Jones, *Valuing Animals*, 12–13. For more on the professionalization of veterinary medicine in Canada, see Barker and Crowley, *One Voice*.
- 38 For more on gender and student initiation rituals, see E. Lisa Panayotidis and Paul Stortz, “‘Feverish Frolics of the Frivolous Frosh’: Women’s Cultures of Initiation in Western Canadian Universities, 1915–1935,” in *Women in Higher Education*.
- 39 “Three Hundred Students Enter; College of Veterinary Surgeons Opens,” *Globe*, October 4, 1910.
- 40 Geraldine Fritz to F. E. Gattinger, December 28, 1961, 5, RE1 OVC A0018, UGA.
- 41 Julie Hipperson, “Professional Entrepreneurs: Women Veterinary Surgeons as Small Business Owners in Interwar Britain,” *Social History of Medicine* 31, no. 1 (February 2018): 126.
- 42 OVC, Calendar of the Ontario Veterinary College, 1925–26, 1, RE1 OVC A0024, UGA; OVC, Calendar of the Ontario Veterinary College, 1932–33, 1, RE1 OVC A0024, UGA.
- 43 OVC, *Report of the Ontario Veterinary College*, 1925, RE1 OVC A0009, UGA.
- 44 E. H. Botterell, “Maintenance of Animal Health for Food Production: Report of the Study of Animal Health Services in Ontario for the Minister of Agriculture and Food, December 1976,” (Toronto: n.p., 1976), 2.
- 45 Kathryn Ann Douglas, “Becoming Veterinarians: A Relational Account of the Experiences of Ten Women” (PhD diss., Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, 1999), 248.
- 46 F. E. Gattinger to Lynne Benson, January 4, 1960. Courtesy of Lynne Benson.
- 47 Fritz to Gattinger, December 28, 1961.
- 48 F. Eugene Gattinger, *A Century of Challenge: A History of the Ontario Veterinary College* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 98.
- 49 Katherine Purdue, “Writing Desire: The Love Letters of Frieda Fraser and Edith Williams, Correspondence and Lesbian Subjectivity in Early Twentieth Century Canada” (PhD diss, York University, 2014), 7, 260. Throughout her time at OVC, Williams was in a long-term, same-sex relationship with Frieda Fraser. The couple regularly corresponded during Williams’s time in Guelph, and they eventually moved in together after Williams set up a practice in Toronto.
- 50 Florence Partridge, transcript of her interview with Dr. Joan (Belcher) Budd, March 20, 1990, Alumni in Action Oral History, UGA.
- 51 OVC, *Report of the Ontario Veterinary College*, 1948, RE1 OVC A0009, UGA.
- 52 Purdue, “Writing Desire,” 252, 260. Williams unexpectedly inherited the property from a cousin-in-law.
- 53 University of Toronto, *Torontonensis*, 1938, 9, RE1 OVC A0058, UGA; Jean Rumney’s obituary, 4, RE1 OVC A0115, UGA.
- 54 University of Toronto, *Torontonensis*, 1941, 10, RE1 OVC A0058, UGA; University of Toronto, *Torontonensis*, 1945, 11, RE1 OVC A0058, UGA.

- 55 OVC, Calendar of the Ontario Veterinary College, 1950–51, 2, RE1 OVC A0024, UGA.
- 56 Douglas, "Becoming Veterinarians," 185–89.
- 57 Kay Sandford, "Careers for Women: Cats Most Temperamental Says Woman Veterinarian," *Globe and Mail*, June 14, 1946, 14.
- 58 Fritz to Gattinger, December 28, 1961, 5.
- 59 Dean Percy, "The Ontario Veterinary College in the 1950s: Personal Recollections," *Wellington County History* 14 (2001): 59.
- 60 E. E. Ballantyne to F. E. Gattinger, February 27, 1962, 2, RE1 OVC A0018, UGA.
- 61 Adams, *A Dentist and a Gentleman*, 155–56.
- 62 Edith Williams to Frieda Fraser, February 17, 1938, box 10, file 11, B1995-0044, University of Toronto Archives (hereafter UTA); Purdue, "Writing Desire," 258.
- 63 Fritz to Gattinger, December 28, 1961, 5.
- 64 Heap and Scheinberg, "Just One of the Gang," 206.
- 65 Lisa Cox, Katie Anderson, and Elizabeth A. Stone, "Together We Build: The OVC Student Wives' Auxiliary," *Canadian Veterinary Journal* 57, no. 1 (January 2016): 32–36.
- 66 University of Toronto, *Torontonensis*, 1945, 11, RE1 OVC A0058, UGA.
- 67 University of Toronto, *Torontonensis*, 1941, 10, RE1 OVC A0058, UGA. For more on yearbooks and student cultures, see E. Lisa Panayotidis and Paul Stortz, "Visual Interpretations, Cartoons, and Caricatures of Student and Youth Cultures in University Yearbooks, 1898–1930," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 19, no. 1 (2008): 195–227.
- 68 "A Qualitative Analysis of Female Structure," *Fluoroscope* 1, no. 2 (January 1947): 31, RE1 OVC A0020, boxed with RE1 OVC A0015, UGA.
- 69 Fritz to Gattinger, December 28, 1961, 5.
- 70 Joan Budd to F. E. Gattinger, January 28, 1962, 5, RE1 OVC A0018, UGA.
- 71 Douglas C. Maplesden, *A History of Year 1950 Ontario Veterinary College* (Santa Fe: LomaLand, 2007), 7.
- 72 Kinnear, *In Subordination*, 67–68.
- 73 Fritz to Gattinger, December 28, 1961.
- 74 Fritz to Gattinger, December 28, 1961.
- 75 Percy, "Personal Recollections," 60.
- 76 Fritz to Gattinger, December 28, 1961, 5.
- 77 Williams to Fraser, February 17, 1938.
- 78 *OVC Alumni Bulletin* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1951), 14; OVC, *Annual Report of the Ontario Veterinary College for 1951*, RE1 OVC A0009, reports of the OVC, UGA.
- 79 "1952 Award Winners," *OVC Alumni Bulletin* 2, no. 2 (Summer 1952), 17; OVC, *Annual Report of the Ontario Veterinary College for 1952*, RE1 OVC A0009, UGA.
- 80 "Annual Presentation of Awards and Prizes," *OVC Alumni Bulletin* 3, no. 2 (Spring 1953), 15.
- 81 *OVC Alumni Bulletin* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1968), 7–9; OVC, *Annual Report of the Ontario Veterinary College for 1968*, RE1 OVC A0009, UGA.
- 82 Florence Partridge, transcript of her interview with Dr. Joan (Belcher) Budd, March 20, 1990, Alumni in Action Oral History, UGA.
- 83 Jones, *Valuing Animals*, 114–16. For more on the growth of pet ownership, see Katherine C. Grier, *Pets in America: A History* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2006).
- 84 OVC, *Annual Reports of the Ontario Veterinary College*, 1937 and 1952, RE1 OVC A0009, UGA.
- 85 Anne M. Evans and C. A. V. Barker, *Century One: A History of the Ontario Veterinary Association, 1874–1974* (Guelph: n.p., 1976), 163, 214.

- 86 Hipperson, "Professional Entrepreneurs," 126.
- 87 Edith Williams to Frieda Fraser, November 8, 1937, box 10, file 11, B1995-0044, UTA.
- 88 Jean Rumney, dance cards, 1938 and 1939, 4, RE1 OVC A0115, UGA. Women were not the only ones to work on such social events, particularly due to their limited numbers, and they worked alongside their male colleagues.
- 89 University of Guelph, *Libranni*, 1969, 9, RE1 OAC A0195, UGA.
- 90 R. Brian Howe, "The Evolution of Human Rights Policy in Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 24, no. 4 (December 1991): 795. See also Jennifer Tunnicliffe, "'Life Together': Public Debates over Human Rights Legislation in Ontario, 1975–1981," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 46, no. 92 (November 2013): 443–70.
- 91 Linda Eisenmann, "'Honorary Men' and Incidental Students: Women in Post-World War II American Higher Education, 1945–1970," in *Women in Higher Education*, 253; Dyhouse, *Students*, 205–06. Women were, and remain, underrepresented among postsecondary faculty.
- 92 Peggy Tripp-Knowles, "The Feminine Face of Forestry in Canada," in *Challenging Professions*, 208; Cindy Allen and Margaret Conrad, "Who's Accounting? Women Chartered Accountants in Nova Scotia," in *Challenging Professions*, 255.
- 93 Data courtesy of the OVC Registrar's Office. This trend continued into the twenty-first century.
- 94 T. J. Hubbard, "Women Veterinary Students," *OVC Alumni Bulletin* 23, no. 3 (November 1976): 6.
- 95 Hubbard, "Women Veterinary Students," 6.
- 96 Douglas, "Becoming Veterinarians," 186.
- 97 T. J. Hulland, "Other Views on Veterinary Manpower," *Canadian Veterinary Journal* 18, no. 1 (January 1977): 24.
- 98 Janet Steiss, "Women in the Veterinary Profession," *Canadian Veterinary Journal* 18, no. 6 (June 1977): 170.