

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

O' Woman! In our hours of ease  
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,  
But seen too oft, familiar with her face,  
We first endure, then pity, then embrace<sup>1</sup>

At the turn of the nineteenth century, post-secondary institutions across Canada, the United States, and Great Britain were grappling with the issue of the large-scale entrance of women into post-secondary education and the potential ramifications such a shift may have had on traditional concepts of the family, labour, gender relations, and society as a whole. This is an extremely intriguing period in education history. The advancement of academic dialogue, concerning this period and topic has in some ways been hampered by the nature of the subject matter and the resulting type of scholarship undertaken. The entrance of women into post-secondary education, its time, nature, and circumstance vary substantially between institutions. As such, the majority of written scholarship takes the form of localized case studies which, in some instances, fail to situate their findings in regional and national trends. The field of education history has been, by and large, an orphaned discipline within the overarching genre of Canadian history, and those that have chosen to investigate education topics tend to reflect a very small regional and ideological perspective. Within this understudied discipline, the sub-categories of women's, feminist, and gender history have, as expected, received even less attention. In 1991, Alison Prentice, one of Canada's few gender historians specializing in

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<sup>1</sup> *The Sheaf*, January, vol. 1, no. 3, 1913, 38, University of Saskatchewan.

histories of education, called on Canadian historians as a whole to take on this relatively unexplored area of social history.<sup>2</sup> Prentice's call to arms had presentist and political motivations: she was in the process of completing her research on women's early employment at the University of Toronto as Canadians were collectively mourning the victims of l'École Polytechnique Massacre in Montreal.<sup>3</sup> Prentice believed that only through understanding the first generation of female scholars, their trials, and their challenges could the academic community and Canadians in general truly comprehend how little progress had been made for women in higher education over the course of the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> This thesis is an unwittingly direct response to Prentice's challenge.

### **Thesis, Hypothesis, and Primary Sources**

With this in mind, the goal of this investigation is two-fold. Firstly, it will endeavour to elucidate the institutional inclusivity, internal culture, and gender dynamics of the University of Saskatchewan during its initial fifteen years as Saskatchewan's only degree-granting institution. Secondly, it will attempt to place this fledgling Prairie university within a larger regional and national context. The time period of 1907-1922 was selected because it includes the university's founding as a gender-inclusive environment, the initial years which tested this inclusivity, the atypical period of the First World War, and the post-war establishment of a regular rhythm to the university's life. In fact, 1922 marks the only year in the university's history to that date which did not include a major epidemic, war, administrative crisis, or the upheaval of construction on

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<sup>2</sup> Alison Prentice, "Bluestockings, Feminists, of Women Workers? A Preliminary Look at Women's Early Employment at the University of Toronto". *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1991): 231.

<sup>3</sup> Also known as the Montreal Massacre, it occurred on December 6, 1989 at the École Polytechnique in Montreal, Quebec. Marc Lépine entered the post-secondary institution and shot twenty-eight people, killing fourteen, before taking his own life. Lépine targeted female students claiming to be 'fighting feminism'. The anniversary of this tragedy has been commemorated with the annual National Day of Remembrance and Action on Violence against Women.

<sup>4</sup> Prentice, (1991) 231.

campus. It is essentially the first year in which business progressed without a major problem. In the analysis of this fifteen-year period, all female members of the university community were investigated. Most studies of this kind choose to discuss the experience of female faculty or conversely the experiences of students, but do not attempt to explore the lives of all women within the university community. It is the opinion of this researcher that the inclusion of all female members of the university community is essential to a thorough analysis of this subject. A university is a community, and to discuss only one group is to give only part of the overall experience. In tackling the topic of students without approaching staff and faculty is to ignore the mentoring taking place between these groups. As such this thesis is innovative in its holistic approach to the study of gender dynamics of a university campus.

The University of Saskatchewan makes for an innovative case study because of its formation as a gender-inclusive institution. Founded in 1907, the U of S was created much later than the majority of Eastern-Canadian universities. These eastern predecessors were established exclusively for male students and it was only through the efforts of exceptional women like Grace Annie Lockhart, who received a Bachelor of Science from Mount Allison College in 1875,<sup>5</sup> that doors began to open for the entrance of women into post-secondary study. The University of Saskatchewan, by comparison, was founded after this movement was well-established and, as a result, included women from its inception.<sup>6</sup> In fact, women were the only student group singled out in the drafting of the university constitution. The 1907 *University Act* states that “no women shall by reason of her sex be deprived of any advantage or privilege

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<sup>5</sup> John G. Reid, *Mount Allison University: A history, to 1963*. (Toronto: Published for Mount Allison University by University of Toronto Press, 1984), 49.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Hayden, “Women and the University of Saskatchewan: Patterns of a Problem”, *Saskatchewan History*, vol. 40, no. 2 (1987):73.

accorded to male students of the university”.<sup>7</sup> Although the *University Act* only specifies the inclusion of female students, this study will also discuss the faculty and staff, who, although their equality was not protected by government legislation, also benefited from the university’s policy on women.

Provincially, while women were included in the proposed university, this fact does not necessarily indicate that Saskatchewan as a whole was progressive in terms of its treatment of women. During this period, Saskatchewan’s women were fighting to obtain Dower rights from a resistant provincial government.<sup>8</sup> In terms of enfranchisement, Walter Scott’s Liberals knew that there was rising public interest in granting the vote to women but chose to avoid the issue until early in 1916 when it was leaked that Manitoba would be granting this right. Scott quickly moved to form similar legislation so as to maintain his government’s image as a progressive organization.<sup>9</sup> In this political atmosphere, the ease with which the University of Saskatchewan formed its inclusive gender policy was anomalous.

In regards to its regional and national context, the U of S was extremely progressive in comparison to the oft-studied University of Toronto or McGill University. Conversely, it was comparable to the vast majority of Maritime universities and recently established Western Canadian universities which did offer some degree of gender inclusivity, if not full integration and co-education, by this time.<sup>10</sup> The pervasiveness of gender inclusion in *University Act* made it

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<sup>7</sup> The *1907 University Act*, sec. 30, par. 84.

<sup>8</sup> Margaret McCallum, “Prairie Women and the Struggle for A Dower Law, 1905-1920.”, *Prairie Forum*, 18(1) (1993):19-34.

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Kalmakoff, “Naturally Divided: Women in Saskatchewan Politics, 1916-1919.”, *Saskatchewan History*, 46(2) (1994):3-18.

<sup>10</sup> All Western Universities established in the same time period offered some degree of gender inclusion at their individual creations: University of Manitoba in 1886, the University of British Columbia in 1915, and the University of Alberta in 1907 — Heidi MacDonald, “PEI Women Attending University Off and On the Island to 1943.” *Acadiensis*, 35.1 (Autumn 2005): 96.

a progressive piece of legislation, but how did this ideal translate into a reality during the formative years until 1922? It is this researcher's belief that the University of Saskatchewan during this period was institutionally inclusive in regards to the female faculty, staff, and students in its midst, but that this prescribed inclusivity did not pervade the internal culture and lived experiences of the university's women. In order to provide evidence to support this theory, this thesis will begin with an examination of the external factors which precipitated the inclusion of women in the *University Act* and the efforts of some members of the administration to foster this inclusivity. It will then change perspective, exploring the various policies implemented by the university which affected female faculty, staff, and students and how the university's women tested the boundaries of the environment in which they worked, lived, and learned.

In the course of this study, several avenues of primary research were undertaken. The University of Saskatchewan, like any large institution, has a wealth of primary documentation. In the University Archives' Special Collections, records such as the University Calendars, *The Sheaf* student newspaper/yearbook, President Walter Murray's personal papers and official reports, the Saskatchewan Women's Institutes' fonds, the Jean E. Murray Collection, the Executive Committee of the Board of Governors records, the Financial Services Collection, and several of the Department Heads' official and personal correspondences were explored. Moving beyond the university, all relevant external news articles were investigated, focusing primarily on the *Saskatoon Daily Phoenix* and the *Regina Morning Leader*. Sadly, due to the time period under investigation, no oral history candidates were alive to be interviewed. This shortcoming is particularly regrettable considering the scarcity of written records left by the women under investigation. After exploring the provincial and university archives, as well as making personal inquiries within the community, no personal journals or accounts of the women in question were

retrieved. This lack of first-person voice is compounded by the poor record keeping of the two major female students' organizations on campus. Both the YWCA and the Pente Kai Deku had left no meeting minutes or annual reports for the time period under investigation.

The omission of these records from the archives is surprising considering that, according to their reports submitted to *The Sheaf*, both organizations were well-organized and extremely active. There is no evidence that these files may have been originally submitted to the archives and then later culled from the collection due to limitations in space. In fact, both organizations do have files within the archives but only documentation from the 1930s onward is contained therein. A few speculations may explain this lack of documentation for the 1910s and 20s. Firstly, records for any student organizations from this time period whether co-ed, male, or female, are limited and sporadic. The secretaries of these various clubs may not have felt a need to submit their meeting minutes due to the reports submitted to *The Sheaf*. These reports contained the names of all executive members, the dates and places of upcoming meetings, and articles discussing all major events. As such, there would be a great deal of duplication between club minutes and these submitted reports. In 1920, *The Sheaf* format changed from a monthly journal to a weekly newspaper. With this reformat, the content shifted away from the monthly reports of student organizations to campus news and opinion pieces. This change in format may have meant that later student groups felt a stronger need to retain minutes and other documents because *The Sheaf* no longer provided a parallel forum for this information. Secondly, although Arthur Silver Morton, Professor of History and University Librarian, was a pro-co-educationalist and fervent defender of regional history, his lack of financial and spatial resources for an archives during these early years may have hampered his ability to collect these types of materials. Finally, Jean E. Murray, daughter of President Walter Murray and Professor of

History, began her collection of archival materials during the 1930s and although she tried to recover documents from early women's organizations, these student groups had little in the way of corporate memory to facilitate the recovery of early meeting minute books. Regardless of the potential reasons for their omission from the archives, the lack of these internal documents means that all knowledge of these organizations must be drawn from their submissions to *The Sheaf*. The purpose and intended audience of these university-wide reports means that these documents can only be considered the "partially sanitized"<sup>11</sup> public transcripts of these organizations and must be approached carefully with an eye to the silences and innuendos that can only be truly understood by accessing the now-lost internal and hidden transcripts of these groups' activities.<sup>12</sup>

### **Secondary Source Material Concerning the University of Saskatchewan**

This investigation will not be the first to explore the University of Saskatchewan. The writing of a university history by academics is by its very nature a precariously difficult undertaking. University histories are often conducted by academics with direct connections to the institution under investigation and for that reason must remain vigilant to avoid the inclusion of personal biases which would not come into play with a subject matter of less personal proximity. There have been four carefully crafted volumes published over the past fifty years dealing with the history of the U of S: the aforementioned A.S. Morton's in 1959,<sup>13</sup> James S. Thomson's in 1969,<sup>14</sup> Michael Hayden's in 1983,<sup>15</sup> and Michael Taft's in 1984.<sup>16</sup> These texts

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<sup>11</sup> Scott, James C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 19.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Arthur S. Morton, *Saskatchewan: The Making of a University*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

<sup>14</sup> James Sutherland Thomson, *Yesteryears at the University of Saskatchewan 1937-1949*, (Saskatoon: Modern Press Ltd., 1969).

<sup>15</sup> Michael Hayden, *Seeking a Balance: University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983).

discuss various aspects of the university's history and are extremely helpful in confirming this investigator's analysis of evidence found in the primary sources.

It is important to briefly discuss these four volumes in order to comprehend the historiography surrounding University of Saskatchewan as a subject matter. In 1959, Carlyle King published the first section of a monograph begun by the late A.S. Morton. Morton, a respected Western Canadian historian in his generation, had intended to write the history of the University of Saskatchewan from 1907-1937 but, unfortunately, died in 1945 with this work unfinished.<sup>17</sup> Morton was well-equipped to produce this piece: he was counted among the first professors at the fledgling university and had close contact with several primary figures in these formative years. Thankfully, King, a former student of Morton and former head of the English department at the U of S<sup>18</sup>, did unearth and edit Morton's partially finished draft dealing with the period up until 1920. Morton's narrative style is unmistakable. He frames the creation of the University of Saskatchewan as a monumental struggle undertaken by a few men of greatness who wished to bring civilization to an untamed and empty land.<sup>19</sup> The majority of his piece deals with the legislative and logistical formation of the U of S, focusing on the various politicians and educators involved. Large sections are devoted to personal biographic information of men such as the Hon. Edward Ludlow Wetmore<sup>20</sup>, first Chancellor of the University; Walter Murray, the first President; and the Hon. J.A. Calder, Deputy Minister of Education. If there was one man credited with the university's formation, though, it was Frederick William George Haultain, leader of the official opposition of the Province of

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<sup>16</sup> Michael Taft, *Inside these Greystone Walls: An Anecdotal History of the University of Saskatchewan*. (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1984).

<sup>17</sup> Morton, vi.

<sup>18</sup> The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan; [http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/king\\_carlyle\\_1907-1988.html](http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/king_carlyle_1907-1988.html)

<sup>19</sup> Morton, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 30.



Saskatchewan.<sup>21</sup> In 1901, Haultain, as territorial premier, presented a bill to the Territorial Legislative Assembly proposing the creation of a university. With a scant population and limited infrastructure in place at the turn of the century, Morton argues that it was Haultain who had the foresight to present this bill looking not to the “weary and wind swept”<sup>22</sup> present but to the unlimited future of a “land of promise”.<sup>23</sup> According to Morton, Haultain presented this relatively premature bill in order to procure a federal land grant for the university, which he felt, due to the generous predictions of immigration, would soon become an impossibility. Morton argues that Haultain was the university’s strongest supporter and could have advanced his agenda far more efficiently had he been premier of the newly established province. Mincing no words, Morton blames Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal-leaning northern districts of the province for not giving Haultain the Premiership due him at the creation of the province of Saskatchewan.

But the northern part had recently been peopled by, among others, immigrants from Central Europe brought out by Clifford Sifton during the Laurier régime. These had personal knowledge neither of Haultain nor his deeds, and as voters they turned to the party that had blessed them.<sup>24</sup>

Morton’s disdain for the new settlers of the north is mentioned several times throughout the book but, despite their unwelcome and cumbersome presence, Haultain is able to accomplish his goals due to his “intellectual qualities of unflinching independence and sturdy Protestantism”<sup>25</sup>. Morton’s history is indicative not only of his personal writing style and political and religious leanings, but also of the time period in which the monograph was produced. Morton was writing

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 25.

a history of ‘white protestant worthies’ carving out a better world in the West of Canada; it fit into the widely held ‘ideal of the West’ and was a positive historical interpretation of those men he had come to know personally.

Ethnocentrism and political preferences aside, Morton’s monograph is a historically grounded and academic account of the foundational years of the U of S. Unfortunately, the book produced a decade later by James Sutherland Thomson would not meet this criteria. In his career, Thomson took on the unenviable task of succeeding Walter Murray, the legendary first President of the university. Even Morton, who promoted the vision of Haultain above all others, devoted an entire chapter of his monograph to Walter Murray. The former Dalhousie College professor had shaped the University of Saskatchewan into his vision of what would best serve the province. According to Morton, Murray estimated there should be two foundational pillars to the institution. First, it must serve the entire province and, as this was an agricultural region, the College of Agriculture would be second-to-none in terms of attention and funding. Second, Murray felt it was vital to establish the U of S as state-funded but not state-controlled. This would be a difficult ideal to uphold considering the strong political polarization of the institution’s ‘founding fathers’. Murray had a prolific career at the U of S, acting as president for nearly three decades. Thomson replaced Murray in 1937 and would be president during a tumultuous twelve years marked by World War II and the ensuing post-war university boom. The monograph produced by Thomson is primarily a memoir of his administrative accomplishments.

As such, Morton’s history would have to wait a quarter-century for its first truly academic reply. In 1983, Michael Hayden produced what many consider to be *the* history of the university: *Seeking A Balance: University of Saskatchewan 1907-1982*. Hayden’s tome marks

the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the university's founding and offers an in-depth investigation of the institutional and political history of the university. From a social or gendered perspective, *Seeking A Balance* offers little in terms of interpretation and devotes limited time to this type of analysis. Hayden, a professional historian by training and member of the Department of History at the U of S from 1966 to 2001,<sup>26</sup> specialized in 17<sup>th</sup>-century French political history and, as such, was ill-equipped to offer any social context to his study of a Western Canadian university. Hayden was well aware of this shortcoming and conceded as much in the foreword to his work. Like Morton, Hayden felt that Walter Murray's vision of a state-funded but not state-controlled institution was an intrinsic component not only of the original *University Act* but also the founding values entrenched during Murray's long tenure as president.<sup>27</sup> With almost apocalyptic language, Hayden describes how subsequent generations moved away from this unique vision to the detriment of the university and the province as a whole.<sup>28</sup> The university's founders had hoped to learn from the mistakes of pre-established institutions in the American and Canadian east. They felt that if the province had one, state-funded university, open to all religious denominations, Saskatchewan could avoid the religious tension and piece-meal funding issues present at the time elsewhere.<sup>29</sup>

Hayden believes that the selection of the university site in Saskatoon was politically influenced and that from this decision onward, it would prove impossible to maintain the 'one province, one university' policy.<sup>30</sup> To understand Hayden's historical perspective is to reflect on the contemporary context in which he was writing. In 1974, the University of Regina became an

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<sup>26</sup> Michael Hayden, "Viewpoint: Prof. Hayden's 'last rant'", *On Campus News*, vol 8, no. 12 March 9, 2001. University of Saskatchewan.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 2.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv.

autonomous degree-granting institution within Saskatchewan. This event, as well as the development of other post-secondary institutions such as technical institutes, urban community colleges, and the Advanced Technology Training Centre, occurred during Hayden's tenure at the U of S and no doubt fuelled his concerns for the institution's future. Hayden's history, with its methodical documentation of administrative and policy changes, as well as statistical information, is a valuable reference guide to this study. His lack of analysis in regards to social and cultural factors can be seen as a boon to this thesis as it has created an opportunity in the history of the university, a gap that this investigation will endeavour to fill. With Hayden's political and institutional foundation soundly established, this thesis is able to break new ground in the social interpretation of this subject without having to spend an unduly large amount of time rehashing the political and institutional environment in which these events took place.

Although Hayden choose to omit a cultural and social investigation of the University of Saskatchewan, Michael Taft, a folklorist presently employed as the Head of the Archive of Folk Culture at the American Folklife Centre of the United States Library of Congress<sup>31</sup>, did decide to make it the focus of his 1984 study. In all truth, although Taft entitled his work *Inside these Greystone Walls: An Anecdotal History of The University of Saskatchewan*, it is an ethnographic, and not historical, piece. His study has very little historical analysis but rather presents the anecdotes of former students, staff, and faculty, giving voice to those who 'lived it' rather than synthesizing an overview in their place. It is a wonderful resource for quotations and personal experiences, but like Thomson's memoirs, it should be approached as a collection of primary documents.

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<sup>31</sup> Ukrainian Folklore Centre; <http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/-ukrfolk/news-taft.html>

The University of Saskatchewan has not produced a large body of scholarship or the academic interest necessary to advance analysis of its institutional past. A truly comprehensive history has yet to be produced and this investigation will not endeavour to offer one, but what it will accomplish is the presentation of an unheard prospective on a subject which has received little academic attention.

### **Exploring the Canadian and American Literature**

Widening the scope beyond the institution itself, it is important to place this investigation within the larger national body of work. The discipline of education history as an academic sub-discipline in Canada has been discussed since the 1950s, but its presence has always been extremely tenuous. The best illustration of this disciplinary fragility is an article written by Henry Neumann in the inaugural volume of the *History of Education Journal*, entitled “Should History of Education Be Scrapped?”<sup>32</sup> Neumann argued that since several other historical areas naturally overlap education history, such as labour history, social history, and political history, there was little need for the unnatural sustenance of yet another sub-discipline when its subject matter could be explored by historians in more established disciplines which offered tested methodological frameworks and strong pools of experienced scholars. Neumann’s article was intended to spur a debate among education historians looking to defend their discipline, but it did not. At least in Canada, there was no one out there who felt a need to reply. Education history in Canada continued to limp on, sparsely nourished by academic educators, sociologists, and others, neither flourishing nor dying, but continuing to produce a few articles and monographs annually

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<sup>32</sup> Henry Neumann, “Should History of Education Be Scrapped?”, *History of Education Journal*, vol. 1, no. 4 (1950) 153-157.

featured in the British-based *History of Education Journal*<sup>33</sup> and its American counter-part, the *History of Education Quarterly*.<sup>34</sup>

During the 1970s, education history, and gender education history in particular, began to receive an unprecedented amount of academic coverage. The reasons for this sudden increase in interest were not predominantly academic but rather political and economic. After the baby-boom influx into Canadian and American universities began to dwindle in the 1970s, several institutions found themselves with shrinking enrolment and meagre bottom lines. This increase in post-secondary competition for the market share was particularly strong in the United States where the post-war period witnessed the founding of several universities and junior and community colleges. As a result, universities began to aggressively advertise and brand themselves in order to appeal to a new generation of students. Older institutions such as Columbia University<sup>35</sup> and University of Illinois<sup>36</sup> decided to take advantage of their age and credibility. They commissioned histories to be written in order to mark important institutional anniversaries as well as to draw attention to their early establishment and prestige. Lagging behind their southern contemporaries, Canadian universities in the late 1970s and early 1980s, particularly older institutions in the Maritimes, Ontario, and Quebec, also followed suit with this trend of commemorization, commissioning official histories for their respective institutions.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> The *History of Education Journal* is produced quarterly by the History of Education Society. Its current senior editor is David Crook, Professor of History at the University of Nottingham.

<sup>34</sup> The *History of Education Quarterly* is produced by the American-based History of Education Society and it currently organized and peer-edited from the University of Delaware.

<sup>35</sup> Frank Tannenbaum, ed. *A community of scholars: the university seminars at Columbia*, (New York: Praeger, 1965). and Elizabeth B. Mason and Louis M. Starr ed. *The Oral History Collection of Columbia University*, (New York: Oral History Research Office, 1973).

<sup>36</sup> Roger Ebert, *An Illini century: One hundred years of campus life*, (Urbana: Published for the Committee of the University of Illinois Centennial by the University of Illinois Press, 1967).

<sup>37</sup> William C. Gibson, *Wesbrook and his university*, (Vancouver, Library of the University of British Columbia: 1973).; Allan Gerald Bedford, *The University of Winnipeg: a history of the founding colleges*, (Toronto: Published for the University of Winnipeg by University of Toronto Press, 1976).; Charles Murray Johnston, *McMaster University*, (Toronto: Published for McMaster University by University of Toronto Press, 1976)., Hilda Neatby,

Michael Hayden's history of the University of Saskatchewan could easily be placed within this wave of Canadian university historicization.<sup>38</sup> These institutional histories were often academically hampered by their commissioning administrations.

In 1997, Martin Friedland took on the unenviable task of creating a history for the 175<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University of Toronto. U of T has a long and complicated history involving the inclusion of several affiliated colleges, three campuses, and several substantial administrative shifts. Friedland's difficult task was further complicated by the fact that the university administration wanted this lengthy history to be compacted into a single volume. This decision severely limited Friedland's ability to offer an in-depth analysis, but the deciding powers at U of T felt that a single volume would appear more attractive to alumni and, in turn, would bolster sales and support of the university.<sup>39</sup> Adding insult to injury, all academic endnotes were removed from the published volume and placed online in order to cut down on the size of the printed tome. Friedland's work is only one example of the difficulties facing historians looking to produce commissioned histories and these institutional monographs should be approached with the understanding that similar limitations may have been placed on the author. These commissioned institutional histories like Hayden's investigation of the U of S add substantially to the literature on post-secondary education, both in Canada and the United States, but,

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*Queen's University: Volume I, 1841-1917*, Edited by Frederick W. Gibson and Roger Graham, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978).; Stanley Brice Frost, *McGill University, for the advancement of learning*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980).; Walter H. Johns, *A history of the University of Alberta*. (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981).; Stanley Brice Frost, *McGill University, for the advancement of learning. Volume II, 1895-1971*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984).; John G. Reid, *Mount Allison University: a history to 1963*. (Toronto: Published for Mount Allison University by University of Toronto Press, 1984).; P.B. Waite, *Lord of Point Grey: Larry MacKenzie of U.B.C.* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987).; Rosemary Neering, *The Story of the University of Victoria and its origin in Victoria College*, (Victoria: University of Victoria, 1988).; and Timothy C. Byrne, *Athabasca University: the evolution of distance education*. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1989).

<sup>38</sup> Michael Hayden, *Seeking a Balance: University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982*. (Vancouver: University British Columbia Press, 1983).

<sup>39</sup> Hannah Gay, Review of *The University of Toronto: A History*. By Martin L. Friedland. *H-Net Reviews*.: (2003).

unfortunately, due to factors that may be beyond the author's control, these investigations are often limited in scope and are intended primarily to celebrate, not critique, leaving much unexplored in their subject matter.

While this increase in institutional histories can be directly attributed to economic causes, the concurrent increase in gender education history can be attributed to both economic and political reasons. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, several eastern American universities choose to meet the challenge of women's increased interest in post-secondary education by founding privately-funded ladies colleges. This allowed the middle- and upper-class daughters of New England to receive post-secondary education without braving the potential moral perils of co-educating with male students. Many of these institutions, including Bryn Mawr College, Barnard College, and the other members of the ladies-college equivalent to the Ivy League, known as the 'Seven Sisters',<sup>40</sup> remained 'women-only' universities well into the twentieth-century. The increased competition of the 1970s, compounded by second-wave feminism and women demanding entrance into all-post secondary institutions, left these ladies' colleges stumbling to find their place in this new era of post-secondary education. Several 'academic' histories were produced justifying these colleges' decision to remain single-sexed and expounding the internal cultures produced within these institutions which nurtured generations of female scholars and social activists.<sup>41</sup> These studies were often created as part of a

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<sup>40</sup> The "Seven Sisters" colleges joined in 1927 to form the female equivalent to the Ivy League. These institutions include Mount Holyoke College, Vassar College, Wellesley College, Smith College, Radcliff College, Bryn Mawr College, and Barnard College in its membership. Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the company of educated women: A history of women and higher education in America*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

<sup>41</sup> Willystine Goodsell, *Pioneers of women's education in the United States : Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, Mary Lyon*. (New York: AMS Press, 1970).; Patricia A. Palmieri, "Here Was Fellowship: A Social Portrait of Academic Women at Wellesley College, 1895-1920" *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 2 (1983): 195-214.; Lynn D. Gordon, "Annie Nathan Meyer and Barnard College: Mission and Identity in Women's Higher Education, 1889-1950", *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 4 (1986): 503-522.; John Mack Faragher, and Florence Howe, eds. *Women and higher education in American history: essays from the Mount Holyoke College*



larger alumnae movement to support their endangered alma mater, but these movements could not save these institutions and, with the dire financial situation of these private women's colleges, many eventually chose to become co-educational or affiliate with a co-educational university rather than close their doors permanently.

### **Trends in Recent Scholarship**

In Canada, the vast majority of Maritime, Ontario, and Quebec universities had gradually made the change to co-education because of external social pressures and persistent financial distress brought on by a lower population density and naturally smaller pool of perspective students. Canadian universities were also public institutions, the vast majority of which did not receive the substantial endowments initially enjoyed by the American women's private colleges. As a result of this lack of financial security, only a few affiliated colleges remained single-sex into the 1970s, most notably Victoria College at the University of Toronto. In fact, despite its propounded pre-eminence in Canadian post-secondary education, the U of T was among the last universities in Canada to fully integrate female faculty and students in all their affiliated colleges and departments.<sup>42</sup> This, along with the presence of the affiliated Ontario Institute of Educational Studies, has meant that the vast majority of gender education case studies have been both produced by and discussed some aspect of the University of Toronto.<sup>43</sup>

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*Sesquicentennial Symposia*, (New York: Norton, 1988).; Bette Weneck, "Social and Cultural Stratification in Women's Higher Education: Barnard College and Teachers College, 1898-1912", *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1991): 1-25.; Mary Ann Dzuback, "Women and Social Research at Bryn Mawr College, 1915-40" *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 4, Special Issue on the History of Women and Education, (1993): 579-608.

<sup>42</sup> At the University of Toronto, women were not granted access to all university facilities until 1973 — Hannah Gay, Review of *The University of Toronto: A History*. By Martin L. Friedland. *H-Net Reviews*: (2003). 3.

<sup>43</sup> Alison Prentice, "Bluestockings, Feminists or Women Workers? A Preliminary look at Women's early employment at the University of Toronto." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*. vol. 2 (1991).; Paula J.S. LaPierre, "The First Generation: The Experience of Women University Students in Central Canada", *A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of Education, University of Toronto*. (Toronto: Paula J.S. LaPierre, 1993).; Alyson E. King, "Centres of 'Home-Like Influence': Residences for Women at the University of Toronto". *Material History Review*, 39-59, Spring 1999.;

Looking at these U-of-T-based studies and those produced at other Canadian and American universities on the subject of this time period in education history, three general themes can be drawn. Firstly, the emphasis placed on religion and financial factors leading to the entrance of women into post-secondary education; secondly, the atypical nature of that first generation of students in terms of age, socio-economic background and the physical proximity between home and school; and thirdly, control of the female body, its sexuality and health, as well as the *in loco parentis* nature of the university's relationship with these students.

Turning first to the religious and financial factors surrounding the entrance of women into post-secondary education, one must begin by examining the extremely well-written comparative study created by Paul Axelrod of York University. In his investigation of the differences between the development of universities in Canada and the U.S., Axelrod frames religion and economic factors as paramount in the earlier acceptance of female students in the United States. According to Axelrod, the U.S. had a strong Evangelical movement which emphasized spiritual equality before God.<sup>44</sup> This equality was easily juxtaposed on the issue of women's education, as these young educated women would be able to go forth and teach

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Alyson E. King, "The Experience of the Second Generation of Women Students at Ontario Universities, 1900-1930" *A Thesis submitted in conformity with requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto*. (Toronto: Alyson King, 1999).; Charles Levi, "Phyllis Grieson, Margaret Ross, and the Queen's Hall Girls: Intergroup Conflict Among University College Women, 1910-1921". *Historical Studies in Education*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2000):73-92.; Jean O'Grady, "Margaret Addison: Dean of Residence and Dean of Women at Victoria University, 1903-1931" *Framing our past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001):166-169.; Charles Morden Levi, *Comings and Goings: University Students in Canadian Society, 1854-1973*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).; Elizabeth M. Smyth, "The Culture of Catholic Women's Colleges at the University of Toronto 1911-1925." *CCHA Historical Studies*. vol. 70, (2004):111-130.; Catherine Gidney, "The Athletics-Physical Education Dichotomy Revisited: The Case of the University of Toronto, 1900-1940." *Sport History Review*, vol. 37, (2006):130-149.; Catherine Gidney, "Dating and Gating: The Moral Regulation of Men and Women at Victoria and University Colleges, University of Toronto, 1920-1960." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2, (2007): 138-160.

<sup>44</sup> Paul Axelrod, "Higher Education in Canada and The United States: Exploring the Roots of Difference", *Historical Studies in Education*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1995): 164.

younger generations, bettering society as a whole. This theory flowed nicely with the ideals of the Social Gospel movement which were pervasive in the Northern United States. He also proposed that the American Civil War had so depleted the country of young men as potential students that institutions were eager to include female students in order to maintain enrolment. Axelrod concluded that the lack of any large Evangelical movement in Canada and the absence of devastating war lead to its lagging acceptance of women in post-secondary education.<sup>45</sup> Margaret Gillett had offered the idea of depleted student numbers in her 1981 comparative study of women at McGill University, but Gillett did not propose a national trend, merely one involving the American Mid-Western universities and her place of employment and study, McGill University.<sup>46</sup> Axelrod expanded Gillett's finding to encompass a larger field and included the issue of religion in the debate. Axelrod did concede that in the Canadian Maritimes, the Presbyterian population had a significant impact on the attitudes towards women's education in that region, but did not elaborate on what form that impact may have taken.

The evidence to support Axelrod's comment on the atypical nature of the Canadian Maritimes would be provided by historians such as John Reid<sup>47</sup> and Heidi MacDonald<sup>48</sup> who focussed their research on Maritime provinces: Reid, predominantly in Nova Scotia, and MacDonald, in Prince Edward Island. McDonald provides a particularly convincing argument with the use of extensive statistical information which demonstrates that women from PEI went to university in greater numbers, as a percentage of provincial population, than found in non-

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Margaret Gillett, *We walked very warily: a history of women at McGill*. (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981), 10.

<sup>47</sup> John G. Reid, "Beyond the Democratic Intellect: The Scottish Example and University Reform in Canada's Maritime Provinces", *Youth, University and Canadian Society: essays in the social history of higher education*, John Reid, and Paul Axelrod, eds. (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989): 279.

<sup>48</sup> Heidi MacDonald, "PEI Women Attending University Off and On the Island to 1943." *Acadiensis*, 35.1 (Autumn 2005):103-104

Maritime provinces. MacDonald explains that since PEI did not have a university open to non-cloistered women before the 1950s, Island women in the first half of the century had to travel long distances in order to undertake academic study. This lack of proximity between home and school runs counter to research done by several historians in other areas of Canada.<sup>49</sup> MacDonald also demonstrates that the economy of PEI was such that the vast majority of women attending university ‘off island’ were of lower-middle- and working-class background, also countering the research done by Canadian historians in other regions. She uses this evidence along with church demographic data to prove that families often underwent severe financial hardships in order to provide for the education of daughters. MacDonald tied the higher attendance numbers to the disproportionately large Scottish and Presbyterian population of the island stating that “the Maritime dedication to formal education [is tied] to the large Scottish population who subscribed to the notion that education encouraged democracy”<sup>50</sup>.

The link between East-Coast Presbyterianism and acceptance of women in education has been carried westward by historians such as Hilda Neatby in her discussion of Queen’s President George Monro Grant’s openness to women<sup>51</sup>, David and Robert Murray’s interpretation of Saskatchewan President Walter Charles Murray’s desire to make his institution gender inclusive<sup>52</sup>, and Jean Barman’s evidence for the effect Nova Scotian sojourning female teachers

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<sup>49</sup> A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994): 143., Catherine Gidney, “Dating and Gating: The Moral Regulation of Men and Women at Victoria and University Colleges, University of Toronto, 1920-1960”. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2 (2007): 138-160.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 140.

<sup>51</sup> Hilda Neatby, *Queen’s University: Volume I, 1841-1917*. Edited by Frederick W. Gibson and Roger Graham, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1978): 151.

<sup>52</sup> David R Murray, and Robert A. Murray, *The Prairie Builder: Walter Murray of Saskatchewan*. (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1984): 13.

had on the education system in 19<sup>th</sup>-century British Columbia.<sup>53</sup> Continuing this line of inquiry, as will be seen in the body of this thesis, religion and economic factors played a large part in the decision to make the University of Saskatchewan open to women from its inception.

Moving on to the second trend found in recent scholarship written about women's entrance into post-secondary education is a discussion of the atypical nature of the first generation of female students. Lynn Gordon was the first to propose that the first generation of female scholars at a post-secondary institution were fundamentally different than those of subsequent generations. In her 1990 American national study entitled *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*, Gordon describes the first generation of female students as "studious, serious, politicized, and, in short, ultra-feminist".<sup>54</sup> This sentiment is re-enforced by several American, British, and Canadian scholars.<sup>55</sup> In her 1995 study of normal school co-eds in Wisconsin, Christine Ogren extrapolated on Gordon's theory stating that the first generation of women who attended Wisconsin's Normal School were often women who had taught for a few years in order to save up enough money to sustain themselves during a break in work that would allow them to earn a Normal School Certificate which would, in turn, garner better job opportunities and a higher salaries. These women were older, career orientated, working-class in background, and, on average, were far less likely to marry than subsequent generations of female

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<sup>53</sup> Jean Barman, *Sojourning sisters: the lives and letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

<sup>54</sup> <sup>54</sup> Lynn D Gordon, *Gender and higher education in the Progressive Era*, (New Haven: Yale University Press: 1990), 4.

<sup>55</sup> Margaret Lowe, *Looking Good: college women and body image, 1875-1930*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003): 111.; Alison Prentice, "Bluestockings, Feminists, of Women Workers? A Preliminary Look at Women's Early Employment at the University of Toronto". *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1991): 231.; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women (1850-1920)*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985): 126., The University of Wisconsin System Women's Studies Consortium, ed. *Transforming Women's Education: The History of Women's Studies in the University of Wisconsin System*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 19.

graduates.<sup>56</sup> These women were non-conformists whose politicized nature has been confirmed by studies such as that conducted by The University of Wisconsin System Women's Studies Consortium, who, in their history of the women in Wisconsin, discuss how the university acted as a meeting place for activist women of this first generation. In fact, during large suffragist rallies, the women would gather at the university before marching on the state legislature.<sup>57</sup> There is almost unanimous support for this depiction of the first generation of female scholars, and whether this first generation happened to enter the halls of higher education during the 1860s as in the United States<sup>58</sup> and Britain<sup>59</sup>, or in 1870s and 1880s as in much of Canada, it is believed that this demographic make-up was not determined by time period but by initial access to post-secondary education in a particular marketplace. In other words, the time period did not determine the type of women who comprised this first generation but rather that the opening of a nearby university marked the first opportunity these women had to access post-secondary education close to home. This first generation was far less likely to marry than women without university education or even subsequent generations of female graduates. As Judith Fingard has demonstrated in her study of Dalhousie College, of the pre-1920 women who attended Dalhousie, 55% remained unmarried. This number is staggering considering that the Canadian national average for this generation of women was 10%.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Christine A. Ogren, "Where Coeds Were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920." *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1 (1995): 1.

<sup>57</sup> The University of Wisconsin System Women's Studies Consortium, ed. *Transforming Women's Education: The History of Women's Studies in the University of Wisconsin System*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 19.

<sup>58</sup> Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1990).

<sup>59</sup> Vicinus, 126.

<sup>60</sup> Judith Fingard, "College, Career, and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921", *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays on the Social History of Higher Education* Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989): 134.

While this first generation epitomizes the ‘Bluestocking’ stereotype of the studious and serious school marm, the second generation is described by many as trying vigilantly to distance themselves from this stereotype. As Martha Vicinus has explained in her 1985 study of working-class women in England, women in this second generation were far less political than their predecessors. They were quite aware of the negative connotations associated with being educated women and sacrificed any notion of political activism in order to make themselves less threatening and more attractive to men.<sup>61</sup> Margaret Lowe reinforces the idea that beginning in the 1910s, white middle- and upper-class women viewed university less as a place of career preparation and more as “a glorious interlude”<sup>62</sup> between their parents’ home and married life.<sup>63</sup> Building on the research conducted by these scholars and others, this thesis will discuss the demographic make-up of the female students at the U of S, how their average socio-economic status changed as well as examining whether an education or a husband was the desired end result of pursuing a university education.

This leads to the final trend in recent scholarship that of control over the female body, its sexuality, and health, as well as the *in loco parentis* nature of the university’s relationship with these students. Several of the scholars who have chosen to tackle this era of education history have opted to discuss the political nature of the female body on the university campus. Scholars working out of the University of Toronto have found this vein of inquiry to be particularly attractive to their individual research. While Christabella Sethna’s work has focussed on the campus-wide debate over the introduction of the birth control pill in the 1960s and ‘70s, authors such as Alyson King, Charles Levi, and Jean O’Grady have chosen to explore various university

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Vicinus, 124.

<sup>63</sup> Lowe, 111.

residences and sororities at the University of Toronto.<sup>64</sup> These three authors come to very similar conclusions while exploring different areas of U of T during the 1880s through to the 1920s. They endeavoured to prove that residences were designed to mimic the traditional home so as to reassure parents that their daughters would remain safe both physically and morally during their time at university. Martha Vicinus believes that this ‘homelike’ environment was also sustained in order to ensure that university life did not provide a more attractive alternative to the traditional home. These women were to be educated, but their education was never to interfere with their ability to re-integrate into their ‘natural sphere’, the home.<sup>65</sup> As such the administration of these residences also mirrored the family. The university administrators embodied distant, overseeing fathers; the residence head mistresses or superintendents were seen as involved mothers; and the students were treated as children, not young adults, and were kept under close supervision in order to protect them from the innate dangers of the world. This overprotection was largely the result of the work of Dr. Edward H. Clarke and his widely popular book, *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for Girls*, published in 1875. Clarke, a notable medical doctor and professor at Harvard, used the science of the day to prove that education took valuable energy and blood away from women’s reproductive organs and redistributed these resources to the brain. As a result, educated women were less likely to be able to produce

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<sup>64</sup> Christabelle Sethna, “The University of Toronto Health Service, Oral Contraception, And Student Demand for Birth Control, 1960-1970.” *Historical Studies in Education* vol. 17, no. 2 (2005): 265-292.; Alyson E. King, “Centres of ‘Home-Like Influence’: Residences for Women at the University of Toronto”. *Material History Review*, 39-59, Spring 1999.; Charles Levi, “Phyllis Grieson, Margaret Ross, and the Queen’s Hall Girls: Intergroup Conflict Among University College Women, 1910-1921”. *Historical Studies in Education*, vol. 12, no. 1, (2000):73-92.; Jean O’Grady, “Margaret Addison: Dean of Residence and Dean of Women at Victoria University, 1903-1931” *Framing our past: Canadian Women’s History in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O’Rourke. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001):166-169.

<sup>65</sup> Vicinus, 134.



children, depriving them of their pre-eminent purpose as women.<sup>66</sup> According to Clarke, the health of female students would gradually decline as their studies continued, and if not rectified could lead to disease and death.<sup>67</sup> Margaret Lowe believes that this fear for women's reproduction was directly tied to the desire to retain the superiority of the white race. If upper- and middle-class white women were compromising their reproductive ability, the entire race would eventually be overtaken by people deemed to be a lesser genetic quality.<sup>68</sup> As a result of Clarke's publication, parents had a scientific basis for wanting their daughters to stay close to home and under their watchful supervision. A.B. McKillop cited Clarke's book as one of the main reasons why female Queen's students came predominantly from the Kingston area rather than from further away.<sup>69</sup> Catherine Gidney of the University of Toronto has also attributed Clarke's work to the increased interest in women's physical education, health, and the rise of home economics at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>70</sup> At the University of Saskatchewan, the 'homelike' environment of the student residences described by Vicinus and others was vigilantly maintained, and it will be proven that the university administration was very much concerned for the physical and moral health of the women in their midst.

The trends pulled from these education history case studies have proven invaluable for the comparisons they offer to the U of S. Although many do not draw larger trends out of their findings, the collective does offer significant patterns for this investigation. As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of what has been written in this field has taken the form of institutional case studies. That being said, national studies in Britain, the U.S., and Canada have been undertaken

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<sup>66</sup> Edward H. Clarke M.D., *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for Girls*, (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company: 1875).

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Lowe, 3.

<sup>69</sup> McKillop, 143.

<sup>70</sup> Catherine Gidney, "The Athletics-Physical Education Dichotomy Revisited: The Case of the University of Toronto, 1900-1940." *Sport History Review*, vol. 37 (2006): 136.

with varying degrees of success. In the United States, the most comprehensive monograph was put forward by Barbara Miller Solomon with her 1985 study entitled, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*.<sup>71</sup> Solomon's investigation of trends in education offered extensive quantitative data and came to the predictable conclusion that white women in the North-East were privileged with an abundance of accessible post-secondary options. Solomon's monograph claims to be a national study, but focuses pre-dominantly on New England and spends little time discussing the education of non-white women or women in other less populated regions on the United States such as the South and Mid-West. This imbalanced approach to an American national study has been repeated by many, with the justification that the vast majority of institutions and sources were available in the over-represented North-East.<sup>72</sup>

This same imbalanced approach to 'national' studies has plagued education history in Canada. Over the past three decades, only a small cadre of scholars have made major contributions to this field and these education historians tend to base their research and careers in Ontario. Alison Prentice worked for most of her prolific career at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Paul Axelrod at York University, and A.B. McKillop at Carleton. These scholars' contributions are commendable but not necessarily representative of the entire country. The fact that works such as Axelrod's *Making a Middle Class*<sup>73</sup> often focus discussion on Ontario, or more specifically Toronto, and yet purport to represent Canada as a whole, speaks to what Phil

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<sup>71</sup> Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1985).

<sup>72</sup> Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1990).

<sup>73</sup> Paul Axerold, *Making a middle class: student life in English Canada during the thirties*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

Buckner has termed “the centralist bias of Canadian history”.<sup>74</sup> This centralist attitude is shockingly still represented in academia and unapologetically justified by some scholars including the board of the Ontario Historical Studies Series, who, in 1993, justified their sponsoring of Ontario-centric publications. According to them, Ontario had not been fairly represented as a distinctive region since its values and interests so thoroughly imbued the nation as a whole that the province was lost within its creation.<sup>75</sup> In short, “the Ontario outlook has been, and in some measure still is, a compound of aggressiveness, conservatism, and the conviction that its values should be the model for the rest of Canada.”<sup>76</sup> Of those who have made substantial contributions to education history in the recent past, only Jean Barman has chosen to research an area outside of Ontario. She focuses on the gendered nature of education in British Columbia and adds an extremely useful perspective to the national scene. Unfortunately, the few national studies that do attempt some degree of regional representation only generally discuss the Maritime universities such as Dalhousie, use McGill University to exclusively represent Quebec, offer up a variety of universities in Ontario with the University of Toronto always included in that number, and provide the University of British Columbia as the Western perspective.<sup>77</sup> In these national studies, the Prairie provinces are anachronistically and awkwardly group together with British Columbia as ‘the West’, or omitted from the national picture entirely.

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<sup>74</sup> Jean Barman, *Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 238.

<sup>75</sup> The Ontario Historical Studies Series preamble from A.B McKillop, *Matters of the Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Catherine Gidney, *A Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian University, 1920-1970*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004).

### Research Philosophy

With this historiographic context established, it is clear that more research needs to be conducted in regards to the University of Saskatchewan, prairie universities, women's entrance into post-secondary education, and Canadian education history as a whole. This study will not be the comprehensive institutional history wanting at the University of Saskatchewan, nor will it offer a full view of the lived experiences of the women who attended the U of S between its creation and 1922. Drawing from Joy Parr's extrapolation of John Keats's theory of, "negative capability", the research done for this study has endeavoured to approach the sources with a "self-checking" and "alert mind" always questioning the entrenched assumptions brought to the primary material,<sup>78</sup> and realizing that no study can possibly offer all the answers, but merely hope to find a small window into the lived experiences of those under investigation.

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<sup>78</sup> Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice" *The Contested Past: Reading Canada's History*. Edited by Marlene Shore. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 287.

## CHAPTER 2 EXTERNAL FACTORS

From all over this great area of land there will be an ever-increasing demand for higher education from its young men and women. And the need should be met right at home.<sup>79</sup>

### **A Brief History of Education in Saskatchewan**

The University of Saskatchewan, like any public institution, was not created within a cultural vacuum but rather acts as a reflection of the political atmosphere and community sentiment which surrounded its foundation. In order to better understand the created culture within the university, from its inception until 1922, this chapter will endeavour to outline the external factors which influenced the university's founding as well as introduce the key figures involved, such as Walter Scott, Walter Murray, and Frederick Haultain, who influenced the gendered nature of the university long before the first student stepped across the university's threshold.

In 1903, the territory that would become the province of Saskatchewan was teeming with activity. The region was in the middle of its largest white settlement boom to date, with the provincial population jumping from 94,279 in 1901 to a staggering 257,763 just five years later.<sup>80</sup> This boom was precipitated by a convergence of several factors; firstly, the intensive

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<sup>79</sup> "A Provincial University", *Saskatoon Phoenix*, January 11, 1906. 4.

<sup>80</sup> Hayden offers different statistics for the immigration boom, listing a population of 159, 940 in 1901 and 361,000 in 1905. I have chosen to offer Morton's in the body of this text because it appears that Hayden's are close approximations instead of definitive numbers — Hayden, 3.

settlement campaign waged by Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior between 1896 and 1905<sup>81</sup>; secondly, a bull market for grain which began in 1901 and continued unabated until 1911<sup>82</sup>; and lastly, the increased access to the West afforded by the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885<sup>83</sup>. Although this swell in population was welcomed by both the Laurier federal government and the territorial assembly lead by Premier Haultain, the sharp increase in immigration did create logistical problems for the territorial administration. All funding for the North-West Territories was obtained through grants from the federal government and although the population was rising, these essential federal funds were not keeping in step with growing demands. As a result, desperately needed infrastructure and support was lacking for the thousands of new arrivals.<sup>84</sup>

It was in this political atmosphere that Premier Haultain first proposed, in 1900, the need to gain provincial status for the territory. It was his belief that only by gaining the autonomy which came with provincehood could the regional government collect taxes and, in turn, offer vitally needed services to the people of the territory.<sup>85</sup> In 1900, the territorial government unanimously passed a bill calling on the federal government to consider the issue. Laurier was not eager to grant provincial status to the territory because of the potential loss of federally controlled land and subsequent revenue. He was also disinclined to bow to the wishes of Haultain, who had been strongly supported by, and equally supportive of, the federal Conservative opposition leader, Robert Borden, in his campaign to bring provincial autonomy to the North-West.<sup>86</sup> As a result of this political animosity, the call for provincehood remained

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<sup>81</sup> Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History*, (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd., 2005), 4.

<sup>82</sup> Hayden, 3.

<sup>83</sup> Morton, 3.

<sup>84</sup> Hayden, 3.

<sup>85</sup> Morton, 5.

<sup>86</sup> Waiser, 7.

unanswered until 1905 when the extreme increase in territorial population could no longer be left unheard and Laurier was forced to consider granting provincial autonomy to the region.<sup>87</sup> In January of 1905, Laurier invited Haultain to Ottawa to begin discussions of provincial creation. As can be expected, the two leaders did not agree on several key issues surrounding the proposed autonomy bill. Haultain wanted one large province carved out of what is today Alberta, Saskatchewan, and northern Manitoba, called “Buffalo”.<sup>88</sup> It was his belief that only with a large provincial area and significant population could the west hold the political sway needed to be a major force on the national political landscape. Others proposed two or three provinces, whereas the federal Liberals favoured the idea of four provinces created out of the four arbitrarily divided provisional districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Athabasca, and Alberta.<sup>89</sup> Another issue that would be hotly contested was provincial control of public lands and resources which the federal government was adamant not to relinquish.

These were but two of the debated issues overshadowed by a contentious education clause which was a very small part of the overall bill but had the potential for significant political ramifications not only for the West but for the linguistically and religiously polarized East.<sup>90</sup> In 1875, the *North-West Territory Act* allowed religious minorities to establish separate schools in their communities and to support these schools through self-regulated fees from the settlers in the area.<sup>91</sup> In 1884, this system was further entrenched with the establishment of separate sections of the territorial Board of Education specializing in Roman Catholic and Protestant schools. Then in 1892, under the leadership of Haultain, this system was discontinued and a

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 9.

single, non-denominational public school system run by the territorial government was put into practice.<sup>92</sup> In 1905, Laurier proposed the re-adoption of the original separate school system in the provincial autonomy bill. This single clause caused nearly five months of debate in the House of Commons and re-opened old wounds left by the Manitoba Schools Crisis of the 1890s. The lengthy debate over the education policy in the future provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan created discontent in Quebec and Ontario, forced the postponement from July 1<sup>st</sup> to September 1<sup>st</sup> of the official creation of the provinces, fuelled rumours of a Catholic-lead conspiracy involving Laurier, and resulted in Clifford Sifton resigning from the cabinet. With fierce opposition from the Conservative party and a lack of sufficient support from his Liberal caucus on the issue, Laurier eventually conceded and allowed the 1892 system of provincially controlled, non-denominational schooling to remain in place. It is interesting to note that although the education clause was of paramount concern in Ottawa, the residents of Saskatchewan were far more concerned with the financial and political autonomy that would come with provincial status.<sup>93</sup> Not surprisingly, when Laurier was choosing candidates for the positions of interim premiers for the newly established provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, Haultain was not considered. Although never to regain provincial power as premier, Haultain remained an influential figure in public politics and had a significant impact on the creation of the University of Saskatchewan.

### **The Influence of Haultain and the University of Toronto**

As mentioned earlier, it was Haultain who proposed a bill calling for the creation of a territorial university. In 1903, Haultain set down what would become the founding principals of

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.



the University of Saskatchewan.<sup>94</sup> The first three are listed as follows: firstly, the university would be state-funded but not state-controlled; secondly, there would be no religious test requirements as the institution would be non-denominational; and thirdly, women would be included as equal stakeholders to their male peers.<sup>95</sup> The first two were of paramount concern not only to Haultain but also to the university's first President, Walter Charles Murray, but that the inclusion of women was listed third after these two essential issues speaks to Haultain's belief in its importance.

Haultain was not selected as interim Provincial Premier in September of 1905, nor in the subsequent general election held in December of that year. The question begs answering: if Haultain was effectively removed from power after the creation of the province, how did he manage to maintain influence over the sculpting of the university? In both cases the coveted post went to Thomas Walter Scott, a Liberal politician and former House of Commons backbencher from Regina. During the early years of the territorial assembly, when party lines were still in flux, these two men worked closely together. Scott had great respect for the elder Haultain and adopted many of Haultain's territorial policies for the fledgling province. The newly appointed premier understood that a provincial university was an important component of the establishment of Saskatchewan as a strong and autonomous political entity, but as a self-educated newspaper man from Ontario, Scott looked to the Osgood Hall graduate, Haultain, for the legal and logistical know-how to establish the university.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> David R. Murray and Robert A. Murray, *The Prairie Builder: Walter Murray of Saskatchewan*. (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1984), 42.

<sup>95</sup> Arthur S. Morton, *Saskatchewan: The Making of a University*, Carlyle King, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 10.

<sup>96</sup> Hayden, 4.

It was with Haultain's aid that J.A. Calder, Deputy Minister of Education, wrote the 1907 *University Act*. Calder, educated at the University of Manitoba, looked to the several U of T graduates who surrounded him for advice and guidance in the legislation's crafting. Calder also had the advantage of being able to review the report of the 1906 *Royal Commission on the University of Toronto* which precipitated major changes within that institution. Among the recommendations put forward by the commission,<sup>97</sup> was the re-enforcement of university autonomy, free from provincial political interference or fiscal control.<sup>98</sup> As historian Michael Hayden has explained in *Seeking a Balance: University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982*, the University of Saskatchewan's administrative structure was unique within Canada because Calder took advantage of the research done by the Royal Commission in the creation of the university's charter. It was a valuable resource that the University of Manitoba and Alberta did not have due to their earlier establishments, and was a document that the University of British Columbia chose not to employ when it was established as a separate degree granting university in 1908.<sup>99</sup> Among the many policies borrowed from this report, one was the creation of a Board of Governors wherein the majority of seats were allocated to academics not politicians; in the case of the University of Saskatchewan, five members would be selected from the University Senate, an organization which was, in turn, elected from the members of the first University Convocation, itself comprised of all people residing in the province for at least six months who had a

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<sup>97</sup> The 1906 *Royal Commission on the University of Toronto* was convened to resolve major administrative problems plaguing the university. Its members were a veritable who's who of Toronto's elite. They included Reverend Bruce Macdonald, Canon Henry Cody, William Meredith and A.H.U. Colquhoun. The commission was chaired by Joseph Flavelle and convened in Goldwin Smith's home known as The Grange — Martin L. Friedland, *The University of Toronto : a history*, (Toronto ; Buffalo : University of Toronto Press, 2002), 203.

<sup>98</sup> Friedland, 204.

<sup>99</sup> Hayden, 11.

university degree.<sup>100</sup> A minority of seats, in this case three, would be assigned to government representatives, with the President rounding out the members of the nine-person Board of Governors.<sup>101</sup> This board would hold the oversight of all financial decisions within the university. The lack of government control paralleled Haultain's vision for the university, and the past difficulties caused by government interference at the University of Toronto reinforced Haultain's belief in the need for entrenched protections for the university within its provincial charter.<sup>102</sup>

According to Morton, at the time, no university in Canada limited government control as drastically as at the University of Saskatchewan.<sup>103</sup> It is this researcher's belief that this mistrust of government stems from the political culture that surrounded the university's founding. After years of not receiving adequate support from the Canadian federal government, the residents of this newly formed province wanted two fundamental elements to their provincial government, firstly that it be a limited government which did not impact their daily lives and secondly, that it be accountable to the people of the province. These entrenched misgivings of government were reinforced by the large number of recent immigrants from the Midwestern United States, who brought with them the American values of limited and decentralized government.

The U of T report also called for the creation of a strong post in the station of the President. This position would no longer include any teaching responsibilities and this "chief executive officer"<sup>104</sup> would stand as the embodiment of the university's centralized power. It is an interesting paradox that although it appears that the residents of Saskatchewan were leery of

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<sup>100</sup> The residency criterion for membership to the senate was very clear, but sex was not specified. As a result the first University Convocation included 299 university graduates, fourteen of whom were women, all of whom had the opportunity to vote in the selection of the University Senate representative — Hayden, 13.

<sup>101</sup> Morton, 14.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. 10.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Friedland. 205.

centralized power in their government, Calder, Haultain, and Scott believed that a strong central administration was key to the university's success.<sup>105</sup> In terms of administrative structure, Calder depended heavily on the findings of the 1906 Royal Commission in his writing of the *University Act* and, as such, the structure of the early U of S greatly resembles that of the early twentieth-century University of Toronto. Although administratively the two institutions held a great deal in common, their policies toward women could not have differed more. The University of Toronto held tightly to the Oxford and Cambridge model of a separate subordinate college for women conducted under the direction of the overarching male-only university.<sup>106</sup> Even Robert Falconer, a Presbyterian, and Murray's contemporary at the University of Toronto, held steadfast to this traditional English education model of segregation throughout his term which ended in 1932.<sup>107</sup> In comparison to other universities in Canada, the University of Toronto was extremely slow in adopting inclusive policies towards women. In her investigation of four Ontario universities, Alyson King came to the positive conclusion that institutions such as the University of Western Ontario and McMaster University were far more welcoming to women due to their relatively small size, financial need for students, cultural traditions of co-education, and religious backgrounds.<sup>108</sup> To turn this theory around, one could conclude that the University of Toronto was comparatively unwelcoming to women due to its size as one of the largest universities in Canada, its financial security due to government funding, its tradition of separate education, and its religious background heavily influenced by the Anglican faith. The relationship between

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<sup>105</sup> As it will be explained, in 1919, the public demand for decentralized power and the autocratic nature of the University President would come into direct conflict and mark the end of the period of idyllic innocence at the University of Saskatchewan.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Hannah Gay, Review of *The University of Toronto: A History*. by Martin L. Friedland. *H-Net Reviews*. (February, 2003), 3.

<sup>108</sup> Alyson E. King, "The Experience of Women Students at Four Universities, 1895-1930" *Framing our past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001): 163.

university size and institutional openness to women is echoed by Christine Ogren in her study of women at University of Wisconsin normal schools. Ogren argues that American national studies such as those conducted by Solomon, Horowitz, and Gordon focussed on larger institutions, failed to recognize the unique nature of small colleges and universities.<sup>109</sup> The University of Wisconsin was one of several American universities Murray visited shortly after his appointment as president of the U of S. Before the location of the university was selected or any decisions about the structure of the various departments made, he wanted to poll similarly situated state and provincial universities with large rural populations and agrarian-based economies. Murray found the University of Wisconsin to be a particularly attractive example as it was situated in the same city as the state capital – he deemed this essential to the facilitate the university’s service to the people – incorporated an agricultural college on the main campus, and co-educated women in most classes. President Charles Van Huse of Wisconsin supported co-education but felt that some classes, such as biology and physical training, should remain separate.<sup>110</sup> The reason given for co-education in Wisconsin was the same espoused by Murray in his 1909 *President’s Report*, that of the present need to consolidate financial expenditures and tap every racially acceptable pool of students in order to make the institution financially viable.

### **Political Wrangling Over Location**

Murray returned from his fact-finding trip with a clear vision of where and how the university should be installed. He was adamant that a provincial university should be located at the capital to facilitate the creation of, and access to, a provincial library, as well as to allow law students to clerk in the city where they would be most needed in their future careers. Murray was

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<sup>109</sup> Christine A. Ogren, “Where Coeds Were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920.” *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1 (1995): 1.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. 4.

immovable on this point, as was Premier Scott in his opinion that the university not be located in the capital city. Walter Scott was extremely involved in the university's creation although, unlike Murray, his interest was entirely political. Education had been so hotly contested in the federal autonomy bill which created the province that Scott felt that the maintenance of this portfolio should be one of his personal concerns and went as far as adding the post to his responsibilities as premier from 1905 to 1915.<sup>111</sup> Scott also saw the university as a bargaining chip to be used to his advantage. In the 1905, the location of the capital was the key issue of the day. Scott's Liberals were divided along north/south lines. The Liberals from both Saskatoon and Regina wanted the capital for their respective communities. Moose Jaw and Prince Albert were not even considered as both were known Conservative strongholds and Scott openly said that under a Liberal government, neither the capital nor the university would go to a Conservative town.<sup>112</sup> In a closed-door caucus session the night before the capital location vote, it is believed that Scott convinced his party to unanimously support Regina as the capital, with the concession being that Saskatoon would be guaranteed the university.<sup>113</sup> This theory is not supported by Hayden or Morton, but suspicion of political interference in the selection of the university site has been proposed by both authors and was a tangible concern for President Walter Murray.<sup>114</sup> Murray felt that if the government were to influence the selection of the university's site for political ends, the founding principle of political autonomy for the university would be compromised before the proverbial doors had even opened. This being said, the theoretical

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<sup>111</sup> Brian Noonan, Dianne Hallman, and Murray Scharf. eds. *A History of Education in Saskatchewan*. (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2006), vii.

<sup>112</sup> Murray and Murray, 62.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>114</sup> Hayden, 43.

backroom deal did follow the philosophy of decentralized government propounded by both Scott's Liberal and Haultain's Provincial Rights parties.<sup>115</sup>

### **Murray's Background and Influences**

Haultain had set down the principle of female co-education at the University of Saskatchewan, but it would take the President to see this idea through to fruition. Everyone on the Board understood the importance of the president's appointment. The man selected would be an ex-officio member of both the Board of Governors and the Senate and would hold the final say on all internal decisions at the university. After a six-month search, probing the Canadian universities of the East for their brightest men, Walter Charles Murray was chosen on August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1908, by the board to transform Calder's *University Act* into a tangible place of higher learning.<sup>116</sup> The selection of Murray had a significant impact not only on the gendered nature of the university but on all aspects of the university's management for the next twenty-nine years. Murray was by nature a man who wanted to know every detail of every aspect of *his* university. His hand, whether visible or not, was in the midst of every decision affecting day-to-day operations, from the width of the mattresses in the new residence<sup>117</sup> to the selection of each and every new faculty member.<sup>118</sup> To understand Walter Murray, where he came from, his educational philosophy, and his motivations, is to understand the temperament of the university administration for the entire scope of this study.

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>116</sup> Murray and Murray, 52.

<sup>117</sup> University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, August 1, 1921. After the expansion of Qu'Appelle Hall, the board discussed the width of the beds to be installed. Three feet was determined to be a sufficient width and Miss. E.H. Grant was given purchasing power to procure mattresses, blankets, pillows, and sheets. Miss E.H. Grant had commenced working at the university in August, 1915 as a stenographer in the Bursar's office. In 1918, she became Superintendent of Qu'Appelle Hall.

<sup>118</sup> All faculty appointments during the time period under investigation were approved by the board with little to no consultation with the department heads involved.

Born in 1866 on the family farm ten miles northwest of Sussex, New Brunswick, Walter Charles Murray marked the beginning of the second generation of his Scottish immigrant family to be born in Canada.<sup>119</sup> His father, Charles, began his career as a school teacher and eventually went on to graduate from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, later to be known as the Columbia Medical School. Charles returned to his family farm in the parish of Studholme, N.B., working as a farmer while also practicing medicine and teaching throughout the area when needed. Charles embodied a dichotomy that Walter later endeavoured to cultivate at the University of Saskatchewan: Charles was a farmer who valued education and service to community. This concept of the ‘farming gentleman’ contributing to society can be seen as an end goal in many of the decisions surrounding the College of Agriculture at the University of Saskatchewan during Murray’s administration. Although Charles created an archetype for his son to emulate, it was Walter’s mother who held the most sway over her eldest son. Born Elizabeth Mackenzie of St. Stephen, New Brunswick, Walter’s mother was a staunch Scottish woman of Presbyterian faith, and although the Murray family was Anglican by ancestry, Walter would whole-heartedly embrace the Presbyterian religion, humanist values and traditions nurtured by his mother. Elizabeth Murray, like many Presbyterian women of the Maritimes, was deeply devoted to learning and encouraged all of her children, regardless of sex, to pursue post-secondary education. As a lower-middle-class woman of her generation, Elizabeth Murray had not been afforded the opportunity to pursue any formal schooling, but her love of learning was obvious to all who knew her. As one of her grandchildren later explained, she was rarely seen without a book within arm’s reach and was known to tie a Latin grammar book to her broom

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 14.



handle so as to read while doing her daily sweeping.<sup>120</sup> The connection between religion and education had been firmly entrenched by the vast number of Scottish Presbyterian settlers who peopled this area of New Brunswick. A two-hundred-year tradition of universal education and the subsequent church tithe that went to “support the parish church and teacher” were transplanted by these settlers to their new homeland.<sup>121</sup> Women in particular transmitted this value of education to the next generation and, as has been seen in studies conducted across Canada,<sup>122</sup> the impact of Maritime Presbyterian women on the field of education was far reaching. Even the University of Saskatchewan’s own Hilda Neatby was affected in her formative years by one sojourning young female school teacher named Julia Rutherford of Pictou County, Nova Scotia, who imbued a love of learning in the young scholar.<sup>123</sup>

Returning once again to Walter Murray, he was an intelligent student and was encouraged by both parents to pursue post-secondary education. After completing some high school training at the Collegiate School in Fredericton, he received top honours on his matriculation exam, garnering, among other accolades<sup>124</sup>, the King’s Country Scholarship which gave him the equivalent of free tuition at the University of New Brunswick where he enrolled in 1883.<sup>125</sup> While a student at UNB, a fellow junior threw a slipper during a mathematics class. The teacher, who also happened to be the university’s principal decided to suspend the entire class until the culprit came forward.<sup>126</sup> Murray felt this punishment to be unduly harsh and attempted to enrol at Dalhousie for the term. Dalhousie had been warned not to take on any of these

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<sup>120</sup> Murray and Murray, 15.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. 13.

<sup>122</sup> For example, Jean Barman, *Sojourning sisters: the lives and letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

<sup>123</sup> L.H. Neatby, *Chronicle of a Pioneer Prairie Family*, (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books: 1979), 44.

<sup>124</sup> Murray also won the Douglas silver medal and the Governor General’s medal. Murray and Murray, 17.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

potential troublemakers and Murray and his classmates were left to pay tuition without classes for the remainder of the year.<sup>127</sup> Murray would never forget the harshness of this action and, as a result, was often seen as too lenient with similar pranks at the University of Saskatchewan. During his final year at UNB, Murray won the prestigious Gilchrist Scholarship<sup>128</sup> which allowed him to complete his graduate work in Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. Murray did not come from a wealthy background and was only able to continue his studies through the attainment of generous scholarships. This fact would not be lost on the future university president, who worked to ensure that all students who wished to attend the U of S were not prohibited by financial means.

At Edinburgh, Murray became intimately acquainted with the small cadre of Canadians studying abroad. Among this group were Clarence MacKinnon, Arthur Silver Morton, John Falconer, and his brother, Robert Falconer.<sup>129</sup> The last of this list would later become the President of the University of Toronto and recommend Murray for the president's post at the University of Saskatchewan. The close relationships nurtured between these men at the University of Edinburgh would remain strong throughout their academic careers and the friendship between Murray and Robert Falconer in particular helps to understand the similarities between the University of Toronto's administration and that of the U of S. When Murray was searching for new faculty members or dealing with a particularly troubling management issue he would undoubtedly contact Falconer for advice and reassurance.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> The Gilchrist Scholarship could be considered a precursor to the Rhodes Scholarship. At the time that Murray received his Gilchrist, there was only one given out in Canada each year and it was awarded by competitive nomination. The prize was valued at one hundred pounds per annum for a three year period. The recipient was given the choice to study either at London's University College or the University of Edinburgh — Murray and Murray, 19.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Hayden, 89.

After completing his graduate studies in Europe in 1891, Murray returned to the University of New Brunswick to assume the chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy.<sup>131</sup> He spent only one academic year at UNB as the twenty-six-year-old was soon offered a far more prestigious position with a 200% pay increase: Chair in Philosophy at the University of Dalhousie. Murray's time at UNB, though brief, is worthy of note as it was there that he met and began courting Christina Cameron, a student during Murray's tenure. The couple would wait until 1895, four years after beginning their courtship, to marry. Christina, like her husband, was an accomplished scholar and gold medallist at the University of New Brunswick. After marriage, Mrs. Murray, or 'Teenie' as she was lovingly called by her husband, chose not to continue her academic pursuits.<sup>132</sup> As has been described by Judith Fingard, this generation of female graduates were far less likely to marry than later cohorts and those that did enter the bonds of matrimony often did so at the cost of their careers. Canadian Victorian society looked unfavourably on the women who tried to maintain both family and career. Christina Murray never applied for a position, nor received a salary, but she worked at the University of Saskatchewan for the length of her husband's administration, acting as honorary president to several student organizations, hosting countless teas, and opened up her home when the university was in need such as during the Spanish influenza epidemic when the President's house was used as a residence for the volunteer nurses.

Between 1895 and 1908, the Murrays lived in Halifax where Walter continued his academic career at Dalhousie and became a prominent member in the community, serving as a municipal alderman from 1905 until his departure for Saskatchewan in August of 1908. Christina, for her part, managed the home and gave birth to three daughters in quick succession:

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<sup>131</sup> Murray and Murray, 20.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid. 58.

Christina, Lucy, and Jean, the last and youngest of whom was born in 1901. Murray's Scottish Presbyterian background with its humanist ideals, the early influence of his mother who strongly valued education, his experience with co-education at the University of New Brunswick, his educated wife, and the potential of his young inquisitive daughters goes lengths in explaining why Murray was an adamant supporter of women's higher education and why his administration endeavoured to ensure that women were presented with equal opportunities at the University of Saskatchewan. It is true that Haultain, Calder, and Scott all espoused the need for the education of women in the university plan, but it was Murray who fervently brought this vision into reality.

Although women in the Maritimes and northern United States had been able to partake in higher education for decades, in 1907 the concept of co-education was still a hotly contested issue.<sup>133</sup> There were several academics and politicians who conceded that educating women was unavoidable but that to allow women to sit with men in the lecture hall, to debate men in extra-curricular societies, and to mingle with men in general was detrimental to both sexes. Daniel Wilson, President of the University of Toronto between 1880 and 1892, and Robert Falconer's indirect predecessor, was a strong opponent to co-education. He felt that not only would the presence of women be distracting to male students but that female students would be exposing themselves to an undue amount of potential moral danger. Male university students were men with all the unbridled sexuality and fraternal camaraderie this entailed. Female university students, by contrast, were still seen as young girls and children who needed protection.<sup>134</sup> It was with this philosophy in mind that President Wilson proposed the creation of a provincial college for women in 1884. Wilson hoped that with the creation of such an institution, his university could justify the exclusion of female students as there would be a viable provincially-

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<sup>133</sup> Lowe, 7.

<sup>134</sup> Friedland, 88.

funded, non-denominational alternative. The bill was rejected and it was suggested to Wilson that he consider the issue of co-education at the University of Toronto. Wilson blamed tight provincial purse strings for the failure of his bill. He is quoted as saying: “Economy... is undoubtedly in favour of the present plan. Co-education is cheap.”<sup>135</sup> The argument that co-education was a less expensive way to offer post-secondary training to both sexes was an undisputed fact. It eliminated the need for additional infrastructure, the extra salary given to instructors asked to repeat lectures to female-only classes, and it would make redundant several duplicated positions within ‘sister’ administrations. It was an argument which was extremely difficult to dispute, but, most importantly, the financial argument left morality out of the matter altogether.

### **The Co-education Debate**

When it came to Saskatchewan, the issue of women’s inclusion at the proposed provincial university seems to have been a non-issue. If the writings in the *Regina Leader* and *Saskatoon Phoenix* are any indication of the overall sentiment of the province, the people of Saskatchewan were far more concerned with *where* the university would be located rather than *if* women would be involved. The towns of Moose Jaw, Battleford, Prince Albert, Regina, and Saskatoon all wrote several newspaper editorials which expounded the virtues of their individual communities and the assets their town alone could contribute as location of the university.<sup>136</sup> As early as January of 1906, people began to discuss the urgency of establishing a provincial

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<sup>135</sup> Paul Axelrod, “Higher Education In Canada and The United States: Exploring the Roots of Difference”, *Historical Studies in Education*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1995): 166.

<sup>136</sup> “Moose Jaw wants university”, *Saskatoon Phoenix*, (April 1, 1907) 2. “Battleford a potential site” *Saskatoon Phoenix*, (December 1, 1908), 2. “Prince Albert makes claims” *Saskatoon Phoenix*, (September 5, 1908) 2. “Editorial re: location of university, [Pro-Regina], *Saskatoon Phoenix*, (September 2, 1908), 2. “Editorial re: location of the university,[Pro-Saskatoon]”, *Saskatoon Phoenix*, (December 17, 1908) 2.

university that would serve this “great area of land[’s]... young men and women”.<sup>137</sup> Expediency was required because it was assumed the immigration boom would continue and it was predicted by some, including Premier Scott, that Saskatchewan would soon reach a population density comparable to Ontario and Quebec. This prairie optimism for the future, or what Bill Waiser has termed the “next year country”<sup>138</sup> mentality, permeated the rhetoric surrounding the planning of the university. Many Westerners were adamant that the future of Canada lay in the West and that education must play a part in their eventual dominance of the Canadian political and cultural landscape. It was considered vitally important to pre-emptively plan for the needs of the throngs of new arrivals predicted and therefore the university must be built quickly while vast swathes of land were still available near in the province’s major centers. Until these predicted waves of new immigrants arrived, public ventures such as a provincial university needed to demonstrate that they could remain financially viable with the present population. It was with this in mind that Walter Murray first addressed the issue of co-education at the University of Saskatchewan. In the 1909 *President’s Report*, Murray outlined the founding principles of the university in the order in which they appeared in the *University Act*.

A third fundamental principal of the University Act is equality of opportunity for men and women. The state recognizes its obligations to provide equal facilities for the sexes. This does not necessarily mean co-education; but until the wealth of the province, the number of students and the conditions of education warrant a change, it will mean co-education. The University authorities are living up to the spirit of the Act.<sup>139</sup>

This statement does little to divulge Murray’s personal views on co-education. This is not surprising given Murray’s management style. As mentioned earlier, the university’s first president was a micro-manager when it came to day-to-day operations, but he was also a man

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<sup>137</sup> Saskatoon Phoenix. *A Provincial University*, January 11, 1906, p. 4.

<sup>138</sup> Bill Waiser, *History* 859.3, March 27, 2007.

<sup>139</sup> Walter Charles Murray, *1909-1910 President’s Report*, University of Saskatchewan, (September 1909), 5.

who believed in compromise and consensus building when possible. In 1909, when Murray made this initial statement, many among the new president's working community and staff did not believe in the virtues of co-education. Dean William J. Rutherford, head of the College of Agriculture, the most influential branch of the university, was particularly fixed in his beliefs concerning the subordinate place of women in higher education, as was President Robert Falconer, who chose to continue his predecessors' mission to keep co-education out of the University of Toronto. It will be proven that Murray personally supported co-education but publically, his arguments supporting co-education maintained a pragmatic tone and often espoused the financial benefits attributed to co-education as reason for its adoption at the University of Saskatchewan.<sup>140</sup>

Murray rarely divulged his personal opinions on contentious topics, choosing instead to act as peace broker among divergent factions. Even those closest to Murray were rarely privy to his personal views. One example of this extreme privacy can be found in the research conducted by Robert and David Murray during the 1970s for their biography of Walter Murray. The father-son duo conducted a series of interviews with President Murray's only surviving daughter, Prof. Jean E. Murray of the University of Saskatchewan's History Department. When Prof. Murray was asked which political party her father supported, Jean Murray was at a loss; her father had never openly discussed politics and worked equally well with the provincial Liberal and Conservative governments which ruled during her father's administration.<sup>141</sup> As such, in order to understand his personal views of co-education, one must painstakingly sift through his carefully chosen words on the matter. In 1930, Murray, as an educationalist, was interviewed about co-education as it applied to high-school-aged children. Murray was seen as a preeminent Canadian

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<sup>140</sup> Hayden, 62.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid. 25.

scholar in education and child development and had written a book on children's psychological development entitled *From one to twenty-one*.<sup>142</sup> Murray believed that co-education for high-school-aged children could prove to be problematic as young boys between 12 and 21 may not have fully traversed puberty and may yet to have fashioned the emotional maturity needed to cope with the presence of women. Young girls, according to Murray, matured at a faster rate than their male peers and for that reason would be able to handle working alongside older men who had completed this phase in their physiological development. When asked about his views on co-education for university-aged students, Murray stated that he did not believe it was an ideal solution but that "without it I do not believe women would have equal chances with men."<sup>143</sup> Murray did not elaborate on this statement, but his personal bias towards co-education as a means to maintain gender equality is clear. He also saw that there was a necessity to educate young women who would have to work in their adult lives. As explained, Murray came from a lower-middle-class upbringing and worked tirelessly to establish his family as firmly middle-class. As part of his duties as president he was often asked to make monetary donations to various groups, and this call for philanthropy was particularly acute during the Great Depression. As a result of these donations and his generous personal nature, Murray had very little in the way of personal assets throughout this life. In 1926, he wrote a letter to his eldest daughter and explained his financial situation.

Nearly all my life I have been forced to ask for overdrafts or loans and had not my position been good I would have been refused more than the twice or thrice which I remember with not a little chagrin.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Walter C. Murray, *From one to twenty-one*, (Toronto: Presbyterian S.S. Publications, 1904).

<sup>143</sup> Murray and Murray, 234.

<sup>144</sup> Walter Charles Murray to Christina Murray, Sept. 18, 1926, USA, Jean E. Murray Collection, University of Saskatchewan, Special Collections. Pulled from Murray and Murray . 236.



Murray was extremely apologetic that he would not be able to leave more in terms of assets for his daughters. He went on to say:

I wished to give each of you the best education you desired so that you could always make the most of your life.<sup>145</sup>

Murray's desire for equal education for women was not simply religious, philosophical, or professional, but deeply personal. During the time period of this study, all three of his daughters attended the University of Saskatchewan. It is not surprising, then, that his devotion to equal education would be seen in many of the administrative decisions made during the length of his tenure at the helm of the university.

Haultain, Scott, and Calder all contributed to the creation of the University of Saskatchewan and the entrenchment of the foundational pillars which incorporated the inclusion of women in the 1907 *University Act*. Each had their personal and professional reasons for supporting the inclusion of women and very few of these reasons were altruistic in nature. Though such external factors established an environment of gender equality for the formative years of the University of Saskatchewan, it would prove to be the internal policies and actions of the university's administration which would facilitate women's education and employment during the university's first fifteen years. The transition from conceptual to practical would be left to one man, Walter Murray, and thankfully for the approximately seven hundred female students who attended the university during these early years and the more than one hundred and thirty women employed in its service, Murray would continually demonstrate that he was a sympathetic supporter of their cause.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> The statistics for student enrolment have been calculated using the "List of Students" section of the annual *University Calendar* and the faculty and staff records have been drawn from the minutes and balance sheets found within the *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*.

### CHAPTER 3 FACULTY AND STAFF

Our inhuman machine is in motion with much creaking of wheels and with loud groans for more grease. About sixty young men and a very fair sprinkling of young ladies are attending classes. The students seem to be taking very kindly to the work, and none of the staff has as yet thought seriously of suicide.<sup>147</sup>

The founding fathers of the University of Saskatchewan worked to make the institution they were creating welcoming not only to their sons but to their daughters as well. Their approach was pervasive and affected not only students but also faculty and staff. This chapter will explore the various policies employed at the university which benefited the female faculty and staff and which were, by and large, extremely progressive for the time.<sup>148</sup> It will discuss the employment and benefit policies including the hiring practices, universal pay scale, access to the university pension plan, and educational opportunities available to the women in the university's employment.

#### **Jean Bayer: An Equal Vote for an Academic Peer**

In 1909, the College of Arts and Science held its first classes on the second floor of the Drinkle Building on the corner of 21<sup>st</sup> Street and 2<sup>nd</sup> Avenue. The faculty and staff in that initial year was small, comprising seven men<sup>149</sup> and one woman, Jean Gordon Bayer. Jean Bayer of

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<sup>147</sup> Jean E. Murray Fonds, A III, Murray to J.E. Creighton, October 27, 1909.

<sup>148</sup> Although the University of Alberta and the University of Manitoba have yet to be the subject of a study similar to this one, anecdotal research indicates that at this time both universities admitted women but only to certain colleges.

<sup>149</sup> The staff included William Rutherford, Dean of Agriculture; John Bracken, Professor of Agriculture; Alexander Greig, Agricultural Engineering and Superintendent of Buildings; George Ling, Dean of Arts and Professor of Mathematics; Arthur Moxon, Professor of Classics; Edmund Oliver, Professor of History; and Reginald Bateman, Professor of English — Walter Murray, *University Calendar 1909-1910*, University of Saskatchewan, 10.

Halifax was educated at the University of Dalhousie, receiving a Bachelor of Arts from that institution in 1908 and a Master of Arts in Classics in 1909.<sup>150</sup> There are no records that indicate whether or not Bayer knew Walter Murray during their mutual time at Dalhousie but this much is clear: Bayer was among the original staff hand-picked by Murray, she made the trip to Saskatoon shortly after the incoming President, and she was among Murray's drastically small inner circle for the remainder of their mutual lives.<sup>151</sup> These facts, compounded by the small size of Dalhousie at the time, almost guarantee a prior relationship between these colleagues. Bayer was initially hired as the University Librarian and Secretary to the President<sup>152</sup> but her role in the pioneering days of the university was far more fluid than these titles divulge. She was included in all decisions in which the faculty and staff were consulted; these included the selection of acquisitions for the fledgling library and the university's colours, crest, and motto. In any decision which came to a vote, Bayer's opinion received equal weight to that of her male peers. In terms of educational training, they were indeed peers, as the majority of the academic faculty had also obtained master degrees but did not possess the yet-to-be required doctorate of philosophy. Bayer's career at the university spanned twenty-five years and her progress at the university will be touched on throughout this chapter. She was the first woman to be hired at the University of Saskatchewan but she would not be the sole woman for long.

### **The Significance of the Department of Extensions**

In 1911, after the university's classes were moved to their permanent location on the university campus, Bayer would be joined by Vera B. Campbell, secretary to the Director of

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<sup>150</sup> *The Star Phoenix*, "Prof. J. G. Bayer, Who Died Tuesday, Connected With the U. of S. Since Its Start", Thursday, April 5, 1945, p. 3.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *University Calendar 1909*, University of Saskatchewan Special Collections 4.

Extensions.<sup>153</sup> The earliness of this appointment is telling. The University in 1911 was comprised of the College of Agriculture and the College of Arts and Science with an affiliated college of Anglican divinity in Emmanuel College. None of these overarching administrative bodies received the second non-academic staff member; this distinction belongs to the sub-division of the College of Agriculture: the Department of Extensions. The Department of Extensions under the direction of F.H. Auld conducted outreach programs throughout the province. The need for women in this department was stressed by both the director and the University President.<sup>154</sup> It was felt that many of the recent immigrants to the area were in dire need of aid in adapting to life on the prairies. A particular emphasis was placed on the wives and mothers of Eastern European families who, it was felt, were ill-equipped to maintain a 'modern' household. The concern for these immigrant mothers was echoed by J.T.M. Anderson in his address to the University-organized 1916 Convention of Homemakers Clubs of Saskatchewan. In his speech, entitled "What Canada has done for her Slavic mothers," Anderson overtly called on the over two-hundred and fifty women present, the overwhelming majority of whom were White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestants, to uphold their patriotic duty to help these women who were incapable of maintaining a household without proper instruction.<sup>155</sup> This innately racist sentiment propounded by Anderson was bolstered by the first founding principle of the University: one provincially-funded university for the province. Walter Murray felt that an intrinsic component of this foundational pillar was the need for the university to return service to the tax payers of the province. The devotion to this policy was shown in both word and action as 20% of the

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<sup>153</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *University Calendar 1911*, University of Saskatchewan Special Collections 10.

<sup>154</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *1909 President's Report*, University of Saskatchewan Special Collections, p. 15.

<sup>155</sup> Mr. J.T.M. Anderson, "What Canada has done for her Slavic mothers". *Reports of Proceeding of the Annual Convention of Homemaker's Club of Saskatchewan*, Saskatoon, June 20-23, 1919. Saskatchewan Women's Institute Fonds 2109, Accn: 1111-116 Box 4 (A.3.a) p. 53-54.

university's expenditures were dedicated to the Department of Extensions.<sup>156</sup> As a result of this philosophy, aid for new immigrant families became one of the Department of Extensions' highest priorities. It is not surprising then that the next three women hired by the university were assigned to the Department of Extensions.<sup>157</sup>

Among this number was Abigail DeLury, graduate of the MacDonald Institute in Guelph<sup>158</sup>, who was first hired to work in women-targeted programs in 1911 and was quickly promoted to the newly created position of Women's Organizer for the Department of Extensions in 1913.<sup>159</sup> Abigail DeLury would remain in this position until 1921 when this branch of the College of Agriculture was restructured into the Homemakers Department, which DeLury was reassigned to 'unofficially' run while holding the title of Director of Women's Work. DeLury was a force to be reckoned with and all records indicate she was the authority within the branch and was given complete control over the finances of the Department.<sup>160</sup>

### **First Female Academic Appointment**

The university administration would wait until 1912 to hire the first women assigned to an academic post. According to Marianne Ainley's national piece on the employment of women in the sciences, women at Western Canadian universities did not receive any academic postings until the beginning of World War I, when a scarcity of staff made their employment necessary.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Murray and Murray, 79. Based on the 1911-12 University Budget.

<sup>157</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*. May 17, 1911: Ida M. Worden was hired. July 29, 1911, Laura Laing was hired. October 2, 1911, Abigail DeLury was hired.

<sup>158</sup> Morton, 89.

<sup>159</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, October 2, 1911 and April 22, 1913.

<sup>160</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, April 26, 1921. "It was decided that in future the O.K. of Miss DeLury be accepted by the Bursary on all accounts relating to the Homemakers Department."

<sup>161</sup> Marianne Ainley, "Gendered Careers: Women Science Educators at Anglo-Canadian Universities, 1920-1980". *Historical Identities: The Professoriate in Canada*. 248-270, Paul Stortz and E. Lisa Panayotidis, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006): 253.

Although Susan L. Pownoll Wright's employment began only a few years before the war's commencement, it is still important to note that Ainley's timeline and theory does not hold true at the University of Saskatchewan. Wright began working as a sessional lecturer in German in the fall of 1912. She was not rehired the following year and no record exists indicating the reason for her departure. The *Executive Committee of the University of Saskatchewan Board of Governors Meeting Minutes* list the approvals for all hirings and salary increases but the dismissal records were recorded far less diligently. After cross-referencing these meeting minutes with the list of faculty and administrative staff listed in the annual University Calendars this much can be stated: of the one hundred and thirty-eight women employed at the university between 1907 and 1922, the average female employee remained at the university for three to four years, while the average male employee lasted in excess of six years.<sup>162</sup> These numbers take into account the long-term staff members such as Bayer and DeLury as well as much more numerous sessional lecturers and stenographers who were often hired on year-to-year terms.

### **Employment and Marital Status**

One factor that contributed greatly to the shorter average employment held by women was the societal pressure placed on young women to relinquish their careers when becoming engaged to be married. The university itself did not have a written policy regarding the hiring and retention of married women but the tone of the writings in both the *Executive Committee of the University of Saskatchewan Board of Governors Meeting Minutes* and *The Sheaf* indicate that there was internalized expectations placed on women to leave their jobs once they declared their

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<sup>162</sup> This data has been calculated using the annual *University Calendars* roll and the *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*. Unfortunately these numbers do not include day-labourers, farm workers, residence maids, and janitors as these positions were not listed on the roll and rarely appeared in meeting minutes. As a result these numbers are the nearest possible approximations with the information available.

intentions to marry.<sup>163</sup> Several stenographers are recorded as leaving their contracts early due to the announcement of their wedding engagements. Although the expectation was there that women would relinquish their position, there are no records indicating that the university actively forced these women to leave their jobs, although, without exception, they all did so during the period under discussion.

While no woman made the transition from being single to married while employed at the university, the administration did hire a small number of married women. In 1919, the administration hired its first and only married stenographer known simply as Mrs. O'Neil. She worked for the university beyond 1922. Her duties included "stenographer work for all professors who do not have regular stenographers"<sup>164</sup> None of the entries discussing Mrs. O'Neil mention her husband's profession or, in fact, his existence. There is no record of a 'Mr. O'Neil' working at the university during the time that Mrs. O'Neil was employed as a stenographer there. Considering the pressure felt by married women to relinquish their employment, one may suspect that Mrs. O'Neil may have been widowed, perhaps even the widow of a serviceman, but there are no records that support this hypothesis and without a first name or initial very little can be done to retrieve census data or legal records pertaining to her. Besides Mrs. O'Neil, no married women held a stenographer position at the university but married women were not missing from all departments. Married women were considered an asset in the university's boarding house as well as the Department of Household Science. From 1912 to the end of this study, two married women in succession ran the boarding house associated with the College of

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<sup>163</sup> Several entries in *The Sheaf* and *The Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes* discuss the departure of a staff member for marriage. These entries include *The Sheaf*, vol. 2, no. 1 October 1913, 19., and *Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, May 4, 1912.

<sup>164</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, August 28, 1919.

Agriculture's experimental farm. In 1912, Mrs. Agnes Forbes was placed in charge of the boarding house which accommodated fourteen men. Her salary was \$50 per month and included a guaranteed spot in the boarding house for her husband, a farm labourer, at the usual rate of \$4.50 per week.<sup>165</sup> She also earned any money which remained at the end of each month from the funds set aside for the house's provisioning.<sup>166</sup> There is no date indicating when Mrs. Forbes relinquished these duties but she was replaced by another married woman, Mrs. C. Dickson, who was able to secure a guaranteed spot for her husband and the remainder of any remaining funds each month.<sup>167</sup> In the setting of a boarding house, an older married woman was thought to be preferable to a single woman who would be exposed daily to the presumed rough nature and potential moral perils of living with fourteen working-class men. It seems that when a position specifically involved duties associated with maintaining a household, married women were considered not only acceptable but desirable.

The examples pulled from the boarding house records reinforce this theory as does the case of Mrs. T.T. Rutter, who was hired as a married woman to be an instructor in Domestic Science. She began her work in December of 1916 and was married before beginning her employment at the U of S. Regardless of her marital status, she received a comparable salary to all other instructors of the university.<sup>168</sup> Socio-economic standing may also have played a part in the selection of married women for certain positions. Women such as Dickson and Forbes were working-class and performed duties associated with that social strata. The employment of married women by the City of Saskatoon in this time period also reflected this correlation. Of the

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<sup>165</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, March 5, 1912.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., April 15, 1920.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. September 27, 1916.



small pool of married women employed in the city's service at this time, the vast majority were employed as "caretakers"<sup>169</sup> or janitors in the city office. These married working-class women had to find gainful employment, and as a result, there were far more married women in unskilled labour positions than those which required a higher level of education. As was the case at City Hall, the number of married women employed at the university was very small but their presence speaks to the fact that the University of Saskatchewan did not possess a formal policy which limited the hiring of married women and, in one occupation, these women were in fact preferred to their unmarried counterparts.

### **A Universal Pay Scale**

Mrs. T.T. Rutter's salary was the same as an unmarried women instructor, it was also the same rate given to a man in that position. The university had a universal pay scale which treated male and female employees equally. The administration also made a point of hiring past graduates regardless of sex. In the spring of 1912, Mary I. Oliver of the inaugural class of 1912 became the second woman after Susan L. Pownoll Wright, to be employed in an academic position. She was hired two months after convocating to take on the responsibilities of University Librarian, replacing Jean Bayer whose secretarial duties were becoming too taxing for her to devote sufficient time to the library. In the fall of 1913, Mary Oliver was reassigned to the College of Arts and Science and was appointed Assistant in Greek. In order to make salary comparisons it is important to understand the ranks involved in academic appointments. From lowest to highest, the ranking was as follows: Student Assistants working towards a Bachelor degree; Assistants who processed Bachelor degrees; Lecturers who often had some graduate training; Assistant Professors who held a Master degree; and Professors who also had a Master

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<sup>169</sup> City of Saskatoon Archives, D500 V. 25. Employees- Salaries (323) 1915. "List of Salaries".

degree with a minority of this rank holding a Doctor of Philosophy. With this ranking information in hand, some salary comparisons can be drawn from the Board of Governors' ledger. In 1912, when Mary I. Oliver was the University Librarian, she earned \$60 per month. This salary was comparable to other administrative staff such as Miss. E.M. Depuis who earned \$55 per month as a stenographer to the faculty. Also in 1912, when Susan L. Pownoll Wright was lecturing in German her salary was \$100 per month. The following year, when Mary Oliver was transferred from the Library to be an Assistant in Greek, her salary was \$250 per session or approximately \$83 per month over the academic year. In other words, in 1912-13, administrative staff made between \$55 and \$60 per month, Assistants on average earned between \$75- \$90 per month, and Lecturers garnered \$100 per month. In 1913 no women held an academic posting higher than lecturer but there were women whose monthly salary exceeded that of a lecturer's pay grade. In that year Abigail DeLury earned \$1500. This salary was nearly comparable to that of an Assistant Professor with a Master degree who earned \$1800 per annum.<sup>170</sup> The salaries offered by the university administration did not differentiate between men and women based on their sex, but it did have varying pay scales based on the educational level associated with a given position.

Outside of university, in the community at large, the salaries for the positions of stenographer, clerk, and janitors were comparable to that offered by the university. In 1912, when Miss. E.M. Depuis was earning \$55.00 per month as a stenographer, May R. Davidson was receiving \$60.00 per month performing similar duties in the Commissioner's Department of the

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<sup>170</sup>The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, May 10, 1913. "On the recommendation of the President the appointment of Mr. A.E. Hemmings as Assistant Professor of Physics at a salary of \$1,800 per annum dating from July 1st 1913 was confirmed."

City of Saskatoon<sup>171</sup>. In 1915 the two women's salaries were identical at \$70.00 per month<sup>172</sup> and according to the records that remain, throughout the years surveyed, the university kept in step with the pay rates offered by the city.<sup>173</sup> Although in later years the university would prove to be a very lucrative place to work in comparison to positions in and around Saskatoon, at this time it appears that the university administrators were maintaining salary levels required to retain quality support staff.

In 1915 the Board of Governors formalized the pay increase scheme associated with its non-academic staff. This is only part of the detailed entry:

Clerical Staff : For competent and experienced stenographers and clerks the initial salary shall be \$60 per month with annual increases of \$5 per month until \$75 is reached. Inexperienced clerks and stenographers will be given lower initial salaries, while those who have exceptional qualifications or responsibilities may be advanced beyond the normal maximum.

Janitors (in resident): Head Janitor (with room and meals) \$35 to \$50 with an annual increase of \$5. Assistant Janitors (with meals) \$35 to \$50 with an annual increase of \$5.

[Janitors] (Other Buildings) Head Janitor (with room) \$55 to \$70 with an annual increase of \$5, Assistant Janitors \$55 to \$70 with an annual increase of \$5.<sup>174</sup>

While Janitors had lower starting salaries, they did have the additional perk of free room and board. These benefits were not granted to this group of staff persons based on their sex, as in fact there were female janitors among their number.<sup>175</sup> The benefits of room and board were extended

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<sup>171</sup> City of Saskatoon Archives, D500 V.1. Employees – Salaries, City Officials and Employees, 1912.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid. D500 V.25. Employees – Salaries (323) 1915. "List of Salaries".

<sup>173</sup> The City of Saskatoon's pay scale was used as a comparison for two reasons. Firstly, the documentation for this period in the city records is quite detailed, whereas private commercial ventures have left less information. Secondly, it stands to reason that since tax-payers were directly funding the city's budget, salaries offered by the city would be comparable to the private sector and not artificially inflated. The taxpayers' representatives had to approve all raises and would not grant salary increases that seemed unreasonably high for the time.

<sup>174</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, August 13, 1915.

<sup>175</sup> Although the vast majority of janitors were men there were instances when women were sought out to perform janitorial duties. One example appears in the 1919 Board of Governor's Meeting Minutes. "Professor Greig was authorized to secure the services of a woman to do special work when required cleaning Dr. Thompson's office and the Biological Laboratory." — The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, September 23, 1919.

to staff who worked full-time within a university residence or boarding house regardless of sex. Women such as Ethel Tennant, Superintendent of University Hall, received free room and board above and beyond her salary which began at \$800 in 1912 and rose to \$1380 by 1920<sup>176</sup>, a sum which was twice the wage of the senior janitor within that building. Room and board were also included for the aforementioned Mess. Dickson and Forbes, who ran the Boarding House for the Department of Agriculture.<sup>177</sup> Considering that the university charged its boarding house residents \$4.50 per week for room and board, one could extrapolate that a Head Janitor in Residence who received both these benefits, and as such was the highest paid and benefitted employee among this group, would be receiving between \$54 and \$69.50 per month in goods and services, amounts still lower than the respective starting salary and upper limit of the clerical staff. The ranks of the janitors were dominated by men just as the clerical staff was dominated by women, but as a group the clerical staff were better paid because their positions required a higher level of education.<sup>178</sup> This meant that a large portion of the women employed at the university made more money than some of the men in their midst. This hierarchy of employment categories can also be seen in the vacation time allotted to each group. Clerical staff received three weeks paid vacation annually while Power House staff, Mechanics, Janitors, and Farm Labourers received two weeks paid vacation after a full year of employment.<sup>179</sup>

President Murray and the Board of Governors did not adopt this pay scale system arbitrarily. Murray understood the importance of pay in staff and faculty retention. Murray's own pay had differed greatly between his initial appointment at the University of New Brunswick and

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<sup>176</sup> Ibid., November 17, 1911, and July 22, 1920.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., March 5, 1912, and April 15, 1920.

<sup>178</sup> This was also the case in the City of Saskatoon. In 1915, stenographers were earning \$70.00 per month while caretakers of both sexes were garnering \$30.00 per month. — City of Saskatoon Archives, D500 V.25. Employees – Salaries (323) 1915. “List of Salaries”.

<sup>179</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, August 13, 1915.

his long-term position of Dalhousie University. Murray knew that the University of Saskatchewan had to offer comparable salary packages as top Canadian and American universities in order to attract the quality of faculty desired. As such, he extensively polled the pay scales at competing institutions in order to maintain comparable standards at the U of S.<sup>180</sup> For instance in 1909, the pay for an Assistant Professor at the U of S was \$1800.00 per year; only the University of Alberta and the University of Toronto had higher pay for this position, ranking Saskatchewan third in the country.<sup>181</sup> Murray believed that these types of fixed rates and a rigid pay increase structure would avoid conflict between administration, faculty, and staff as well as creating a level playing field for all faculty of equivalent educational background. Like most Canadian universities, Murray and the Board of Governors also made no concession for top researchers or for those among their staff who brought in a great deal of external funding. This decision to treat all employees of the same rank equally precipitated the most damaging administrative crisis of Murray's career. In 1919, four professors were involved in a scandal wherein Murray was accused of misappropriating university funds. The accusations were unfounded, but the root of the instigators' discontent was pay rates which they felt should be based on talent – not on education alone – and that salaries in general were far too low considering the increasing cost of living due to wartime inflation. After a detailed internal investigation, the Board of Governors, Senate, and provincial government sided with Murray, but this lengthy personal attack contributed to Murray's ill health and necessitated a leave of absence for the majority of a year. In the traditional telling of this period of conflict at the university, women play little to no part, but these depictions omit some important players.

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<sup>180</sup> Morton, 115.

<sup>181</sup> Hayden, 111.

In 1919, a group of students called for a sitting of the University Convocation to discuss Murray's actions, including the dismissal of the four professors involved<sup>182</sup>. At this meeting, law student C.P. Seeley had put forth a motion calling for a governmental investigation into Murray's actions. When the vote was called, Seeley's motion was defeated and the subject of a governmental investigation was effectively closed. In a later statement, Seeley bitterly blamed this defeat on these older members, twenty-five professors, and their wives.<sup>183</sup> These faculty wives were university graduates and as such were voting members of Convocation. Their collective voting block could have effectively changed the course of the university's administration and President Murray's place within it. One woman who would have definitely been in attendance and whom may have been misidentified as one of these faculty wives was Jean Bayer.

Beginning in 1914, Bayer began teaching in the Department of English while maintaining her position as Murray's secretary. This was initially a temporary arrangement as, in November of that year, Bayer was asked to continue the teaching of English I since the usual professor, Reginald Bateman, had enlisted for overseas duty, leaving his teaching responsibilities mid-term. Her teaching continued throughout the war and after. For seven years, Bayer maintained both administrative and teaching duties before she was official appointed Assistant Professor in English in 1921. During the 1919 crisis, Bayer was teaching two courses in the Department of English while helping Dean G.H. Ling of the College of Arts and Science become orientated with his new position as interim President. During Murray's illness, he corresponded little with anyone associated with the university under doctor's recommendations. The only exception to

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<sup>182</sup> The four professors who were eventually dismissed were J.L. Hogg, head of Physics; Samuel Greenway, director of Extensions; Robert MacLaurin, head of Chemistry; and Ira MacKay of Law — Hadyen, 86.

<sup>183</sup> Hayden, 102.

that role was Jean Bayer who was the only person Murray trusted to give him honest commentary on recent developments. They corresponded weekly during Murray's convalesce in New Brunswick and Montreal. Bayer kept Murray abreast of all changes at the university and facilitated his re-entry the following fall.<sup>184</sup> One could hypothesize that her appointment as an Assistant Professor in 1921, the first woman to hold this rank at the U of S outside of Household Science, might be directly attributed to her performance during this period of conflict and her steadfast loyalty to Murray during a time of personal crisis.

### **Minority Representation**

Bayer's rise to the position of Assistant Professor may have occurred as a result of her close relationship with Walter Murray, but as to be expected, no record exists which overtly proves this hypothesis. Murray's hands-on approach to hiring, his general mistrust of people, his desire to know every aspect of the university, and Bayer's promotion through the ranks may expose a degree of nepotism within the university's hiring practices. During the time under study, Murray personally interviewed every academic appointee. He also sat on the Executive Committee which had the final say on all hirings, promotions, and firings. He held great sway over the staffing of the university and this influence was intentional. Murray could be seen as the proverbial 'ghost in the machine' and whether deliberately or not, this influence resulted in the vast majority of employees harkening from a very similar racial, cultural, and economic background as Murray himself. Of the one hundred and thirty-eight women employed at the university between 1907 and 1922 only four had surnames whose etymology can be traced to

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<sup>184</sup> *The Star Phoenix*, "Prof. J. G. Bayer, Who Died Tuesday, Connected With the U. of S. Since Its Start", Thursday, April 5, 1945, 3.

outside of Great Britain<sup>185</sup>. In fact, although on average 6% of the student body was classified as “foreign”<sup>186</sup>, no similar minority group appears among the women employees of the university.

A concurrent trend can be drawn out of the numbers recorded for the provincial legislative assemble. During the provincial elections of 1908, 1912, 1917 and 1921, only one woman was counted among the elected members. Sarah Ramsland was elected to her late-husband’s seat, representing the riding of Pelly in a 1918 by-election. She retained this position until 1925.<sup>187</sup>

Non-white Anglo-Saxons fared better in the legislative assembly than convocation hall, garnering on average 10% of electoral seats during this period.<sup>188</sup> Even though people of foreign ancestry were better represented in government, even these numbers betray a lack of proportional representation when compared to provincial census data. In 1911 and 1921, nearly 30% of the provincial population was categorized as something other than white-Anglo-Saxon Protestant. This means that nearly a third of the provincial population was not fairly represented among the female staff of the provincial university. It is unclear whether or not Murray and his cohorts intentionally limited the involvement of these minority groups but this much is clear: the university’s faculty, staff, and to some degree its students, did not represent the cultural demography of Saskatchewan. Returning to the university’s second foundational pillar of ‘one province, one university’, these numbers may betray the fact that although Murray and his

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<sup>185</sup> J.M. Traub (German origins), Francis Schiltz (German origins), Abigail DeLury (French origins), and Emily M. Depuis (French origins). Although the etymology of these four surnames are not British, there is no way of telling whether or not these four women’s ancestors can be traced to Great Britain. Although Traub’s initials are all that remains as record of her first name, the remaining three all possess given names which do not divulge an ancestry other than white-Anglo-Saxon protestant.

<sup>186</sup> Between 1915 and 1922 The President’s Annual Reports included demographic data such as “Place of Birth”, “Religion”, “Place of Residence”, and “Age”. Using this data it can be extrapolated that on average 6% of the student body were born and claimed a permanent residence outside of Canada and Great Britain.

<sup>187</sup> Waiser, 204.

<sup>188</sup> These percentages are highly subjective. In 1908, three out of the forty-one seats elected were occupied by individuals with names which did not originate from Great Britain. This group included Albert Totzke, who was born and spent his childhood in Ontario. Many of the men included in the number of MLAs with foreign ancestry, like Totzke, may have been sufficiently ‘naturalized’ to transcend their perceived ethnical difference in the eyes of the white-Anglo-Saxon majority.



administration claimed to be serving the province, one may ask of whose province Murray was speaking.

### **Pension Plan**

While it appears white middle-class people, and women specifically, were over represented among the university staff, they also had unparalleled access to pension benefits, war bonuses, and flexible work hours. The University Pension Plan was designed to provide retirement security for all ‘permanent’ faculty and staff members. Since the vast majority of stenographers, maids, cooks, and boarding house supervisors were hired annually on one-year contracts, they did not qualify for this benefit. Although these women were systemically excluded from this program, women who fit the criteria of ‘permanent’ could contribute to the pension plan on the same financial terms as their male peers. One entry in the Board of Governors’ meeting minutes however demonstrates that although women on the ‘permanent’ faculty and staff were allowed to contribute to the pension plan, they did have to make a special request in order to be included.

Miss A. DeLury and Miss E. Thompson of the Extension Dept. having expressed their wish to become contributors to the University Pension Fund, it was decided that they be granted the privilege of contributing, and the Bursar was instructed to secure applications for them.<sup>189</sup>

The wording of this entry shows that although these women could contribute, their inclusion was granted solely at the pleasure of the Board and as such these women were hardly treated equally to men of the same pay grade and education. Women such as Abigail DeLury and Jean Bayer were permanent staff, a categorization that did not apply to the vast majority of women in the university’s employment. The criteria of ‘permanent’ was not only limiting to the majority of

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<sup>189</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, March 20, 1920.

women but also to those men who happened to work in positions which required less education and therefore fell under the year-by-year contract system: workers such as those who held positions as farm hands, labourers, and some of the janitorial staff. The pension plan was an elitist and exclusive benefit of permanent employment at the University of Saskatchewan but despite its limited inclusion policy, it was still open to women who met the criteria, something that should be considered extremely progressive for the times. It should be noted that although the formal pension plan was only for the chosen few, the university administration was extremely generous with the families of the non-permanent staff that died while in service to the university.

### **Three-Month Death Benefit**

In the spring of 1922, J.E. Kratzert, janitor in the university residence, died suddenly while working. The Board of Governors continued his salary for three months and paid it directly to his widow. The university was under no legal obligation to continue Mr. Kratzert's salary but it was greatly appreciated by his widow who wrote a letter to that effect, read at the March 6<sup>th</sup> meeting of that year.<sup>190</sup> This policy was not limited to male employees that passed away while employed by the university. Nina Preston had worked for the university for six years when she died suddenly in August of 1921. She had begun her career at the university as a stenographer in the Engineering building.<sup>191</sup> Her aptitude with numbers soon saw her move to the Bursar's office where she eventually attained the rank of clerk, a position held exclusively by men prior to Miss Preston's advancement.<sup>192</sup> At the time of her death, she was earning \$1380.00 per year<sup>193</sup>, a far

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid., March 6, 1922.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., September 27, 1916.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., December 30, 1916, July 22, 1920

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., July 22, 1920.

cry for her starting salary of \$65 per month.<sup>194</sup> Preston was her family's major breadwinner and lived at her family home with her widowed mother, Mrs. E.J. Preston.<sup>195</sup> When Preston died, the first woman to do so in the university's service, the Board of the Governors decided to continue her pay for the standard three-month period, making the cheques payable to her mother. No case exists during the time under study but it would have been interesting to see what the Board would have done if a female employee had died while married or while her father was still alive. Would a father or husband have been granted three months' salary or was this policy seen as a generous act meant to help women whose subsistence was threatened by the death of the family's major breadwinner?

### **War Bonuses**

While the pension plan was an elitist and fairly exclusive program, the university spread its one-time war bonus throughout the staff in a fairly egalitarian fashion. A year before the 1919 crisis, there were rumblings among the faculty and staff indicating general discontent with salary amounts. An Assistant Professor in 1912, for instance, earned \$1800 per annum and could afford a substantial home and luxuries such as live-in maid service. By 1919, an Assistant Professor was earning between \$1900 and \$2100 per annum based on their years of service.<sup>196</sup> As Saskatoon boomed the university salaries were unable to keep up with inflation to maintain these academics in the manner to which they had become accustomed. In an attempt to quell this dissatisfaction, the university administration decided to employ 'war bonuses' to help employees defray the additional costs associated with living in a time of war. On February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1918, all university employees received a war bonus based on their salary and position. Junior janitors,

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid., September 27, 1916.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., September 1, 1921.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid. March 11, 1920.

power house hands, farm hands, field husbandry hands, and maids such as M. Francey received a \$25.00 war bonus. Senior janitors and stenographers received between \$25.00 and \$50.00 depending on their pay grade and years of service. Other non-academic staff members such as A.M. MacKay, Assistant Librarian, and W.W. Frank, Superintendent of Qu'Appelle Hall, also received \$50.00 bonuses. The more senior faculty and staff persons, including women such as Mrs. T.T. Rutter and Abigail DeLury, received between \$100 and \$200.<sup>197</sup> These were one-time bonuses and all were encouraged to roll this money into war bonds, where personal finances permitted. All faculty and staff received amounts based on their income and these bonuses did not differentiate based on the sex of the employee.

### **Educational Upgrading**

These policies were progressive but the last to be discussed, the policy of flexible workdays allowing for educational upgrading, had the most significant impact for women employed at the university during this time period. Several of the women already mentioned took advantage of the university administration's unofficial policy of encouraging employees to continue their education. Murray, as a Presbyterian, educationalist, and a man of lower-middle-class background, was a strong believer in the uplifting power of education and never refused to allow an employee the time to pursue a university course. Their pay was rarely altered but they were expected to make up the work time they missed for class usually by coming in earlier and staying later in the day.

### **The Sheer Number of Women**

The number of women on staff and their proportion of the university workforce also reinforce the hypothesis that the university was a welcoming environment for its female

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid. February 28, 1918.

employees. Prior to 1917, all payroll information was haphazardly recorded in the Bursar's ledger which tracked employment changes such as hirings and promotions but did not include a list of the entire workforce. In 1917, the university began to track biweekly payroll records which listed all employees, their department, and salary for that pay period. By tracking this information over the remainder of this study, some interesting trends can be drawn. In 1917, the university employed 137 people. This number gradually increased, on average, by 9% per year with no striking increase in one given department but rather a steady growth of one or two people per year in each area of the university to accommodate a growing student population. In 1917, the women employed at the university comprised 20% of the workforce, or 28 women in total. Each year, as the workforce increased, so too did the number of female employees. Surprisingly, the female worker numbers did not simply keep in step with this growth but surpassed it on annual basis. In other words, while the workforce steadily grew, women were gradually gaining a larger and larger piece of the proverbial pie.<sup>198</sup>

While the vast majority of the women employed at the university could be found under the headings of 'University Hall' or 'Administration' these two departments are not responsible for the growing proportion of female employees. In was in fact under the category of 'Instructors' – this included all academic staff – which saw a substantial increase in women. In 1917, only two women were listed as instructors, but by 1920, fifteen women were teaching at the university. This increase can be attributed to several causes. Firstly, the war necessitated the employment of instructors such as Jean Bayer who replaced men enlisting for service. At war's end, with the university grants available to veterans causing student numbers to increase, these female instructors were kept on despite the return of many of those they had replaced. Secondly,

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<sup>198</sup> University of Saskatchewan, Special Collections, Financial Services Collection, Pay Roll Records 1917-1920. In 1917 women comprised 20.5% of the workforce, in 1918 – 22.2%, 1919 – 22.5%, and in 1920 – 22.9%.

with the passing of each year, more and more educated women were graduating from the university. These female graduates systemically had fewer employment options than their male peers and, as the university was a welcoming place for women, many returned to their alma mater for work. As has been demonstrated, Murray employed former students without hesitation. He was confident in their training and, in terms of optics, unemployed university graduates out and about the province was simply bad for business and something to be avoided whenever possible. Lastly, the increase in the proportion of female instructors at the university speaks to the gradual acceptance of these workers among the university community: as more women were employed, their presence at the front of a class became less of an oddity.

This compares favourably to the City of Saskatoon. Between 1912 and 1921, the proportion of the women in the city's service never rose above 7%, a staggering 15% lower than the average proportion at the university for the same time period. One could assume that, as an employer, the city would be the best reflection of the cultural mores of the community at large. As such, it can be presumed that the university was a more welcoming place for female employees than the City of Saskatoon as a whole.

The University of Saskatchewan was fairly progressive regarding its employment policies. Women in the university's service were hired based on their education and experience, and they were granted equal pay to men in the same positions. If women were permanent staff, they were eligible for the pension plan, and if they were not, they received the same post-mortem benefits as the male employees of the university. Lastly, the administration's policy regarding educational upgrading allowed many women to improve their training and subsequently afforded them the opportunity to pursue better positions at the university. These policies can be considered all the more remarkable knowing that the *University Act* only stipulated equality for

students and made no allowances for the equal treatment of faculty and staff. The administration's pervasive philosophy regarding the fair treatment of women in its employment is evidence that they were not merely adhering to the mandate of the provincial act but that they were truly invested in making the university as inclusive as possible for all the women in their midst.

## CHAPTER 4 STUDENTS

Senior to Moir – “What are you specializing in this year?”  
Moir (with dignity) – “Girls” (Collapse of Senior)<sup>199</sup>

“What is the most nervous thing next to a girl?”  
“Oh, that’s easy, a freshman next to a girl, of course.”<sup>200</sup>

These are but two of the jokes which appeared in *The Sheaf* which offered commentary on the interaction between male and female students. Turning now to the exploration of the student perspective, the university employed several policies which did not differentiate between students based on their sex. These policies included a continuation of an egalitarian pay scale for student assistants, equal access to internal scholarships, open admission to all programs, and a serious concern for the adequate housing of female students.

### **Murray’s Involvement in Student Employment**

Beginning with pay, the university employed several students as class assistants. The vast majority worked in science labs but some would assist an instructor by providing students with extra tutoring in languages and other arts-based classes. At the university’s opening in 1909, the enrolment was 70 students. This number increased by 35% in the second year and continued to rise steadily between 24% and 38% each year until 1915 when the student population dropped by

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<sup>199</sup> *The Sheaf*, vol. 2, no. 3 December 1913, 111.

<sup>200</sup> *The Sheaf*, vol. 4, no. 1 October 1915, 51.



4% due to enlistment in the war.<sup>201</sup> This steady increase during the first five years can be attributed to a rising support of the university by the people of Saskatchewan, regional economic prosperity, and a constantly increasing reassurance in the stability of the university as an investment for incoming students. By 1914, the student population had swelled to 474 and although the faculty did increase, the need for student assistants became apparent. In March of that year, the university hired six students, all men, to assist in the following academic term. One, W.Y. Hunter, was hired for English while the remainder were assigned to science departments, one in the Chemical lab, the remaining four in the Physical lab.<sup>202</sup> These men were hand-picked by Murray, although the reason for their selection remains elusive. According to scholarship records, none received top honours in the subjects they were assigned; in fact none of the six were academically noteworthy in any way. The question arises: why were these men selected? After reviewing the records left by these students, one commonality stands out: five of the six were from rural Saskatchewan and of the six, no one from their hometown with corresponding last names appear as members of the first Convocation. In other words, none of their parents were university graduates, and five of them lived in small isolated agrarian communities. Murray was a strong believer in finding employment for students who may not be able to afford university education otherwise. These students may have very well needed additional financial support in order to continue their studies. Dr. Georgina Hogg, a U of S alumna wrote a letter which offers an example of Murray's commitment to the financial support of the under-privileged student.

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<sup>201</sup> The student enrolment numbers are pulled from the annual University Calendars which feature the "List of Students" for each year. All percentages are calculated to the nearest whole numbers and comprise any and all new programs offered by the university.

<sup>202</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, March 3, 1914.

In the fall of 1931, my sister, two brothers and I all registered for the first time in the University of Saskatchewan – Isobel in Household Science, Peter in Agriculture and Allen in Engineering. I was in Arts and ultimately Medicine... our parents were farming in Landis, 100 miles or so west of Saskatoon...the drought was severe and crops and income both pitifully small.<sup>203</sup>

Murray must have been told of this family's arrival and of their financial situation. Isobel, the eldest, was promptly given a position as a student assistant to the head of extra-mural studies, stuffing, addressing, and stamping envelops. Isobel's salary was sufficient to cover the room and board for the four students during their time in Saskatoon.<sup>204</sup> This story is representative of several in which Walter Murray found employment for students in financial need. Similar non-academic factors most likely lead to the selection of the six initial Student Assistants. The omission of women from this first batch may be attributed to two factors. Firstly, the initial group of female students who began in 1909 would have graduated by 1914. This group included students like Mary Oliver, who came from a working-class background and who needed employment from the university after graduation for personal financial support. By 1914, this group of hardworking "bluestocking"<sup>205</sup> had graduated and a new type of female student had arrived. At this time, the vast majority of female students came from in and around Saskatoon.<sup>206</sup> Their parents were far more likely to possess post-secondary degrees than the parents of the initial class, and many of their families could be counted among the business elite of the city. They were also less concerned with graduating than their female predecessors and conversely far

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<sup>203</sup> Dr. Georgina R. Hogg to R.A. Murray, April 11, 1979. Jean E. Murray Fonds, University of Saskatchewan Archives, Special Collections.

<sup>204</sup> Murray and Murray, 233.

<sup>205</sup> Margaret Lowe, *Looking Good: college women and body image, 1875-1930*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press: (2003) 36.

<sup>206</sup> The majority of these statistics have been tabulated using the "Student List" section of the annual University Calendars with additional information provided in the annual President Reports. Over the time period covered, 46% of the female student body came from in and around Saskatoon (Sutherland is included in the Saskatoon numbers as there was a trolley available that would allow students to reside in their parents' home and commute to the university daily) while only 26% of male students came from Saskatoon and area.

more likely to marry a classmate than the female students of the first year.<sup>207</sup> Of the overall student body that began their freshman year in 1910, 63% completed their studies. Of the initial class who began in 1909, the success rate was even higher, with nine of the eleven crossing the convocation stage. In the subsequent decade, the retention rate would never again come close to being as high as the first class, averaging 25% between the classes of 1914 and 1922. As for female students, after that initial year the average graduation rate dropped from 82% to 46% and averaged 29% between the classes of 1914 and 1922. The women of the classes of 1914 to 1922 were far less likely to be attending school in preparation for a long-term careers and they were also far less likely to be from a lower-middle- or working-class families than their male classmates. As such, it is not surprising that Murray did not select a female student to be among the first group of Student Assistants. They, on average, simply did not meet his criteria of financial need.

### **Student Assistants**

After the first group of Student Assistants in 1914, the subsequent hires did include a proportional representation of female students. In 1915, two assistants were procured, a male student for Chemistry was hired in September of that year and Miss Florence E. Gruchy was employed to be an assistant in French starting in November, 1915.<sup>208</sup> Miss Gruchy was a popular and extremely involved student, and she was also the sister of the university's first war casualty, Arthur Gruchy, who drowned while 'bathing in the sea at Shorncliffe, Kent, where the 28<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Lowe, 111. Lowe found that prior to 1910 middle- and upper-class women in the United States were more likely to find their spouse through family or hometown community connections. After 1910, this trend shifted and more women found their husbands-to-be through university. Her study focused specifically on Cornell University where in the 1919-1920 school year 38% of female students married a former classmate.

<sup>208</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, November 16, 1915.

Battalion were encamped prior to their leaving for the front”<sup>209</sup>. For young Miss Gruchy, Arthur’s loss was both personal and financial, threatening her ability to stay in school. This personal tragedy could potentially explain why the university decided to appoint Miss Gruchy to the position of Student Assistant. Student Assistant appointments prior to Miss Gruchy’s had been made in March or September in preparation for the upcoming academic year. The odd timing of Gruchy’s appointment is not explained in the meeting minutes but it comes conspicuously one month after the news of her brother’s death in England. This may be yet another example of the university administration using the position of Student Assistant to aid a student in financial need.

In 1916, four more student assistants were hired, two from each sex. The two male students assisted in Chemistry and Physics, while Edith O. Carpenter and Ruth M. Carr assisted in German and French respectfully.<sup>210</sup> If the first year is discounted as anomalous: throughout the course of this study women were either equally represented as student assistants or over represented as a proportion of the student body. Their salaries were based on their year of study: \$75 per term for sophomores, \$100 per term for juniors, \$150 per term for seniors.<sup>211</sup> The only gender differential between Student Assistants was the type of assignment given. Male students were far more likely to be assigned to a science lab, whereas female student assistants dominated arts-based classes. Historian Christina Ogren found that shortly after the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, courses dominated by women became stigmatized as inferior, which translated into fewer male students pursuing these avenues of education. Drawing from Frederick Rudolph’s work on the same subject, Ogren argued that liberal arts classes in particular became increasingly populated

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<sup>209</sup> *The Sheaf*, vol. 4, no. 1 October 1915, 8.

<sup>210</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minute*, September 27, 1916.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.* March 3, 1914; October 16, 1915; September 27, 1916; May 1, 1917; October 16, 1918; October 13, 1920.

by women and as a result became feminized and devalued.<sup>212</sup> The gendering of subject areas and subsequently student assistants may not have been a conscious attempt by the University of Saskatchewan's administration to stream women into areas deemed more socially acceptable but rather the positions to which these students were assigned may simply be representative of the demographic breakdown of these academic subjects. Over the length of time under study, approximately 95% of women who attended the University of Saskatchewan in regular classes, night classes, or summer school were enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences. As a result, women comprised, on average, 29% of any CAS class.<sup>213</sup> Student records do not differentiate between Arts students and Science students while they were enrolled, but after exploring the graduation lists it becomes clear that the vast majority of women who graduated did so with a Bachelor of Arts degree rather than a Bachelor of Science. This explains why it was far more likely to find a female student assistant in an Arts-based class than a Science. Within the pool of student candidates, women were simply far more numerous in the Arts. Non-academic positions for students were extremely rare at the university. The only record which indicated the existence of non-academic positions was the hiring of Mildred Smith in November of 1918. Smith was hired to record the daily meteorological record for the city of Saskatoon at a government-subsidized rate of \$150 per term. Otherwise, all student employment at the university was overseen by an academic department and not the administration. Returning to the majority of employed students, Student Assistant positions were offered to female students at a rate

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<sup>212</sup> Christine A. Ogren, "Where Coeds Were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920." *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1 (1995): 5.

<sup>213</sup> This percentage is in line with the work of Alyson King who found that at U of T, Queen's, McMaster, Western and Ottawa between 1901-1930, women on average composed between one-quarter and one-third of Arts and Science classes — Alyson King "The Experience of Women Students at Four Universities, 1895-1930" *Framing our past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 160-165.

proportional to their representation. Their pay was equal to their male peers and was calculated based on education level, not the nature of the assigned duties.

### **Scholarships and Bursaries**

Female students were granted equal pay and proportional opportunity to employment, but this was not the only means by which students could fund their academic pursuits. Then, as now, scholarships, bursaries, and other forms of funding were essential for many students to remain enrolled at the university. Between 1909 and 1922, females made up, on average, 35% of the University of Saskatchewan's student body, a staggering 18.5% above the Canadian national average.<sup>214</sup> Reviewing the scholarship data available in the annual University Calendars, it is interesting to note that female students were consistently receiving more than their share of internal scholarships and bursaries, averaging 46% of entrance scholarships alone. External funding showed a similar trend of overrepresentation. The vast majority of Saskatchewan-based external scholarships and bursaries were made available to both genders. This data is telling as donors set external funding criteria, thereby demonstrating the potential support these female scholars received from the philanthropic community of Saskatchewan as a whole. The only scholarship which was limited to male students exclusively was the Rhodes Scholarship which was first awarded to a U of S student, John A. Weir, in 1915. The criteria limitations of this particular scholarship were created by the donor and as such were out of the control of the University of Saskatchewan administration. Even national awards such as the Governor-General's Medal did not stipulate that the recipient must be a male student. This being said, access to these prestigious awards did not necessarily translate into success in obtaining them. Although women did receive more than their proportional amount of entrance scholarships

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<sup>214</sup> Robin S Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976 ), 352.

which offered free tuition with an approximate worth of \$50 each year, the more lucrative scholarships such as the Chancellor's Scholarship, worth \$200 paid over four years, and The King Edward Scholarship, \$150 each year for a maximum of four years, were held exclusively by men during the time under study. Other non-monetary prizes such as the Governor-General's Gold Medal for the most distinguished graduate of the year, did see the occasional female winner such as Lydia E. Gruchy in 1920.<sup>215</sup> As lovely as these distinctions were, though, they came with no cash prize to help with university costs. Many of the scholarships offered by the university also targeted specific departments such as the Fellowship in Physics or the Scholarship in Agriculture. These scholarships were open to all students but, by sheer demographic numbers, it was unlikely for a female student to garner many of these awards as the vast majority of the female student body was concentrated in the Arts disciplines within the College of Arts and Science.

### **Women Outside of the College of Arts and Science**

The 1907 *University Act* specified that no female students be deprived any advantage afforded to male students of the university. This principle extended to the university's admission policies in regards to entrance into the various university disciplines. Women were eligible for admission into every program the university offered, but their social acceptance within male-dominated disciplines such as the Colleges of Agriculture and Law could be called into serious question. As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of women who enrolled at the university were members of the College of Arts and Science but there were those few women who attempted to complete courses in Pharmacy, Law, Accounting, and Agriculture, disciplines available during the time period which were dominated by male students. The first woman to enrol outside of

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<sup>215</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *University Calendar 1921*, 15.

Arts and Science was Bessie Horner who graduated from the School of Pharmacy's one-year program in 1914.<sup>216</sup> As a result, Horner became the first female pharmacist to be certified by the Province of Saskatchewan. She was quickly followed the next year by Mrs. Beatrice G. Fisher of Southey who passed her Pharmacy professional examination in 1915. Over the next six years, the School of Pharmacy would graduate eleven more women, the most of any school or department outside of the College of Arts and Science, the School of Nursing, and the Normal School, all of which were dominated by female students. Thirteen female students in total, out of the two-hundred and thirty-two who graduated from the School of Pharmacy before 1921, may seem like a meager number but these women and their success rate speaks volumes about the nature of this university program and the type of women it attracted. Nineteen women in total began the Pharmacy program and a staggering thirteen successfully finished. This marks a retention rate of 68%, nearly double the overall retention rate for women at the university,<sup>217</sup> and women in Pharmacy were 40% more likely to finish their program than any male student to finish their course of study. The fact that Pharmacy was a one-year professional program rather than a four-year degree course must be taken into consideration when tabulating these numbers but the shorter length cannot completely account for these women's higher rate of success. Other one-year programs such as the Associate course in Agriculture could not boast such high retention numbers. These women were simply more likely to succeed than the average student and, interestingly, they were far more likely to be married and from rural Saskatchewan than the average student as well. Nearly half of the female students who graduated from Pharmacy were married: six in total. This number becomes even more startling when compared to the proportion

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<sup>216</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *University Calendar 1914*, 139.

<sup>217</sup> The average retention rate for female students from the first graduate in 1912 to the end of this study in 1922 is 35% whereas the male rate for the same period is 27%. These rates are drawn from the student lists and degrees conferred list featured in the annual University Calendars.



of married women in all other disciplines – accounting, the Teacher’s Course in Domestic Science, and Law only saw one female married student each over time under study.<sup>218</sup> The reasons for this anomaly in Pharmacy may be explained two ways. Firstly, as Alison Prentice has demonstrated in her study of women’s employment at the University of Toronto, although Medicine and Law had undergone a professionalization which structurally excluded women, the field of Pharmacy was considered a suitable position for a respectable middle-class woman.<sup>219</sup> Secondly, many of these women were most likely married to practicing pharmacists and as such chose to undertake the one-year course to garner accreditation for a profession with which they were most likely already quite familiar.

### **Rutherford and the College of Agriculture**

While familiarity with the subject matter was not a pre-requisite for Pharmacy, a year of labour on a farm was stipulated for admission to the College of Agriculture. The admission policy prior to 1914 stated that

Classes in Arts and Science are open to persons of either sex of good moral character who have attained at least the age of sixteen, and who have passed the Junior Matriculation or Second Class Examination or an equivalent. Students who have not passed one of these examinations but have attained the age of eighteen and can give evidence of having taken a satisfactory course of instruction may be admitted as Partial Students.

Classes in Agriculture are open to men of good moral character who have attained at least the age of sixteen, have received at least a public school training sufficient to enable them to pursue their studies with profit, and who have spent at least one year immediately preceding entrance at work on a farm.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Mrs. Nora Smith enrolled in Accounting in 1920. The year also saw Mrs. G. W. Murray enrolled in the Teacher’s Course in Domestic Science. In 1917, woman religious Sister Catherine Hatton enrolled in the Law program. For the purpose of this portion of the study, Sister Catherine Hatton has been counted among the married female students.

<sup>219</sup> Prentice, Alison. “Bluestockings, Feminists or Women Workers? A Preliminary look at Women’s early employment at the University of Toronto.” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*. vol. 2. (1991): 238.

<sup>220</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *University Calendar 1911*, 18.

The *University Act* stated that women should be granted every advantage afforded to their male peers but prior to 1914, under the above mentioned admission criteria, women were not considered admissible to the degree program or associate program offered by the College of Agriculture, the college considered by many, including Murray, to be the “sheet anchor”<sup>221</sup> of the university. The reason for the different nature of the College of Agriculture can be directly attributed to its potential importance as a social service as perceived by both the university administration and provincial government. When the university was first being discussed, many in government assumed that an Agricultural College would be created separately from the university. In fact, W.R. Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture, hired William Rutherford as his Deputy Minister in hopes that the Manitoba-educated agricultural professor would become the president of the future college.<sup>222</sup> When Walter Murray insisted that the College of Agriculture come under the auspice of the university, both physically and administratively, Rutherford became the first choice as Dean, a position with obviously less power than the post initially promised by the provincial government. Despite the potential bruised egos and conflicts which may have arisen from this change in plan, Murray and Rutherford worked relatively well together. This amicability was in large part due to Murray’s recognition of Rutherford’s political influence and administrative abilities which translated into a more hands-off approach by the central administration in regards to its dealings with the College of Agriculture. With the guiding hand of Walter Murray at a distance, Rutherford was left to run Agriculture with an unprecedented degree of freedom relative to other colleges.

Rutherford did not share Murray’s progressive views on the education of women. His courses were designed for farming men; women were unqualified for the programs as they did

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<sup>221</sup> Hayden, 20.

<sup>222</sup> Murray and Murray, 66.

not, in his view, “work on the farm”<sup>223</sup> according to Rutherford’s criteria. Besides, according to Rutherford, women were given opportunities to improve their homemaking skills through the Department of Extensions’ short courses. The 1911 University Calendar, under the heading of “Short Courses”,<sup>224</sup> states that:

At the time of the convention for men there will also be one for women, in which subjects pertaining to woman’s work in the home, on the farm and in the community will be dealt with. Poultry raising, care and handling of milk and cream, and the manufacturing of dairy products on the farm: gardening, sanitation and hygiene of the home; home-nursing and other matters of interest to women in the rural community will be taken up.<sup>225</sup>

Rutherford’s opinion regarding the education of women and their place on the farm was widely held. As Sheila McManus has demonstrated in her discussion of the labour of farming wives in Alberta during this time period, women’s work was perceived as being limited to the home and farm yard which included milking, egg production, and the other tasks listed in the University Calendar. It was assumed that women’s labour on the farm ended at the boundaries of the farm yards, but in reality, many women were actively involved in the fields, working alongside their husbands during times of increased labour demand such as planting or harvesting.<sup>226</sup> Dean Rutherford believed that there were rigid boundaries on the roles of women. Looking at Rutherford’s annual reports as well as his personal and professional correspondence, his views on women can be gleaned not from the entries which discuss women’s roles in the college but more so from their collective omission. He left all matters pertaining to the women’s courses to the Director of Extensions, who in turn, acquiesced all responsibility to the Director of Women’s

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<sup>223</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *University Calendar 1911*, 18.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>226</sup> Sheila McManus, “Gender(ed) Tension in the Work and Politics of Alberta Farm Women, 1905-29”. *Telling Tales: essays in western women’s history*. Ed. Catherine A. Cavanaugh & Randi R. Warne, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000): 132-146.

Work, Abigail DeLury. This left DeLury a tremendous amount of latitude to conduct the women's program as she saw fit but it also created a stark divide within the college between men and women's programming. Rutherford rarely had anything to say in regards to women, their education, or their place within his college. This being said, there was one instance when Rutherford publically voiced his opinion in regards to women and more specifically their enfranchisement. On June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1916, Rutherford addressed the Annual Convention of Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. He began his talk by lightly chiding the preceding male speaker for addressing the group of women as "fellow citizens".<sup>227</sup> He would not be addressing the group membership as such as they would always be homemakers to him.<sup>228</sup> The previous speaker referred to the Homemaker's Club membership as citizens in response to Saskatchewan women's recent provincial enfranchisement in March of that year. Rutherford's comments might indicate his displeasure in regards to the recent change in legislation. His statement that the membership would always be homemakers to him could be considered an attempt at condescension or conversely may divulge Rutherford's reverence for the traditional role of wife, mother, and homemaker.

Knowing his opinion regarding the traditional place of women it is not surprising that the University Calendar's admission policy suggested that the agricultural program was not designed for female students. From 1910 to 1914, this policy went untested, but in September of that year, the wording of this admission policy was changed because a young woman named Mary Dawson enrolled in the male bastion which was the College of Agriculture. Few records remain about

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<sup>227</sup> The speaker referred to the women in the audience as "fellow citizens" in reference to Saskatchewan women's recent enfranchisement on March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

<sup>228</sup> Saskatchewan Women's Institute Fonds 2109, Box 4 (A.3.a) Convention Minutes and other Papers "Report of Proceedings of the Annual Convention of Homemakers' Club of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask. June 22-23, 1916., 192.

Dawson as she only remained a student at the university for one semester; her name does not appear on the student registry which was recorded annually at year's end. The bulk of the little information available about her comes from the November edition of *The Sheaf*.

From the four corners of the province have come the lusty sons of Ceres to learn how to sow and reap and dig the ground according to the most approved modern methods.... The freshman class is unique in the annals of our college in having among its members a representative of the sex which has hitherto shown little direct interest in the art of farming. Miss Dawson has the honor of being the first woman to enter the regular course in the study of scientific agriculture in the S.A.C., and perhaps in the Dominion of Canada. We venture to prophesy that her example will be followed by yearly increasing numbers as the facilities for specialized work are increased.<sup>229</sup>

This report, as with all reports submitted to *The Sheaf*, was written by a student, in this case Clive Burke, Agriculture Department Editor.<sup>230</sup> It is interesting to note that Burke marked Dawson's entrance as a potential national first and point of pride, but her entrance into the program was seen as an honour to her, more so than the college. It should also be mentioned that Burke took for granted that Dawson would be *specializing* in some aspect of agriculture outside of the masculinised mainstream. The wording of this statement also reveals volumes about the author's conception of the gendered nature of the College of Agriculture. This group of young men are depicted as strong, virile, and masculine, and these same characteristics appear to be transposed on to the College of Agriculture itself. It would be fair to assume that a college peopled by "the lusty sons of Ceres" would have been a daunting environment for a woman to enter. It is also interesting to note the different tone used to describe the work conducted by Dawson and the remainder of the College. While the men were working towards a Bachelor of Science in Agriculture using the most "modern methods" available, Dawson would be studying the "art of farming". This differentiation at once elevated Dawson by implying that she is a

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<sup>229</sup> *The Sheaf*, vol. 3, no. 2 November 1914, 63.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.* vol. 3, no. 1 October 1914, 1.

‘lady’ studying the art of farming and yet devalues her work by referring to it as an ‘Art’. Again this confirms Christine Ogren’s theory regarding the feminization and resulting devaluing of the Arts and the elevation of the Sciences as both masculine and modern.<sup>231</sup> It is impossible to know why Mary Dawson did not finish the first year of her four-year program. One could hypothesize that the environment was hostile towards women, but no jokes targeting Dawson appear in *The Sheaf* and no disciplinary note appears in either the Dean’s report or the board minutes suggesting taunting or hazing which targeted Miss Dawson. Although there is no evidence indicating that Dawson was the victim of harassment it is not implausible to imagine that as a woman in a discipline dominated by men she could be vulnerable to discrimination.<sup>232</sup> Nor is there any evidence that Dawson left due to a marriage engagement as that most certainly would have appeared in the “Wedding Bells” section of the student newspaper. As of January, 1915, Mary Dawson simply disappeared from the university records. Although she did not complete her program, Dawson’s admission is significant as it marks the testing of the *University Act*’s gender policy and saw the powerful College of Agriculture change its admission criteria to accommodate the spirit of the act.

Returning to Burke’s report and his predictions that Dawson’s entrance would mark the beginning of several ‘freshettes’ among the ‘Aggies’, the next seven years saw only three women attempt the program: Fannie Sheppard and Eilene VanGuilder in 1917 and Martha O’Brien in 1918, none of whom completed the program. There is no definitive evidence which supports the hypothesis that the College of Agriculture was a hostile place for female students but the lack of

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<sup>231</sup> Christine A. Ogren, “Where Coeds Were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920.” *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1, (1995), 5.

<sup>232</sup> Other studies such as that of Katherine Perdue, “Passion and Profession, Doctors in Skirts: The Letters of Doctors Frieda Fraser and Edith Bickerton Williams.”, *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 22(2), (2005):271-280. have provided evidence of women in similar circumstances undergoing harassment due to their sex.

success among the women who did attempt the program, compounded by the knowledge of Rutherford's traditional gender views could lead one to assume that it was a less welcoming environment than the other branches of the university. Rutherford controlled the College of Agriculture almost as completely as Murray dominated the University of Saskatchewan as a whole, and like Murray, Rutherford's personal agenda regarding the education of women was bound to inform his professional actions towards this minority group.

### **'Homelike' Residences**

Control and dominance were among the university administration's goals in regards to the housing and decorum of its students and especially the 'co-eds' under their supervision. In 1911, the university appointed Miss Ethel Tennant to be the superintendent of the soon-to-be-opened University Hall<sup>233</sup>. Her original contract stated that her salary would be \$800.00 per year with an annual increase of \$50, up to \$1000.00 per year.<sup>234</sup> This salary, which amounted to approximately \$60 per month, was \$10 more than the starting salary for an office stenographer and only \$20 less per month than an academic assistant. The contract was made all the more lucrative by the inclusion of room and board. The starting date of her employment was January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1912, but the university administration was aware that the residence would not be ready until the following fall. In the interim, Tennant was expected to report to work for Abigail DeLury. These arrangements demonstrates not only the importance placed on the Department of Extensions' work for women but also the perceived link between the 'homelike' nature of the university residence and the home economics programming which prepared young women for their roles as homemakers offered by the Department of Extensions.

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<sup>233</sup> Prior to 1916, the university's sole residence was known as University Hall. After the construction of a second residence, the original University Hall was renamed Saskatchewan Hall and the new residence was called Qu'Appelle Hall — *Executive Committee of the Board of Governors Meeting Minutes*, September 15, 1916.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., October 17, 1911.

Several studies, such as Alison King's investigation of female residences at the University of Toronto and Jean O'Grady's exploration of the role of the Dean of Women at Victoria University, have emphasized the desire by administrations to establish residences which mimicked the traditional Victorian home.<sup>235</sup> University Hall at the University of Saskatchewan followed this trend during the time period under investigation. Ethel Tennant and the colleagues that later joined her with the addition of a second residence, were seen as the matriarchs of their respective buildings, not only monitoring the conduct of students but also that of the maids, janitors, and cooks under their purview.<sup>236</sup> Their power was tempered only by the university administration which could be perceived as the distant, stern, overseeing father.<sup>237</sup> Walter Murray was the physical embodiment of this sentiment.

Although Murray was a supporter of the education of women, he could be perceived as unduly strict in regards to the housing, decorum, and discipline of female students. Some, including David and Robert Murray, believe that this strict attitude towards the behavior of female students was the result of Mrs. Christina Murray's influence on her husband. Mrs. Murray acted as the primary disciplinary force within the Murray household and stressed to her husband the necessity to protect the morality and public reputations of their daughters.<sup>238</sup> For his part, President Murray juxtaposed Christina's Victorian brand of child discipline on the female

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<sup>235</sup> Alyson King, "The Experience of Women Students at Four Universities, 1895-1930" *Framing our past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001):160-165.; Jean O'Grady, "Margaret Addison: Dean of Residence and Dean of Women at Victoria University, 1903-1931" *Framing our past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001):166-169.

<sup>236</sup> Jean O'Grady, "Margaret Addison: Dean of Residence and Dean of Women at Victoria University, 1903-1931" *Framing our past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean, and Kate O'Rourke. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001): 168. In O'Grady's study, Margaret Addison, Dean of Residence and Dean of Women, was seen as the "surrogate mother" of all the residents under her surveillance.

<sup>237</sup> Walter Murray, *President's Report, 1915*. University of Saskatchewan, 8.

<sup>238</sup> Murray and Murray, 235.



residents under his supervision. Although he did not support different policies regarding curriculum, scholarships, or hirings, in Murray's estimation, the personal lives of female students did not fall under the *University Act* policy regarding equal consideration for male and female students.

### **Proximity between Home and School**

While male students were considered young men and independent adults separate from their parental homes, female students were still considered by parents and administrators alike to be children and, as such, fell under the *in loco parentis* policies of the university. This difference in the perceived vulnerability and fundamental status of female and male students may explain some trends culled from the "places of origin" and "places of residence" data found in the student role.<sup>239</sup>

From 1909 until 1922, approximately 26% of male students who attended the University of Saskatchewan resided in or around the city of Saskatoon. While local students made up over a quarter of male students, the female numbers were nearly double with 45% of women who attended the university being from in or around Saskatoon. One may argue that at this time, the education of women would have been perceived as a luxury that only those among the upper-middle class, upper-class, and business elite could afford and therefore, it is not surprising that so many female students came from the city. This theory unfortunately does not withstand the test of regional demographic representation. While Saskatoon was a large center where educated professionals would naturally congregate, it was by far not the only city in the province. If this theory were sound, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert, and Regina should have shown similarly

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<sup>239</sup> All raw data regarding the "Place of Residence" and "Place of Origin" of students can be retrieved from the Annual President's Report and the University Calendar. All calculations have been tabulated from this primary quantitative data.

disproportionally high representations. In reality, if one compares the student roll to that of the province population in 1911, Regina in particular would be greatly under-represented.<sup>240</sup> In fact, the data regarding the University of Saskatchewan in this period supports the theory put forth in separate studies by A.B. McKillop, Catherine Gidney, Martha Vicinus, and others, that personal proximity between home and school played an integral role in a family's decision to allow a daughter to enrol in university.<sup>241</sup> If a daughter could stay at home while studying, her personal propriety and moral safety could remain vigilantly protected by her ever-present family.

Conversely those young women who had to leave home to enrol in university opened themselves up to potential moral and physical perils. Walter Murray was acutely aware of the apprehensions parents had about sending their daughters away to the university. He answered their concerns by creating more residence spaces for female students and by fashioning residence policies designed to limit the freedom and create added surveillance of the female students.

As mentioned earlier, University Hall opened its doors in 1912. Residence spaces were made available to both sexes but no statistics remain as to the number of beds available to each during that year. In 1916, the second residence opened and approximately two-hundred beds between the two residences were made available. For social purposes, the university decided to buy a piano for the women's common room and rent one for the males.<sup>242</sup> This attempt to make the women's common room more 'homelike' corresponds with Alyson King's analysis of spatial

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<sup>240</sup> Regina's under-representation at the University of Saskatchewan is most likely due to the vocal discontent and animosity felt by the elite of Regina regarding the decision to locate the university in Saskatoon. As a result, several of the business elite chose to send their daughters east instead of north for their post-secondary education.

<sup>241</sup> A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 143.; Catherine Gidney, "Dating and Gating: The Moral Regulation of Men and Women at Victoria and University Colleges, University of Toronto, 1920-1960". *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2 (2007): 138-160.; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women (1850-1920)*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985): 126.

<sup>242</sup> The University of Saskatchewan, *Executive Committee of the Board of Governor's Meeting Minutes*, October 22, 1912.

gendering within university residences.<sup>243</sup> During this period it was felt that young women needed a common room in order to congregate and stave off the loneliness they naturally felt because of the absence of their families. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz argues that during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, female students fulfilled this emotional need for closeness by spending time together in their private rooms in the upper floors of the residence.<sup>244</sup> Horowitz believed that as Freud's theories became more widely adhered to, university administrators began to encourage young women to move their camaraderie into a more public space on the main level of the residence.<sup>245</sup> This facilitated closer surveillance of students' interactions and could potentially curtail any homosexual experimentation which may be occurring in the privacy of students' rooms.<sup>246</sup> This concern about homosexuality was not considered an issue for the male students of the university. For them, the common room was considered less essential as they possessed the emotional fortitude to function as independent, mature adults without the need for large amounts of socialization.<sup>247</sup>

### **Residence Space Allocation**

In terms of space, residence rooms were always in high demand. Although residence numbers are not listed in the University Calendar prior to 1919, for the three years that records do exist, more residence spaces were allocated to female students than their proportion of the student population mandated. In 1919, 43% of residence beds went to women who, as a group, comprised only 20% of the student body. In 1920 and 1921, approximately 60% of beds went to

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<sup>243</sup> Alyson E. King, "Centres of 'Home-Like Influence': Residences for Women at the University of Toronto". *Material History Review*, (Spring 1999): 30.

<sup>244</sup> 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), 314.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Alyson E. King, "Centres of 'Home-Like Influence': Residences for Women at the University of Toronto". *Material History Review*, (Spring 1999), 42.

25% of the student body. The reason for this over-allotment of spaces was the concern by administrators and parents alike about the state of the boarding house accommodations for women off-campus. The perception was that although male students may be able to navigate the dangers of a corrupt landlord or immoral neighbours, a young woman living under such conditions may be led astray. These concerns, as well as the general perception that young women needed parental oversight, made this over-allotment of residence spaces necessary in order for the university to attract the requisite critical mass of female students in order to remain fiscally sound. As a result, Walter Murray announced in 1920 that one of his priorities for the university was an extension on Qu'Appelle Hall as to provide much-needed additional housing for women on campus. He stated that "accommodations in town, particularly for girls were very bad."<sup>248</sup>

### **Limits to Equality**

Female residents had far less freedom than their male peers. They were expected to make their own beds and do light cleaning, services which were provided by maids on the men's side of the residence.<sup>249</sup> They also had less physical freedom resulting in stricter curfews and the inability to leave the residence without stating the purpose of the outing.<sup>250</sup> Looking back on Murray's own college experience at the University of New Brunswick, his entire class's expulsion, and Murray's belief that this was an unduly harsh punishment, this may explain why many of his disciplinary decisions regarding male students could and were considered quite light in terms of punishment. The UNB expulsion did apply to both male and female students within the class, but while Murray's nonchalant philosophy regarding student discipline was acceptable

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<sup>248</sup> Hayden, 111.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

for the male students, the women proved a different story. Murray's soft disciplinary nature had to be hardened in order to ensure that the families of this much-needed pool of students felt safe sending their daughters to the university.

The university administration and Walter Murray in particular worked to ensure that female students were given equal treatment to their male peers in all educational pursuits, be it student employment, scholarship eligibility, or access to academic programs. This egalitarian approach, however, did not transcend the classroom to the dorm room. Female university residents were granted less freedom than their male peers and were subjected to a higher level of surveillance. Conversely, these women were given priority over their male peers for residence spaces. Murray and the university administration, by extension, chose to ignore the spirit of the *University Act's* gender policy in the case of residences in order to serve what most likely appeared to be the greater good, that of keeping these young women from the moral and physical perils that their families associated with living away from home. Even for Walter Murray, equality had its limits.

## CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

The University of Saskatchewan's *University Act* of 1907 was an extremely progressive piece of legislation with its prescription of gender equality for U of S students. This study has endeavoured to discover whether or not the university administrators adhered to this legislation and how these men, their attitudes, and their policies regarding gender inclusion affected the lives of the women connected to the university for the first fifteen years of its existence. After exploring and analysing the available primary source material and supporting national and international literature, this investigation has come to two major and potentially oppositional conclusions. Firstly, the vast majority of the University of Saskatchewan's founders were committed to creating an institution in which female students, faculty, and staff were granted every opportunity afforded their male peers. But while they did endeavour to create an egalitarian working environment, there were self-imposed limits to the *University Act's* implementation. Secondly, despite the efforts of the administration to create a gender-inclusive environment, the internal culture of various aspects of the university remained unwelcoming to women.

As has been seen, when the creation of the university was first being discussed women were expected to be included among the students and staff. This inclusion was widely accepted for both philosophical and pragmatic reasons. A large proportion of those who settled this region, and who were subsequently over-represented among the university's founders, employees,

students, and supporters, came from the northern United States and the Maritime provinces. Both regions had established traditions of post-secondary education for women, and these settlers expected that their new provincial university would provide for the education of their daughters as well as their sons. Pragmatically, although it was predicted that Saskatchewan would soon reach a population density that would ensure the financial security of the government-funded university, in the interim, the university needed to open its doors to female students in order to remain financially viable. It was under these social conditions that the *University Act* was penned, but it was only with the ever-vigilant guiding hand of Walter Murray, the university's president and *de facto* chief executive officer, that inclusive policies pervaded the university's day-to-day operations. Haultain, Scott, and Calder had created the framework for a university with unprecedented independence from government control. This in turn granted President Walter Murray – whose cultural background, educational experiences, and familial needs entrenched a dedication to the education of women – unmatched power among Canadian university administrators to mould the University of Saskatchewan into his image of the ideal post-secondary institution. His commitment to the spirit of the *University Act* and its third tenet of gender equality can be seen in the dozens of policies which pervaded not only the lived experiences of the students but went beyond the act's mandate to include the female faculty and staff as well. These policies included a universal pay scale for faculty, staff, and student employees based on education and experience, not sex; flexible work days which allowed for educational upgrading; war bonuses for both men and women; and university scholarships and student employment opportunities in which female students were well-represented.

Although these policies were progressive and inclusive, other practices betray the administration's inability to transcend the social conditions in which the university operated. The

university had no official policy regarding the employment of married women but, without exception, all single women who were employed by the university and who subsequently became engaged resigned, most likely under social pressure to do so. Those who were married while employed did not transition from single to married status while working at the university. And the small group of married women who were employed by the university found themselves allocated to areas such as the College of Agriculture Boarding House and the Department of Domestic Science in which their primary utility was intrinsically linked to their status as housewives and mothers. While some benefits were distributed universally such as the three-month post-mortem pay continuation for non-permanent staff, others such as the pension plan were available only to the female permanent staff after being requested and then only at the pleasure of the Board of Governors.

Perhaps the clearest example of the university administration's deliberate limitation of the *University Act* equity policy is the fervent implementation of the *in loco parentis* relationship between the university administrators and the female residents of University Hall. While Murray was lenient in terms of disciplining the male student population, the female residents were subject to a policy of surveillance and limited personal freedom. This unequal dichotomy can be attributed to the concerns of parents regarding the moral and physical safety of their daughters and the desire to keep them in an environment which closely resembled the traditional Victorian home. This wide reaching fear for female students' well-being translated into nearly half their number being from the Saskatoon area. It also meant that Murray's administration set aside a disproportionate number of residence beds for female students in order to ensure that families from the far reaches of the province would feel safe sending their daughters to the university. Walter Murray and the university administrators who shared his philosophy of gender inclusivity



were hampered by the needs and desires of the people of Saskatchewan who, although desirous of education for their daughters, were unwilling to endanger these same young women's reputations in its pursuit.

While Murray's efforts to introduce co-education and gender equality were hampered from without, they also encountered opposition from within. In fact, although Murray personally supported the philosophy of co-education, he publically stated that the university would only be co-educational as long as it was a financial necessity. If the university had created a Ladies' college there would have been the additional expenses of extra faculty and administrators, costs that could be avoided through co-education. The fiscal argument was one that co-education's opponents, including Dean Rutherford of the College of Agriculture, had difficulty countering. Due to Rutherford's political influence and administrative abilities, Murray trod lightly in his dealings with such an important branch of the university. With Murray's influence lessened within the College, Rutherford was able to create a space in which women's and men's programming was administered separately from one another. This had both negative and positive results for the college's women. Rutherford had little interest in the Women's Work programming which took place in the Department of Extensions. As a result of his and the Department Head's disinterest, Abigail DeLury was granted an amazing degree of freedom in the programming which took place in the Women's Work section of the Department. Conversely, Rutherford's control meant that the Bachelor of Agricultural Science program and the one-year Associate Course became bastions of masculinity in which women appeared to be unwelcome. In 1914, Mary Dawson enrolled in the Bachelor of Agricultural Science program and tested the college's admission policy and, consequently, the university's dedication to the spirit of the *University Act*. Dawson did not graduate and in fact, did not finish her first year. Although she

was admitted into the College of Agriculture and no record remains of any harassment targeting Dawson, one can only imagine the taunting, staring, and jokes she may have endured. Despite failing to finish the course, Dawson succeeded in proving that women, whether welcome or not, could enrol in all programs at the university.

While Murray's lack of influence could be considered a hindrance to the overall gender equality within the College of Agriculture, his unquestioned authority within the remainder of the university could also cause problems. Murray was a micromanager who approved all faculty hirings, pay raises, and promotions. With this power Murray was able to shape the university's workforce and potentially give preferential treatment to those who were loyal to him, which as may have been the case in the promotion of Jean Bayer to the rank of Assistant Professor of English. Murray's influence over hiring practices may also explain the lack of racial, socio-economic and cultural diversity in the university's workforce, although such trends could also have resulted from a limited pool of qualified personnel.

The University of Saskatchewan from 1907 to 1922 was a unique environment in terms of gender inclusivity. The *University Act* offered the female student population unprecedented legal reassurance that they could enrol in any program offered by the university, pursue any internal scholarship, and apply for any student employment posting. It also gave Walter Murray a strong mandate to pursue his desire for gender inclusivity for faculty and staff at the university. But what the *University Act* could not control was how male administrators, faculty, staff, and students treated the women their midst. It was a piece of prescriptive literature in the truest sense. It had those who adhered to the spirit of its message and those who chose to ignore its philosophical perspective altogether.

In 1991, Alison Prentice called on Canadian historians to explore the first generation of female students enrolled in Canadian universities. While several studies have been conducted in Ontario, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, and PEI, this investigation has endeavoured to add one small voice to this dialogue by presenting a prairie perspective on this time period and subject matter. Hopefully it has offered a window into the experiences of the women who lived, worked, and studied at Saskatchewan's university during its earliest years.

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