Sport, physical education and the ideal girl in selected Ontario denominational schools, 1870-1930.

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SPORT, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND THE IDEAL GIRL
IN SELECTED ONTARIO DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS,
1870-1930

by

Pauline Olafson

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1990
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To my husband
Gordon

to our children
John, Gregory, Kristin, and Lauren
and to the memory of my parents
Jake and Margaret Grauer
ABSTRACT

SPORT, PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND THE IDEAL GIRL IN SELECTED
ONTARIO DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS,
1870-1930

by

Pauline Olafson

The purpose of this study was to examine how sport and
physical activity both helped to create and restrict the
"Ideal Girl" at selected Ontario denominational schools
between 1870 and 1930. The denominational-boarding school
setting was useful for examining the relationship between the
sport and physical education of upper-and-middle-class girls
and their prescribed role within a patriarchal society as the
heads of these schools took great pride in "their girls," and
attempted to inculcate values as well as academic and physical
achievement. The schools' archives revealed a wealth of
primary information through yearbooks, pictures, minutes, and
principal's reports. Secondary literature on girls' physical
education in England and the United States was also reviewed
because many of the physical education teachers in the schools
were trained in those countries and the Anglican schools
especially were patterned on English models. The attitudes of
clergymen, medical doctors, and educators were examined
because of their strong influence on women's education,
physical activity, and role in society.

The data was categorized into three time periods: prior
to 1900 when all schools had very limited athletic programs
confined mainly to walking, outdoor exercise, and gentle calisthenics; 1900-1920 which saw the beginning of modern competitive sporting activity in all but the Roman Catholic schools; and finally, 1920-30 when all the schools embraced vigorous athletic and physical education programs. This progression paralleled, and reflected, greater career and educational opportunities for women.

The general conclusions were the same for all denominations: femininity was always an important criterion where girls' sport was concerned, but became less significant as time progressed. Good health was a major factor motivating physical education in all schools as part of a general concern over the health of an increasingly urban, sedentary society, but also to strengthen highly-strung, emotional girls to withstand the stresses of higher education and, primarily, to make them strong, healthy mothers. Character building through sport was also important, particularly at the Anglican schools. This was not related to a leadership role for women, but rather to their continuing function as the moral arbiters of society.

Comparisons among the denominations showed the Anglican schools to be the most sports-minded, followed by the Methodist, and finally the Roman Catholic which, because of their cultural-literary emphasis and lack of a sporting tradition, were the last to embrace competitive sport. By 1930, however, all the schools had extensive sport and
physical education programs which were a source of pleasure, freedom, and achievement for many of their students.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks are extended to my adviser, Dr. Kathleen McCrone, and to my committee members, Dr. Alan Metcalfe and Dr. Ken Pryke, for their accessibility and generosity with their time, and for their high standards and stimulating questions which demanded ever more thought and effort from me. I am particularly indebted to Dr. McCrone for her support and encouragement over several years as teacher and adviser.

I would like to thank the head mistresses of the participating schools for permission to use their schools in my study, and particularly the archivists whose cooperation and organization gave me access to the primary data. Acknowledgement should also be made of the student yearbook editors and contributors who left such a glowing record of their school sporting experiences.

I am grateful for the kind hospitality and friendship of Professor and Mrs. John Munro and family of Toronto.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

PROBLEM

This thesis examines the role of sport and physical education in creating the 'Ideal Girl' at Ontario girls' denominational schools between 1870 and 1930. It investigates how school physical activities both reflected and helped to mould middle-class Canadian women's changing identity and function within a patriarchal society. As two of the schools examined were Roman Catholic, two Anglican, and two United Church, a secondary aim will be to note the differences among the various denominations.

Chapter 1 reviews English and American influences on the nature and role of middle and upper-class Canadian women as well as medical and educational restrictions of their activities. The second chapter describes the founding, facilities, and faculty of the subject schools, including their concept of the 'Ideal Girl,' whereas the final chapter examines in detail the schools' sport and physical education programs and links them to the changing concept of women. The original hypotheses are evaluated in the conclusion, which further generalizes concerning the role of sport and physical activity in women's emancipation.
JUSTIFICATION

Although considerable progress has been made in the field of women's sport history since 1984 when McCrone noted that "A broad historical perspective permitting an exploration of the relationship between women's sport and social change is noticeable by its absence"\(^1\), Park and Mangan have recently observed that "little attention has been directed specifically to sport, recreation and leisure as a source of pleasure, an instrument of control or a symbol of emancipation."\(^2\) The role of sport in the British boys' public schools of the nineteenth century has been documented superbly by Mangan in Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School, and several authors have studied this phenomenon as it relates to the Canadian setting.\(^3\) Recent studies by Jennifer Hargreaves

\(^1\) Kathleen E. McCrone, "Play Up Play Up! And Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School," *Journal of British Studies* XXIII, 2 (Spring 1984), 106.


and Kathleen McCrone\(^4\) have addressed the role that sport and/or physical education played in the English girls' public school setting, and it is the purpose of this thesis to attempt a similar investigation of the educational function or role of physical activity and games in selected girls' denominational schools in Ontario between 1870 and 1930. Although Helen Gurney characterized the growth of girls' sport in Ontario high schools as "A Century of Progress," and Helen Lenskyj looked at the role of physical education in the socialization of girls in Ontario in her doctoral dissertation, neither made more than a passing reference to the private or denominational schools. On the other hand, Rousmaniere used just such schools in determining what ideals middle-class educators and parents had for their daughters, but did not emphasize the role of sport or physical education in achieving these.\(^5\) This study will attempt to bridge the gap.


Much of the recent literature dealing with women and sport in the Victorian era emphasizes constraints placed upon their participation by the medical establishment, by fashion, and by perceptions of what was feminine and appropriate for future wives and mothers. These assumptions will be examined in the school settings by looking at the aims of the education provided, the facilities, the background and training of those in charge of the schools and their physical education, the physical education curriculum, and the type of competition allowed or encouraged in individual and/or team sports. An effort will also be made to determine the students' attitudes toward physical activity.

The time period studied, 1870-1930, will be divided into segments in order to categorize the changes which occurred. The year 1870 was chosen as a starting point because the majority of the schools were founded by then or shortly thereafter: (Loretto Abbey, Toronto, 1847; St. Mary's Academy, 1864; Bishop Strachan, 1867; Trafalgar Castle as Ontario Ladies' College, 1874; Alma College, 1877; and Havergal College 1898). The concluding date of 1930 encompasses the period which M. Ann Hall in her history of women's sport in Canada prior to 1914 designated as the beginning of participation (1860-1890) through the period of the 'new woman' (1880-1900) and increasing involvement in sport (1900-1914) to the end of the decade of the 1920s which has frequently been referred to as the golden age of women's
Jennifer Hargreaves also refers to the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries as "the formative years of female sport."  

Ontario's denominational schools held a prominent place in the early days of women's education and clergymen were very influential in defining women's social role at a time when religion played a much more important role in society than it does at present. Once-held religious certainties were being questioned, however, in the science versus religion debate which followed the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859). Religious leaders and social critics sought to make Christianity relevant to the social problems of an increasingly secular society where individuals were unwilling to suffer patiently on earth in the hope of uncertain future redemption. In *The Regenerators* Ramsay Cook explores the growth and consequences of this Christian sociology, or religiously-based welfare work which motivated doctors and educators in their concern for the moral as well

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Jennifer A. Hargreaves, "Victorian Familism and the Formative Years of Female Sport," in Mangan and Park, *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism*, 130.

*Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1985).*
as physical or intellectual well-being of their female clientele. The Presbyterian and Methodist churches were especially active in the social gospel reform movement which was prominent in Canada from the 1890s through the 1930s, and education, with an emphasis on the moral well-being of the child, was an important part of this effort. The schools of this study also demonstrated a strong commitment to religiously-motivated social welfare ideals.

The Roman Catholic Church had long provided education for young girls as nursing and teaching were traditional functions of its religious orders. Many parents who were skeptical of co-education, or who desired religious instruction for their daughters, enrolled them in Catholic private schools where the inherent danger of their indoctrination and conversion indirectly stimulated the growth of Anglican and Methodist institutions. In Upper Canada it was the Methodists who first provided women’s higher education by admitting them to the Upper Canada Academy, founded in 1836. Egerton Ryerson, acknowledged as founder of the Ontario public school


The Bishop Strachan School Magazine (Midsummer, 1905), 3. See also p. 51, n6 below.

system, was himself a staunch Methodist and a believer in the character-building potential of education and physical education. Metcalfe has linked the importance of Christian ideals, the effect of Darwinism, and the middle-class belief in progress through hard work and self-help to the development of nineteenth-century Canadian sport, physical education, and recreation. Private schools were selected to build upon the work of McCrone, and to parallel the studies of Brown and others of sport in Canadian boys’ private schools. Answers will be sought to such questions as: were competitive sports for girls allowed and/or encouraged? If so, what was their purpose? Because these schools were not co-educational, girls did not compete with boys for the use of facilities, and in the early years of this study, private school facilities and opportunities for sport exceeded those provided by the public system which was neither compulsory nor organized until 1897. Such schools were also independent, innovative and anxious to provide opportunities beyond what the public system offered. Except in the private schools, clubs, and universities, "the importance of physical activity for girls in school was largely ignored by both men and women prior to

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13 See p. 2, n3 above.
World War I."\(^{14}\) According to Dana Johnson, private schools played an important part in Ontario education in general around the turn of the century:

Full public financing of schools at the primary level did not begin until 1850, when legislation was passed permitting trustees to levy property taxes to support education, as well as the collection of user fees, the traditional method of support. Fees were not abolished in the primary schools until 1871, while fees for secondary-school students were abolished only in 1921. Even after the development of a publicly supported system of education, the private schools continued to play an important role in the development of the province.\(^{15}\)

Chad Gaffield, in reviewing the history of education, notes that "one of the most promising areas of research concerns the extent to which certain formal instruction operated outside the dominant school structure," and further observes that "the qualitative importance of...elite education goes well beyond its quantitative role; an "old Boy" counts more than once."\(^{16}\) Such schools offer an excellent medium through which to examine the ideal girl of upper-class Canadian society as they prided themselves on teaching much more than academics. Many of the staff and heads had long associations with their schools and closely identified with "their girls" of whom they

\(^{14}\) Cochrane et al, Sports, 36.


\(^{16}\) Chad Gaffield, "Back to School: Towards a New Agenda for the History of Education," Academiæ XV, 2 (Spring 1986), 177-78.
had special expectations.

Admittedly, the private denominational schools served only a relatively small minority of middle- and upper-class girls, for in the early years education for women was not a priority and attendance was sporadic. When founded, the schools in this study were not elitist; they intended to educate the clergy's daughters and any others desiring a Christian, non-sectarian education at modest cost. As expenses escalated, however, so did fees, and after the establishment of co-educational grammar schools in 1871 it was not the private schools but the free public schools that were most important in the expansion of female school attendance in Ontario.17

METHOD

In her essay on "Research and Scholarship in the History of Physical Education and Sport," Park cites Mangan's use of "intensive-comparative analysis" in his study of athleticism as a "potential model for scholars interested in examining social ideals within institutional settings."18 Hence, from the "total universe" of fourteen denominational girls' schools


in Ontario prior to 1900, two were selected from each denomination for intensive study and comparison. The schools selected, with the exception of St. Mary's Academy which closed in 1971, were still in existence at the time of this study, and all had archives with comparable collections of data. Geographically, they include three schools in Toronto (Loretto Abbey, Bishop Strachan, and Havergal), and two with rural or small-town locations (Ontario Ladies' College in Whitby and Alma College in St. Thomas). All had both boarding and day students.

The source material available in these schools included mainly newspapers and yearbooks written by the students, dating in most cases from the schools' founding. Besides often reporting on principals' messages and founders' day addresses, these give an invaluable sense of students' attitudes toward their school activities. School prospectuses indicating curriculum, fees, managing board, staff etc., were also available. Three of the schools published histories when

\footnote{It should be noted that St. Mary's material, gained principally in an interview with the Archivist, Sister John Thomas, (Helen Batte) is included incidentally only where significant. Yearbooks or other written records prior to 1930 were not available for this school. A secondary source by Sister John Thomas, Rooted in Hope, A History of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary of the Ontario Province (Windsor: Windsor Print & Litho Ltd., 1983) was consulted but had little information helpful for this study.}

The Pines School in Chatham was also visited and the Mother house toured, but access to their archives was not permitted, so that school has not been included except where the small amount of primary information obtained from the Archivist is relevant.
celebrating their centennials. The Alma College archives contain the College Council Minute Books, historical papers by decade, and many photographs and scrapbooks. The Bishop Strachan School archives include regular reports of the principal to the board, and several schools' archives contain letters from old girls, reminiscences, and an occasional diary entry. Two principals, B.F. Austin of Alma College, and Ellen Knox of Havergal, published books on the girl and woman of the period which offered useful insights.²⁰ The Loretto Rainbow includes information not only from the Toronto Loretto Abbey, but also from its sister schools in Hamilton, Niagara Falls, Sault Ste. Marie and Guelph, and so gives a broader picture of the Loretto system of Catholic education than would normally be gleaned from one school's archives. An interview was conducted with Dr. Catherine Steele of Havergal College, a former headmistress and also a student during the latter years of this study.

An introductory letter was sent to ten Ontario private school principals in March 1988, outlining the research project and requesting permission to visit school archives. On the basis of their replies and follow-up telephone conversations, six schools were selected as previously explained. During the spring and fall of 1988 and winter of

²⁰ B.F. Austin, ed. Woman, Her Character, Culture and Calling (Brantford, Ont.: The Book & Bible House, 1890); Ellen Knox, The Girl of the New Day (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1919).
1989, visits were made to the six participating schools: Alma College in St. Thomas, The Bishop Strachan School, Havergal College, and Loretto Abbey in Toronto, Trafalgar Castle School (formerly The Ontario Ladies' College) in Whitby, and the Motherhouse of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary where the records of the former St. Mary's Academy in Windsor are stored. The interview with Dr. Steele (See Appendix) was conducted in November 1988. Meanwhile, an extensive review of the literature pertaining to women, sport, and education in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was undertaken.

**DEFINITION OF TERMS**

For the purpose of this research, physical education is defined in the broadest sense as whatever was included in the school curricula under the heading physical culture or physical activity, such as dance, swimming, calisthenics, etc., for the purpose of promoting health and fitness. Sport on the other hand means individual or team games, either informally arranged by the girls themselves, or organized competition. Social skills and character-building were particularly attributed to team games. The term, role, is used in a broad sense also, to include the educational aims of staff, administration, and board, and also the actual experience of girls, which may have been quite different. The attitude of parents is very difficult to determine from the
sources consulted. It is presumed that since they paid money to send their daughters to these schools, they subscribed to the advertised purposes of the institutions. As pointed out by Gossage, however, "It could be argued that the values that the independent school seeks to perpetuate are a truer reflection of the attitudes of those who teach there than of those who send their children there." Denominational schools refers to those founded under the auspices of a particular religious denomination, although in practice none was exclusive to a particular religion, and all made a point of welcoming any student desiring a Christian education. The Methodist and Anglican ... schools were established by groups of lay and clergymen who had similar concerns and interests about the education of their church's girls. The membership of the founding and early governing boards reflected the religious orientation of this founding impetus...as soon as the schools began operating, denominational influences were, to some extent, absorbed within a broad and "Christian" program.

The Roman Catholic schools were firmly under the control of their religious order, and while they also offered education to those of any faith, the non-denominational nature of their instruction was questionable.

\[21\] Carolyn Gossage, A Question of Privilege, Canada's Independent Schools (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1977), 5.

\[22\] Rousmaniere, "To Prepare the Ideal Woman," 24.
ASSUMPTIONS

This study assumes that the founders, staff, and administrators of the schools had a discernible purpose in educating girls for a particular role in life, and that this purpose generally reflected the period's attitudes regarding the nature and function of middle- and upper-class girls. Because the schools were independent they were not subject to government authority, and therefore had a relatively free hand in establishing ideals and programs. They had to please the fee-paying parents and church community, however, if they expected to secure the funds to build and maintain facilities and programs. Within this broad framework, it is further assumed that sport and physical education programs reflected and were used as vehicles to enhance the values and aims of the school authorities and to produce the 'Ideal Girl'. The personal bias of the author, as an 'Old' if not 'Ideal Girl', is recognized.

LIMITATIONS

The study is limited by the number of schools chosen from the available sample. In this regard, exigencies of time, travel expense, and geographic accessibility were considered, as well as the archival possibilities and willingness of the schools to cooperate. The six chosen are all located in south-western Ontario, but among the institutions belonging to the Conference of Independent Schools of Ontario, only two
other schools, both in the Ottawa region, would have qualified. Others were disqualified because they were boys' schools, or at least not co-educational between 1870-1930, another was French speaking, some were not boarding schools, and some were founded too late for comparison. The extent of the primary data available was a further limitation which proved to be most serious in the Roman Catholic schools where the yearbooks, virtually the only primary source accessible, provided scant information on the background and training of staff and leaders. A further limitation was that all the schools were fee-paying, and no doubt catered to a relatively small proportion of middle and upper-class society. It has always been argued, however, that private schools were influential far beyond their relatively small numbers for both Canadian and British males. The same was probably true for females, although their case has been much less fully researched. This class bias will be addressed more fully in the conclusion.

HYPOTHESES

Before beginning the research, the author hypothesized that the creation of a feminine image would be the first and

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foremost aim of the schools, and that sport would be limited to "lady-like" activities; secondly, that competition and vigorous physical activity would be limited further because of their perceived danger to health and child bearing, the most important function of women at the time. It was further hypothesized that athleticism would not be used to build character in girls as it was with boys because of different educational aims. Boys were to be leaders in government, business, and war; girls were to remain at home as passive wives and healthy mothers. The resolution of these hypotheses will be discussed in the conclusion.
CHAPTER 2

Influences Affecting Attitudes
Toward Sport and Physical Activity for Girls
in Ontario Denominational Schools, 1870-1930.

This chapter reviews nineteenth century attitudes toward
middle-class women's role in society in England, the United
States, and Canada. Particular attention will be paid to the
concept of femininity and medical attitudes affecting physical
activity for girls. Many of the concerns regarding the role
and function of women in nineteenth-century England were
repeated in America as the two countries were closely
connected through literature, language, political forms,
technology, and colonial sport.¹ The same may be said for
English Canada, particularly Ontario, although it should be
noted that by the turn of the century some of the restrictive,
attitudes regarding woman's role had been modified, at least
rhetorically. Nineteenth-century England saw the middle class
ideal of womanhood evolve from that of the adoring "perfect
wife" to the helpless "perfect lady" to, by the end of the
century, the "New Woman" who had far more freedom than her
predecessors, if still within fairly narrow confines.² The
Victorian preoccupation with perfection was reflected in the

¹ Roberta J. Park, “Sport, Gender and Society in a
Transatlantic Victorian Perspective,” in Mangan and Park, eds.
From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism, 60-62.

² Martha Vicinus, ed. Suffer and Be Still: Women in the
Victorian Age (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972),
ix.
exhortations of Canadian headmistresses that students try their hardest, and achieve their best at whatever they undertook, whether scholarship, sport, motherhood, or a career. Despite these options, women continued to be restricted to a mainly maternal role in both Great Britain and North America because of the patriarchal nature of society.

Characteristics associated with the perfect Victorian wife were passivity, submissiveness, and total devotion to husband, household, and children. Throughout the first half of the century and earlier, women had a useful if restricted role to play in bearing and raising children and maintaining the home. Opportunities for increased social mobility during the industrial revolution resulted in aspiring middle-class families displaying their improved status by copying the upper classes' penchant for idle wives and daughters. Affluent households kept servants to perform many of women's previously useful functions, restricting their purpose and identity even more to child-bearing. As the Canadian birth-rate began to decline after 1870, most rapidly in Ontario, there was concern in medical and religious circles that women were failing even in this. The separation of home and workplace with the advent of the factory system also contributed to female redundancy. In England there was no question of useful employment for middle-class girls outside the home, and their education, reflecting their decorative function, stressed artistic accomplishments rather than anything mentally or physically
This influence is evident in the physical education opportunities for girls in Ontario, 1870-1900, particularly in the Roman Catholic and Methodist schools where some remnants of the 'finishing school' remained. Many middle-class immigrants brought their concept of domestic womanhood to Canada from England and the eastern United States. In reality, however, the necessity of hard work for the majority of women, including the urban middle classes, denied the possibility of idle, decorative women becoming the Canadian ideal. Most Canadian women played an essential, hard-working role carrying out domestic duties in homes and on farms until the mid-nineteenth century. It has been observed, however, that there was an increasing separation of the domestic, family-centered world of women and the growing world of commerce and industry from which wives were excluded.⁴

The centrality of the family in Victorian life, and the responsibility of the wife for setting the moral tone of the home while making it an idyllic retreat from the pressures of the outside world were other English characteristics transported to Canada. This family emphasis was especially


notable in the denominational boarding schools. The Methodist schools, both located in small towns, boasted of the advantages of a peaceful rural setting and cheerful home atmosphere. No doubt the emphasis on security and solicitous supervision was reassuring to parents sending their innocent, vulnerable daughters away to boarding school, but the concentration on home was also linked to the major purpose of girls' education which was to train them to preside skillfully over their own homes and families. The prospectus of the Ontario Ladies' College claimed that teachers and pupils constituted one family, eating together and sharing the same social life. A student's account reinforced that:

The home-like atmosphere is very apparent everywhere. One might imagine the young ladies all members of one immense family, so prominent is the feeling of genial goodwill. Teachers and students are one....

When laying the cornerstone of Alma College the Reverend Dr. Carman claimed that while the public system cultivated only the mind, "homelike" schools such as Alma taught forbearance, self discipline, spiritual elevation, bodily discipline, and cultivation of the fine arts. The term "ladies," even prominent in the original school name of OLC, now Trafalgar

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* 12th Annual Calendar, Ontario Ladies' College (1887-87), 38.


* The Almafilian 2, 4 (January 1888), 4.
Castle, connotes a class distinction uncommon in Canada but clearly important in the ideal of the early private schools. The custom of teachers participating in games and playing with and against the students, particularly in the Anglican schools, was another aspect of this close involvement to develop camaraderie, set an example, and influence character.

If Canadian women for the most part were spared being frivolous, idle showpieces of male vanity, they certainly did not escape the ideology of separate spheres as the country underwent the enormously rapid growth and development which saw it become an industrial society. The 1921 census was the first to show an equal population distribution between rural and urban areas, and women outnumbering men in migrating to cities in search of employment. With the shift to wage labour, industrialization, and urbanization, religious, medical, and educational leaders became increasingly concerned about the morality and femininity of young women. Although concerned about the increased freedom and independence of working-class girls living away from their families in the "anonymous immorality" of city life, it was the middle or upper-class girls, the favoured mothers and nurturers of the race, whose well-being most preoccupied these moral leaders.

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As women found employment in domestic service, and in manufacturing, teaching, nursing, and clerical jobs, Prentice et al note a tension between the ideal of the woman in the home and the reality of the jobs they were doing. Rousmaniere identifies this dichotomy with regard to female education which stressed the selfless ideal of man's help-mate and the doting mother of his children as woman's primary functions, while at the same time advocating a socially useful role of devotion to moral or social causes as her obligation.¹⁰

Alma College's first principal, B.F. Austin, edited a book dedicated to the ideal of womanhood, not for the sake of her individual expression or fulfillment, but for the advancement of the civilized race. Its contents are a mixture of highly traditional and more progressive views. It was noted that the 1881 Canadian census showed 227 occupations for women, whereas when the English political economist, Harriet Martineau visited America in 1840 she reported only seven such employments: teaching, needlework, keeping lodgers, domestic service, type setting, and working in textile mills or book

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¹⁰ Prentice et al., Canadian Women, 113.

Despite these advances, Vipond, looking at the image of middle-class Canadian women in mass circulation magazines in the 1920s observes that although it was expected that girls would obtain a good education and work for a few years prior to marriage, it was also assumed that they would resign, not when their first child arrived, but the day they married, in order to take on the new full-time job of caring for a house and husband. The contradiction between the independence and self-sufficiency required before marriage, and the docile dependency expected thereafter is striking.

Although a small number of "New Women" continued to work outside the home after marriage, the vast majority did not. Of the latter group, those of the upper or middle strata with sufficient time and a strong social conscience, often religiously motivated, extended their maternal energies to improving society. Such social involvement was encouraged particularly at the denominational schools where it was seen as both a religious and social duty for those who were privileged to aid the less fortunate. "Maternal feminists," as they have been called, became increasingly aware of the

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11 Minnie Phelps, "Women As Wage-Earners," in B.F. Austin, ed. Woman, Her Character, Culture, and Calling (Brantford: The Book & Bible House, 1890), 51. See also Ibid., p. 34 for an earlier reference to Harriet Martineau's comments.

need for social reform beyond their traditional philanthropic role through churches and women's organizations. Eventually they realized that political involvement was necessary to give them the connections and power to achieve reforms, particularly in feminine-related areas affecting women and children. Although most of these women did not challenge the prescribed order of a patriarchal society, the qualities of the ideal woman, "...piety in religion, purity in morals, and submissiveness and domesticity in family life..." hardly suited them for a more aggressive role outside the home.\footnote{13} "The Woman Question," as it was called, became a contentious and much-debated subject in which male clergymen such as those involved with the denominational schools, played a leading role. The more conservative point of view is expressed by the Reverend Robert Sedgewick in 1856 in a lengthy speech delivered to the Halifax YMCA:

\ldots [W]oman is the equal of man, alike in the matter of intellect, emotion, and activity, and...she has shewn her capabilities in these respects,... It would never do, however, from these premises, to draw the conclusion that woman behoves and is bound to exert her powers in the same direction and for the same ends as man. This were to usurp the place of man - this were to forget her position as the complement of man, and to assume a place

she is incompetent to fill, or rather was not
designed to fill.\textsuperscript{14}

These contradictions are further illustrated by B.F. Austin,
Methodist minister and principal of Alma Ladies' College, who
presented the following idealized view as the rationale for
educating women:

\ldots in promoting woman's elevation, we are most
effectually laboring for the world's advancement;
that in beautifying, adorning and enriching the
home life, we are laying the foundation for all
moral and social reform; that in aiding the many
agencies at work to-day in moulding and fashioning
the character of the ideal woman, we are lifting
humanity to a higher plane.\ldots\textsuperscript{15}

But he elsewhere recognized that "No young woman should be
placed in circumstances such as to make marriage an only
refuge from poverty or dependence on her friends, or from a
life of ennui."\textsuperscript{16} In either case, although recognizing the
fact that women were entering the work force in increasing
numbers, and that many did not marry and had to support
themselves, the overwhelming ideal continued to be the woman
at home, the moral guardian of family and society. While
advocating sound health and bodily strength for women, Austin
categorized them as a special group whose physical culture
must produce \textquoteleft\textquoteleft a graceful mien and motion,\textquoteright\textquoteright; for:

\textsuperscript{14} The Reverend Robert Sedgewick, \textquoteleft\textquoteleft The Proper Sphere and
Influence of Woman in Christian Society,'\textquoteright (November 1856), in
Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. \textit{The Proper Sphere:
Woman's Place in Canadian Society} (Toronto: Oxford University

\textsuperscript{15} Austin, ed. \textit{Woman}, 26.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 33.
Whatever imperfections we may be disposed to tolerate in a gentleman's walk or manner, no one can pardon a lack of grace in a lady. She is expected to charm and please us as much by her manner and motion as by her style and speech.\textsuperscript{17}

This insistence on feminine grace and decorum, although expressed here from the male perspective, was generally accepted by both sexes as a youthful Nellie McClung was to find out at a picnic during the summer of 1882. In her words:

I was hoping there would be a race for girls under ten, or that girls might enter with the boys. But the whole question of girls competing in races was frowned on. Skirts would fly upward and legs would show! And it was not nice for little girls, or big ones either, to show their legs. I wanted to know why, but I was hushed up....There was a stone wall here that baffled me. Why shouldn't I run with the boys? I was given to understand that this was a subject which must not be spoken of.\textsuperscript{18}

Nellie's strong, hard-working mother was unbending on this issue, rejecting, without explanation, Nellie's request for a pair of "drawers" similar to her undergarments but in suitable

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 378.

\textsuperscript{18} Nellie L. McClung, Clearing in the West, My Own Story (Toronto: Thomas Allen Ltd., 1935, reprint ed., 1964), 106.

Her words echo those of an earlier American feminist, Elizabeth Cady Stanton who, at the 1851 Woman's Convention in Akron, Ohio, called for a woman's childhood which was: 

...free and untrammeled. The girl must be allowed to romp and play, climb, skate, and swim; her clothing must be more like that of a boy - strong, loose-fitting garments, thick boots, etc., that she may be out at all times, and enter freely into all kinds of sports."

fabric for outer wear, so that she could move freely. Competition for women was frowned on, as aggressiveness was not a desirable female attribute, and certainly competition against boys or men was forbidden. It is doubtful if Nellie's mother could have answered why she tried; rather, hers was just one of those inherited attitudes accepted by all but the most strong-minded, independent souls as reflecting the way things were.

Along with Victorian preconceptions about women's femininity, and the accompanying restraints of fashionable dress, the medical establishment's erroneous beliefs concerning the limited physical capacity of women was the third important factor limiting their physical and intellectual freedom. Medical doctors had come to see themselves as sharing responsibility with the clergy for the moral and physical well-being of their female patients for whom they had increased responsibility as childbirth moved into hospitals and was attended by doctors rather than occurring at home with family and community support.17 In Canada, their perceptions regarding women, much as those of their colleagues in other countries, were influenced by their social views on the separation of the sexes and on the domestic, biological role ascribed to women. The differences

between men and women were stressed, not the similarities, and
the most obvious difference was the reproductive system.20
"Woman exists for the sake of the womb," stated a Toronto
doctor in an 1890 publication in which he argued against birth
control.21 An American woman doctor of the same period
shared a similar view:

No woman should marry who is unwilling...to
bear children. Motherhood has always been,
and must ever be, the highest and holiest
crown of womanhood, and she who can deliber-
ately set her face against it lacks the noblest
qualities of mind and heart.22

While spelling out woman's proper role in life so
clearly, the increasingly-respectable medical profession gave
further scientific legitimacy to the physical and
psychological differences between the sexes, stressing the
inferior physical and intellectual strength of women while
recognizing their superior intuitive powers.23 The book

20 Wendy Mitchinson, "Historical Attitudes Toward Women
and Childbirth," Atlantis 4, 2 (Spring 1979), 14; Wendy
Mitchinson, "The Medical View of Women: The Case of Late
Nineteenth Century Canada," Canadian Bulletin of Medical
History 3, 2 (Winter 1986), 211.

21 Martin Holbrook, Parturition Without Pain: a code of
directions for escaping from the primal curse (Toronto: c.
1890), 312, cited in Mitchinson, "The Medical View of Women,"
211.

22 Eliza M. Mosher, "The Health of American Women," in
Austin, Woman, 239-40.

23 See Mitchinson, "Historical Attitudes," 15;
Mitchinson, "The Medical View," 213-14; Helen Lenskyj, "The
Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls in
Ontario, 1890-1930," (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto,
1983), 37-38; Lenskyj, Out of Bounds, Woman, Sport and
which gave medical authority to the limited energy theory in girls was *Sex in Education: or, A Fair Chance for the Girls*, published in Boston in 1873 by Edward H. Clarke, M.D., formerly of Harvard University. In his book Clarke cites Dr. Henry Maudsley of University College, London who in *Body and Mind* had asserted that "The monthly activity of the ovaries, which marks the advent of puberty in women, has a notable effect upon the mind and body; wherefore it may become an important cause of mental and physical derangement." In England, Maudsley also quoted Clarke extensively to support his view that if woman emerged from her proper sphere of activity to compete in a man's world, "she will have lost her feminine attractions, and probably also her chief feminine functions." It has been noted that Clarke and Maudsley were not presenting new theories or ideas, but merely giving medical authority to long-existing prejudices and myths. As Mitchinson points out, many Canadian doctors of this period were educated outside Canada, especially in Britain or the United States, and many of the medical texts and journals were also foreign in origin, so it is reasonable to assume that in

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2c Maudsley, Ibid., 32 cited in Clarke, Ibid., 115.

Canada similar attitudes prevailed. Although such a transfer of values cannot be taken for granted, there is ample evidence that Canadian clergymen and physicians generally accepted contemporary medical views regarding women's physical incapacity and limited purpose.  

Several authors have noted that throughout the nineteenth century, particularly during the last decades, American physicians and social commentators repeatedly lamented the poor physical health and condition of American girls compared to the British.  

The latter were thought, whether accurately or not, to be more robust, active, vigorous, and healthy, and to exercise outdoors more often. This was linked by many in the medical establishment to the strain of

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* See Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," Chapter 1, for a detailed examination of medical attitudes to women's health in Canada at the turn of the century. She cites a belief in the vitalist theory and links it with concerns regarding the strenuous education or sporting participation of girls. She also notes the connection between physical and moral health, and the physicians' growing concern for both. See also quotations on pp. 23, 26-27, 33, 41, 43 of this chapter.


* Dudley Sargent, a leading American doctor and physical educator, was not in agreement with this contention. See his article, "The Physical Development of Women," Scribner's Magazine V (February 1889), 178.
education on young women, particularly during puberty and menstruation. In Canada, an article in the New Dominion Monthly in 1878 by Frances Power Cobbe, a leading English feminist, also lamented the poor health of women of the "higher classes" and their tendency to break down under pressure. She attributed this to their unhealthful dress and purposeless lives, recommending more rather than less physical and mental exercise as a cure.\textsuperscript{31} Physical education was promoted in Austin's collection of essays by a Canadian doctor, Edward Playter, for the purposes of developing health, strength, and beauty. He felt that the current disregard for the physical development of young girls was a disgrace.\textsuperscript{32} In fact, some medical practices thrived on the chronic, fashionable malaise of their wealthy, corseted, female clientele.\textsuperscript{33} That this was a class rather than a gender issue is shown by the fact that working-class women were expected to bear children, maintain homes, and work at outside employment without suffering nervous breakdowns, hysteria, or over-strain.

Increasingly, however, middle-class North American women, like their English counterparts, were demanding further educational opportunities, even to the point of seeking

\textsuperscript{31} Frances Power Cobbe, "The Little Health of Ladies," New Dominion Monthly 22 (April 1878), 443, 452-54.

\textsuperscript{32} Edward Playter, M.D., "The Physical Culture of Women," in Austin, ed., Woman, 212.

\textsuperscript{33} Whorton, Crusaders for Fitness, 100-01.
admission to universities and medical schools. They were also beginning to see birth control as a necessity for their health, status, financial security, and freedom. All this was alarming to those fearing racial degeneration as the declining birth rate and controversy surrounding the prevalence of abortion clearly revealed woman's abrogation of her most important duty. Such concerns led to the 1892 amendment of Canada's Criminal Code which made it an offence to sell or advertise any medicine, drug, or article used for birth control or abortion. This was intended to off-set the dangers of 'race suicide' inherent in the dramatic fertility decline evident in English Protestant Canada. "Selfish women," especially those of the affluent, self-indulgent classes were held particularly responsible. Physical education was one method advocated to temper excessive intellectualism and to upgrade the physical strength and maternal capabilities of middle-class women while the sense of duty stressed in the denominational schools, although not directly linked to child-bearing, was aimed at raising their social consciousness and sense of responsibility.


Elizabeth Mitchell, a Canadian doctor, in addressing a meeting of the National Council of Women in Montreal in 1896 heartily endorsed the "so-called new woman" with a love for athletic exercises who had replaced the "delicate female" of the past. In supporting both sport and gymnastic exercises for girls, however, she decried "allowing and encouraging them to compete for prizes" on the basis that this would cause injurious over-exertion and a strain on their nervous systems. Similarly, she lamented that they were "too frequently expected to perform gymnastics which are more suitable for boys...with the excessive development of certain muscles at the expense of total bodily harmony."\textsuperscript{3} Here again is the concern for femininity which required grace and beauty, not strength, and a decided preoccupation with the nervous strain supposedly attendant in "competition, prizes, and public exhibitions." Dr. Mitchell was also a traditionalist, and perhaps an optimist, in relating the benefits of housework, such as "sweeping, dusting and bed-making," as "the best of in-door exercises." She good-naturedly chided the modern girl's pursuit of pleasurable exercise while avoiding household tasks by reciting the following:

\begin{quote}
[She] could swing a six-pound dumb-bell, 
She could fence and she could box; 
She could row upon the river, 
She could clamber on the rocks,
\end{quote}

She could do some heavy bowling,
And play tennis all day long;
But she couldn't help her mother,
As she wasn't very strong.\(^3^7\)

School physical education programs were influenced by
current philosophies of physical education as well as by
medical and religious attitudes. From the training of staff
and descriptions of physical education in the schools under
study, it may be assumed that the major influences on their
programs were England and the eastern United States. England
had become a leader in girls' physical education in the latter
part of the nineteenth century, largely through the work of
Martina Bergman who was hired by the London School Board in
1881 to implement the Ling system of Swedish gymnastics for
girls in all state elementary schools.\(^3^8\) She also
established a teacher training institution with a two year
course involving Anatomy, Animal Physiology, Chemistry,
Physics, Hygiene, Theory of Movement, Ling Gymnastics,
Swimming, and Outdoor Games which facilitated the rapid spread
of her influence.\(^3^9\) Coincidentally, an increased concern
for the health of the English nation resulted in physical
education which was often therapeutic and closely monitored by
the medical profession. Bergman-Osterberg's many graduates

\(^3^7\) Ibid.

\(^3^8\) Kathleen E. McCrone, *Playing the Game: Sport and the
Physical Emancipation of English Women 1870-1914* (Lexington:

\(^3^9\) Paul Atkinson, "Fitness, Feminism and Schooling," in
created a new profession for middle-class women while supplying expert teachers to monitor the physical health and development of English school girls. There was also an interest among educators and feminists in improving the strength of girls to offset criticism of their inability to withstand the strain of higher education, but this was always coupled with care that physical activity not be overdone and that a ladylike, feminine demeanour be maintained.

English public schools serving middle-class girls correspond most closely to the schools in this study. Several authors have noted the degree to which physical training and medical inspection were allied in such schools. Girls were inspected upon entering and regularly thereafter. Any found suffering from postural defects, weaknesses, or deformities were prescribed gentle remedial gymnastics or exercises and massage. During the late 1880s, physical measurement of the head, arms, height, weight, lung capacity, ribs etc. was an important part of women's education. According to Atkinson:

The teacher of physical education was part of a powerful coalition of professionals in the educational arena who co-operated in the close surveillance of students' physical performance and

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well-being."\(^2\)

Gains in weight were recorded approvingly as they helped to demonstrate that, contrary to the dire predictions of doctors, education was beneficial, not harmful, to growing girls.

Remedial gymnastics was also an important aspect of the physical education programs in the schools of this study. Teachers trained and educated in the British system, particularly those at Havergal and Bishop Strachan, brought their experience and ideas with them. The regimen of boarding school life, as well as regular physical exercise, was cited by denominational school promoters as beneficial to girls' health:

\[\ldots\text{the calm and regular routine of college life, with its constant, systematic, and pleasant employment; its early hours of going to bed and rising; its plain, wholesome diet, its daily appropriate physical exercise, its simple habits and rational style of dress, is highly conducive to physical health.}\]^3

These claims were made to attract prospective students rather than to combat the over-strain theory, which was not used as an argument against girls' education in these schools. The battle for the acceptance of women in higher education had already been fought strenuously elsewhere, particularly in


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England. The promotion of healthy future mothers was, however, a major concern.

Another important source of attitudes linking medical practice with physical education was the eastern United States. The well-known American physical educators, Diocletian Lewis and Dudley Sargent, both with medical backgrounds, attacked restrictive women's fashions and advocated the benefits of exercise to the health of both sexes. Sargent was particularly influential as director of the Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard University for 40 years, and as head of the Sargent School of Physical Education which opened in 1881, and trained some of the games' mistresses of the schools under study. He condemned corsets which produced a small waist while interfering with the function of internal organs and with blood circulation. Displaying an enlightened attitude for his time, Sargent believed that women:

ought to have an equal chance with men for realizing the full perfections of their being. If physical training is necessary to secure the best types of men, it is equally important as an agent toward securing the fullest development of women.\(^4^4\)


His influence was widespread, as his system was adopted at Wellesley, Vassar, and Bryn Mawr Colleges, as well as at the Ontario schools noted, and it was spread further by graduates of his normal school.

Ontario private schools followed the British model of including sport and games, because of their character-building attributes, in girls' physical education programs. The idea of moral qualities being transmitted through sport was connected with the growth of the games cult in British boys' public schools in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Team games, particularly cricket and football, were organized under an elaborate house system of prefects and masters to bring discipline to otherwise unruly boys whose parents wanted them turned into young gentlemen. It was firmly believed that team games were invaluable in inculcating such moral virtues as good sportsmanship, leadership, bravery, stoicism, and perseverance, all necessary attributes for future leaders in business, the professions, and the military. An over-emphasis on "manliness" and an under-emphasis on the previously sought "godliness," or even on scholarship, led to the cult of athleticism. The athletes or "bloods" ruled as arrogant bullies, making the lives of meeker or less physical students a nightmare, and displaying very little in the way of

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good character. Nevertheless, the belief that games could be used to promote virtue and strength of character persisted and found its way into English girls' public schools in the last decades of the nineteenth century, although never to such a harmful extent. From there it was transported to Canadian schools, particularly Anglican ones.

The American experience also influenced Canadian schools. Sara Burstall, a mistress at the North London Collegiate School for Girls and a scholar of Girton College, Cambridge, made some interesting observations about American physical education during a tour in 1893. She noted that physical education was much less advanced and of more recent development in American schools and colleges. She attributed this to the Puritanism of early colonists who viewed athletic exercises as frivolous, and to the pioneer life-style which offered plenty of exercise without the creation of artificial opportunities. With the growth of cities and industrial jobs, however, life became more sedentary at a time when large numbers of European immigrants were arriving, bringing with them their traditions of gymnastics and sport. These factors, along with concern for the poor health and nervous tension of women, led to an increased awareness of the need for physical education. In the United States, as in England, she observed,  

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the women's colleges led the way in organizing physical training for women, and the Toronto Loretto schools are a good example of the incentive for competitive sport coming from the university colleges.

The most striking difference between the two countries, however, and one not shared by Canada, was the almost total absence in America of organized games for girls. Possible explanations were the difference in climate and tradition, but Burstall felt these would not preclude the adoption of games. Park notes the rapid rise of organized sport in America at the end of the nineteenth century, along with a clear shift in attitudes which produced a conflict between the idealized, muscular Christian inheritance from the British and the more pragmatic, professional, businesslike American view. "By the 1890s America had clearly become desirous of assuming the position of the leading sporting nation in the world." Such competitiveness was foreign to the role and concept of womanhood. Although there was a clear call for games as a valuable part of women's physical education by the 1900s, the pioneer American psychologist and educator G. Stanley Hall still felt as late as 1926 that separate methods of physical education were necessary for boys and girls, with modified

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Park, "Sport, Gender and Society," 71.
equipment and every possible adjustment made to sex.49

A study of athletic games in the education of American women, published in 1909, noted that the value of games had been neglected and, where included, emphasis was almost always placed upon their recreative and health-producing values, not on their character-building or group training assets. Furthermore, some schools prohibited all boys' games for girls, finding them "injurious to health, deportment and manners," and feeling that, "social education of women needs to be of a special kind."50 These last concerns led to the modification of existing games to make them suitable for girls. The best-known example of this was the adaptation of basketball, the most popular team game for girls in the schools studied, into girls' rules or half court basketball, by the Spalding Rules for Women in 1899.51 This was the version most frequently played in Ontario private schools, although they sometimes used variations, and would even use regular rules if their opponents preferred. A major concern among American women physical educators was that girls' sport not degenerate into the "win at any cost" contests so


prevalent in men's intercollegiate athletics. This, along with apprehensions about the physical and emotional strain, undesirable newspaper notoriety, medical warnings concerning the danger of play during menstruation, uterine displacement, and other hazardous effects on child bearing, led them to limit competition for girls and stress the play day or recreational aspects of sport.\textsuperscript{52}

Hall notes that by World War I, Canadian women were involved in every conceivable form of sporting endeavour, adding skiing, field hockey, badminton, lawn bowling, baseball, and mountaineering to the traditional tennis, golf, curling, ice hockey, equestrianism, and basketball.\textsuperscript{53} The only exceptions were games involving body contact, and where this might occur, rules were made to prevent it, e.g. the outlawing of boarding and body checking in hockey. Much of women's participation occurred in clubs, church groups, and the YWCA, and was confined to the young, strong, and affluent who lived in cities and towns. Team games, especially basketball, flourished in schools and colleges, however, and the universities of Toronto, Queen's, and McGill pioneered intercollegiate competition by forming the Women's

\textsuperscript{52} Mabel Lee, "The Case For and Against Intercollegiate Athletics for Women and the Situation Since 1923," Research Quarterly II (May 1931), 93-127.

Intercollegiate League in 1920; Western joined in 1928.\textsuperscript{54} This increased public activity did not always meet with approval, as illustrated in the Globe and Mail in 1890:

In plain common sense, the sex should avoid any pursuit or diversion which necessarily involves violent running.... She can swim, she can dance, she can ride; all these things she can do admirably and with ease to herself. But to run, nature most surely did not construct her. She can do it after a fashion, just as the domestic hen will on occasion, make shift to fly; but the movement is constrained and awkward - may we say without disrespect? - a kind of precipitate waddle with neither grace, fitness, nor dignity.\textsuperscript{55}

In 1914, the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union voted overwhelmingly to refuse to register women athletes in any sports or competitions under its jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{56} Dr. A.S. Lamb of McGill University, manager of the 1928 Canadian Olympic team, voted against a motion which would have allowed women to compete in subsequent Olympic games. He felt that "Women were too highly strung and not physically capable ... serious injuries might result, and ... medical evidence was


\textsuperscript{55} Globe and Mail (1890), quoted in Cochrane et al., Women in Canadian Life, 7.

\textsuperscript{56} The Leader (January 1914), quoted in Hall, "A History of Women's Sport in Canada," 176.
indefinite on the point."  This was despite the excellent showing which Canadian women had made in the 1928 Olympics, at which women competed on a trial basis for the first time. Bobbie Rosenfeld, medallist in the 100 metres and relay, as well as a top hockey, baseball, basketball, golf and tennis player, was able to achieve excellence in sport while gaining public acceptance and approval. Ada McKenzie was viewed as an ideal Havergal student for her personality and athletic ability. She never married but made a life-long career of golf and marketing women's sportswear.

Ontario's private school physical education programs reflected the mixture of often conflicting influences and attitudes discussed above. Teachers and principals were concerned about the health of their students, and prescribed regular physical activity of an increasingly strenuous nature as time passed. This was always within the bounds, however, of what was considered feminine and lady-like, with a strong emphasis on good sportsmanship. Although competitive team games were encouraged by many incentives such as trophies and

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awards, they were frequently modified to prevent physical contact (ice hockey and lacrosse) and to be less strenuous (basketball) while individual sports with the exception of lawn tennis were confined to demonstrations or novelty meets.

Women in England, the United States, and Canada all gained greater physical freedom during the period in question, but attitudes vary as to how liberating this was. Park and McCrone see the increased involvement and enjoyment of well-educated, upper-class women in sport as emancipating:

...sporting activities made a substantial contribution to emancipating females from physical and psychological bondage and to altering the image of ideal womanhood.... in counteracting the stereotype of female frailty and expanding the meaning of being female to include qualities and skills previously thought to be exclusively male, sportswomen reflected feminist hopes of diminishing the significance of gender-based definitions of appropriate behaviour, providing women with new opportunities to develop all their powers and enabling them to gain control of their own lives and bodies.**

Vertinsky, on the other hand, sees women's increased participation as reinforcing conservative stereotypes concerning the ideal female form and function.*** Many present-day physical educators and sport sociologists would concur. Sport remains a male domain in which women have to

** McCrone, Playing the Game, 276-77; See also Park, "Sport, Gender, and Society," 67.

*** Patricia Vertinsky, "Body Shapes: The Role of the Medical Establishment in Informing Female Exercise and Physical Education in Nineteenth Century America," in Mangan and Park, eds. 'Fair Sex', 256.
fight for acceptance, often at the risk of damaging their feminine image, and even calling into question their sexuality. Hart feels that in the United States women in sport have undergone criticism and rejection for failing to live up to a particular concept of femininity.\(^1\) Performance standards have been set by males, and women's inferiority emphasized by comparison. Games and contact sports require assertiveness and aggression, characteristics which society has deemed masculine. Women, on the other hand, were defined as passive, decorative, and frail, hardly suited mentally or physically for vigorous activity. Lenskyj, writing about Canadian women, agrees:

\[\ldots\text{patriarchal definitions of masculinity,}\]
\[\text{stressing sweetness, passivity and dependence,}\]
\[\text{were slow to change. For the female athlete,}\]
\[\text{this ideology was manifested in the widespread acceptability of activities believed to promote grace, agility and charm.}\]
\[\text{On the other hand, sweat and strain on women's faces, like clothing which revealed the limbs, destroyed the mystery of femininity as well as eroding a major rationale for women's subordinate position in society.}\]\(^2\)

It has been this gender role stereotyping which women continue to fight in order to gain the right to participate in sport and in society on an equal basis. "The feminist point of view emphasizes the assertion of women's rights, and sport is an


\(^2\) Helen Lenskyj, "Physical Activity for Canadian Women, 1890-1930: Media Views," in Mangan and Park, eds. 'Fair Sex', 228.
important focal point because of its significance in society and the fact that the premise of the separation of the sexes in sport is the lesser ability of women."^2

In the schools studied sport and physical education were intended to perform several functions. Reflecting current medical, religious, and educational concerns over female weakness and the decline in reproductivity, they were to improve health, strength for child bearing, physical growth and development. They were also to assist in school control and discipline, and provide opportunities for lady-like social interaction and character development by extending female moral virtue to the playing field. Another important aspect, however, was to provide recreation and pleasure, an aim in which they clearly succeeded according to students' accounts. At a time when their vocational and educational opportunities were expanding rapidly these relatively privileged students were unlikely to complain of restrictions. The schools stressed discipline, routine, values, deference to authority, service, and religious tradition, not independent thought or non-conformist behaviour. Furthermore, the absence of boys made comparisons between the physical education and sport of the two sexes less obvious. Physical activity at Ontario's late-nineteenth - early twentieth-century denominational girls' schools was plentiful, pleasurable, rewarding, and


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increasingly vigorous for its enthusiastic participants. At the same time it was always conducted within the bounds of feminine propriety apparently accepted by both students and staff.
CHAPTER 3

The Nature of Selected Ontario Denominational Schools, 1870-1930, With Special Reference to Their Attitudes Toward Girls' Physical Activity and Women's Role in Society.

There were two major purposes behind the founding of all the schools in question regardless of denomination. The first and foremost was that they were religious institutions concerned with the Christian indoctrination and education of young girls who would become the future mothers and moral guardians of society. Their second purpose was to mould young ladies of culture and refinement who would use their intellectual, artistic, and domestic accomplishments to enrich their own homes. As time went on, these purposes were expanded to include preparation for a more independent livelihood with the possibility of a career other than marriage and motherhood. Physical education was considered important and included in school programs from the beginning, but its nature and scope changed as the mandate of the schools evolved.

The achievement of elegance and ladylike deportment was a feature advertised by Loretto Abbey, Toronto, in 1871, while the early mission of Alma College was "to provide the most successful system of culture, finish and "mental power" while turning out students whose lives were "useful and happy, and
their tastes elevated and refined." Physical education classes were concerned with maintaining the health of students, but in the early years they offered only moderate exercise appropriate for women’s passive role in society. The close relationship between teachers and students in residence and on the playing field was another way of inculcating values and teaching far more than rules and skills. Competition was always combined with a social emphasis on good sportsmanship and entertaining the visiting team as one’s guests. Most of the schools began in old houses, usually with fairly spacious grounds. Passive indoor calisthenics were done in corridors, beside desks, or wherever space allowed.

The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary in America was founded by four nuns and one novice who arrived in Toronto in 1847 from Dublin, Ireland. They had been sponsored by Bishop Power to educate Toronto’s Catholic girls as the mothers and guides of the next generation and established a Canadian order independent of its Irish origins.\(^1\) His death from typhoid made the sisters dependent on the charity of the Toronto parishioners until their educational service proved so popular.


that by 1852 they could acquire property and build several
schools in Toronto before finally acquiring the Lyndhurst
property and assuming the name, Loretto Abbey, in 1867. On
the occasion of Loretto’s Golden Jubilee in 1899, the
Lyndhurst school had two gymnasia located in the basement
which also housed the kitchen, dining rooms, and laundry.
The most completely equipped wing was the music conservatory
which had 25 different rooms and "every modern musical
instrument," indicating the focus of the school curriculum.3

St. Mary’s Academy was founded in 1864 as a result of the
Right Reverend Bishop Pinsonnault of Sandwich inviting four
Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary from Montreal to
fill the need expressed by Windsor parents to provide
education for young girls. These sisters were named and
patterned after the French order, but independent of it. They
were soon housed in an academy built on donated land at the
corner of Park St. and Ouellette Ave., to which a circular
annex affectionately called "Windsor Castle" was added in
1870. Other schools of this order were opened in Amherstburg
and Sarnia as a result of the 1872 Pastoral Letter from the
London Diocese which condemned the education provided by the
Ontario common school system as neither religious nor

3 Golden Jubilee, Loretto Abbey, Toronto (1899), Loretto
Abbey Archives, 7.
Christian. The policy of the Catholic schools was to admit non-Catholics with the promise that their convictions would not be interfered with although students must adhere to the "external discipline" of the school. Needless to say, however, immersion in a Catholic boarding school inevitably influenced impressionable young girls and provided a major stimulus to other denominations to found their own schools.

The 1920-21 Prospectus of the Pines School in Chatham advertised:

Twenty acres of ground ... reserved for purposes of games and other sports activities. A fine double square of lawn, facing the north-west entrance is bordered by a nine-foot wide granolithic pavement which insures comfortable pedestrian exercise even in the most inclement weather. The walks are lined with shade trees and seats. There are swings, tennis courts, croquet lawns, baseball diamond, basketball and volleyball courts. Open air rinks, sleighing courses, toboggan slides for winter activities.

The emphasis in all the schools was on healthful outdoor

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* Echoes From the Pines, 1, 4 (1893), 3.

* The Alma College newspaper, The Almafilian, denounced those naive Protestant parents who sent their children to Catholic schools believing the the nuns would not interfere with their religion, and suggested that such education was offered inexpensively for the purpose of gaining converts. "Opinion," The Almafilian III, 2 (November 1888), 1.

activity, particularly walking in the early years, but even basketball and volleyball were often played outdoors. The image created in the above description is one of serenity and decorum, not vigorous or competitive activity. This is a rather late date to have been discussing walks, croquet, and swings as physical activities, and it reflects the slowness of the Catholic schools to engage in the more competitive team sports, despite the reference to courts for volleyball and basketball.

Ontario Ladies' College, Whitby, was located 30 miles east of Toronto in Trafalgar Castle, the palatial home built in 1858 by Sheriff Nelson Gilbert Reynolds. Containing 75 rooms, it was situated on 10 acres of gardens and grounds surrounded by a 200 acre farm. As early as 1895 this school was reported to have a thoroughly equipped gymnasium in daily use under the direction of a competent instructor, and provision for lawn tennis, croquet, basketball, tobogganing, horseback riding, etc. In 1912 a gymnasium was added at the rear of the college, "furnished with platform, dressing room, and stage curtain for the use of the dramatic class" and equipped with "all the necessary equipment for gymnasium work." By this time complex gymnasium displays were held regularly for parents and friends, so it is assumed that the

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* Vox Collegii 28, 6 (April 1912), 11-12.
necessary equipment included ropes, rings, tumbling and vaulting apparatus and smaller equipment such as wands and clubs. A swimming tank, showers, and lockers were located under the gymnasium, resulting in a school which was very well equipped for physical education.

Alma College, also a Methodist school, was on a six acre site in St. Thomas, a railway town of about 12,000 people in 1877. Built entirely through subscriptions, aided by loans on mortgages and debentures, the school was frequently in financial trouble during its early years. A $35,000 debt was finally liquidated in 1904 and further money raised for improvements through the generosity of the H.A. Massey estate, the city of St. Thomas, and other smaller bequests.¹⁰ Lillian Massey Treble, a trustees of the Massey Estate, helped to organize and equip the Household Science department at Alma, the first in Canada.¹¹ This, along with the commercial department, reflected the school's emphasis on practical education which would fit students to earn a livelihood if necessary or advisable.¹² Thus training was provided for popular and acceptable female vocational roles as


¹² Alma Calendar during Principal Austin's years, 1881-97.
well as in the more traditional 'finishing school' subjects -- art and music.

Until the principalship of Perry S. Dobson, who arrived at Alma in 1919 and immediately noted the lack of a gymnasium and swimming pool among the school's shortcomings, what passed for physical culture was conducted in a large basement room which also served as chapel and auditorium. Dobson's concern reflected not only a belief in the value of physical activity for girls, but also a realization that such facilities helped to attract students, thus increasing enrolment and solvency. A Progress Fund was launched to raise $100,000, in part for the construction of athletic facilities. In the meantime the school used the Y.M.C.A. pool and gymnasium. By 1929-30, Alma's Prospectus boasted of:

A splendidly equipped gymnasium and swimming pool, together with spacious lawns and tennis courts... Two golf courses are available for students and there is a regular program of hikes and horseback riding.\textsuperscript{15}

It also advertised the availability of "Southwold," a week-end country retreat ideal for hiking, boating, and nature study which was located nine miles from the college and used as a reward for girls with satisfactory school records.

Both Anglican schools were located in Toronto and had to compete with ladies' academies already in existence. They received less financial support from the clergy than did the Methodist schools, with the result that instead of building

\textsuperscript{15} Alma College Prospectus (1929-30), 7.
elaborate school structures, they renovated existing homes. Due to their rapid growth, Bishop Strachan School moved three times in its first 30 years before constructing its own school building in 1915 and Havergal moved four times between 1894 and 1925 when it finally built a school on Avenue Road opposite Lawrence Park. The new 27 acre site was described enthusiastically in *Ludemus*, the Havergal school magazine:

> Three ravines give it variety - places for adventure and scrambling. Then, there is a great stretch of level land across which the breezes come fresh, and it will give us such playing fields as we never dreamed of... more space in the Assembly Hall, of new Swimming Bath, of showers after games.\(^{14}\)

Havergal was the most independent of the schools, having no official church connection although it was established by the same group of evangelical laymen who founded Wycliffe and Ridley Colleges. The Bishop Strachan School was sanctioned by the Toronto Synod in 1867 but not supported financially. Rousmaniere attributes this unsupportive attitude to "...the traditionally ambivalent stand of the Anglican church on the status and education of women."\(^{15}\) This lack of support also resulted in greater autonomy for the Anglican schools whose course was shaped largely by the strong headmistresses who made life-time careers of their principalships.

\(^{14}\) *Ludemus* (1925), 7-8.

\(^{15}\) Rousmaniere, "To Prepare the Ideal Woman," 106. For further explanation of the difference in attitude toward schools and education of the Methodists and Anglicans, see Rousmaniere, 104-30.
The Bishop Strachan School resulted from the Reverend John Langtry's search for an inexpensive, respectable, and Anglican education for the daughters of Anglican clergy. He was finally forced to start a school himself, paying the rent for the house and grounds at Pinehurst, a family home which had been converted to a ladies' academy. The 1869-70 school catalogue recounted how:

After many disheartening attempts and failures to secure united action and cooperation on the part of Churchmen as should have placed the School upon a safe footing at the onset, it was felt that a venture of faith must be made. Accordingly, the School was opened at Pinehurst on the 12th of September, 1867 -- without any money, with a very imperfect organization, and with only 10 boarders and 21 day pupils. 17

Here again, physical education facilities were limited mainly to the spacious school grounds, fondly remembered by one student as "...the best part of the school. I don't see how any one can go on the walk when one can have such good times on the grounds." 18 In 1913, the sod-turning ceremony was held for the new building on its present site where seven acres had been donated, enough space for "nine ample playing fields." 19

In summary, all the schools were located on spacious

17* Bishop Strachan School Catalogue (1869-70), cited in Rousmaniere, 113.
18* Bishop Strachan School Magazine (Christmas 1905), 12.
19* Bishop Strachan School Magazine (Christmas 1915), 8.
grounds with ample room for outdoor exercise which was emphasized year-round. Tobogganing and skating were important winter pastimes. The acquisition of a gymnasium and swimming pool, desired by all the schools, took longer in some cases because of financial hardship, but was achieved universally by the 1920s. In the early years, the Catholic schools stressed music, art, and literature, and their facilities and equipment reflected this emphasis. The Methodist schools offered a great variety of programs, with the OLC in particular having excellent sports' facilities from an early date. Physical education at Anglican schools was important but was hampered in the early years by a lack of grounds and frequent moves from house to house. What facilities there were did not have to be shared with boys as at co-educational schools, and boarders frequently made more use of them than day students, either by regulation (compulsory walks or time outdoors), or choice and availability (team games after school).

The nature of the schools' clientele may be inferred from the membership of the boards of directors and the size of fees charged. As one would expect of religious institutions, clergymen dominated the boards. Other members represented the professions and influential citizens of the surrounding towns. These included judges, barristers, merchants, and educators.  

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added to the Alma College board. Although the property was owned by the Methodist Church, the staff and students represented all denominations, and instruction was non-denominational. Havergal differed in that its first directors were all Toronto laymen except for one clergyman. The Canadian Loretto schools, although founded by four Irish nuns, were run by an independent order representing the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary in America.

Average attendance during the early period was 150 - 200 students although by the 1920s Bishop Strachan School had an enrolment closer to 400.\textsuperscript{21} Although most pupils lived in Ontario, they also came from across Canada and the United States and from as far away as the West Indies, an indication of the prestige of the schools and growing wealth of their students.

There was an attempt, particularly in the early years, to hold fees to a minimum. From an early average of $100 to $200 per year, however, they went up steadily in the face of rising costs. Havergal boarders paid $360 in 1910 and were notified

\textit{Centennial, 1-2; Bishop Strachan School Magazine} (Christmas 1905), 23.

\textsuperscript{21} The most complete figures were available for Bishop Strachan through the principal's reports, but it may be assumed that the other schools were similar, being popular and established institutions. Miss Walsh reported 383 on the roll in 1923 with 100 in residence, 409 on the roll in 1925, of whom 263 were in the Upper School and 103 in residence. By 1928-29 the student population was 414. Information from Miss Walsh's Principal's Reports, (1923) 6; (1925) 4; (1928-29) 7, Bishop Strachan School Archives.
that a substantial increase to $440 could be expected the following school year. The fee structure was made somewhat flexible by the fact that a basic fee was charged to cover what were considered to be essential subjects and services. This generally included calisthenics, whereas riding, swimming, and gymnastics were extras. Schools differed, with the Methodists being most prone to extra charges. There were also changes over time within schools. For example, the Prospectus for Alma College listed physical culture separately in 1911-13, with a fee of $20 for two private lessons a week; $10 for a club of three; $6 for a club of five; and $2 for participation in a general class. By 1928-29, the residence fees included physical training, gymnasium, swimming, and sports. At the BSS calisthenics were included only for the elementary classes in 1869, whereas by 1890, although music, art, needlework, harmony, and painting were extras, calisthenics were included in the regular course of studies. In 1907 Haverjal listed gymnastics as a required subject but charged an extra $5 per term for ten swimming lessons.

One can thus conclude that calisthenics, or general exercise directed at improving and maintaining health and

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²² Havergal School Archives, Board of Director’s Meeting (February 28, 1910). The Pines in Chatham charged $50 per five month term in 1893; Loretto Abbey on Wellington Street, $150 per five month term; OLC, $225 annually for boarders in 1883; Alma College was comparable, charging around $200, and BSS, $230 in 1890. This information came from school calendars and prospectuses.
fitness, were considered basic needs and important for all students, whereas subjects such as riding and swimming, while desirable, were luxuries for which additional fees were charged. It should be noted, however, that these activities were also more expensive, and a small extra charge would help to defray the costs of maintaining a swimming pool or renting horses. In the case of Alma at least, there was increasing recognition of the value of physical activity as time passed and more physical education subjects were included in the basic fee. Alma College also offered a physical education diploma program at a cost of $100 for three terms.23

Although the students attending these schools were undoubtedly middle-class, or in some cases from wealthy families, they were not originally as elitist as today. There was a concerted attempt to make them affordable for clergy daughters in particular, with bursaries offered for this purpose and for other exceptional cases. A 20 – 33 percent discount was given by most schools to clergymen’s daughters, regardless of denomination. There were also elaborate specials, or packages, especially at the Methodist schools,24 and the Anglican Bishop Strachan School offered

23 Alma College Prospectus (1928-29), 51-52.

24 The Ontario Ladies’ College advertised a special discount of 10 percent off any combination of extras amounting to $50 and of 15 percent off any combination totalling $75. A further discount of 10 percent was allowed for payment in full a year in advance. 13th Annual Calendar, the Ontario Ladies’ College (Toronto: The Guardian Office, 1887), 47.
a ten percent discount for sisters.\footnote{29}

Besides the facilities and fee structure, a third important feature illustrating both the nature of the schools and their attitudes toward women and physical activity was the faculty hired to run the schools, to teach physical education, and to coach teams. When the Loretto sisters became the first English-speaking nuns in Toronto in 1847, their British traditions did not include an emphasis on physical activity or games for girls because of the early time period. Teresa Dease was appointed Mother Superior in 1851, and her 38 year tenure emphasized culture, English, foreign languages, and music with no external examinations or inspection. The staff of sisters and lay teachers held Ontario secondary school diplomas or degrees from the University of Toronto or Queen's University, institutions which in the early years did not have women's physical education programs. By 1927 the Rainbow did refer to a Miss Ruth Huggins, "who achieved such distinction in athletics at the University of Toronto," being welcomed as a coach at the Loretto School in Niagara.\footnote{29} Sister John Thomas' history of the Sisters of the Holy Names who ran St. Mary's Academy in Windsor was organized by chapter based on the work of the various sisters, but nothing concerning physical education is mentioned, and no one woman dominated.

\footnote{29} Bishop Strachan School Calendar, Wykeham Hall (1890-91), 5.

\footnote{29} The Loretto Rainbow 34, 1 (August 1927), 108.
The other schools were dominated by one or two strong individuals who greatly influenced their development over many years. The Methodist schools always had a Canadian male clergyman as principal, with a lady assistant, "in charge of the health, manners, morals, personal habits, and domestic relations of the students...."\(^{27}\) Alma's first principal was the Reverend B.F. Austin, also a professor of classics and mathematics. He had been educated within the Methodist system, graduating from Albert College, Belleville, and Victoria College in Cobourg. His writings indicate a strong belief in physical culture for girls, especially between the ages of five and fifteen, mostly to ensure their correct physical development. He advocated ample playgrounds and unrestricted dress, but cautioned against games which, being competitive, might prove too fatiguing. He saw a place for them in the curriculum, however, along with play, calisthenics, and gymnastics.\(^{28}\) His successor, the Reverend Robert Ironside Warner, had been professor of modern languages and vice-principal at Alma before becoming principal, a post which he held for 20 years. The next principal, the Reverend Perry S. Dobson, was extremely influential in the development of the school, holding his position for 30 years, 1919-49, during much of its growth. He had also attended Albert


College, and then McGill University, took his M.A. at Oxford, and B.D. from Wesleyan College in Montreal. The wives of these last two principals were also very much a part of school life, with Mrs. Dobson teaching French and adding to the family atmosphere of the school. It was Mr. Dobson who spearheaded the campaign to raise $100,000 to improve existing facilities and add a gymnasium and swimming pool. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the athletic program, himself instructing the physical education classes before a qualified teacher was hired. 

Prior to assuming Alma's principalship he had directed military services for the Y.M.C.A. at Camp Borden, 1916-18, and this may have heightened his enthusiasm for exercise.

What passed for physical education for the first 23 years of the school was under the direction of Miss May H. Walker, who taught expression and physical culture. Her training was in music from Hellmuth College, London, and the Toronto Conservatory, and she had attended the Curry School of Expression, Boston, for advanced studies. Her elocution program reflected her training by emphasizing posture, speech, grace, and the dramatic arts rather than games or vigorous physical activity, and so hearkened back to the refined finishing school ideal.

The early growth and development of the Ontario Ladies'

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*See Alma College Centennial Book, 36.*

*The Almafilian* (June 1920), 39.
College was guided by the Reverend John James Hare, who assumed the principalship when he was 27 and continued for 41 years. He was from the Ottawa region, had attended Victoria University, and received his PhD at an early age from a midwestern American University. Although most of the lady principals at the Methodist schools were Canadian, one notable exception was Alice Taylor of the OLC who was educated in England and Wales. Although possessing excellent academic credentials, it is interesting that her cultural background and "beautiful Christian character" are emphasized in the editorial written on her arrival, again indicating what was considered important.²¹

The early gymnastics and riding instruction were frequently under the direction of former military men who were trained and experienced in horsemanship and drill. There did not seem to be a reluctance to have them teach girls as Major Dearnally of the Queen's Life Guards taught at several ladies' schools in Canada before joining the staff at the OLC where he organized a gymnasium display in 1875.²² A Captain Henderson is listed on the 1890 calendar as being in charge of walking, clubs, and riding at OLC while Miss Graham, the elocution teacher, looked after wands, dumb-bells, and free-hand gymnastics. A graduate of Dr. Sargent's school in Boston

²¹ Editorial, *Vox Collegii* 29, 1 (October 1912), 5.

joined the staff as sports mistress in 1914 after spending three years, including summers, training. Dr. Steele recalled divinity students assisting in coaching the hockey team at Havergal. "I don't think those young men were especially trained; I think Miss Knox just thought they would be suitable because they were divinity students. I'm not sure it had anything to do with hockey."

Early reports from the Bishop Strachan School show that the Archdeacon Langtry corresponded with a clergyman of the Diocese of Oxford, England, in the hope of obtaining a head-mistress to lead his school. This remained typical of Anglican school board members who customarily looked to England for their staff and patterned their schools on English models. Different cultural values sometimes interfered, however, and after two unsuccessful experiences with English headmistresses who "found difficulty in understanding Canadian girls," it was under the direction of two Canadian women, Miss Grier (1876-99) and Miss Acres (1899-1909), that Bishop Strachan prospered. Rose Grier was the daughter of an Anglican clergyman from a small parish near Trenton, Ontario. She taught a class of girls in Belleville, one of her father's later charges, and considered both marriage and a life of

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22 Interview with Dr. Catherine Steele, Havergal College (November 8, 1988).

religious service before answering what she saw as a call to become headmistress of Bishop Strachan.

No better appointment could have been made. The call for the higher education of women which had worked such a change in England was being loudly heard and echoed in Canada, and Miss Grier's gift of sanctified common sense, her powers of teaching and governing, and her broad outlook...over the whole field of women's activities, rightful aims and highest life, were urgently needed.\textsuperscript{36}

Miss Acres, the daughter of a high school headmaster, was born in Paris, Ontario, and began teaching at BSS right after her own graduation. She assumed the headship in 1899 at a time when:

\begin{quote}
great changes were taking place in the education of women. Physical training was claiming a much larger share of attention on the one hand, and...University qualification had, after many a struggle, become the standards for women as well as for men.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

Students recalled that Miss Acres was quick to realize the value of physical education, which had made great strides from the gentle calisthenics of Miss Grier's time, and she "encouraged drill and games as never before." While she was principal the first Sports Day was held in 1909, and "cricket, basketball, and hockey - so lately thought unladylike - flourished."\textsuperscript{37} Physical culture was under the direction of Miss Isabel Grier, who was advertised as competent in Swedish

\textsuperscript{36} Bishop Strachan School Magazine (Christmas 1920), 5.

\textsuperscript{36} Bishop Strachan School Jubilee Record, 1867-1967, Bishop Strachan School Archives, 39.

\textsuperscript{37} Bishop Strachan Bulletin (1949), 25.
gymnastics, English dumb-bells, and Delsarte.

The tradition of Canadian headmistresses at Bishop Strachan ended with the appointment of Miss Harriet Walsh, daughter of the Archdeacon of Dublin, a graduate of Trinity College, and a teacher's certificate-holder from Cambridge University. She served as principal from 1911-30. Miss Walsh's speeches and reports reveal her high expectations for the work and success of her students. In her words, "I care immensely that you should be serious about your work here, and not trivial. I care immensely that you should be keen and not slack." This applied not only to their academic studies, but also to their games, which she felt would bring a special delight through effort and achievement. She expected whole forms to try out for teams, not only the gifted or interested few. Her principal's reports give a good indication of the progress of physical education at the school.

In 1913, a Miss Churchard, the drawing teacher, combined drill with some rhythmical movements. Her preparation for this was a few lectures on Eurythmics, given by Jacques Dalcroze. By 1916, when Miss Maynew left to complete her B.Sc. after five years as games mistress, it was noted that a

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35 Bishop Strachan School Prospectus, 34th year of the school, 19.

36 Harriet Walsh, "The Will to Power," Opening Address, Bishop Strachan School (September 18, 1924), 6.

40 Miss Harriet Walsh, Principal's Report to the President and Council of Bishop Strachan School (October 31, 1913), 15.

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full-time replacement was necessary to record the height, weight, and other health information of students. Miss Ruth Harvey of the Sargent School in Boston was hired with the hope that she would continue Miss Mayhew's "indefinable spirit of cheerful obedience, generous fair play and readiness to admire whole-heartedly the good points in the play of other teams...." She proved very satisfactory and evidently achieved the "right spirit in the Games Club," as the membership for that year was 228 out of a possible 280 girls. These observations indicate the association of physical education with the health of students, and the influence of Sargent and others on the recorded measurements of their proper growth. The emphasis on manners, sportsmanship, and the way competition was conducted were obvious concerns. The high voluntary attendance in the games club illustrates the popularity of the athletic program. The next drill and games mistress, Miss McCallum, was trained in Canada at McGill University. When she left in 1924 to be married she was succeeded by Miss Booth, a graduate of the Bergman-Osterberg Physical Training College in England, who made a major contribution to school discipline as well as to athletic success and participation.

The method is rigid and perhaps narrow compared

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\( ^{41} \) Ibid. (November 14, 1916), 4.

\( ^{42} \) Ibid. (October 30, 1917), 3.

\( ^{43} \) Ibid.
with the training of our side of the Atlantic -
But the fruits of the training are
in evidence - order on stairs and in corridors;
fire drills - building cleared in minimum
time; inter school games we reached final round,
2nd place in basket-ball. Hockey, won every
match but 1 (a draw) and drew in Tennis.
Wednesday after school games, 7 basketball games
at once, 84 girls on the same field. The school
as a body is now interested in games.**

Miss Booth's English background and training no doubt
contributed to a growing interest in games at the BSS. The
school's increasingly well-trained physical education staff
represented a healthy combination of American, Canadian, and
English influences. Their programs show a progression from
mild rhythms to a concern over measurements indicating
health and growth to a belief in the value of games to improve
character and discipline.

The major influence in the early years of Havergal
College was unquestionably Miss Ellen Mary Knox, headmistress
from the school's beginning in 1894 until 1924. The daughter
of the Reverend George Knox, she was an Oxford honour's
graduate in both English and History who had taught at the
Cheltenham Ladies' College under Miss Beale, whom she greatly
admired. Her aim for Havergal was to unite the best of
English and Canadian ideals in education.*** She was an avid
supporter of athletics and a very good sport herself according
to the reminiscences of a former student. When a mistress

*** Ibid. (November 23, 1925), 8.

**** Ludemus (1924), 6,7.
objected to evening baseball games on the basis that "it was not ladylike," Miss Knox joined the students the next evening, "and ran around the bases to our resounding cheers. In this effective way she settled the question."46 This same student recalled Miss Knox chaperoning a skating party:

Of course she brought her skates and we played "Crack the Whip" putting her on the end where she would be well cracked! It was quite a new game to her so we gave the whip a good twist and then let her go! Nine breathless girls stopped to watch her, but she sailed majestically to the other end of the rink, stopped quite easily, thus winning our unbounded admiration for her pluck, and the joke was on us.47

The first two Havergal headmistresses were English Anglicans. The board reasoned that as in England there were so many girls' boarding schools, there were likely to be more potential heads there than in Canada, although the staff was to show a balance between English and Canadian-trained members.48 This was reinforced by Dr. Steele, former student and later principal of Havergal, who in an interview noted that in 1952 she became the first Canadian-appointed headmistress. Even then a search had been conducted first in

46 Mrs. Code, former student, A Reminiscence on Ellen Mary Knox (Toronto: Havergal College, 1925), 78.

47 Ibid.

48 Notes by Dr. Cody, Rector of St. Paul's Church, on Havergal Headmistresses, Havergal College Archives. The staff list from 1910 showed 20 of the 50 members whose home addresses were England or Scotland while the 1929 Lawrence Park School roster listed 7 of 21 teachers who resided in Britain. The rest were from Canada.
England, a further indication of the influence of English schools on their Canadian Anglican counterparts.

A student recalling her years at Havergal during Miss Knox's time noted that building character was the object of the school. "To this end, sports, especially team sports, were encouraged. The basis of it all was spiritual. Religion was here - subtle of course, but it permeated everything .... Havergal's primary concern was work; sports came a close second for most girls."\(^a\) The character-building relationship reflects the English connection and the religious emphasis, the denominational nature of the schools. Dr. Steele indicated that at least one physical education teacher, Miss Sanderson, was London-trained, but several came from the Sargent School in Boston. The gym teachers were very popular with the students as "they tended to be attractive-looking, vigorous, and young."\(^b\) Their popularity could also have been related to the nature of their subject, at least among the more athletic students. As will be seen in the following chapter, the students wrote enthusiastically in yearbooks about the pleasures of their physical activity.

It is notable that the heads of the schools for the most part were very well educated, often having a Bachelor's degree or better. Their orientation was religious, as one would

\(^a\) Elsie Macpherson Haultain, "My Five Years at Havergal, 1908-13," Havergal School Archives, 2, 7.

\(^b\) Interview with Dr. Catherine Steele, Havergal College (November 8, 1988).
expect in denominational schools, and all seem to have supported physical education programs as developing health, social behaviour, and character. The latter concern was evident most often in Anglican schools which were strongly influenced by English models. The Anglican schools gave greater freedom to women to run their own programs. The Catholic schools, although headed by strong women, were tied very closely to patriarchal church policy and were part of an international network of schools with European origins, which perhaps contributed to their conservatism. They also retained a greater cultural and literary emphasis than the other schools. The Methodist schools consistently had male clergymen as principals. The physical education staff was female although men occasionally taught and coached specific skills. Dr. Hare of the OLC sometimes accompanied teams on trips to other schools, and the Reverend Dobson was actively involved with the physical education at Alma College.

As time passed physical education teachers became better trained, either in the eastern United States, England, or Canada, (McGill University), moving from a background in elocution and the nebulous 'physical culture' to more scientific training in physical education and athletics. The programs they developed will be examined in Chapter 3.

The concept of the "Ideal Girl" the schools hoped to produce is evident in school literature. The early Loretto Abbey school yearbooks reveal a conservative attitude toward
woman's role which generally opposed the more liberal education of women, and emphasized their function as wife and mother. An article written by a student circa 1900 was concerned that after four years of serious, stimulating study, women would not be content to "settle down to the hum-drum and common-place existence that falls to the lot of 9/10 of womankind,"\textsuperscript{31} and would find housework dull, dreary, and mindless. She therefore faulted woman's education for being too intellectual and neglectful of the feelings or emotions which would assist with the duties of wife and motherhood, rather than questioning woman's restriction to these spheres. An even stronger statement of this attitude appeared in the \textit{Niagara Rainbow} of 1907, where a speech delivered at the distribution of prizes at the Loretto Convent, Darjeeling, was quoted for its good sense and prediction of a strong reaction against the current fashion in the English speaking world of "forcing" women to do men's work. "Brilliant exceptions to the general rule of man's superiority and woman's inferiority in mental pursuits will always force their way to the front," but in general much of what was happy and beautiful in life would disappear "if any prolonged and serious effort were made by woman to intrude in the domain of man."\textsuperscript{32} This speech promoted the education of students to be clever, economical

\textsuperscript{31} Mary E. Mason, article on the eternal feminine, \textit{Leaflets from Loretto} (1900-1), 39-40.

\textsuperscript{32} The Reverend Father B. Naish, S.J., article of female education, \textit{The Niagara Rainbow} 14, 1 (January 1907), 28.
housekeepers who were accomplished in sewing, mending, embroidery, painting, and music. It reflects the early nineteenth century view of restricted, passive womanhood, even to a quotation from Wordsworth's *Portrait*:

The reason firm, the temperate will.
Endurance, foresight, strength and skill,
A perfect woman, nobly planned,
To warm, to comfort, and command.
And yet a spirit still and bright,
With something of an angel light.

The *Rainbow* continued to display this attitude as late as 1913, but by 1920, although the object of girls was still matrimony, a student described the twentieth-century girl as "a good sport, high-spirited and broad-minded, with a free and independent will and mind." The major preoccupation, however, remained marriage despite the fact that a few women were becoming influential and independent judges, attorneys, and lawyers. Female worth was still defined in male terms. Three years later a much more progressive attitude was expressed in an article negating the restriction of women to the family circle. Science, accounting, factory supervision, business and the professions as well as the traditional teaching, nursing, and clerical jobs were identified by the author as representing new fields of female endeavour, and she

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\(^{53}\) Olive Devereux, article on the "Girl of To-day," *The Rainbow* (June 1920), 74-75.
concluded by giving thanks that she lived at a time when woman's influence compared favorably to man's, and when her opportunities were widespread.\textsuperscript{36} Although perhaps displaying the naive optimism of youth, the tone is noticeably different and more positive than that of previous articles and parallels the chronological period which saw the Loretto schools embrace more strenuous and competitive physical activity.

In the early Methodist literature there was strong support from church leaders for the higher education of women who would be the most important moral, spiritual, and intellectual influences on the next generation. The best way to ensure intelligent, religious children was to produce "educated and pious mothers."\textsuperscript{37} In an article in the Canadian Methodist Magazine, the Reverend W.H. Winthrow showed familiarity with the debate on the over-strain theory as applied to the higher education of women, quoting Dr. Maudslay's article in the Fortnightly Review and the rebuttal by Dr. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson. His conclusion was that:

\begin{quote}
...the calm and regular routine of college life, with its constant, systematic, and pleasant employment; its early hours of going to bed and rising; its plain, wholesome diet, its daily appropriate physical exercise, its
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{36} Mary Burcher, "Opportunities Offered the Modern Woman," The Rainbow (January 1923), 53.

\textsuperscript{37} "Education Report," 1878 Minutes of the Conferences (Niagara, Ontario and Bay Quinte), Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, 1878-83, Canadian Christian Advocate, 3 (Hamilton: Canadian Christian Advocate Office), 37.
simple habit and rational style of dress, is highly conducive to physical health.**

He repudiated the common notion that female education was merely an avenue to marriage, but did hold women responsible for the moral future of the country.

Alma's first principal, B.F. Austin, saw "perfect and symmetrical womanhood" as embracing the body, brain, and heart, and he advocated the production of sound health, an increase in bodily strength, and a graceful deportment as the objects of physical culture for girls.*** To facilitate this he believed that a gymnasium equipped with "clubs, ropes and apparatus" was as essential as books, maps, and laboratory equipment were to a classroom.**** The emphasis was on grace, health, deportment, and a pleasant physical appearance, presumably appealing to men, which would be developed through the basic required calisthenics or gymnastics. There was no mention of team games, competitive sport, or any use of physical activity to develop greater independence, self confidence, or assertiveness.

A student author gave a spirited defence of the Canadian ideal of womanhood in the first volume of The Almafilian. She described the majority of girls of the period as:

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**** Ibid., 379.
...healthy, happy girls, who love their home, enjoy a frolic with all the mirthfulness and innocence of childhood, and wish to look what they are, bright, trim and beautiful. They have a high sense of honor and know how to take care of themselves. No doubt they dream of the home they could grace with their presence and make bright and happy with their skillful, loving hands. They know, too, how to value the love of a good, true man; but they are not afraid of being called "old maid," and desire an education that will enable them to earn if necessary, their own livelihood. They are independent, ready to confess their faults, reverent, forgiving, and sympathetic.\(^1\)

Typically, female education was taken for granted, but earning a livelihood thereafter was an option only if necessary. Spinsterhood did not hold the stigma it once did, however, and this quotation obviously came from a spirited, self confident young woman. Another Alma student scoffed at a description of young schoolgirls as quiet, timid, delicate, and weak by contrasting it with their routine of brisk morning walks, "keenly contested" lawn tennis, "exciting and perhaps noisy" basketball, and tobogganing which produced glowing cheeks and sparkling eyes. Such activities were part of the freedom of youth and essential to the mental and physical development of both sexes, but would, with maturity, be replaced by proper feminine restraint and decorum.\(^2\) There was no concept of the joy and freedom of physical activity continuing into adulthood, at least not for women.

\(^1\) "Canadian Girls," *The Almafilian* 11, 12 (December 1887), 1.

\(^2\) *Alma*, I, 2 (November 1903), 5.
The ideal of womanhood at the Ontario Ladies' College was epitomized each May 24th with the crowning of a May Queen, a custom begun in 1907. A special guest would speak on 'The Ideal Woman' after the students selected their queen. The 1912 address referred to Queen Victoria as the embodiment of ideal womanhood, not only for her "sane and statesmanlike judgement," but also for "her pure and austere morality, her splendid self-restraint [sic], and the perfect submission to the will of God with which she accepted every duty and every sorrow." Another model for emulation was the Virgin Mary because of her inwardness of character, her noble submissiveness and self sacrifice, the latter quality being realised most perfectly in motherhood. The address of 1916 continued in much the same vein, characterizing man as the "doer, the creator, the adventurer, the warrior" whereas a woman was made "to rule, to judge, to guide, and to praise," of course within the home. She was required to be wise, strong (in body and soul), graceful and beautiful, simple (meaning pure, gentle, gracious, unselfish, full of sweetness and love), and full of faith. It must be noted that these were male clergymen speaking, with the purpose of inspiring

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\(^{\text{12}}\) The Archdeacon Cody, rector of St. Paul's Church, Toronto, "The Ideal Woman," \textit{Vox Collegii} 28, 8 (June 1912), 85-86.

\(^{\text{14}}\) Ibid., 86.

\(^{\text{15}}\) The Reverend W.T.G. Brown, pastor of Sherbourne St. Methodist Church, Toronto, "The Ideal Woman," \textit{Vox Collegii} 32, 6 (1916), 19.
girls to strive for perfection as they viewed it. They certainly reflect an outdated, conservative ideal. The first May Day address with something of a modern tone was given in 1918 and reflected the results of World War I which left many widows. The speaker added the need for determination as a necessary female attribute. Women were encouraged to adapt to the times and do their best, which at least acknowledged that times were changing, although presumably not for the better.**

By 1928, the OLC graduates were clearly adapting themselves in a variety of ways. Following graduation, only three students were planning marriage and only four were listed as staying at home, while eleven were furthering their education in such traditional fields as music, teaching, and dietetics, and eleven others were working at everything from clerking at Simpson's or Moneypenny's to secretarial, hospital, or teaching jobs.***

There are several indications in the Methodist school literature of a concern about the loss of femininity and manners as women became more educated and undertook new roles. An article written by a Dr. Vincent and quoted in the Opinion column of The Almafilian in 1888 strongly criticized a lack of femininity in girls of the day:

** The Reverend A.I. Terryberry, Hope Church, Toronto, "The Ideal Woman," Vox Collegii, 34, 6 (June 1918), 20.

*** "Graduates of '28," Vox Collegii (Christmas 1928), 19.
We detest the mannish girl; who regrets that she was born a girl; ... who breaks loose as early as possible from womanly lines of life; who dresses as much like a man as she dares; who sneers at domesticity, at womanhood, and wifehood.... Give us girls who are glad and proud to be girls; who remember what woman has done in literature, in art, in science, in the church and above all as mothers in the home.... Blessed are womanly women! And thrice blessed are their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons.**

One might speculate that his concern was more for the fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons than with the girls about whom he was writing. By 1914 a General Conference notation on secondary education for girls lamented that in the past 40 years, emphasis in education had been on women's independence, with the unfortunate result that they were not willing to adopt unquestioningly the responsibilities and sacrifices of motherhood,*** no doubt contributing to the sense of crisis over the declining birth rate among the upper classes alluded to in chapter 1.

Miss Alice Taylor of the Ontario Ladies' College regretted the loss of manners and courtesy which reflected the faster pace of society in her 1915 retirement address. While pleased with the advances in women's education and sphere, and looking forward to the day when they would obtain the

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** Dr. Vincent, "Opinion," The Almafilian III, 2 (November 1888), 1.

*** "Education of Girls," Memorial to General Conference to appoint a board for secondary schools, (Ottawa: 1914), Alma College Archives. See also chapter 2, p. 32 above for more on concern over the declining birthrate.
franchise, she nevertheless wished that woman would retain the "high veracity, delicate honor in her dealings, deference to others and refined personal habits," of a lady.\textsuperscript{70} Most headmistresses would have agreed with this, and competitive sports were one avenue through which mannerly, respectful behavior was taught and practised.

The ideal of the Anglican schools, revealed chiefly through the writings of the two long-time English headmistresses, Miss Walsh (BSS) and Miss Knox (Havergal), emphasized usefulness, service, academic achievement, and doing one's best, with less direction toward motherhood. As in England, sports as a vehicle for character building and for developing a strong body were valued more than at the other schools. Miss Walsh admonished the girls to be serious about their work and their purpose in life. Education was to be broad enough to prepare students for service to God and Humanity, and she lauded those pupils moving into professions aiding the less privileged.\textsuperscript{71} Although her hope was that her girls would pass on to a "controlled and gracious womanhood," she characterized them as the enfranchised citizens, not the future mothers, of tomorrow.\textsuperscript{72} Addresses

\textsuperscript{70} Alice L. Taylor, "Message to the Girls of 1915," \textit{Vox Collegii} 31, 7 (June 1915), 5.

\textsuperscript{71} Harriet Walsh, "From Sophie to Social Science," Prize-Giving Address, Bishop Strachan School Archives (June 12, 1930), 8.

\textsuperscript{72} Walsh, "Prize Giving Address," (June 16, 1923), 9.
by the clergy remained conservative, but there was increasing emphasis on service to society as well as to the home and family.

Students remembered Miss Knox of Havergal as emphasizing the themes of character, initiative, and service. Her credo was, "To whom much is given, from him shall much be required." She in particular stressed the need for a sound, strong body in order to achieve one's potential. In her book, The Girl of the New Day, she commended pupils if they finished their school days with a "sturdy wholesome mind," but added that "...no matter how great good luck goes with that mind you will not succeed unless you have an equally sturdy, wholesome body." She observed that this was not a problem as girls enjoyed physical activity. "A girl of today understands games. She is not like her predecessor,... afraid of disarranging her hair. She ties her hair out of the way and plays a strong, clean game." With her English background came a strong belief in the idea that names built character:

It is a truism to declare that the victories of Flanders were won on the playing fields of great schools, and that the women won their triumphs of daring and endurance

"Where the balls fly fast in summer,

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75 Miss Knox's Letter, Ludemus (1919), 12.
And the whispering elm trees grow."**

To Miss Knox the expression, "She is a good sport; keen upon games and keen in school," was high praise indeed. She felt that games taught loyalty to one's side, a trait which would be helpful either in a job, in church or community work, or at home.** She believed in careers for women, and spent a good portion of her book discussing the many fields of female endeavour. Dr. Steele recalled that it was expected that able Havergal students would go on to university following high school graduation.

An anonymous article in the 1925 *Ludemus* reflected Miss Knox's philosophy in criticizing the nervous, undependable girl who was always dropping out of activities at the last moment, visiting the infirmary or the tuck shop. Such a person would not be selected for the school hockey team, for form president, or for school captain.

If you are to be the Captain of your soul, you must be master of your body, and as mental equipment comes only by hard work and power, so lordship of your body comes by early rising and cold tubs, by plenty of exercises and sensible hours of sleep. Your body is a glorious instrument and a great trust.**

Miss Knox associated a fit body with preparation for service to God which was one's major earthly purpose. "Life in its

** Ibid., 19.


** *Ludemus*, n.a. (1925), 11.
last analysis is service, is standing at the King's gateway, is waiting for His command." She spoke of the ideal of a young Greek Olympian perfecting his body as representing an act of worship comparable to prayer.80

Both Anglican headmistresses echoed Miss Taylor's concerns at the OLC regarding the fast pace of life which saw students racing about in cars and pursuing a variety of activities without taking the time to observe the beauty around them. They regretted the loss of a more leisurely, mannerly past. Miss Walsh decried the proliferation of school activities, beneficial as they were, which detracted from study time, mentioning in particular an ice carnival which so exhausted the children that some were absent the following day. Miss Knox's remedy for coping with these modern pressures without succumbing to recklessness or nervousness was to keep physically fit through gymnastics and out-door exercises.81 In this she was repeating the argument of earlier educators who advocated physical education to strengthen girls confronted with the strains of higher education. Miss Knox also advocated the regular routine of boarding school life, with its specified hours for work, exercise, sleeping, and eating, as healthful, an argument used frequently in promoting such schools. In his tribute to Knox,

80 Knox, Girl of the New Day, 29.

81 Ibid.

81 Knox, Girl of the New Day, 22.

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G.M. Wrong credited her with changing Havergal from the type of school which emphasized a few feminine accomplishments to an academic institution competing on equal terms with state supported schools. In some aspects, notably physical development, he considered the Havergal-type school to be superior. Knox's successor, Miss Wood, continued her tradition, expressing the hope that the school's aim would always be to produce ladies and sportswomen, and to strive for higher ideals.

The foregoing demonstrates that the denominational schools strongly reflected the idealized view of womanhood described in the previous chapter. This was more pronounced in the Catholic and Methodist schools than the Anglican, particularly Havergal, which was less closely connected to the church. There was a decided movement away from restricting women to the home and family as time progressed, but even when higher education and careers were promoted, there was a reluctance to lose the culture and refinement of a more leisurely stable past centred around the woman at home. She was to be of strong character and religious conviction, and inspire those around her to similar goals while also serving society. In this period of rapid social change when old religious certainties were under assault, school leaders

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*3 Miss Wood's Letter, Ludemus (1930), 25.
promoted greater female freedom while fearing the changes this would bring. The assumption of new roles and responsibilities was not to free women from the restrictions of femininity and family duties. The next chapter will show how sport and physical education reflected and helped to mould this feminine ideal.
CHAPTER 4

Sport and Physical Education in Ontario's Denominational Schools.

In this chapter school sport and physical education programs will be looked at during three time periods: a) pre-1900, when there was little competitive sport or vigorous physical activity for girls; b) 1900-20, when facilities were added, competition increased, and athletic achievement was recognized, and c) the 1920s, when organized competition grew rapidly. In the conclusion this growth will be linked to changing attitudes concerning the role of women.

Pre-1900

Prior to 1900 the yearbooks of Catholic schools were heavily literary, and did not discuss sports or physical activity as part of school programs. An occasional sleigh ride after the first snow fall might be mentioned and a student at Loretto Abbey at Wellington Place in Toronto, 1883-86, recalled that, "We have sufficient sports (out of doors in fair weather). We had excellent calisthenics, good music for dancing and good opportunity of knowing our fellow students."¹ But feast days and other special occasions were celebrated, not with sports or games, but with religious

¹ Theresa D. Dwyer, student letter, 7, Loretto Abbey Archives, Toronto.
observations, music, and fancy dress balls.

At some schools even dancing could be controversial.² The Alma College Council Minutes from 1885 reported that students must not under any circumstances engage in dancing either at school, in public, or at friends' homes.³ If an irate parent's letter represents the general Methodist attitude to dancing, it is not surprising that it was prohibited. On hearing that girls danced in the halls for ten minutes before dinner and tea every day without faculty interference, one father was so fearful of his daughter's contamination by "this curse and spirit of worldliness" that he threatened to withdraw her and institute an inquiry.⁴ Early Methodist policy forbade worldly pleasures such as dancing and card playing. Frivolity was frowned on, discipline emphasized, and girls' emotions were to be strictly controlled. Dancing, usually co-educational, was more social than other physical activities which could be justified as improving health, strength, fitness, or character. This was much more of an issue at Alma College than at OLC, however, so

² Although the Loretto schools permitted dancing, St. Mary's Academy in the early years did not, according to Sister John Thomas, School Archivist, in an interview held in Windsor (April 19, 1989). Anglican schools, more progressive and less dependent on church dogma, did not share this concern (see p. 88 above).

³ Alma Council Minutes (May 20, 1885), Alma College Archives.

⁴ E.A. Brown, letter to The Reverend Dr. Warner, Alma College (February 21st, 1910), Alma College Archives.
cannot be explained simply as Methodist intransigence.

The daily routine at Alma College in the 1880s included a chaperoned walk in the morning and afternoon, regardless of inclement weather. Students were required to have a suitable jacket to wear over their high-necked, long-sleeved, walking-length dresses. Daily calisthenics and drill were mandatory, but girls could be exempted with a medical excuse or at parental request. Once the weather improved in spring, Alma students frequently petitioned the council to have drill and calisthenics discontinued, an indication that these regimented activities were unpopular. Permission was usually granted provided the girls promised to spend time outdoors as fresh air and moderate, healthful exercise were the aims of the program.  

Baseball was more popular at Alma College than either archery or lawn tennis during the summer of 1887, and in 1891 the students’ request to have a skating rink was approved by the principal. Obviously a variety of sports were played, but mainly informally and at the students’ instigation,

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* Alma College Syllabus (1891-3), 40, School Archives.

* St. Mary’s Academy would exempt students during their menstrual period, but only with a note each time to prevent them over-using this excuse. Interview, Sister John Thomas. The fact that menstruation was considered a valid excuse at all supports the concept of the fragile or unhealthy female cyclically vulnerable to over-strain.

* Alma College Minutes (May 12 and 28, 1893; April 25, 1895).

* Ibid., I (November 18, 25, 1891).
indicating that they were not considered a part of formal education.

Alumnae reminiscing about life at the Methodist Ontario Ladies' College recalled playing tennis in bustles and doing the "grand chain" for exercise in the upstairs main hall after dinner. To ensure the development of "Mens sana in corpore sano" - a sound mind in a sound body - fashionable activities such as walking, riding, and calisthenics were included for "graceful exercise" as well as ice skating and tobogganing in winter and lawn tennis, croquet, and swings in summer. The Sunbeam of 1897 noted that the OLC lost a tennis tournament to "our Victoria opponents" on the 24th of May, a situation which they hoped to redeem at a return match in the Fall. Such inter-school competition was unusual in the early days when physical activities were basically passive, leisurely, undemanding, and voluntary, except for the walks and calisthenics which were compulsory to ensure the good health of all students.

These boarding schools all boasted of the good health of


10 12th Annual Calendar, Ontario Ladies' College (1886-7), 37-38.

11 The Sunbeam, Ontario Ladies' College 17, 8 (June 1897), 16.
their pupils which was achieved through regular eating, sleeping, and exercise. No exception, the Anglican Bishop Strachan School Jubilee Record reported that between 1872-75, "the physical culture exercises left little scope for individual development, yet we were noted for our wonderful health."\textsuperscript{12} Horseback riding was popular even though it was held at 7 a.m. Major Goodwin, a retired army officer, put the students through "physical exercises" and taught them to curtsey to the Queen, to get in and out of a carriage, and to bow elegantly.\textsuperscript{13} One student recalled playing bat and ball at recess as baseball and cricket were still for boys only, although the latter could be played at home with one's brothers.\textsuperscript{14} Greater freedom was allowed in the intimacy of one's home and family whereas schools as public institutions were to preserve tradition and enforce decorum.

A student reminiscing about the leisurely pace of education under Miss Grier (1876-89) recalled:

Games were limited to Croquet, "French and English" and "Bat and Ball," with a little skating in the winter, when the weather was kind. Physical training in its present form was of course unknown, but "Callisthenics" gently done were thought to give poise and

\textsuperscript{12} Bishop Strachan School Jubilee Record, School Archives (1867-1927), 35.

\textsuperscript{13} BSS Magazine (Midsummer 1917), 13.

\textsuperscript{14} BSS Magazine (Midsummer 1917), 14.
good carriage.¹⁶

Physical culture exercises were held twice weekly and included the gentle calisthenic, wand, and dumb-bell or Indian club activities which were then thought appropriate for girls.¹⁶

Bishop Strachan’s extensive and beautiful grounds offered ample opportunity for leisurely recreation.

Here they [the students] spend most of their afternoons in September, October, May and June, in tennis, baseball and other games; those who prefer to be quieter on warm days, grouped under the trees with needle-work or books. In colder weather exercise is of course taken outside the grounds; a short walk in the morning and a longer one in the afternoon.¹⁷

This describes a pattern similar to other schools, of outdoor exercise left up to the students, with the customary supervised crocodile walks, or two by two in file, taken outside the grounds.

Dancing was popular at the BSS, occurring generally for half an hour in the evening, frequently informally at recess, and occasionally substituting for the afternoon walk on a


¹⁷ Clarke, "The Story of the Bishop Strachan School," Ibid.

¹⁷ "The Bishop Strachan School," article from The Canadian Churchman, School Archives (July 22, 1897), 3. The inclusion of baseball here is an apparent contradiction of the accounts of two students who refer to "bat and ball" but it must be noted that this article deals with the end of Miss Grier’s principalship, and no doubt reflects changes occurring over a 10-15 year period. Baseball was played at the Methodist schools in this period.
rainy day. One student fondly remembered the "immaculately groomed Dancing Master, Mr. Noverre," who taught Quadrilles and the Lancers with geometric precision," so the dances, like the calisthenics, were formal, passive, uncreative, and reflected women's constricted social role.

The other Anglican school, Havergal College, was not founded until 1894, so little information is available on this time period, but it is worth noting that the original school motto, "Opere Peracto Ludemus" translates as "work exceedingly well done, we play." The themes of hard work and enjoyable play were emphasized throughout Havergal's early history. Several sleigh rides were mentioned in the 1898 yearbook, as well as a "great baseball match," "one hockey match," and, on the half-holiday, March 20th, "our first bicycle ride."

During this early period the physical activity programs in all schools were similar and limited although the long-established Loreto schools were the least active. There was a universal emphasis on gentle walking and calisthenics to promote good health, develop gracefulness, and regular,

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10 BSS Magazine (Midsummer 1917), 13.

disciplined habits. The rigidity of these required activities helped to discipline girls for their future serious responsibilities. Outdoor exercise was encouraged even in winter, but social recreation was left to the students; sport was neither organized nor competitive except for the annual tennis match at the QLC. This relative inactivity corresponded with a restricted role for women where their physical and social emancipation was hampered by long dresses, demure behaviour, and patriarchal attitudes.

1900-20

Although a BSS student observed that the first decade of the twentieth century saw women's education change to include much greater emphasis on physical education and university attendance, this was not evident at the Roman Catholic schools which continued to give physical activity a low priority. As late as 1907, a Loretto student wrote an article in the Niagara Rainbow extolling the virtues of "Our Walk" and the "rush of joy" the order to "Prepare for the Walk" brought. After rapturously describing the aesthetic pleasures of this "energetic" experience in each season, the writer dwelt on the weekly Sunday morning walk to church, illustrating the cultural and religious emphasis of the school curriculum and the students' relatively quiet, sedate life-style. This

20 BSS Jubilee Record, 39.

21 Niagara Rainbow (1907), 157.
article was not exceptional. Sports were rarely discussed in the *Rainbow* from 1900-20. A photograph from the Hamilton Academy 1907 (see Fig.1), showed students dressed in long, full skirts engaged in croquet, skipping, and other demure activities, but not vigorous sporting competition. Awards were presented at closing exercises for a great variety of undemanding endeavours, but not for athletics.\(^2\)

A dramatic account in the *Niagara Rainbow* of January, 1913, told of an unsuccessful attempt at creating an outdoor ice skating rink, a problem common to all schools because of the inconsistent weather:

> We had a rink yesterday and today we have none. Last night it stole away like the Arab in Long-fellow’s poem and is now flaunting itself out on Front St. We have only emptiness to contemplate where once nondescript Pickwickians glided, nolans-volans, over a rink of ice!\(^3\)

But two years later when a student described a day in the life of the matriculation class, Loretto Abbey, Toronto, she did

\(^2\) In June of 1907 the Niagara Falls Convent gave prizes for everything from church history, mathematics and plain sewing to penmanship, stenography, and Irish history, but not sport. *Niagara Rainbow*, Loretto Convent, Niagara Falls (1907), 185. The honours list for June, 1913, cited religious awards, literary, musical, artistic, business and stenographic awards, a silver medal for needlework, a prize for amiability and charity in conversation, a prize for darning, for neatness and order, and a prize for prompt return after vacation. *Niagara Rainbow* (June 1913), 172. The 1915 prize list at Loretto Abbey, Toronto, listed a gold medal for china painting and a prize for domestic art. *Loretto Rainbow* 22, 2 (April 1915), 208.

\(^3\) *Niagara Rainbow* 20 (January 1913), 118.
not mention sport, games, or recreation.\textsuperscript{26} Another student from the same era, in a take-off on Samuel Pepys' Diary, did refer to students ice skating outside in the cold, and then coming in to enjoy "a posset of chocolate" in the common room, where one student spontaneously engaged in tumbling and acrobatics.\textsuperscript{28} Poems recounting memories of Loretto did not mention sport, however, in marked contrast to similar accounts from the Anglican schools which showed a much greater emphasis on sport in school life. Furthermore, Rainbow reports of Loretto graduates never mentioned distinction in athletics among their achievements. It would thus appear that little changed during the first two decades of the twentieth century, and that the aim of the Catholic schools remained, as in 1871, "to impart elegance and lady-like deportment."\textsuperscript{29}

One should not conclude, however, that physical activity was universally frowned upon for Roman Catholic girls. A speaker at the Niagara Falls Convent in 1908 impressed upon students that education included intellectual, moral, and physical aspects, and advocated plenty of fresh air and outdoor exercise.\textsuperscript{30} The 1914 Rainbow quoted at length an address by the Right Reverend Dr. Brownrigg on physical education at the Loreto Convent in Bray, Ireland, which

\textsuperscript{26} Loretto Rainbow 22 (April 1915), 125-26.

\textsuperscript{28} Loretto Rainbow, Ibid., 140.

\textsuperscript{29} Loretto Abbey (Toronto) Archives, advertisement, 1871.

\textsuperscript{27} The Niagara Rainbow 15, 1 (Jan. 1908), 48.
included marching, folk dancing, Indian club teams, skipping, and rhythmics. He pointed out that the nuns were not content to leave the physical recreation of the students to the "delightful and health-giving surroundings" of their 70 acre setting but:

...carry out a system of training in which the students acquire health and strength, grace and endurance. The exercises are carefully adapted to the needs of each student, most of them train memory and mind as well as the bodily movements; and the habits of discipline, order, and method, and of the subordination of self to the common aim, have an important share in the formation of character, and so aid the intellectual growth.∗

British schools in general were far in advance of their Canadian counterparts in this regard, but other Canadian schools had adopted similar programs by this period. In establishing an independent order, the Canadian Loretto system failed to adopt the British tradition of games, playing and athletics, but rather continued to stress the literary and cultural accomplishments of its girls.

Much more emphasis was placed on physical activity at the Methodist schools. From the turn of the century on, Alma College had an athletic club or association which represented the various sports and was run by a student-teacher executive. Its functions were to sponsor social activities, raise funds, 

∗∗ The Right Reverend Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Ossory, Address on "Loreto Convent, Bray, Ireland, Physical Education," Niagara Rainbow, 21, 3 (July 1914), 213-14.
and promote sports. In April 1915, the club purchased a new Spalding regulation basketball to replace the old, worn-out one, thus enabling the girls to play a much faster game. The purchase of an inflator completed the basketball supplies; rather limited equipment for their most popular sport! The fact that students had to purchase their own athletic equipment indicates that sport was not considered essential, but could also reflect the school's early financial problems. The editor of the 1912 Almafilian, concerned that, "all the girls do not take deep interest in the athletic side of College Life," reminded students of their duty to join the athletic society. "We recognize it as one of the most important phases, for 'All work and no play makes Polly a dull girl.'" An appeal to female duty is a common refrain, but here a fellow student indicates the importance of regular exercise and recreation in balancing academic exertion. Students owed it to themselves, to their school, and presumably to society to be physically active, not for pleasure but for good health. This editorial referred to the excellent college spirit of previous Alma daughters, and urged the present students to become more involved.

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27 Alma Council Minutes, II (September 18, 1901), 129; (May 1907), 261. For example, in 1907 the association suggested purchasing a school bowling outfit and agreed to pay the $40 cost through annual installments.

30 The Almafilian (April 1915), 9.

31 The Almafilian (Valentines 1912), 7.
Field day sports were a highlight of the commencement or Empire Day celebrations from the turn of the century, and were well attended by alumnae and parents. The athletic association executive arranged the program with the help of the staff representative, Mr. Farr. In June 1903 there were final competitions in tennis, croquet, ping pong, and basketball, as well as races of 50 and 100 yards. There were also novelty items such as the potato race, slow bicycle race, baseball throw, graceful walking, graceful running contests, and, in contrast, a punching bag contest! Faculty often participated, and in June of 1912 played against students in a baseball game. Other activities were similar to those of 1903 although competitions in bowling, tether-ball, and golf had been added. The day concluded with a marathon of four times around the campus circle. There were 16 novelty races in all, emphasizing the light-hearted, social nature of this celebration as opposed to serious athletic competition although community donors awarded prizes to the winners. By 1915, the achievement of the field day champion was recognized and legitimated by the presentation of a silver

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32 Alma College Commencement Exercises (1903), School Archives.

33 Alma Commencement Exercises Program, St. Thomas, Ontario (June 7th, 1912). Further novelty races were added such as the boot and shoe, egg and spoon, couple race, and the tug of war between the graduates and undergraduates.

34 The Almafilian 10, 9 (July 1914), 47.
Field days were important in that they involved a large number of students, and the diversity of events allowed participation by the unathletic as well as the skilled. On the other hand, they offered little opportunity for the very athletic girl to exert herself, explore her potential, or gain individual recognition.

There is evidence of organized competition in basketball and baseball among the four school halls as early as 1903. Basketball matches were played on Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday afternoons at five o'clock; baseball on Tuesdays and Fridays at the same hour. These games, played outdoors in spring and fall, were popular with players and spectators alike. In November 1912, the Alma College Board came to the gymnasium following its annual meeting to watch a league basketball game. "They were much pleased and considered it a scientific and wholesome sport." This comment illustrates an increasingly serious approach to women's education and the acceptance of games and physical education for the mental benefits inherent in planning strategy and making decisions rapidly as well as for their previously recognized health benefits. The utilitarian argument that leisure must be useful doubtless also appealed to a Methodist school board; if games were scientific as well as wholesome, then they were doubly appealing. One of the few references to extramural

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3a Alma Council Minutes, III (May 19, 1915), 151.
3b The Almalilian (Christmas 1912), 12.
baseball competition is a game played against the London Conference as part of the commencement celebrations of 1912.\textsuperscript{37}

By the following year, intramural basketball was organized between four teams named after Indian tribes. Each played five games against each other team, or 20 games in all.\textsuperscript{38} There is an interesting account of a Canadian versus American basketball game which was played on a Saturday morning in February,

when all the faculty and students assembled in the gym. Banners and flags of both countries practically filled the room, even cow-bells and school bells rang out the enthusiasm of both sides.... During the intermission many athletic yells were given.\textsuperscript{39}

It is unclear whether this was a team from the United States, or merely teams from within the school composed of Canadian and American students, the more likely explanation. Regardless, the description indicates a high level of emotional spectator support and involvement. It is difficult

\textsuperscript{37} Alma Commencement Exercises (June 7th, 1912).

\textsuperscript{38} The Almafilian (1913), 14.

\textsuperscript{39} The Almafilian 8, 4 (April 1912), 17.

An example of one such yell from The Almafilian (October 1911), 6, follows:

"Thunder, lightning, rain & sleet,
We are the girls that can't be beat,
Are we in it? Well, I guess!
We are the girls of the A.L.S.
1-2-3-4 Hip! Hi! Ho! Ray!
A-L-M-A Alma Lu! Alma Lay!
Alma! 1-2-3-4 Who 4? What 4?
Who are you going to root 4?
Alma!"
to picture refined, demure, passive young ladies ringing cowbells and loudly cheering their teams. Sport provided an opportunity for both players and spectators to abandon their rigid self control and become emotionally involved in a joyous expression of school spirit. A similar game was played the following year for the College championship after which the athletic association awarded the twice-victorious Canadian team a barrel of Northern Spy apples.\textsuperscript{40}

Games against outside teams were special events rather than routine in this period. When students expressed the desire to compete against other schools in 1911, one basketball game was arranged with the Collegiate, with the possibility of another against London Normal.\textsuperscript{41} Girls' rules were used, but the next year when the St. Thomas Collegiate team visited Alma College, the first half was played under girls' rules, and the second half, boys'. There was a similar arrangement for the return match which was played outside, indicating flexibility and a lack of conviction that occasionally running the full length of a basketball court was harmful to girls. The games were not high scoring; Alma won both with a total score of 39 points in two games, but there was an emphasis on quick passing and team

\textsuperscript{40} The Almafilian (1913), 14.

\textsuperscript{41} The Almafilian (October 1911), 7. The Collegiate is most likely the St. Thomas Collegiate as the nearest high school, but may also have referred to the London Collegiate. Both became regular opponents later on.
work.\textsuperscript{42}

The most important individual sport was tennis, although golf was also popular. Two tennis courts were kept occupied by long-skirted contestants, and 13 games were played between Alma and the St. Thomas club as part of the May 24th celebrations in 1910. Typically, these were followed by a social tea and dinner.\textsuperscript{43} Skating, tobogganing, and hockey were popular winter sports when conditions permitted, but here again, participants were all bundled up, and the main advantage was getting out in the fresh air. Skating was not for speed or endurance, and it is unlikely that hockey was played with much skill given the undependable weather and haphazard practices whereas the greatest exercise in toboggan lay in pulling the sleigh back up the hill.

Dancing remained a major preoccupation at Alma College, and as late as 1911 when students requested permission to have an hour of supervised dancing on Saturday evenings, it was denied.\textsuperscript{44} They had better success with swimming, and although the school did not obtain its own pool until the Dobson era in the 1920s, the YMCA pool was rented on Monday afternoons in the interim.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{42}\textit{The Almafilian} (Valentines 1912), 10-11.

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{The Almafilian} (May 1910), 127.

\textsuperscript{44}Alma College Minutes, III (January 18, 1911), 53.

\textsuperscript{45}See \textit{The Almafilian} (January 1910), 60. "There is a splendid opening at Alma College for some big-hearted alumna or friend to present a gymnasium and swimming pool to Alma."
Although the school listed graduates in physical culture, this did not refer to modern physical education or sport. The curriculum stressed voice training, interpretation, gesture and drama to learn the charming and persuasive expression of one’s ideas. Such skills would then be used to accomplish good deeds in the world. It was claimed that this program was much more effective than ordinary mechanical gymnastics in achieving good health and poise. The "finishing school" image and the creation of the graceful, decorative lady lingered at Alma as late as 1919, although tempered by the enthusiasm, emotion, and physical exertion of their competitive sport.

The calendars of 1907–08 and 1909–10 noted the hiring of a Dr. Jennie Drennan from Queen’s University to give medical supervision to the physical culture classes. Such monitoring was optional but strongly recommended, and although a nominal fee of one to two dollars was charged at first, there is no mention of this practice in later syllabuses so it is unclear whether the monitoring was discontinued or, more likely, became a regular part of the program, included without

There is an excellent site for such a structure, and two hundred Alma students each year would enthusiastically rise up to call blessed this wise and public-spirited benefactor.”

46 Alma, Alma College, St. Thomas, Ont. (1918–19), 24.
47 Ibid.
charge.^^

The turn of the century at the other Methodist school, the Ontario Ladies' College, saw an emphasis on physical activity for the promotion of good health as, "It is impossible for a strong mind to operate perfectly in a weak body.... We need daily exercise as we need daily food."^^ The Board of Governors' annual report of 1903 stressed the importance of:

physical health and graceful bodily carriage
.... The healthy and well developed physical organism, properly poised and supported, means fresh and buoyant spirits and great capability of effort and these, when aroused and wisely directed, mean truly lasting success.^^

This enthusiasm was not necessarily shared by all students. An editorial from the school paper lamented that if it weren't compulsory to exercise daily, many girls would read, write, prepare lessons, or sew instead.^^ Daily walks and regular physical culture classes continued to be part of the school routine, whereas "wheeling" and croquet were popular recreational activities in fine weather.^^

^^ Alma College Calendar and Syllabus of Studies (1907-08, 1909-10), 22.

^^ Editorial, Vox Collegii 20, 9 (November 1902), 8.


^^ Editorial, Vox Collegii 10, 9 (November 1902), 8.

^^ The Sunbeam 14, 5 (March 1901), 1.
The highlight of the athletic program was a semi-annual tennis match between the OLC and Victoria University in Toronto, dating from 1897. The 1900 match is reported at length in The Sunbeam. Although only three players from the OLC were involved, they were accompanied on the train trip to Toronto by Dr. Hare, the principal, and enthusiastic supporters. Wearing short skirts and tennis shoes, they competed in both singles and doubles for a silver cup and later for a shield bearing the crests of the two schools. As with most inter-school competitions, a social event was made of the day’s outing. That such a match, particularly in an individual sport, was unusual is illustrated by the elaborate rules governing it and the principal’s attendance despite the fact that only three students participated! The winners of tennis matches within the OLC were awarded such

\[\textsuperscript{\textdeg} \text{Vox Collegii 20, 15 (June 1903), 10 gives a report of the tournament rules. Be it understood:}
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1. That the players for Victoria be limited to those taking a full undergraduate course, and that those for Whitby be limited to resident students.

2. That when one college has a majority of two in the total number of wins the other shall be permitted to call in any graduate or former student of the college who was eligible to play while in attendance.

3. That in case of a tie the tournament shall be decided by an extra match which may be either a double or a single.

4. That competition shall continue for twenty meets, the college having the majority of victories at that time to be permanent holder of the shield.

5. That the matches be semi-annual, the meet to be at Whitby in the spring and at Victoria in the fall, the date of the matches to be decided by mutual consent.

\[\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textdeg} The Sunbeam 14, 1 (November 1900), 12-13.}\]
prizes as Ruskin's poems or pretty souvenir spoons, feminine awards which reflected the emphasis placed on being and playing like a lady.

The opportunity to go to the Whitby town skating rink on a Saturday morning caused great excitement, and there were continuous efforts to build a rink at the school. The girls were enthusiastic spectators at a boy's hockey match in 1901, and a year later first formed a team themselves. The 1914 winter was outstanding for winter sports, and the students enjoyed skating, tobogganing, and snow-shoeing in the fields surrounding the college (see Fig. 2). The usual difficulty maintaining an outdoor rink was evidenced the following winter, however, and although there were frequent references to the hope of playing hockey against other schools, it was not until 1918 that a team practised daily and played against St. Margaret's College, Toronto.

Baseball was the most popular team sport at DLC in the early 1900s, but basketball, "the Canadian girl's pleasure," soon occupied the time between fall tennis and winter skating. Bowling was less popular, but it was noted that here woman met man on equal terms as success depended on skill

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**Univ Collegii** 30, 7 (June 1914), 33.

**The Sunbeam** 14, 4 (February 1901), 9; *Vox Collegii* 22, 2 (January 1902), 7.

**Vox Collegii** 34, 3 (January-February 1918), 8.

**Luidural, Vox Collegii** 20, 9 (November 1902), 8.
rather than on strength.\textsuperscript{\textdegree} The recommended bowling costume was a light, short walking skirt and loose fitting blouse, with a pair of rubber tennis shoes.\textsuperscript{\textdegree\textdegree}

An athletic association similar to Alma College's assisted the physical education teacher in organizing two hours of after-school baseball, soccer, basketball, or tennis, depending on the season, and less strenuous activities. The girls wore bloomers and middies for these games. By 1919 the entire school belonged to the athletic association, and the basketball schedule included every eligible girl.\textsuperscript{\textdegree\textdegree}

One stipulation of the field day sports was that no girl could receive more than one prize, thus emphasizing fun and participation rather than excellence or achievement. Staff members were very good about taking part, adding to the enjoyment of the day, and setting an example for the girls. Sports days were held spring and fall, and included more serious athletic events such as a 50 yard dash, standing and running broad jump, hop step and jump, basketball and baseball throws, as well as the novelty races.\textsuperscript{\textdegree\textdegree\textdegree} May Day sports were an important feature of the 24th of May celebrations, noted at OLC for the crowning of their ideal girl as May Queen.

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\textsuperscript{\textdegree} \textit{Vox Colleqii}, 20, 10 (December 1902), 6.
\textsuperscript{\textdegree\textdegree} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{\textdegree\textdegree\textdegree} \textit{Vox Collecqii} 35, 1 (Christmas 1919), 11.
\textsuperscript{\textdegree\textdegree\textdegree} \textit{Vox Collecqii} 35, 1 (Christmas 1919), 11.
\end{flushright}
Shield, presented by Lord Strathcona on a visit to OLC, and commemorative of Nelson's victory at Trafalgar.

It was made of copper taken from Nelson's ship "Victory," and is inscribed with those memorable words that he signalled to his fleet before the battle began - "This day England expects every man to do his duty." \(^3\)

This shield was awarded twice a year, and the winner's name inserted on a card. Students nominated six candidates, but the faculty made the final selection on the same basis as the Rhodes scholarship. \(^4\) The Strathcona Shield was also donated by its namesake for the student's choice of the girl best combining efficiency in athletics, womanly qualities, and scholarship. \(^5\) There was no effort to modify the male terminology and references used to describe these awards but the importance of athletic achievement in combination with womanly qualities should be noted. The OLC was not an Anglican school but its administration obviously admired English history, educational traditions, and the association

\(^3\) J.J. Hare, "The Nelson Shield," Vox Collegii 27, 3 (December 1910), 20.

\(^4\) Ibid. Dr. Hare quoted the terms in full: "The student ...shall not be merely a bookworm. Regard is to be had not only to his literary and scholastic attainments, but also to his fondness of and success in many outdoor sports, such as cricket, football and the like; his qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for the protection of the weak, kindness, unselfishness and fellowship; and his exhibition during school days of a moral force of character and of instincts to lead and take an interest in his schoolmates, for those latter attributes will be likely in after life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duty as his highest aim."

\(^5\) Vox Collegii 32, 6 (1916), 25.
with prestigious visiting dignitaries such as Lord Strathcona.

The OLC athletic program received great impetus from the construction of the new gymnasium and swimming pool in 1913. A swimming exhibition was held which included novelty races such as the midnight race, or swimming twice the length of the pool carrying a lighted candle. On a more serious note, the Royal Life Saving Society program was undertaken, and the winners of the bronze medallion, award of merit, silver and gold medals were proudly recognized each year. Like track and field, swimming did not allow girls to test their endurance, speed, or skill through races or swim meets but the Royal Life Saving programs were demanding and students improved their physical abilities within a defined set of objectives.

Around this time Miss Alice Taylor arrived from England to become lady principal, bringing with her a strong belief in the value of outdoor team games for building health and character:

I firmly believe that the girl who has the true sporting spirit is a great asset in college life. Not only are outdoor sports an advantage from the physical point of view, giving relief from the stooping over books, resting the nerves, purifying the lungs, giving keenness of eye and alertness of movement, but they are a very valuable help in the training of character.

—— Vox Collegii 29, 7 (May 1913), 5-6.

—— Vox Collegii 29, 2 (November 1912), 22. She goes on to extol the virtues of field hockey, where each girls "...learns to play for her side, not for her own glory;
The importance of losing as well as winning graciously was emphasized in a Vox editorial in which students were encouraged to play games:

for the sake of the pastime, the enjoyment and love of the sport, and the healthful exercise it affords - never for the glory of winning, or the prize the victory will bring. Play the game - play it clean, play your best, and if you lose - why lose well!**

This attitude strongly reflects the gentleman’s amateur ideal which evolved from the English boys’ public schools - it wasn’t whether one won or lost but how one played the game - that mattered. Games were a training ground for life’s experiences, but only when everyone played by the same rules, and refined young ladies could accept life’s failures and successes with equanimity within the emotional and economic security of their family.

Miss Taylor formed a Rambling Club for Saturday morning runs, and also introduced golf. Along with Dr. Hare, she tried to promote gardening as outdoor exercise, with different classes competing to produce rival gardens, for "It is splendid exercise, especially when the tennis courts are full."*** It would also enhance the appearance of the school
to submit her own opinion to the ruling of the umpire...to control her temper...to play to rule...to take defeat with a smile, to enjoy the game even though we are beaten, to really wish for the best side to win. Surely this is a valuable training for life, where the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong."

** Editorial, Vox Collegii 30, 6 (May 1914), 9.

*** Vox Collegii 30, 6 (May 1914), 18.
while teaching a skill the girls could use later to beautify their homes.

By 1914 basketball competition was in full swing, with a silver cup for in-school competition, and a senior and junior school team which entertained enthusiastic audiences at home and away games against Whitby High School, Oshawa High School, and Cobourg. When Havergal College arrived to play, they brought nine players whereas the DLC always played with only six, illustrating the inconsistency in the rules used by the various schools. A compromise was reached whereby they played with nine the first half, and six the second. The return match at Havergal was a fast game played outside on board courts following which the team enjoyed refreshments, a school tour, a swim, tea, and car ride back to the train station. "That day will always be prominent in our memories as the Havergal girls gave us such a lovely time and we enjoyed ourselves so much." Games were also played fairly regularly with St. Margaret’s school in Toronto and Bishop Bethune College in Oshawa. By 1918 the physical education teacher had arranged a schedule of 12 games among the four residence halls as well the popular faculty versus student games, indicating both extensive intra and extramural programs.

Physical culture classes were intended to promote good

70 Vox Collegii 32, 5 (June 1916), 12.
71 Vox Collegii 36, 1 (Christmas 1918), 15.
health, and all first year students were examined by a female physician who then supervised the work planned by the physical education teacher. This program was to achieve a graceful carriage and correct postural defects at an age when a young woman's body was most responsive to training. A second purpose of organized physical activity was to allow an outlet for the students' restlessness and excitement, thus assisting school discipline. In the 1914 yearbook, Dr. Hare announced the inauguration of a "Normal Course leading to a certificate or diploma that will qualify our graduates to become physical directors of high schools and colleges, or managers of play-grounds and out-of-door sports." He lamented that Canadian girls had to seek such training in other countries when OLC had the staff and facilities to undertake a two year program which would include science and theory courses as well as "light gymnastics, clubs, dumbbells, wands, Swedish drill, heavy gymnastics, folk dances, games, both indoor and outdoor, athletics and swimming." It is not clear what happened to this ambitious proposal as the Margaret Eaton School in Toronto rather than the OLC became the physical education training centre for Ontario women, but nevertheless it illustrates the importance Dr. Hare

72 Vox Collegii 29, 2 (November 1912), 9.
73 Ibid.
74 Vox Collegii 31, 1 (October 1914), 5.
75 Vox Collegii (1915), 21-22.
placed on this subject, and the breadth of the OLC program and facilities. A girls' camp was also to be started in 1915 just prior to Dr. Hare's retirement, but the war intervened.**

The early twentieth century Anglican school girls enjoyed the same winter sports described above, principally skating and tobogganing when weather permitted. The Bishop Strachan team lost two hockey matches to St. Margaret's under adverse weather conditions in 1912, as "great dash and pluck, hard checking, and a comparative lack of combination on our side was noticeable."** They also had similar sports' days as the other schools, with prizes awarded to the winners of the races and novelty events which were chosen for their appeal to participants and spectators alike (See Fig. 3). In the case of a tie, the head mistress awarded the school pin to the girl who had not previously won, again emphasizing participation, sportsmanship, and humility, not winning or individual athletic proficiency.** Paper chases with staff participation were regular events at the Anglican schools, whereas they were referred to only occasionally at the OLC as a variation of their Saturday cross country runs.


** BSS Magazine (Midsummer 1912), 31-32. "Owing to the unsettled weather, the ice was not very good, and a cold wind, blowing down the ravine tended to check any speed that the players might have shown."

** BSS Magazine (Christmas 1904), 24.
On the whole, the Anglican schools showed a greater emphasis on team games, particularly those such as cricket which reflected their British heritage and the influence of their English mistresses. A 1905 Bishop Strachan student had early memories of unstructured, imaginative games and acting out history lessons such as the Gunpowder plot, but noted that:

We never seem to play that kind of game now. Cricket, tennis, and football have taken its place. I don’t know which are the most fun, but I think the latter are better for constant playing. There is nothing better than football on a crisp autumn day. It makes one warm, and rosy, and happy. Basketball seems more popular than football.\footnote{77}

This tendency to more organized sport echoes the English public schools where staff became involved in the organization of games to influence discipline, character and sportsmanship. The adoption of games with similar rules and conditions was a necessary precursor to competition and league play.

By 1904 Bishop Strachan had a cricket club which practised three times daily in the spring and summer. Most matches were played within the school, but there is an account of a gracious victory over an Oshawa team, "We were cheered by the losers whom of course we had cheered."\footnote{80} In 1910 one excellent player, Vera Martin, donated a cricket bat for the

\footnote{77} BSS Magazine (Christmas 1905, 12-13. Football here very likely means soccer, which was played in the girls' schools, rather than Canadian or American football.}

\footnote{80} "Cricket," BSS Magazine (Easter 1904), n.p.
captain's exclusive use with the inscription. B.S.S.A. on it, and promptly became its first winner.\textsuperscript{61} Sometimes students complained that a late spring delayed practices, or about the small cricket grounds, but in 1915 the move to the new school provided such space that two games could be held simultaneously.\textsuperscript{62}

On returning to school in September 1905, students were surprised to find two "gallows-like objects" located on their cricket field; fore-runners of the exciting and popular game of basketball.\textsuperscript{63} Practices were soon held daily during the week, and the following description outlines the students' perception of the American College girls' rules they followed:

Each girl has her own particular ground to cover, beyond which she may not go, and all rough play, such as body-checking or kicking, or snatching the ball, are considered "fouls." ... coolness and presence of mind are essential .... Good combination is also necessary, for no girl is allowed to hold the ball longer than 3 seconds....Perhaps the 3 things most necessary ...are, as in most sports, a quick eye, a steady aim, and an unfailing good temper.\textsuperscript{64}

There were many inter-form matches, and the enthusiasm and excitement which these engendered is evident in the year-book accounts. The emphasis on an unfailing good temper as essential to female sportsmanship would not have applied to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{BSS Magazine} (Christmas 1910), 31.
\item \textbf{BSS Magazine} (Christmas 1915), 29.
\item \textbf{BSS Magazine} (Christmas 1905), 15.
\item \textbf{BSS Magazine}, Ibid.
\end{itemize}

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males; neither were the latter expected to be constantly good tempered, self controlled and submissive in daily life.

As early as 1912 there is reference to a games association of Branksome Hall, St. Margaret's College, Glen Mawr, and the Bishop Strachan School which played an annual tournament in basketball and ice hockey, with ground hockey to be added the following year. There was no further reference, however, to ground hockey as an important school sport, and Havergal was also very late to introduce it which was unusual for schools patterning themselves on the English model. A possible explanation was the Canadian girls' preference for ice hockey and basketball, which at this time was most frequently played outdoors in what would have been the ground hockey season.

Net-ball and rounders were other games which reflected a British heritage. In 1911, about 50 Bishop Strachan students were enthusiastic net-ball players, regretfully ending their matches only with the first snowfall. By 1910 rounders, played with a large, soft ball, threatened to replace croquet in popularity with the younger students. Even ping pong, originally suggested as an indoor activity to occupy the girls between skating and spring tennis, was first scorned as being too passe, but later embraced with their usual enthusiasm for

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85 BSS Magazine (Christmas 1912), 27.
86 BSS Magazine (Christmas 1911), 32.
87 BSS Magazine (Christmas 1910), 31.
a tournament.**

Tennis was enjoyed by the older students; the final of one tournament with 26 singles contestants was "... a joy to behold. Splendid rallies, brilliant returns...." produced great spectator interest.*** The winner was awarded a "dainty silver pin blouse set" at the closing exercises whereas several years later the school association awarded a new racquet to the singles' champion and engraved silver pins to the doubles' winners.**** It was proudly reported that two alumni won the doubles final at Macdonald Hall, Guelph, in the autumn tournament: "So much for the kind of tennis we learn at B.S.S.!'** Yearbook photographs from 1909, however, show tennis and cricket players in long skirts and wearing hats (See Figs. 4 & 5), so one must always temper the enthusiasm of written reports with what was possible given dress restrictions. Students sometimes chastized those members who wasted court time. It was noted that serious and steady play were necessary as in any other game, and "the habit of playing in a careless or bad style" was regretted.*** But there was no denying the enthusiasm, enjoyment, and excitement with which most students attacked their tennis. In 1912, as well

** BSS Magazine (Midsummer 1911), 38.
*** BSS Magazine (Christmas 1906), 25.
**** Ibid.; BSS Magazine (Christmas 1909), 32.
***** BSS Magazine (Christmas 1910), 21.
****** B.S.S. Magazine (Midsummer 1915), 20.
as a school tournament with prizes, outside matches were played against St. Margaret's and Havergal College. The latter game was "marked throughout by fast and pretty play on both sides. The singles especially was a graceful match; every ball was low and fast and every return carefully placed."**

Note that play, although still graceful and pretty, was increasingly skillful and athletic. At the new school which opened in September 1915, there were eight grass and two board courts, as well as one used exclusively by the staff.***

When a measles epidemic closed the school for four weeks in 1918, eliminating any outside competition, four girls arranged a house tennis tournament to provide activity and relieve boredom, showing the importance of sport and competition in school life.***

As time passed, basketball became the favorite team sport, with increasingly critical, discriminating, and personal write-ups. For example,

The Attacks need more combination, and more care in shooting, and K. Reville should be quicker. E. Rudolf is a good and graceful player, and often makes brilliant shots; but she cannot be relied on to play a steady game. F. Miller is to be congratulated on her free shots ....The Centres are exceptionally good, and are in danger of showing that they know they are....***

** BSS Magazine (Midsummer 1912), 33.
*** BSS Magazine (Christmas 1915), 29.
**** BSS Magazine (Christmas 1918), 17.
***** BSS Magazine (Christmas 1915), 32.
There was extensive competition for a silver challenge cup among the various school forms and houses, culminating in a tournament which one student commemorated in a poem.** By 1916, a first and second school team played home and away games against the four schools in their league which now included Havergal College. Games were played indoors in winter, but outside in spring and fall, and the improved skill of the 1918 players is evident in their two high scoring triumphs over the Old Girls (78-18 and 90-16).**

By 1919 the swimming program had expanded to include 16 Royal Life Saving and eight bronze medallion award winners, although the examinations were taken in the Upper Canada College pool as B.S.S.'s small pool was "astonishingly difficult to operate."***

** ** BSS Magazine (Christmas 1915), 35. Here are the first and last (of 4) verses:

Tell we now the joyful tale
Of our games of Basket-ball.
Smiling sun or blustering gale,
Teams were ready, one and all;
Strong we were and stout of heart,
Ready each to take our part,
And to win.

Honour to our Form teams brave,
They, who fought so gallantly,
Shot and passed the day to save,
Played for form right loyally.
Bravely lost or gaily won,
One and all their best have done
For the Form.

*** BSS Magazine (Christmas 1918), 19; Principal's Report, Bishop Strachan School (November 1916), 4.

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Bishop Strachan, Branksome Hall and the Margaret Eaton School combined their physical training classes in a public "Patriotic Fete" to raise funds for Canadian prisoners of war in Germany. The program included marching, dumb-bell exercises, dance, Swedish drill, and sports exercises. A similar annual display for B.S.S. parents represented the regular physical work of the entire school. It was noted that Ruskin would have been pleased with this demonstration of "... such physical training as would confirm her [woman's] health and perfect her beauty." By 1918 the gymnastics program included more difficult apparatus such as the horse, and included championship competition as well as demonstration.

The year-end distribution of prizes in 1907 listed each form's award winners in physical culture, and the tennis tournament winners were given engraved medals. By June 1912, the physical culture award had been replaced by prizes for

100 "Patriotic Fete" under the distinguished patronage of Their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Arena Gardens (May 12th, 1916), Bishop Strachan School Archives.

101 Demonstration of Physical Education by the Girls of the Bishop Strachan School (8th of February 1918), School Archives. The program opened with marching, followed by folk dances, a dumb-bell and wand drill, free arm exercises, dances such as the waltz and Irish lilt, and organized games such as dodge ball, relays, and tag, concluding with more marching and the school song.

102 BSS Magazine (Christmas 1917), 18.

103 BSS Magazine (Midsummer 1918), 24-25.
drill, sports, and tennis, indicating an increased emphasis on competition and achievement. By the end of the decade, a graded system of physical education had been introduced by Miss Ruth Harvey of the Sargent School in Boston.\textsuperscript{104}

The school placing the greatest emphasis on athletics, however, was the last one founded, Havergal College. The following quotation from \textit{Ludemus}, the school yearbook, reflects the school's philosophy, "Play for the sport's sake; win if you can; Lose like a sportsman; but always play."\textsuperscript{105} The major team sports were cricket, ice hockey, and basketball, while tennis and track athletics allowed individual achievement. Another notable feature of Havergal's athletic program was the frequent participation of the staff in games and competitions, again reminiscent of the English system where mistresses played alongside students, developing an excellent rapport and extending their influence and discipline while inspiring participation. This had also been observed at OLC and BSS to a lesser degree, but the enthusiasm of the Havergal teachers and headmistress gave impetus and significance to the over-all program. The most popular vehicle for this was cricket, where as early as 1902 the Havergal mistresses were practising to play the first 11, and in 1906 played against the girls in the first match of the

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{BSS Magazine} (Midsummer 1919), 5.

\textsuperscript{105} \textit{Ludemus} (1915), 159.
Cricket was an enduringly popular team game, played both spring and fall. The students were fortunate to have a coach who had played for the First at Cambridge and organized competition among the juniors, seniors, day girls, and boarders. Competition became more systematic in 1906 when a cup was donated, and two years later the students first defeated the mistresses, a sure sign of improvement. Complaints about bruised fingers and a shapeless ball caused by the wooden basketball courts ended in 1913 when property was annexed which greatly enlarged their playing fields. Dress for this sport was a two-piece white outfit with long skirt and sleeves, white shoes and stockings, and a dark scarf worn under the blouse collar and knotted in front (See Fig. 6).

Basketball, soon to become the most popular team game, began in 1902 when the girls formed a club, appointed their own executive, and chose captains. Competition was between the two school houses at first, with one referee from each. "When the whistle blows it is beautiful to see the instant stoppage of the game and the quiet submission to the

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106 Ludemus (1911), 49; (1906), 35.
107 Ludemus (1903), 40.
108 Ludemus (1908), 56.
109 Ludemus (1906), 35; (1913), 107.
110 "Basket Ball," Ludemus (1902), 37.
umpire's decision."\textsuperscript{111} Such obedient timidity was short-lived, however, as by the next year, "...so strong a desire for liberty prevailed that all lines are now disregarded, in spite of the whistle and the blower"\textsuperscript{112} - illustrating how the excitement of sport could inspire girls to break out of their restricted moulds and even begin to challenge authority. By 1906 there were six boarders', two day-girls', and five junior teams playing outside in sweaters until December 8th, resuming March 20th! True to form, a cup was donated for in-school competition, followed by one for the junior teams, and the Wednesday afternoon rivalry between day girls and boarders intensified.\textsuperscript{113} By 1907 even the mistresses had formed their own team and basketball was the favourite sport by far according to a former student who vividly recalled the girls out on the board court almost every noon hour, "running, passing, whisking the ball into the basket, breathless."\textsuperscript{114} There were 22 basketball matches listed in the 1914-15 school calendar even though none could be played between December 8th and March 1st.\textsuperscript{115} By 1917 outside matches were held against Bishop Strachan, St. Margaret's, and Whitby, with the star player(s) receiving recognition following each game. The

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Ludemus} (1903), 39.

\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Ludemus} (1906), 32-33.

\textsuperscript{114} Haultain, "My Five Years," 7.

Old Girls also continued their interest by returning to play and officiate. Emphasis, as always, was on good sportsmanship; Miss Knox drilled the students not to clap their own team, but "Let the other school clap you, and you clap them." The golden rule inherent in this admonition was effective within the closed private school system where all adhered to the same code of honour. It did little, presumably, to prepare young women to assert themselves independently in a competitive world outside the school or home.

Havergal's hockey program was enhanced by the school's fenced-in outdoor rink which measured 160 x 80 feet and was the second largest ice surface in Toronto. Although two outside matches were recorded in 1902, most of the competition was on Wednesday afternoons from three to four o'clock between boarders and day girls competing for a cup donated by Miss Edgar, their coach and referee. (See Fig. 7). The last Wednesday match was open to all the upper school forms who played for a shield which the winners proudly displayed in their room for a year. These schools tended to have trophies for everything in an effort to increase motivation and give status and importance to their activities. School interest was high; the hardier spectators cheered from the sidelines


117 Ludemus (1902), 35; (1903), 38.

118 Ludemus (1902), 38.
while the windows were crowded with the more timid souls who watched from the school corridors. There were complaints that other, presumably academic, responsibilities sometimes prevented student participation, so Wednesday afternoons could not have been reserved exclusively for athletics.

Juniors began playing hockey in 1906 in a successful effort to improve the caliber of play. By 1917 the yearbook describes a fifth year school team member as having "...played a good defensive game and made splendid individual rushes, but she must guard against rough play." On the other hand, the point was a first year player who "...checked well and was a quick and good skater, [who] must practice shooting."117

One former Havergalian recalled snowshoeing parties where the students walked five miles around the Rosedale Golf Club before having tea and returning home. There were also sleigh rides, but her most notable recollection was that they walked everywhere.120 Another popular winter sport was figure skating despite Miss Knox's initial doubts that anything could compete with the students' enthusiasm for hockey. She approved of skating as the girls would have more opportunity to continue it after leaving school, and also for "the delicacy of poise and perfect self-control" required, which would improve their "self-possession and gracefulness."121

117 Ludemus (1917), 115.
up the individual sports, fencing, ping-pong, and badminton (added in 1909) existed, but tennis was the favourite by far. Its organization and competition followed the same pattern as basketball and hockey, with the same incentives and enthusiasm. A silver cup was donated for the singles champion (1904), as well as two doubles cups.\textsuperscript{122} In 1907, ten of the better players challenged the staff, and games were played into the winter before the staff finally triumphed.\textsuperscript{123} Three new grass courts became available with the acquisition of Rutherford House and by 1913 there was competition against Bishop Strachan, St. Margaret's, and the Old Girls, as well as within the school.\textsuperscript{124}

Of particular interest from this era was the 1908 singles winner, Ada Mackenzie. As well as excelling in tennis, Ada played hockey where she was the "best goalkeeper Havergal has ever had," so quick and sure that she was not scored on once during the whole term.\textsuperscript{125} She also played on the day girls' cricket team, and in 1918 returned to help coach the younger students. A contemporary recalled the great esteem in which those who excelled in games were held. In her words:

\begin{quote}
Ada Mackenzie was the darling of the school. She was good at all the sports. Once, she hit a cricket ball right through a leaded-
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{122} Ludemus (1906), 33, 42.
  \item \textsuperscript{123} Ludemus (1908), 55.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Ludemus (1913), 103.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} Ludemus (1908), 53.
\end{itemize}
glass window, high on the wall of the Assembly-Hall, a long way from the batting-crease. A poem to mark the event was printed in Ludemus. Ada was a true athlete and a very fine person, and she was always very eager to coach and assist younger, or less-skilled players than herself.\footnote{Haultain, "My Five Years," 8.}

Dr. Steele, a former headmistress, also claimed that Ada Mackenzie typified in example and personality Miss Knox's ideal Havergal girl. Ada went on to become the outstanding Canadian female golfer, winning many championships, and founding the Toronto Women's Golf Club at Thornhill when frustrated by the limited playing time available to women on men's courses. She never married but was a successful entrepreneur, opening a line of ladies' clothing stores in Toronto.

In 1906 an athletic association replaced the clubs which previously organized school sports. Membership, for a one dollar fee, was compulsory if one wished to participate.\footnote{Ludemus (1908), 77.} This organization awarded colours and badges to outstanding players, and promoted interest by designing new basketball and cricket ties.\footnote{Ludemus (1911), 80.} A teacher donated the Havergal Shield for the form showing the best school spirit, and by 1913 it was proudly reported that nearly every girl in the school took an active interest in sports.\footnote{Ludemus (1913), 101.} This was considered
especially beneficial in helping students become acquainted as the school size increased. Also, "The games, perhaps more than anything else, help to bring the girls together, and make the new girls feel that they really belong to the school."\textsuperscript{130} Games were also valued as an antidote to hard work:

\begin{quote}
Latin, French, and mathematics chain our minds' attention till Tennis, basketball, and cricket all our veins with vigor fill.\textsuperscript{131}
\end{quote}

Student yearbooks do not dwell on the physical education classes as much as on the more popular competitive sports, but as early as 1902 there is mention of Havergal's gymnasium being fitted with parallel bars, ladders, and a horse for gymnastics.\textsuperscript{132} The parallel bars were the favourite activity as "they are difficult enough to afford some excitement."\textsuperscript{133} Demonstrations of these activities, credited with producing mental as well as physical vigor and health, were held for parents and school friends.\textsuperscript{134} The proper gymnasium costume consisted of a knee-length, full-skirted tunic with a long-sleeved middy blouse top and loose fitting roped belt. Long black lisle stockings were also worn.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{130} Ludemus (1918), 99.
\item \textsuperscript{131} Ludemus (1909), 83.
\item \textsuperscript{132} Ludemus (1902), 34.
\item \textsuperscript{133} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{134} Ludemus (1909), 23.
\end{itemize}
(See Fig. 8). By 1910 the skirt was tucked under to give a
more bloomer-like appearance, and the blouse tops were a
lighter weight and colour, although still long sleeved (See
Figs. 9 & 10).

Early in the term, students were carefully examined and
measured, a report made of their physical condition, and
special exercises given to correct any defects. There
was also a swimming pool at Havergal during this time, and
lessons could be purchased for an extra fee, but there was not
the emphasis on swimming tests and awards as seen at BSS and
OLC (See Fig. 11).

Track and field at Havergal involved such strenuous
activities as the running broad jump, high jump, and even the
hurdles, which, although considered by far the prettiest and

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Ludens (1920), 59. Special Gym
For girls that do not stand up straight,
Or are too fat, or else too slim,
There is a cure called Special Gym.

Four times a week you take the dose,
And it is guaranteed to cure
Within a year, you may be sure.

With breathing you commence and end,
And use the ladder, and the rings,
The table, bench and other things.

Miss Ivey stands and watches you,
And Miss McGregor does the same,
Or pulls your arms till you are lame.

But after all it does you good,
For I have had three terms and know,
And that is why I tell you so.
most graceful activity, had few entrants. Presumably this was because of their difficulty although in the next breath, a student lamented the fact that pole vaulting was not permitted. A running club was inaugurated in 1903, but not mentioned thereafter.

Lest readers think that every Havergal student was wildly enthusiastic about all sorts of exercise, evidently the crocodile walks, required daily to ensure some exercise if inclement weather made the outside athletic facilities unusable, were unpopular. "To avoid this disagreeable – unnameable – the Havergalians would go to any length. They offered to sweep snow or chip ice off the basketball courts or skating rink instead, or played tag for the time allotted for healthful exercise.

The first two decades of the twentieth century have been documented in detail to show the beginning of modern competitive sport organization and more vigorous physical activity. This paralleled the great changes occurring for Canadian women as a result of the First World War which saw them enter the workforce in unprecedented numbers, and also saw many achieve the franchise by 1920. These advances were not evident in the Loretto schools, however, which ignored

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\(^{13a}\) Ludemus (1903), 38.
\(^{13b}\) Ibid.
\(^{13c}\) Ludemus (1917), 20.
athletic competition and instead emphasized religious observance, literary, musical, and artistic accomplishments while giving some attention to passive exercise for good health. This reflected their conservative, unprogressive vision of women's role outside the home or church, and their strong religious orientation.

The Methodist schools were reluctant to shed the ideal of the graceful, passive lady and continued to foster this image through physical culture classes which emphasized poise, graceful movement, and elocution. Remedial classes dwelt on good posture and appearance. Even their athletic awards were feminine spoons or pins, and games were social outings with an emphasis on manners, decorations, and good behaviour. Competition certainly increased, however, and sport offered girls an opportunity to experience greater freedom, excitement, independence, and responsibility through competing, administering their own athletic association, and organizing, as well as performing in gymnastic exhibitions and field days. Physical development and athletic achievement were recognized along with academic ability and femininity as Methodist ideals.

The Anglican and Methodist schools increasingly used their sports' prowess and facilities to advertize their schools in prospectuses or at public demonstrations and competitions. Sports were also an important vehicle for keeping alumni involved in school life. Physical education
and sport at the Anglican schools was progressively more demanding, structured, and abundant, but always emphasized female modesty and self-effacement. Dress was modified to allow freer, more vigorous play. Although many good players took their games seriously and wanted to win, for others activity represented fun and a break from classroom routine.  

1920-30

The decade of the 1920s represents the beginning of more extensive athletic participation for the Loretto Catholic school girls, even if one father was not particularly impressed by his daughter’s enthusiasm:

'Physical culture, father, is perfectly lovely!...Look, to develop the arms I grasp the rod by one end, and move it slowly from right to left.' 'Well, well,' exclaimed her father, 'What won't science discover next? If that rod had straw at the other end, you'd be sweeping.'

Student attitudes also remained conservative, as witnessed by one who approved of loose, straight dresses as healthful and comfortable, but strongly condemned women who wore knickerbockers:

Such dress is certainly contrary to that

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13 Ludemus (1918), 82.
At Gym. we have a lot of fun;
We march and skip; we dance and run;
But when the end of Gym. is done,
There's the end of all our fun.

140 The Rainbow 28, 2 (April 1921), 103.
advanced by a regard for God's law and no woman may indulge in such a peril without lessening her sense of modesty, lowering her character, and imperiling her reputation. Modesty is to women as the delicate bloom on the fruit. When the fruit is touched the glow is lost and may never be restored.  

Nevertheless, an athletic girl carrying a tennis racquet and ball, hockey stick and skates, with a basketball tucked under her arm was now included in a pictorial representation of the four phases of school life. These popular sports were organized by elected captains who then chose their own teams; the better players challenged other Loretto schools while the less skilled played intramurals or, occasionally, against the first team. Participation was not overwhelming at first as one grass court was sufficient. Baseball was even more haphazard as the girls formed teams daily to give everyone who wanted to play a chance. Games were played during the autumn, and from April until June, with skating and hockey in the winter.

The moral benefit of sport and games for both sexes was being recognized by Catholic educators who noted that secondary education must enhance:

... the pupils' opportunities to attain bodily skill and to train their habits of reasoning. The moral values in athletics are abundant and boys and girls will learn through them to bring to their tasks minds more alert, spirits more cheerful, and wills more energetic, than through any other means.  

\[141\] Loretto Rainbow (October 1924), 203.

\[142\] Loretto Rainbow 30, 1 (January 1923), 32.
The major impetus for sport in the Loretto schools at this time, however, came from the Loretto Abbey College, a division of St. Michael’s College at the University of Toronto where it was suddenly realized that the Loretto students were the only women residents not participating in the athletic life of the university. The St. Michael’s women’s basketball team was therefore formed in 1920, soon to be followed by tennis, hockey and baseball teams. The students were very pleased with their progress, and enthusiastic that:

... the budding spirit of Loretto’s athletics reveals so much strength, courage, and true comradeship that she may indeed dream of a successful future in every sphere of the athletic world. In all our hearts re-echoes the wish, May the vision come true!\(^{143}\)

So quickly did they progress that two St. Michael’s students earned their letter ‘T’ by making the intercollegiate teams, Miss Mulvihill on defence in hockey, and Miss Roach as a basketball forward.\(^{144}\)

Reports of the university alumni of the Loretto school system were included in the yearbooks, and their increased athletic involvement gave a definite impetus to the high school programs. Graduates with games experience also returned to teach and coach and by the last half of the decade there was much more competition among the various Loretto schools, and also against the OLC, Bishop Bethune, Moulton

\(^{143}\) Loretto Rainbow 30, 3 (July 1923), 144.

\(^{144}\) Loretto Rainbow (July 1924), 160-61.
College, and Branksome Hall, particularly in basketball. Inter-school forms competed for a coveted cup, and one father donated a silver cup for the champion of the Inter-Loretto Basketball League. The objectives were to make new friendships and have a pleasant social experience while also winning of course. Tennis was played in the spring and fall, and field days and gymnastics displays were held by the end of the decade. Athletic associations had been formed in several schools, and the swimming pool was mentioned as a favorite center of physical education.\textsuperscript{145} In writing on what it meant to be a Loretto girl, one student dwelt on the pleasures of basketball, the importance of being selected for a team, and the many opportunities at school to play.\textsuperscript{146} Other students writing on life at Loretto stressed the religious, spiritual, or cultural aspects more often than the athletic. Although slower to emphasize physical activity or competitive sport, by 1930 the Loretto schools were enthusiastically involved, inspired by the example of their alumnae at the university.

The Methodist schools continued to expand their already extensive physical education and athletic programs during the 1920s. To enhance school spirit and athletic competition, Alma College students were divided into four houses based on

\textsuperscript{145} Loretto Rainbow 34, 1 (August 1927), 107.

\textsuperscript{146} Loretto Rainbow 37, 1 (July 1930), 209.
the English boarding school example, each headed by a teacher as house-mistress. The houses were named after school principals, had their own songs, yells, and organization, and competed for the Thomas House cup which was presented at the annual field day. Individuals proudly wore their school crests and letters on their school sweaters. House points were gained for everything, even for time spent outdoors.\footnote{147}

As well as inter-house games, in 1921-22 Alma's "never defeated basketball team" played schools in St. Thomas, London, and Toronto, as well as Ingersoll College and the local Bell Telephone Company.\footnote{148} By 1925 the school had joined the Western Ontario Secondary Schools Association which included the St. Thomas Collegiate, London South Collegiate Institute, and Ingersoll Collegiate Institute.\footnote{149} Teams from the University of Western Ontario and Brescia Hall also provided good competition, indicating Alma's willingness to go beyond high schools to community and university teams in its search for worthy opponents. Mr. Dobson was a particularly interested and supportive principal, driving students to games, occasionally refereeing, and treating the girls to a special meal afterward.

The 1925 addition of a gymnasium and swimming pool which were the most popular places in the school according to one

\footnote{147} Alma College Minutes III (March 16, 1927), 289.

\footnote{148} The Doughnut 11, 3 (June 23, 1921), 27.

\footnote{149} The Almacilian (June 1925), 39.
student further enhanced the work of the physical education and athletic departments.\textsuperscript{150} Aquatic awards were won in the Royal Life bronze, silver, and instructors' programs whereas house points and individual silver cups for swimming and fancy diving provided incentives for students to excel at an annual aquatics meet.

Baseball provided a popular substitution for the morning walk for many girls. The sports mistress conducted daily recreation from four to six o'clock which included hiking, swimming, basketball, tennis, badminton, volleyball, or in winter, skating, hockey, snowshoeing, skiing, or horseback riding.\textsuperscript{151} Every girl was expected to participate.

In addition to the athletic teams and extensive recreational opportunities noted above, the physical education program included outdoor hikes, gymnastics, and folk dancing to promote co-ordination, rhythm, and gracefulness.\textsuperscript{152} Two regular half-hour gymnasium periods were held weekly as well as a daily morning walk and outdoor activity period of at least one-half hour. As the general aim was to produce a sound mind in a sound body, each term began with a physical examination which emphasized correct posture and prescribed individual corrective work where necessary. There was also a one year "Special Physical Education Course" supposedly

\textsuperscript{150} The Doughnut 11, 3 (February 14, 1925), 6.
\textsuperscript{151} Alma College Prospectus (1929-30), 34.
\textsuperscript{152} The Almafilian (June 1929), 29-30.
equivalent to first year university aimed at producing teachers, recreation group directors, or self-development. This course demanded so many subjects that it would seem impossible to accomplish in one year, but it was very popular and in 1926 had more graduates than any other area.\textsuperscript{134}

The school gym uniform included soft navy hats, a regulation school middy, navy serge bloomers, black stockings, high white canvas shoes with rubber soles, and a grey one piece skirted swim suit.\textsuperscript{134} By 1926 the hats were no longer mentioned, and the shoes had changed to black canvas (See Figs. 12 & 13).

Dancing continued to receive special attention. Although permitted by 1922 it was carefully monitored by a committee of three teachers who watched for bad form and reprimanded any girl considered to be dancing improperly, suspending her for a period on the second offence.\textsuperscript{135} In every other sense, however, by 1930 Alma College offered an extensive, modern physical education and athletic program with a continuing emphasis on good health and gracefulness.

\textsuperscript{134} Alma College \textit{Prospectus} (1929-30), 30. It included anatomy, physiology, classroom management and teaching, playground problems, and the history of physical education as well as English, Bible knowledge, voice culture and dramatic art. A thorough list of practical courses was also listed, including first aid and practice teaching.

\textsuperscript{135} Alma College \textit{Prospectus} (1923-4), 26.

\textsuperscript{136} Alma College \textit{Minutes} III (Nov. 15, 22, 1922), 244.
Basketball and swimming dominated the Ontario Ladies' College's athletic program during the 1920s although the OLC did not join a league but continued to challenge schools from Whitby, Oshawa, and Toronto. The Athletic Association performed an important social function, helping students get acquainted at a September reception, and sponsoring tea dances for which the gymnasium would be decorated in the light and dark blue school colours. By 1925 its executive included managers for basketball, baseball, tennis, hockey, ground hockey, swimming, etc. as well as the president and other officers.\(^{106}\)

It was proudly reported in 1923 that the OLC had won more Royal Life Saving awards than any other school in eastern Canada.\(^{107}\) By the end of the decade, the College added a strenuous life saving program so that award of merit winners could learn life saving, approaches, strangle-holds etc.\(^{108}\)

The traditional commencement week swimming meet was continued.

Gymnasium displays of apparatus work on the horse, breach, ropes, rings, and horizontal ladders as well as tumbling and mat work were described at some length. These were elaborate demonstrations of the physical education class work organized by the games mistress to entertain parents, old girls, and visitors. The program often began with a grand

\(^{106}\) Vox Collegii (1925-26), 99.

\(^{107}\) Vox Collegii 33, 1 (December 1923), 24.

\(^{108}\) OLC Yearbook (1928-29), 85.
march by the whole school, followed by costumed folk dancing, calisthenics, and more marching.

School spirit, achieved through spectator and participant sport, was considered important in developing loyalty to one's alma mater, as well as in motivating performance. Athletic achievement was cited in a 1923 editorial coaxing students not to rest on their laurels, but constantly to strive for greater achievement. Fame, success, and reputation were fleeting; diligent application and wholehearted effort were required for both work and play.107

The Anglican schools continued to emphasize games and physical education. The Bishop Strachan School girls were the only ones playing lacrosse early in the decade so competition was between school forms only. Over 100 girls competed for a trophy donated by a former Toronto player, Mr. C.R. Cherry. The game was popular in England, however, and when Miss Booth arrived from the Bergman-Osterberg College the caliber of play improved so that by the end of the decade BSS girls were sufficiently skilled to give a public demonstration which received newspaper attention.108 Advertized as the first time young ladies had played Canada's national game before an

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107 Vox Collegii 32, 1 (June 1923), 3; OLC Yearbook (1925-26), 16.

audience, including officials of the Ontario Amateur Lacrosse Association, the field was of regulation width, and the only modification of rules was the 'up' check which protected the face from high sticking injuries. This modification had been used previously by male players. The girls disdained the English custom of wearing gloves, and an expert assessed their play as follows: "... dodging on the attack was featured ... it did not have a tendency to slow up the game through lack of passing, which in the main was accurately executed."

By this time the games club was highly organized and the school had a well-equipped gymnasium, an outside basketball court which was flooded to provide a winter ice hockey rink, and a summer lacrosse court. There were six grass and one clay tennis courts. The school forms competed for trophies which greatly stimulated competition in basketball, ice hockey, lacrosse, and tennis. There was only one sport played each season so that every girl could participate. As at the other schools, the emphasis was on playing hard and well, and parents were encouraged to consult the games board in their daughter’s form room for a record of her athletic achievements. Some parents thought that games should be compulsory, but Miss Walsh reasoned that the shirkers would always find a way around mandatory participation, and instead urged parents to assist the school by encouraging and

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101 Ibid.
disciplining their daughters.\footnote{\textsuperscript{10\textdegree}}

The school magazine gave a detailed account of a drill demonstration in 1924 which was reminiscent of the elaborate spectator events previously described at the OLC.\footnote{\textsuperscript{10\textdegree}} One girl gave a solo presentation with electric clubs in the darkened hall; the special gymnastics class worked on the horse and parallel bars; and the finale of the mat work was the crowd-pleasing "squash" pyramid. The precision of the Swedish exercises, where 80 girls worked as one, was particularly impressive.

When Inspector J.G. Althouse reported on Miss Booth’s teaching he noted that although there was inadequate space for the 40 pupils in her marching and calisthenics class, "The order was excellent, and the effort made by the pupils was serious and sustained." He commented on her efficiency, stimulating voice commands, and good judgement in interspersing exercises with rest periods. While commending Miss Booth’s general performance and individual encouragement of the students, Althouse felt that she would command the

\footnote{\textsuperscript{10\textdegree} Miss Walsh' Report to the President and Council of the Bishop Strachan School (1923), 9-10.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{10\textdegree} The BSS Magazine (Midsummer 1924), 10-12. 300 girls marched in, singing, from two sides and formed fours, eights, and sixteens. Quick exercises done to the command of a whistle were interspersed with costumed folk dancing and Swedish exercises.}

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respect rather than the affection of her pupils. This somewhat aloof relationship reflected the responsibility of the physical education instructress for general school discipline. In Miss Walsh's words:

The effect of this good games' training is that the Order in the School is as nearly perfect as it can be. The School line in and out of Chapel, the Form line up and down to the Gymnasium, the Fire Drill, - all these are as good as in the best schools in England and better than in many.

Another noteworthy feature of these schools was the continued active participation of the alumni, or Old Girls, in school athletic life. It was noted that two of four tournament basketball games were refereed by last year's school captain and a former first team player. Alumni also returned to play current school teams, and several either pursued a physical education career at McGill, or at least continued to play on some college or faculty team after leaving B.S.S.

Havergal College also expanded its focus on sport and physical education during the 1920s, emphasizing basketball, hockey, and tennis, and playing in a league with Bishop

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1** Miss Walsh's Report to President and Council, The Bishop Strachan School (1928), 7.

1** Ibid.
Strachan and Branksome Hall. The *Ludemus* of 1924 noted a change in policy, however, which put greater emphasis on intramural participation as opposed to elite competition by the few who played on school teams. There were many inter-form games, day-girl versus boarder matches, and mass participation on sports' day. The older and younger students were divided into A and B groups to make competition fairer given the wide age range within the school. This policy was successful as:

The general attitude towards sport has changed, and now, instead of the school as a whole watching a few highly trained girls play the game, each girl has taken an active part. This universal interest in sports ... has developed in the girls a love for the game, and has also provided latent material for future school teams.107

By the end of the decade, competition was also organized between three houses whose group cohesion was enhanced by house colours worn on the school tunics. Sports provided one of the major opportunities for inter-house competition, and for students to show responsibility and independence in organizing their affairs.

Elaborate gymnastics meets which emphasized participation by the whole school were also run by the girls. It was felt that these gave "... conclusive evidence of the value of physical education as a character builder and as a means of developing girls who are capable of being responsible for

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107 *Ludemus* (1924), 50.
themselves." These meets were competitions as well as displays during the early 1920s, but in keeping with the policy of emphasizing participation, the 1930 program was more aesthetic and displayed Swedish exercises, some apparatus work, and a great deal of costumed folk and Greek dancing. (See Fig. 14).

Fencing and archery were also available at Havergal by the end of the decade, and field hockey had been introduced by the staff who played every Saturday morning in an attempt to convince the girls of its merits. The available field was quite small though, and basketball remained more popular with the students. Lacrosse was tried in 1927 when the move to a new school site made tennis and basketball courts temporarily unavailable:

Enthusiasm for the game spread over the whole school, and almost every girl bought a cross and began to practice throwing and catching balls on the front driveway or on the side field when it was dry enough.

On entering school in the fall each girl continued to undergo a physical examination where her height, weight, and

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1ª Ludemus (1926), 59.

1® Ludemus (1920), 115. Classes were divided into teams which were identified by colour and competed in floor work, marching, and relay games; an individual contest on apparatus included two exercises on the horse, a straddle vault for height on the buck, and a ring jump at which a height of six feet five inches was attained.

170 Ludemus (1930), 110-11.

171 Ludemus (1927), 70.
chest development were recorded, and remedial exercises were prescribed for postural defects.\textsuperscript{172}

In this final decade, the Roman Catholic schools, although still more traditional regarding woman's dress and function enthusiastically embraced competitive sport, particularly basketball. The Methodist schools added a house system to facilitate competition and school spirit. Whereas Alma College sought basketball games in a regular league and against university or community teams, the OLC concentrated on an ambitious swimming program and random challenge games against other schools. The Anglican schools continued to emphasize team games and achievement, adding cricket and lacrosse to the ever-popular hockey and basketball. Havergal's increased concern with participation was not at the expense of extramural teams; rather it was a recognition of the value of sport for all students. Staff participation which increased camaraderie between students and teachers remained most noticeable at the Anglican schools.\textsuperscript{172}

\textsuperscript{172} Ludemus (1926), 59.

\textsuperscript{173} "Staff Basketball," Ludemus (1921), 14. When the staff goes out to play basketball They do not look like the staff at all; In the morn, they stand in the class and frown And later jump round with bloomers on. They do not look as if they knew Enough to get a B.A. or two, With middies and bloomers and bands on their hair Which mostly falls down when they jump in the air; Those are the days we don't fear them at all When the staff goes out to play basketball.
Games allowed girls to break out of their timid, obedient mould and express exuberance through songs, yells, and cheers. Participants also found pleasure, excitement, and satisfaction in attempting and mastering difficult physical skills, and from the sheer joy of being outside and feeling "... the soft, velvety grass under our feet, the bright rays of the sun beaming down upon us, and the pure, fresh air to breathe." Games, tournaments, and contests were important aspects of school social life at a time when there were fewer distractions such as television or automobiles. Even bicycling received only passing reference in the yearbooks despite its popularity in the early 1900s, an indication that boarders especially were closely supervised and confined to the school grounds except for organized outings such as games which became exciting adventures. Conversely, the remedial exercises, calisthenics, and regimented, compulsory walks were the least popular aspects of physical education in all schools.

What conclusions, then, may be drawn from this extensive documentation of the growth of physical education and sport in these schools? What explains the differences and/or similarities among the schools? It appears that culture as well as religion determined the type of games played. The Anglican schools showed a strong English influence, also apparent to a lesser degree at the Methodist Ontario Ladies

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174 The Almafilian 6, 5 (Mar. 1910), 93.
College. This, through their English-trained mistresses, clearly resulted in an emphasis on the character-building nature of games, and on the selection of upper-class English sports such as cricket.

The "Canadian" schools in the Loretto system were very slow to embrace competitive sport, emphasizing instead the cultural aspects of women’s education until inspired by the experience of their university students. Once embracing sport, they did so enthusiastically and successfully. The reason for this hesitation is unclear, but a lack of exposure to a games or athletic tradition provides one logical explanation. Although founded by Irish sisters this was prior to girls’ physical education gaining widespread acceptance in Great Britain, and thereafter, the staff was educated in Ontario where teacher-training in physical education was practically non-existent except for the Margaret Eaton School of Expression, founded in 1907. The numerous Loretto schools interacted with each other more than with non-Catholic schools. The most necessary ingredient for a strong competitive system is the support of the staff and school administration. Available sources did not give sufficient information on the Loretto staff for conclusions to be drawn, but it is interesting that in Mangan’s study of Athleticism, it was also the Roman Catholic school, Stonyhurst, which
resisted an over-indulgence in games and sport.\textsuperscript{179}

Alma College, the most "Canadian" Methodist school, embraced competition even to the point of playing against a commercial team from the Bell Telephone Company for the wholesome fun and health-producing benefits of sport more than for its character-building attributes.

The types of team sports played by the various denominations also indicate both a class bias and cultural influence. Cultural transferrance was not always assured as witnessed by the many attempts of Anglican mistresses to popularize ground hockey and cricket. Although more successful with cricket, it never achieved anything like the popularity of basketball, "the Canadian girls' past-time," and rounders, net-ball, and soccer along with ground hockey all occupied relatively minor roles in the athletic programs.

The Anglican schools had a stronger academic emphasis and along with Loretto Abbey, became more elitist. The greater popularity of baseball at Alma College and OLC as compared to cricket at BSS and Havergal reflects these class and national differences. Soccer and ground hockey were hampered in the earlier years by insufficient fields at the Anglican schools, and ground hockey also suffered by comparison to the more invigorating Canadian male sport of ice hockey. It is ironic

that lacrosse, a Canadian game, should have been introduced to
the Anglican schools via England, and not played in the
"Canadian" schools.

The one game which crossed all class, denominational, and
ethnic lines was basketball. It offered sufficient excitement
and activity, was played indoors and out, had good spectator
appeal, and unskilled beginners could play with some
satisfaction. The existence of modified girls' rules also
facilitated league competition. By comparison baseball was
slower, needed a skillful pitcher, and had to be played
outdoors.

The comparable individual sport which dominated all
schools was lawn tennis, a traditionally upper-class game
suitable for women which offered social opportunities for
mixed play outside of school. There was less emphasis on
competition in individual sports and it is unlikely that the
increasingly skillful and vigorous tennis matches ever really
taxed the players' physical limits. The swimming, gymnastics,
and track events were usually aesthetic demonstrations,
novelty contests, or designed for students to achieve a
predetermined, acceptable level of exertion.

The three time periods show a definite progression in
both physical education and competitive sport from the passive
to the more vigorous paralleling the increasing freedom of
women to pursue higher education and careers outside the home
and family. Although Canadian schools lagged behind their
British counterparts in embracing sport and physical education for girls, by the early twentieth century they were well on their way to emphasizing this aspect of school life. The nature of this focus and its relationship to the ideal girl will be discussed in the conclusion.
CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Three hypotheses were stated in the introduction. The first was that the creation of a feminine image would be of paramount importance in the schools, and that sport therefore would be limited to "lady-like" activities. This proved to be correct as the ideal of refined middle-class womanhood was accepted by the leadership of all the schools, and was reflected in the physical activity provided, although the ideal changed over time. It was also accepted by the students who were socialized to think that girls should be mannerly, obedient, and feminine. The Roman Catholic schools were the most conservative, reflecting the influence of the Catholic church which clung to an idealized but repressive view of women; the Anglicans the most progressive. All the schools were run by male board members with only a few exceptions, such as the Alma daughters who served on the Alma College board. The Methodist and Anglican schools espoused the ideal of service and community activism, but again emphasized service, not leadership for women whether at home, on the job, or in volunteer work.

The change in physical activities for women between 1870 and 1930 was dramatic if one compares the long-skirted girls walking leisurely two abreast for their morning exercise in the nineteenth century to the short-skirted basketball player
excitedly scoring a basket in a gymnasium crowded with cheering spectators during the 1920s. Such changes paralleled and reflected changing societal attitudes to women. Early physical culture and elocution emphasized posture, decorum, and grace while performing curtsies or getting in and out of carriages. Although the activities changed, however, they remained feminine in that they did not involve strength, endurance, or bodily contact. Tennis, swimming, and gymnastics were the major individual sports, basketball the overwhelming favorite for teams. The men's game was modified so that girls would have less physical contact with one another, and would not be taxed by having to run the full court length. Hockey, normally a rough male sport, was played without physical contact, with energy directed at the puck rather than at the opponents. Field day sports bordered on the frivolous, particularly in the early years. When more serious events were added, the longest race was a 'marathon' of four times around the school field. There are no references in the yearbooks to sweat, strain, muscles, or excessive exertion, although one does get a sense of the pleasure and joy, of the freedom, excitement, and satisfaction which students derived from sports.

Modesty was a required female attribute, and it is notable that the Alma College girls were allowed to play a hockey game against a city team from St. Thomas only on the
provision that it not be advertised in the newspaper. This was to prevent publicity or the attraction of undesirable spectators. Later gymnastics and swimming displays were held at the school before large crowds of relatives and friends. These featured the student body en masse rather than individual stars and were originally intended to demonstrate regular school work rather than elite achievement. Competition was added later.

Although there was an emphasis on competition and prizes to promote participation and excellence, early prizes were silver spoons or pins, or a volume of literature thought suitable for young ladies, such as Ruskin’s poetry. In time this changed until teams were competing for the legitimating trophies, shields, and cups previously used only for male recognition. Even the many opportunities for competition were used to promote feminine good manners and social skills. One of the major functions of school athletic associations was to hold a social event at which students became better acquainted; visiting teams were always entertained and given refreshments after a game before being seen politely off home. Clapping the good points of opponents’ play was essential; critical remarks or booing unheard of. Modestly, one never extolled the virtues of one’s own skills, but let the other team or players pay such compliments as women were to be the

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1 Alma College Council Minutes, II (February 23, 1904), 187.
objects of male admiration, not forging their own identity or asserting their strengths.

Dress at first restricted women's freedom of movement because of long skirts, bulky crinolines, and tight-fitting stays. Although the athletic costume became increasingly rational and allowed greater freedom, it remained modest and feminine in that stockings, bloomers or skirts, and blouses were worn rather than anything revealing the female form or flesh. Hats were worn until a fairly late period.

The second hypothesis, that competition and vigorous physical activity would be limited because of their perceived danger to health and child bearing, proved to be only partially correct. Female health was of great concern, mostly related to woman's reproductive function, her most obvious difference from man and her greatest importance. By the period under discussion, however, many of the battles regarding female frailty and woman's ability to withstand the strain of higher education had been fought and won elsewhere, particularly in England. Physical education was valued as increasing health and strength, and promoted to counteract the alleged tendency to nervousness and breakdown in middle-class women living in an increasingly stressful, fast-paced age. Thus the aim of the physical education aspect of the curriculum, acknowledged as important in all schools but receiving particular emphasis in the Methodist institutions, was to promote good health and fitness through walking,
calisthenics, and remedial exercises. The excessive monitoring of height, weight, and growth in adolescence reflected the concern over girls' development at this supposedly critical time. There were no references to a particular ideal physical build; concern was rather that backs be straight, posture erect, movement graceful, and that girls gain weight to demonstrate the merits of boarding school life.

All the schools were family-oriented and claimed to contribute to the good health of their students through the calm, regular routine of boarding school life which featured nutritious meals, constant bed-times, and plenty of outdoor exercise. Physical activity was seen as balancing hard academic work, and mass recreation was stressed. Regular walks were mandatory and students were encouraged to organize their own baseball games, and participate outside even in winter, tobogganing, skating, or snow-shoeing.

The limitations placed upon competition and the type of activities allowed related to the question of motherhood as well as femininity. Indeed in the view of those in charge the two were inseparable. Woman's primary functions remained to marry and have children. Even if she chose a career instead, she must remain feminine in appearance, speech, manner, and behaviour. Nevertheless, as time passed, students rode horses, worked on gymnastics apparatus, tobogganed, and competed on teams albeit with some restrictions. Competition became increasingly organized, both inside the schools through
form and house contests, and extramurally through challenge games and leagues. There were trophies and prizes for all activities, and more than one student noted the penchant to have a tournament, or some form of competition, for everything. Such contests were designed for fun and motivation, but were also taken seriously and the winners recognized and respected. Good sportsmanship and deference were stressed; if one girl won too many field day events, she could not keep all her prizes but learned to sacrifice her own recognition so that more students could be rewarded, appropriate preparation for the future sacrifices she would make for her family. The aim was not to make "stars" or heroines, but when someone like Ada McKenzie at Havergal showed outstanding ability in several sports, she was recognized as the epitome of the ideal girl as her athletic ability was combined with a pleasant, helpful, un conceited manner. Havergal also expressed a concern that intramurals be stressed so that participation by many, not the special achievements of the gifted few, would be the aim of the athletic program. But this did not contradict the oft-expressed ideal that students try their hardest and achieve their best in whatever they did, as extramural competition was always provided. Rather, it reflected the philosophy that sports were beneficial to all, both for physical and character-building reasons, and the more who participated, the better. More of the school day was devoted to girls' physical
activity in the 1920s than presently, a reflection of less freedom of choice, but also of its greater stature in the eyes of educators.

The third hypothesis, that character building through athletics would not be important, was clearly shown to be false, particularly in the Anglican, and to a certain extent, the Methodist schools. Although girls were certainly not being trained as leaders in government, business, or war, they were expected to become the moral arbiters of society, and their strength of character was a major concern. Interestingly, however, the emphasis in the sport was different from boys' and athleticism never demonstrated the excesses typical of the English boys' public schools. Canadian boys' private schools, while adopting the ideology of compulsory outdoor team games as important tools to control behaviour and develop attitudes and values, were influenced by local conditions and circumstances which gave greater variety to their programs. Rather than emphasizing strength, brute force, or domination, girls' games were designed to avoid physical contact where possible, and manners were stressed. One did not sing one's own praises, but modestly left that to others while generously acknowledging the achievements of the opposition. Friendliness and camaraderie were emphasized, and the visiting team treated as honoured guests. Loyalty to

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one's form, team, house, or school was important as it was just as necessary for a woman to be loyal to her family and friends as it was for a man to be devoted to his profession or country. Self control was another important female attribute to be taught through games; the ideal participant was known for her 'unfailing good temper.' Despite the fact that school sports became highly organized and popular, they never achieved the ritualistic excesses of the boys' institutions. They did organize into houses with school colours and rousing songs, yells, and cheers, but the academic, cultural, and religious sides of school life always balanced the athletic. This reflected the pattern of the English girls' public schools more than the reaction against competition for girls which typified American schools. Ontario's private schools did not follow the American 'play day' pattern of a game for every girl, and a girl for every game, but rather showed a healthy balance between involving as many students as possible and providing opportunities for those more interested or talented to compete strenuously if not to the limits of their ability.

What then may be concluded regarding the role of sport and physical education in the creation of the ideal Ontario private school girl between 1870 and 1930? First, it is clear that both physical education and sport or games were important tools used to shape this ideal. They became more important as time progressed, and reflected as well as contributed to the
increasing emancipation of women. They nevertheless also demonstrated the limitations of a patriarchal society where women’s physical activities were contained within prescribed boundaries by educational, medical, and religious leaders, and by public opinion shared for the most part by the girls themselves.

Such constraints were seen most clearly in the Catholic schools which were late to embrace physical activity or competition for girls, and the Methodist schools which had male leadership. They were least important in the Anglican schools which were run by strong-minded women who stressed a changing role for women in society, albeit still within fairly narrow confines. But was religion actually a factor in the sporting differences which clearly existed among these schools? It would appear that the national traditions, staff background, and class status of the schools were also determining factors in the types of sports played, and the emphasis placed on them. More than one factor was frequently at work. For example, the more egalitarian Methodist schools specialized in basketball and baseball, non-elitist North American games, but OLC also displayed an English influence in its awards system and the character-building expectations of its sports. The school least tied to a strong religious connection, Havergal College, was also the most sports-minded. This was influenced by its late founding date which meant that it never functioned as a finishing school, and Miss Knox’s
strong English athletic tradition as much as by its greater independence, however, for strong religious purpose and conviction were fundamental to all the schools.

There were advantages to these single-sex schools as far as physical education was concerned: the athletic budget did not have to be shared with boys who typically would have received the greater part; the facilities, which were excellent by the standards of the day, were also exclusively for the girls' use, as were the coaches and teachers. Because the great majority of teachers as well as the Catholic and Anglican principals and the Methodist lady principals, were women, they were setting their own athletic standards and philosophies, although within the confines of their own training, experiences, and attitudes. Conversely, the lack of exposure to boys' sport perhaps led to a satisfaction among the students with what they were offered. There is little evidence of them feeling frustrated with their opportunities, but as has been frequently pointed out, part of their socialization had been to accept their femininity and the limitations placed upon their physical, mental, and occupational possibilities.

Nancy Struna has noted that today's characterization of sport as "male, modern, and athletic" may be inappropriate in analyzing the past which accepted a patriarchal society, and
in which women were rarely visible in public sport. She further emphasizes the need to examine sport within the larger context of society. This thesis has illustrated how physical activity was used within selected educational settings to contribute to the socialization of middle and upper-class girls for the fairly limited roles and behaviours expected of them. Sport functioned as a source of pleasure but was both a symbol of emancipation and an instrument of control. Students were controlled by the regimentation and discipline fostered through physical education and drill, but also in the broader sense of the limitations on their role and aspirations. The fact that these were independent schools run in some cases by women with a strong belief in excellence, however, freed students to enjoy a wide range of physical activities. From the yearbook accounts, it is evident that their sporting experiences brought them pleasure, excitement, and a sense of achievement and freedom. They gained independence and confidence from organizing their clubs and recreation and in achieving difficult physical goals. Significantly, the most progressive schools were Anglican, reflecting the late nineteenth-century sporting revolution for middle-class women which had occurred in England. Indeed, Canadian girls in this time period benefitted greatly from the struggles of their predecessors in the United States and

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particularly in England, for increased freedom and emancipation in sport as in life.

The class bias in the sample must also be noted. The schools studied, although not as elitist then as today, nevertheless catered to a relatively wealthy segment of society, and the individual sports in particular, such as tennis, golf, and riding, were traditionally popular with the upper classes. Their graduates were also the women with the time and resources to continue to pursue sport as recreation outside of school. It is very likely that the school physical activities of working-class girls in less affluent co-educational schools during this period were much different, both because of school resources and societal expectations concerning their role in life. The concerns regarding overstrain, femininity, and physical limitations inherent in the education and acculturation of middle and upper-class women did not apply to girls whose future probably included domestic or factory work as well as child-bearing. The limitations on women's activity were clearly social and cultural, not biological, despite the exhortations of doctors and clergymen to the contrary.

The diversification and increasing challenge of sport and physical education in Ontario denominational schools between 1870 and 1930 reflected women's expanding social role and opportunity for individual self-realization in many fields previously denied them, such as higher education and
professional careers. Physical activity was an important part of this growing liberation. Here was another area where girls could compete for prizes, test their capacity to perform, excel, and enjoy the camaraderie of team effort as well as gain the adulation of school-mates, parents, and friends. The extent of the assertiveness and self-confidence they developed through sport remained limited, however, as did their general opportunities, by the constrictions of femininity and health concerns which, although modified and diminished, still reflected patriarchal traditions. Sport and physical education in Ontario's denominational schools between 1870 and 1930 both reflected and contributed to the creation of the ideal upper-middle-class Canadian girl, demonstrating her increasing but still limited freedom.
Fig. 1. Leisure activities at Loretto Abbey, Hamilton, circa 1907. (Courtesy of Loretto Abbey Archives, Toronto).
Fig. 2. Winter sports, The Ontario Ladies' College, Whitby, (Courtesy of The Trafalgar Castle School Archives).
Fig. 3. Field Day sports, The Bishop Strachan School, Toronto, 1915. (Courtesy of The Bishop Strachan School Archives).
Fig. 4. Cricket and tennis players, The Bishop Strachan School, 1900. (Courtesy of The Bishop Strachan School Archives).
Fig. 5. Tennis in the grounds, The Bishop Strachan School, 1910. (Courtesy of The Bishop Strachan School Archives).
Fig. 6. Havergal College cricket team, 1913.
(Courtesy of Havergal College Archives).
Fig. 7. Havergal College hockey teams, 1908.
(Courtesy of Havergal College Archives).
Fig. 8. Haüregal College basketball teams, 1907. (Courtesy of Haüregal College Archives).
Fig. 9. Outdoor basketball courts, Havergal College, 1914. (Courtesy of Havergal College Archives).
Fig. 10. Outdoor basketball games at The Bishop Strachan School. (Courtesy of the Bishop Strachan School Archives).
Fig. 11. The swimming bath, Haütergal College, 1907. ( Courtesy of Haütergal College Archives).
Fig. 12. A gymnasium class, Alma College, 1929-30.
(Courtesy of The Alua College Archives).
Fig. 13. The pool, Alma College, 1928-29.
(Courtesy of The Alma College Archives).
Fig. 14. Gymnastics and dancing display, Havergal College, 1930. (Courtesy of Havergal College Archives).
APPENDIX

INTERVIEW WITH DR. CATHERINE STEELE, HAVERGAL COLLEGE,
November 6, 1988. Dr. Steele was
a student at Haveragal from 1923-1928,
and later, Headmistress.

Q. What was the purpose of sport or physical education at Haveragal during your time spent there as a student?

A. As teenagers I don’t think we had a sense of the purpose of P.E. It was just definitely part of the Curriculum. We all took part and enjoyed it. I was at Haveragal on the Hill which was down on St. Clair. This was for the first two years of high school. Two old houses set in very big grounds, with very nice grass tennis courts. We used to play tennis by the hour, simply because we enjoyed it. On our own and in classes too, we were taught how. We had a gym and everybody took part - it was just like every other subject was.

Q. So you had P.E. classes which everybody had to take as part of the curriculum. Would that have been every day?

A. I don’t remember.

Q. Were the after-school games organized by the P.E. teacher, or did the girls just go off and do these by themselves?

A. Both. You see it was a relatively small group so it tended to be fairly informal after school. [She was a day girl.] There were two classes at the top of the junior school, then in the 3rd year high school we went down to Jarvis St. and games tended to be more organized because they had more facilities. That was the main school.

Q. Was there any criticism by teachers or parents of girls taking part in sport or physical activities?

A. No. I think they thought it was a good idea. It was fun and healthy and everybody just accepted it.

Q. Was it mainly for good health that they thought it was beneficial?

A. And for good sportsmanship.

Q. Can you remember what sports and games were played by
the girls while you were there?

A. **Basketball** was very popular. There were wooden courts.

Q. Did they play outside too?

A. Oh yes. Ice hockey was the other very popular one. And tennis. In those days Toronto was smaller and we seemed to have consistently good ice in the winter. They flooded the basketball court.

Q. Were there games against other schools?

A. There were some. I remember just our own games between different classes much better.

Q. Were they organized on the house system?

A. We didn’t have houses then. That was later. Boarders against the day girls sometimes. Different classes.

Q. Baseball?

A. Some, and tennis.

Q. Swimming?

A. They had played cricket earlier. Oh, yes, swimming! They had a pool.

Q. At Jarvis St. there was a pool.

A. There were games with other schools because if you look in **Ludemus** you will see the teams but I think perhaps we weren’t as conscious as people are now about winning in sports and so on.

Q. Was there anything that you can remember that girls were prevented from playing?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. Were the games modified for them in any way? (i.e. boys vs. girls’ rules basketball).

A. They played girls’ rules certainly but I can’t remember any talk about it being modified. I had brothers you see so I was used to doing things like that.

Q. How were these financed?
A. They were just part of the school fee as far as I know. At some point there was an athletic fee if you look at early prospectuses.

Q. Which was rather small, but I meant for capital expenditures to build the gymnasium. Were they part of a major fund raising?

A. You see, Havergal was financed at the beginning by the first board and some of their friends taking shares and there wasn't another capital finance campaign until well on.

Q. What level of competition was encouraged? Did they try to get as many to participate as they could?

A. Yes, that's right.

Q. Would you say most of the girls did take part?

A. Do you mean after school? They all had it on their curriculum. No, I wouldn't say they all did. I would find it difficult to say what proportion.

Q. Did they stress skill achievement?

A. For the teams, yes. Skill achievement, yes.

Q. But when you had physical education classes, did you work on perfecting skills?

A. Certainly for the gym demonstration. For the gym demonstration, yes, they stressed it there.

Q. And good sportsmanship?

A. It was stressed very much.

Q. How did they do that? I remember we were always taught to clap for the other team.

A. Oh yes, that certainly, and the staff talked about that and I think Miss Knox at times talked about it.

Q. It wasn't winning but how you played?

A. That's right. They were pleased if you won, but it was how you played.

Q. There was also quite a social emphasis on it, for example when you had teams from other schools, there as always tea or something served after it.
A. That's right, sure.

Q. This was part of the social life of the school, but also how you would treat a guest?

A. That's right, that's right.

Q. And what about the health aspects. Did they have remedial P.E.?

A. They had some, yes.

Q. Was there an inspection first of all?

A. Yes, I can't remember that vividly, but I think there was.

Q. What did you wear for gym classes?

A. We wore our tunics. A short tunic? Yes, by the knee. Just before my time they wore bloomers and middy blouses. For dancing we wore a very short Greek tunic, but for most games, just the tunic. Now for winter there was a special sweater for hockey.

Q. And the normal school uniform was longer was it?

A. No, oh, longer than the Greek tunic, but you just wore your regular tunic for basketball.

Q. They didn't wear shorts?

A. Not then.

Q. In early pictures you seen them playing tennis in these long skirts and bustles.

A. That's right, that's right.

Q. What types of dancing?

A. There was some Greek dancing that we did.

Q. Like folk dancing?

A. No, Greek dancing.

Q. With balls?

A. Yes, more like eurythmics.

Q. Did they use Indian Clubs?
A. Nothing, just your arms and legs.

Q. To music?

A. Yes.

Q. Were there trophies?

A. Oh, yes, a tremendous number. Now, there's one that's a very interesting early skating one, and there are a lot around the school. Up in the front hall there is a case of trophies. There were so many that in recent years they have been discontinued. They seemed to have a trophy for everything, a silver cup. Tremendous number of these.

Q. Who donated them?

A. Old girls, parents.

Q. Was there a lot of stress put on winning? Did the other girls look up to those who won?

A. I think so. No lot of stress put on winning them, but they were there.

Q. What award was most valued?

A. I think probably the character award was top, and then I think some of the academic awards. The Governor-General's award for proficiency ranked very high but these counted too.

Q. Was it ever made apparent that fitness for motherhood was a primary concern?

A. You mean for the physical education? Well, I think not through the athletic program, more through the character building program.

Q. Why was the House system introduced?

A. I wasn't here when it was introduced. Other schools had houses. The English system on which we to a large extent had been modelled had houses, and it seemed a good way of grouping the girls to do various things, the old and the young together.

Q. And so the older girls were prefects, and that gave them leadership opportunities.

A. Yes.
Q. When it began, the athletic program was an important part of the competition, between houses?

A. Oh yes.

Q. Can you remember who your physical education teacher was?

A. Yes, we had one I recall. Miss Sanderson, who had come from England. I think she was London trained. And we had a couple from Sargent in Boston, Sargent School. The girls always were very much interested in them because they tended to be attractive looking, vigorous, and young. They were well trained. Sargent was one of the leading schools.

Q. Did they have a specific name for the type of training?

A. I can’t tell you what it was.

Q. Were there any male teachers in the school?

A. Miss Knox used to import some of the divinity students to train the hockey team.

Q. So they did use them as coaches.

A. Yes, they came to coach, and some of them were afraid to tell their friends, they thought they would be teased too much.

Q. About coaching the girls’ teams?

A. Yes

Q. There was no fear that male coaches would work them too hard?

A. I don’t think those young men were especially trained, I think Miss Knox just thought they would be suitable because they were divinity students. I’m not sure it had anything to do with hockey.

Q. Were there male teachers for other school subjects?

A. Very, very few. Some for various parts of the music program and they had them for art, but otherwise not very much.

Q. Did military men give riding lessons?

A. No, later, and then they went to Sunnybrook on the outskirts of the city to ride.
Q. Did the British public school system have a strong influence on your school?

A. Very much in the founding of it, yes.

Q. Miss Knox came from Cheltenham, didn't she?

A. Yes, that's right. Oh yes, definitely. The Board at the time she was appointed thought they had to go and get an Englishwoman, and you see she was here for 30 years and after her they appointed Miss Wood who was also English and had come out here in 1898 and...

A. Did they go to England for a lot of the teachers as well?

A. In the beginning, yes. I was the first Canadian to be appointed Head, and that was in 1952, so it is comparatively recently, and before they appointed me they had looked in England, so it had a substantial influence.

Q. Who typically would be on the Board of Governors?

A. There would be a number of clergy (Ed. note, Anglican clergy). The first secretary of the board was professor Wrong who was head of the history department at the university. Sam and Sam Blake, Mr. Clarkson of one of the well-known big financial companies, Sir John Ayres, people like that, no women of course.

Q. Bishop Strachan School was affordable at the beginning. Was Havergal a wealthy girls' school from the start?

A. I think there was a good cross section at the beginning. Certainly the people who founded it were comfortable but there was no set idea that they would just have it for the daughters of the well-to-do, and the clergy daughters were always welcome and there were always substantial bursaries so they could send their daughters, and the fees were small. Actually, I think that perhaps it has been in the last 15 years with the rapid inflation that the expenses of running have just taken over the whole financial picture pretty well.

Q. Did American attitudes regarding sport and physical education influence your school? I suppose they would if you had teachers who were trained there.

A. Yes, to some extent I'm sure it would. We weren't conscious of it.
Q. Were you conscious of other American schools - was there interaction with any American private schools?

A. No

Q. Have you ever heard of the vital force or limited energy theory?

A. No, where does it come from?

Explanation.

Q. Was there any purposeful connection between the religious aims of the school and sport?

A. I think yes, in the idea of sportsmanship, the way you treated other people too.

Q. So the major aim of playing was not to win, but how you won.

A. Yes, that's right.

Q. Did they ever have prayers before games?

A. No

Q. What was it acceptable for graduates to do after graduation?

A. You see I graduated just before the Depression, 1928, but Miss Knox's ideas which carried over all through the 20s were first and foremost that girls should be good mothers. Yes, and she believed very much also in going into the mission field. [So service was important]. Service, definitely, yes. And teaching and nursing.

Q. So careers were acceptable but .

A. Oh yes - she wrote a book called The Girl of the New Day which outlined and talked about the different careers.

Q. But marriage and motherhood were still the major role for women, [Oh yes], and I suppose if you did have children you shouldn't work?

A. It really wasn't discussed very much in those days, not very much until the War really.

Q. There wasn't opposition to women attending university in your period?
A. Oh, it was expected that the able ones would. You look at the scholarship boards in the front hall and you see the scholarships going right back into the beginning of the school, university scholarships.

Q. So it was more a case of maximizing your potential, doing the best at whatever you do?

A. That’s right.

Q. And was there any sense of providing a uniquely Canadian education?

A. I think that began to appear with Miss Wood but probably not with Miss Knox. Miss Knox was still very English in all her ways of thinking. Mind you, she wanted the best for Canada, as she said, but it was still a pretty uniquely English kind of education, but I think in Miss Wood’s time they began to see it needed to be adapted in many ways.

Q. Did they play lacrosse here?

A. Yes, not for very long. I don’t know why it dropped out. They did play it, and field hockey.

Q. Did they have strong music, art, home ec. programs?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there a change over time in attitudes concerning the purpose of education for women?

A. It would be subtle, the change, I think. You would have to read the Ludemus for the 30 years.

Q. It was probably not so notable here because you had the same woman head for so long, 30 years.

A. Yes, for so long, most of the time, you see.

Q. Briefly, what were the major characteristics of the Ideal Girl, and were there differences in the expectations of the parents, teachers, and girls?

A. The girls pretty well accepted [parental authority]. I think underneath there probably always has been daughter–mother conflict, but it certainly wasn’t as obvious. Honestly I wouldn’t know what the staff in those days thought.

Q. What were the major characteristics which would have
pleased Miss Knox and Miss Wood in their girls?

A. I think probably the thing that stood out most in their minds was the development of character and personality, based on Christian principles.

Q. So all these other things like sport etc. [worked toward that end].

A. They really wanted also a very sound academic education. That wasn't pushed aside. I mean that would have been considered more important than the sport.

Q. How would sport have rated compared to the other fringe subjects, like art and music etc.?

A. I think sports would come before them because everybody was involved in the sports—not quite as many would have been involved in the others.

Q. I notice they had a YWCA but that was more for service, not sports?

A. Yes. One person we should talk about was Ada McKenzie. She stood out in the golf field and won many championships, both Canadian and otherwise. More than any other Canadian. She was a student here—10 years ahead of Dr. Steele. She started the ladies' golf club at Thorn Hill and played competitive golf in the 30s, 40s, and 50s. Died in the early 70s. Unmarried. Most outstanding woman golfer in Canada but I think in personality she typified too what Miss Knox wanted, that kind of person. She was one of the early entrepreneurs, starting the Ada McKenzie clothing stores.

Q. One could train to be a physical education teacher at McGill University in those days?

A. And here in Toronto there was the Margaret Eaton School also.

Q. Do you know any who went there?

A. There were some, but I don't remember who they were but there were some who went.

Q. Could you describe a paper chase?

A. Oh yes, it's great fun. You tore up newspapers in little bits and the leaders went out trailing it behind them. And then you would follow the paper and see who could
get there first. The rougher the territory the better.

Dr. Steele also fondly remembered Miss Knox’s picnics on the hill where the simple menu was always the same: boiled eggs, big point buns with sticky icing, and bananas.

Reminiscences of early pupils:

Lorraine Welwood, who died just recently:

"Although I didn’t realize it nor appreciate it when I was a young pupil, it was Miss Knox’s daily supervision, her choice of staff, the curriculum, the athletic program, art classes, art appreciation, the plays produced etc. that prepared the pupils of those days prior to 1914 for the great changes for women that took place during World War I."

Rowena Stringer, who was the first white child born so far north in the Yukon, the daughter of a bishop:

"I came from a home of 4 brothers and no sisters. You will imagine my feelings when I arrived at school. There wasn’t a boy in sight. It didn’t seem natural. Games were very much in evidence. If you didn’t play a game you had to go for a walk, either in a crocodile or specially invited by a prefect or seniors. Or perhaps go to an approved tea room on St. George St. for tea and crumpets."

Q. What was a crocodile?

A. Two by two in file.

Dr. Steele noted that Mary Edgar, also a Havergal student in the early years, started her own camp and is considered the dean of girls’ camping in Ontario. She feels that the seeds of this love, as with Ada McKenzie’s life-long interest in sport, were sown at Havergal.

Notes by Dr. Cody, Rector of St. Paul’s Church, on the traditional Havergal head mistress, Oct. 17, 1950:

"Miss Knox, Miss Wood, and Miss Millard have all been members of the Church of England. As the school was founded by the same group of evangelical laymen who founded Wycliffe College and Ridley College, it would seem advisable that the principal if possible should be an evangelical member of the Church of England, or at any rate would conform to its general ideals. The essential is that she should be a Christian woman of broad sympathies, willing and able to direct the Bible teaching in the School. She should have good academic standing, a university degree if possible, and some experience in teaching
and management. The three principals to date have been English women by birth and education. In England there are many girls’ boarding schools like Havergal. Therefore there are probably more potential heads there than there are in Canada. The staff as a whole should preserve a balance between English-trained and Canadian-trained members. The personality and character of the Head are the most important points to be considered. She should be possessed of natural powers of leadership yet she should be fundamentally sympathetic, able to enter into the life of each girl. It would be desirable that she have a good social background so that good manners, good morals, and a wide outlook and experience of life would be part of her personality. Naturally, she should have knowledge of the best practical methods of teaching and should be able to guide and inspire junior members of her staff in these matters. As head of a large institution she will require some executive ability, expenditure should always be within her ken. She must maintain good relations with the parents of her pupils (something which requires much patience, tact and firmness on vital matters), and with the general public and the press. When scholars win university scholarships or other distinctions or have important gatherings it should be duly publicized. This year Havergal had had an exceptionally high record on matriculation examinations in the province. This should be made known through the daily press. It is the best kind of advertising. The general ideals of the school are to provide a good religious, academic, physical, and social training for girls to prepare them for all phases of life in Canada or wherever they may go, and to make possible the personal influences for good which are presented by the family life of the institution. The teachers really make the school."
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