EDUCATED IN THE TOWNSHIPS:
THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BISHOP'S COLLEGE, 1930-39

by

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Title of Thesis

Educated in the Townships: The Students of the University of Bishop's College, 1930-39

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ABSTRACT

The study of university students is an unconventional research topic. Traditionally, university histories have been anniversary editions written by past administrators focusing on administrative decisions and faculty activities. Recently, however, historians have acknowledged the absence of students from this approach and have begun to incorporate them into institutional studies. Histories about university students require a re-examination of administrative sources in order to reveal the day-to-day functioning of the institution as it affected the students. These sources include the minutes of faculty and corporation minutes, as well as the student register and the papers of the principal and administrators. In addition, the university archives include sources left by the students themselves such as publications, association minutes and cashbooks. Finally, more recent sources include interviews and surveys of alumni.

During the 1930s, English-Canadian universities faced particular challenges to meet the needs of an increasingly industrial, bureaucratic and technological society. The Depression accelerated this process, forcing universities to provide more practical academic programs. Students began to attend university not simply to secure an education, but employment as well. This trend challenged the premise of a classical education that advocated the pursuit of knowledge as an end in itself, and which had directed the development of most universities to that time. Regionalism also represented an important force defining institutions and influencing student demographics. The University of Bishop's College was a small, Anglo-Protestant institution located in the Eastern Townships of Quebec. This meant that the university had a mandate to serve the local anglophone community by educating its young people and offering practical academic programs such as ministerial and teacher training. Although regionalism is significant to this study of Bishop's as an institution, the students' experiences also generally conform to a recent study that suggests a common English-Canadian university

student culture, one more concerned with future success than with challenging the status quo. Still, this study challenges the prevailing image of a normative student experience. A student's identity was greatly influenced by gender, academic program, year of entry, residence, and economic status.

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Chapter 1--
Introduction

The University of Bishop's College was founded in 1843 through the efforts of the Right Reverend George Jehosophat Mountain, the Third Anglican Bishop of Quebec, and Lucius Doolittle, the rector at Lennoxville and Sherbrooke.[1] According to a petition submitted to Lord Metcalfe, the Governor General of Canada, the college was created to train future Anglican clergy and "for the education of the youth of this Province in the principles of true religion and in the various branches of learning and sound literature."[2] Bishop's was to provide educational opportunities for the local anglophone population and an Anglican alternative to the non-denominational McGill University of Montreal, but no student was to be excluded because of his faith.[3] Bishop's struggled as a small rural college, but survived with its Anglican nature preserved by principals who were, until 1922, imported from England.[4] Until 1948 they were always Anglican clergymen.[5]

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[1] Christopher Nicholl, Bishop's University, 1843-1970 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 299-301; D.C. Masters, Bishop's University: the First Hundred Years (1950; Sherbrooke: René Prince, 1983), 9. Bishop's was referred to as a college in the early years. During the 1930s, student publications referred to UBC (University of Bishop's College). To clear up confusion the name was officially shortened to "Bishop's University" by the Quebec legislature in 1958. Nicholl, 309-11.

[2] Masters, 15.

[3] In 1821, McGill had been chartered as a non-denominational university, although clergy members held important positions in the early administrations. By 1852 Divinity was even removed from the list of subjects taught. Robin Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 6; Stanley Bruce Frost, McGill University: for the Advancement of Learning, vol. 1 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980) 60-61; BUA, "Registrar's Prospectus," c.1935, 1.

[4] Nicholl, 238.

[5] Laurie Allison, "Historical Sketch of Bishop's University," in Kathleen H. Atto, ed., Lennoxville, vol. 1 (Sherbrooke: Progressive Publications, 1970), 78.

The existence of this small English-language college in Quebec and outside Montreal is surprising to those unaware of the history of the Eastern Townships.[6] Within the context of Quebec history, the Townships is unique because the region's first Euro-American settlers were English-speaking Protestants. The earliest pioneers came from the United States following the American War of Independence and more particularly after 1791 when the region was surveyed and opened to colonization.[7] After the Napoleonic Wars, various settlement schemes also brought people of Scottish, Irish and English descent into the northern and eastern part of the Townships.[8] French-Canadian migration into the peripheral townships to the north, north-west, and north-east, beginning in the 1830s reduced the previous anglophone majority in the region to less than 50 per cent of the population by 1871.[9] While the anglophones were not initially displaced by the French Canadians, the emigration of English-speaking Townshippers to the American and Canadian wests helped to reduce them to only 18 per cent of the region's population by 1931.[10] Their population, in real numbers, stabilized at this time at about 58,000, down from 90,000 in 1871.[11]

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[6] The Eastern Townships refers to the region made up of the following counties: Arthabaska, Brome, Compton, Drummond, Frontenac, Megantic, Missiquoi, Richmond, Shefford, Sherbrooke and Wolfe.

[7] J.I. Little, Ethno-cultural Transition and Regional Identity in the Eastern Townships of Quebec (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989), 5.

[8] Ibid., 8-9.

[9] Ronald Rudin, The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980 (St. Pierre, Que: Institut quebecois de recherche sur la culture, 1985), 179.

[10] Marcel Bellavance, A Village in Transition: Compton, Quebec, 1880-1920 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1982) 27; and Rudin, 179.

[11] Rudin, 179.

Bishop's University is located in the heart of the Townships, in the town of Lennoxville, at the juncture of the Massiwippi and St. Francis Rivers. During the 1930s these two rivers could have represented the streams of thought that were shaping the development of Canadian universities. On the one hand, universities were defined by a traditional interpretation of their role which focussed on learning strictly for the pursuit of knowledge. On the other, they were increasingly required to be responsive to the needs of an industrializing and urbanizing society. These diverging pressures had a significant impact on the students who attended Bishop's University, and who are the subject of this study.

Over the last decade and a half, a new understanding of the history of universities has been evolving. Traditionally, histories of academic institutions were written by administrators to commemorate significant anniversaries, or as it has been suggested by Paul Axelrod, to defend decisions or settle scores.[12] These researchers relied almost exclusively on administrative sources: the minutes of the Senate and Corporation meetings, and the papers of principals and other administrators. As a result, their studies focussed largely only on the decisions of administration and the actions of faculty. The students, who though obviously essential to the existence of the institution, were almost completely ignored until they graduated and returned to donate large sums of money to building funds.

Writing what has been broadly classified as the "New History", social historians have begun to examine overlooked groups previously considered powerless or insignificant in political and economic terms. Increasingly, historians have studied such groups as workers, immigrants and women, and documented that they have exercised various degrees of empowerment and control in their lives. While perhaps somewhat less developed than in

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[12] Paul Axelrod, Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 3.

the American historiography, Canadian university students as historical subjects have also benefitted from these shifts in priorities.[13]

Historians such as John Reid, Paul Axelrod, Keith Walden, Margaret Gillett and Judith Fingard have all contributed to our knowledge of Canadian university students and their communities. By beginning with the assumption that university students are worthy of study for their own sake, these historians have interpreted the administrative sources differently to highlight student experiences, while also introducing primary sources from the students themselves. As with many other institutions, Bishop's does not lack for anniversary volumes celebrating its existence, but the experiences of generations of students have not received similar investigation. To cope with subjects who have yet to be studied and documented, the aforementioned historians have formulated and utilized new methodologies, which, as will be demonstrated, can also be applied to a study of Bishop's students during the 1930s.

One of the more recent and most relevant approaches to the study of the student experience is Paul Axelrod's monograph, Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties. His work documents the existence of a common culture among English-Canadian university students, and challenges many stereotypes about them during the 1930s. For instance, while it has been traditionally assumed that university students were the offspring of only the wealthy, Axelrod argues that they were products of a newly-developing middle class which was anxious to preserve its economic standing through a university education.[14] To support this claim, he analyzes registration information about parental occupations to illustrate their class status, and he provides

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[13] Nancy M. Sheehan, "Collegiate Women in Canada," History of Education Quarterly, 22 (Spring 1984): 143.

[14] Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 3-4.

examples of student actions and activities which perpetuated middle-class values. He adds that through such activities students "asserted a degree of control over their environment and achieved a margin of autonomy," contradicting the accepted notion that student behaviour was dictated by overzealous principals or parents.[15]

Axelrod also argues that the predominance of students from the middle class reflects the evolving mandate of universities to respond to dramatic social and economic changes. He claims that by the 1920s universities in English Canada were providing the white-collared labour force necessary to an industrializing and urbanizing society in which the creation of bureaucracies was required to ensure that corporations and cities were run efficiently. According to Axelrod, these bureaucracies created employment opportunities for those displaced from farming and artisan trades by industrialization. In order to compete for these occupations, a university education became a pre-requisite for young people entering the work force.[16]

These social and economic changes put pressure on universities to provide an education which would help students contribute to a society which emphasized efficiency and science. This goal had to be balanced with the universities' traditional model of classical education which advocated learning in the quest for truth and knowledge, not to mention the pursuit of Christian ideals.[17] An attempt to balance these two forces was described in 1938 by Bishop's Divinity professor, Rev. Sidney Childs:

> One of the problems of present-day education

[15] Ibid., 4.

[16] Ibid., 7-8.

[17] W. Bisson, "The Classics in Modern Education," Mitre, vol. 37, no. 2 (November 1929): 6.

> is to harmonize its 'useful' and 'cultural' elements by discovering that there is 'use' in the cultural elements, and by fostering imagination, refinement of taste and deepening of intellectual insights in the useful elements.[18]

Increasingly, however, social and technological changes and the Depression placed emphasis on the practical application of education, and the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake became a luxury to most. Students and parents wanted a tangible return for their investment and, as a result, the onus was on universities to ensure that the skills and knowledge obtained by the students were marketable.

Axelrod's book provides a useful context for any study on university students in the early twentieth century. It puts the Canadian university experience into a national and, to some degree, international context. But while it demonstrates elements of a common Canadian university experience, it fails to accommodate regional diversity and provides limited potential for understanding individual experience. In contrast, John Reid's two-volume study of Mount Allison University documents one institution's history from its origins around 1839 to 1963. He examines continuity and change over a long period of time, and presents "a history of individual people: their experiences of the institution and their influence on it."[19] While the students and institutions of Axelrod's study are being acted upon by the larger forces of industrialization, urbanization and professionalism, Reid demonstrates how one institution and the people involved with it interpreted those forces and coped with them at a local level. As an example, in the Maritimes the myth of the "Scottish democratic tradition" in education dictated that education would be based on

[18] Prof. Rev. Sidney Childs, "A Liberal Education in the Modern State," Mitre, vol. 45, no. 5 (June 1938): 6.

[19] John Reid, Mount Allison University: A History to 1963, vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), ix.

intellectual ability, not economic means.[20] As a result, during the Depression, Mount Allison adopted many strategies to assist financially-challenged students by extending loans, deferring payments and providing part-time work.[21] Reid's interpretation recognizes that regional or community interests could influence administrative decisions, while concurrently acknowledging the relevance of those administrative decisions to the community being served.

A similar approach is taken by A.B. McKillop in Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791-1951.[22] By focussing primarily on the development of the University of Toronto as an example of a provincial university, he traces the history of an institution whose denominational origins eventually succumbed to the reality of financing an institution to serve the secular needs of the province. He also uses the examples of other Ontario institutions to illustrate the larger social trends being played out in "the university" as an institution. Like Axelrod, McKillop argues that universities across the country were affected by a "culture of utility" during the early twentieth century and especially during the Depression era. The emphasis on practicality meant that universities attempted to make themselves more relevant to business and industry.[23] Beyond its provincial implications, McKillop's work also situates the University of Toronto and other Ontario universities into a national context. It explains administrative decisions to expand programs like economics,

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[20] John Reid, "Beyond the Democratic Intellect: The Scottish Example and University Reform in Canada's Maritime Provinces, 1870-1933," in Paul Axelrod and John Reid, eds., Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in Social History of Higher Education (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 275.

[21] Reid, Mount Allison, 112.

[22] A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind: the University in Ontario, 1791-1951 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994)

[23] Ibid., 325-27.

political science and engineering during this period, trends which had also become relevant to Bishop's at the same time.

Unlike many monographs focussing on university histories, McKillop's study acknowledges the significance of the students within the institution. In sections interspersed throughout the chapters, McKillop demonstrates that the students were integral to the institution and were not to be considered independent of it. He demonstrates how social trends affected students academically, influencing the courses offered to them, and extracurricularly, defining the activities they participated in. The examples used by McKillop, as well as his broader chronological scope, help to place Bishop's students within the context of long term social and academic developments.

The experiences of University of Toronto students are considered on a case study basis in Keith Walden's articles about their non-academic, Hallowe'en and initiation activities. In articles documenting and historicizing these events, Walden also sets out to understand the events' significance to the student participants by tapping into what has been called "symbolic systems".[24] Walden uses these examples of exceptional behaviour to ascertain what was considered normal behaviour.[25] This approach to student life at universities, while admittedly speculative, poses interesting questions about the significance of ritual and the group identity of students. Walden's methodology provides insights into the motivation and values of the students by examining recurring events (that is Hallowe'en and initiations) over a period of time, documenting both continuity and change.

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[24] A technique also adopted in Mariana Valverde's The Age of Light, Soap and Water (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991).

[25] Keith Walden, "Respectable Hooligans: Male Toronto College Students Celebrate Hallowe'en, 1884-1910," CHR 68, 1 (March 1987): 33-4.

From his examination of student celebrations of Hallowe'en from 1884 until 1910, Walden argues that the Hallowe'en festivities contained characteristics of the carnival tradition in Europe. The world "turned upside down" was an attempt to challenge authority and come to terms with the developing city and society. It also aided in the formation of a common identity among students.[26] According to Walden, similar characteristics were found in their initiation rituals. During these rituals, students articulated the values of a common student identity which often challenged those of the university's administration, while admitting new students into the ranks.[27]

The examination of an urban university experience is continued in Margaret Gillett's We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill. Gillett applies a gendered interpretation, discussing the process whereby women were granted admission to the university through Victorian definitions of womanliness.[28] John William Dawson, the principal of McGill from 1855 to 1893, played a pivotal role in translating those ideals into practice at the university; the result was the founding of Royal Victoria College, a separate educational facility for women.[29] Gillett also describes the academic place of women in the institution, documenting the development of what have been termed "women's programs" and the administration's attempts to streamline women into gender-appropriate faculties.

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[26] Ibid., 6.

[27] Keith Walden, "Hazes, Hustles, Scraps and Stunts: Initiations at the University of Toronto, 1880-1925," in Axelrod and Reid, eds., Youth, University and Canadian Society, 95.

[28] Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981), 33-4.

[29] Ibid, 151. Interestingly, Dawson also played a role in translating these ideas for other universities. For example, he was called upon to give talks at the University of Toronto on the subject of the education of women. McKillop, 129.

The programs included social work, library sciences, nursing, education, and household science.[30] This description of the academic options for the women students and their struggle for acceptance provides a point of comparison within the province of Quebec for the experiences of women at Bishop's during the 1930s.

Both gender and region are of importance to Judith Fingard's work on the community of women at Dalhousie University in Halifax. The first of her studies, "College, Career and Community: Dalhousie Co-eds, 1881-1921", compares the experiences of the first two generations of women students at Dalhousie, reporting the community's initial reactions to these educated women and how those opinions changed over time.[31] Fingard develops a group biography of these women, describing the characteristics of the more successful students, such as their relatively strong familial support.[32] In addition to providing an analysis of the composition of the women students, Fingard exploits qualitative sources to allow for an understanding of both collective and individual experiences.

Fingard also challenges the traditional definition of university community in her article, "Gender and Inequality at Dalhousie: Faculty Women Before 1950". Here she documents the experience of tenured female faculty members and the role of faculty wives as surrogate professors.[33] Fingard reports that faculty wives provided services to the

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[30] Gillett, 366.

[31] Judith Fingard, "College, Career and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921," in Axelrod and Reid, eds., Youth, University and Canadian Society, 26-50.

[32] Ibid., 27.

[33] Which she claims is one of "the hidden dimensions of the academic marriage." Judith Fingard, "Gender and Inequality at Dalhousie: Faculty Women Before 1950," Dalhousie Review, 64, no. 4 (Winter 1984-85): 690.

university by supervising labs, marking papers and substituting for ill or incapacitated husbands. These contributions were often ignored or downplayed by the administration, which benefitted from the cheap and welcome labour.[34] The role of faculty wives is ignored in traditional university histories in the same way that their services were ignored by contemporary principals and administrators. These omissions belittle the value of the work done by these women, and reflect the status of women as appendages of their husbands rather than as autonomous individuals. By going beyond the official history, Fingard reveals the complexity of the university community. It also happens that the wives of Bishop's faculty members, if not overtly participating in the academic side of the university, played an important social role by organizing and chaperoning student activities.

It is significant, as Axelrod might suggest, that Bishop's students were part of the English-Canadian university community. During the Depression they did share the experience of higher learning, the Bennett and Mackenzie King governments, a common language and often common university traditions with some 35,000 other university students each year.[35] However, like national citizenship which is integral to personal identity, an association with an English-Canadian identity is only a part of the student experience. While we can make generalizations and speak about national averages, studies of individual institutions are needed to determine the degree to which there was a common student culture. In addition, Axelrod's focus on predominantly larger universities in urban areas belies the fact that while there were seven larger Canadian universities with over one thousand students each, there were fourteen that had fewer than that number, of which ten had less than five hundred students.[36] Bishop's was one such small institution of between

[34] Ibid., 690-1.

[35] Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 21.

[36] CYB 1931 (Ottawa, 1931): 982.

150 and 160 students. Additionally, both the development of the university and the student experience were defined by the role of Bishop's as an anglo-Protestant institution outside a city and in a largely French-speaking province. While Axelrod focusses on the larger, urban institutions, these differences require a close examination of Bishop's if we are to understand its place within the context of Canadian universities.

The redefining of our understanding of university experience requires a challenge of traditional perceptions, not only of what has been considered historical, but what has been considered normal. The speeches of the principal, the local media, the university's promotional material and the student publication reveal that the understood, normative student experience at Bishop's during the thirties was defined as a male one. The image was restricted to a study of the arts and humanities and to living in residence. Upon study, what is revealed instead is a group of individuals whose experiences were not homogeneous, shaped as they were particularly by socio-economic status and gender. In addition to the male Arts majors, there were also students studying Divinity, women students for whom there was no residence space, and male day students who could not afford the cost of residence. Despite the fact that these "others" represented about half the student population, their place at the university is poorly documented. For example, during the 1930s, women made up of 22.4 per cent of the students, but were denied full status as students because they could not live on campus. Additionally, whenever female students were referred to in associations, sports teams or Mitre reports, it was always with the qualifier "woman". This distinction was also made by the administration. In the university's calendar, the students who had attended Bishop's the year before were listed in the back. All of the male students were listed alphabetically, without title. Then the female

students were listed, alphabetically, preceded by "Miss".[37] This was also done in the convocation programs and in the Student Register.

Despite the fact no official written policy could be found on the subject of "women students", in more recent sources male and female alumni reported that women students were "tolerated" or even, "not accepted".[38] However, some female students reported that they felt that their status at the university had improved from the 1920s when women were instructed by the Principal to come through the back door, and were not to be on campus after 2:00 p.m.. During the 1930s, women could enter through the front door, and stay on campus until 5:00 p.m..[39] The distinctions served as a constant reminder that while the university had admitted women to lectures and examinations, most likely because of financial necessity, the university and its administration did not necessarily approve. By beginning to document the range of student experiences at Bishop's University, this study will contribute to the wider body of knowledge about Canadian university students.

As noted above, Fingard's work on faculty wives at Dalhousie challenges the traditional understanding of who belonged to the university community. Similarly, at Bishop's while the role of the male faculty members within student life both in and out of the classroom was often acknowledged, the same cannot be said for the contributions made by those of their wives who acted as patrons for the activities of women students as well as hostesses, both within their homes and at university functions. By allowing for the

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[37] "Students in Attendance" Bishop's University Calendar, 1930-39.

[38] “Compiled Survey Responses of Bishop’s University Alumni of the 1930s,” Question 25, surveys 17 & 18; BUA, Bishop's women's education: the early years--Interviews, ms., conducted by Melissa Clark-Jones and P. Coyne (Lennoxville: Bishop's University), interview 12, 237; interview 15, 303 The results were published in the article, "Through the Back Door," Atlantis, 15, 2 (1990).

[39] Bishop’s women education, Interview 12, 237; Interview 15, 302.

presentation of a multiplicity of experiences, this study intends to broaden the definition of the college community, to include the "others" thematic, rather than perpetuating the traditional interpretations.

Before outlining the organization of the thesis, a word on the choice of institution and time period is in order. The focus on Bishop's derives in part from the university's reputation as an institution which has long served a privileged elite, particularly from West Island Montreal and Ontario. While Bishop's might therefore have been expected not to conform to Axelrod's major findings, our research indicates that most students in the 1930s came from local Townships families and that a substantial ration of them were of modest background. The focus on the Depression era resulted partially from the support provided by Axelrod's monograph, but also addresses a weakness in the historiography which has typically focussed on the turn of the century period and the wars. While universities were often under financial constraints, a study of this period reveals how Bishop's and its students reacted to the financial hardships of the Depression before governments sponsored student assistance programs. The students also provide eyes through which to watch the world slip towards a war as their parents had only twenty years before.

To achieve these goals, the following chapter will profile the students of the university and the university's location within the Eastern Townships, particularly during the Depression years. This chapter will demonstrate the importance of regionalism and religious affiliation to the composition of the student body, and the significance of the university's location near the mid-sized industrial centre of Sherbrooke. The third chapter will discuss the university's faculty and academic programs, showing how each was influenced by the university's regional and denominational mandate. The fourth and final chapter will examine student activities as they conformed to or challenged administrative expectations. Activities organized and supported by the Students' Association and the

Women's Students' Association, in addition to unsanctioned activities and disciplinary problems, reflected elements of both the individual and collective identities of the students, as well as student values and priorities. These approaches take the thesis beyond the traditional focus of university histories by examining multiple student identities, as well as how groups of students interacted with one another.

Among the most useful primary sources were the contemporary writings of the students themselves. Unfortunately, with only approximately 150 students at any given time, the university did not sustain a daily or weekly newspaper, but a literary magazine called the Mitre had been published by the students since 1893. During the 1930s it was published five times a year and it contained alumni news, sports reports, essays on a wide variety of topics, and updates on student activities. Bishop's students also published a yearbook which reflected the dances, sports events, teams and clubs of the preceding year. It also contained photos and self-prophecies of graduating students. These sources were especially important because they portrayed images of student self-identity.

Administrative documents remain essential to understanding how the structure of the university itself influenced the student experience. For our purposes, these sources include excerpts from the papers of the principal, Rev. Arthur Huffman McGreer; the Minutes of the Faculty Committee meetings; Minutes of the Corporation; and, quite significantly, the Student Register. While the student membership of the university turned over every three or four years, the administration and faculty remained essentially fixed, and represented an element of continuity throughout the period.[40]

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[40] Analysis of the "Teaching Staff" list printed annually in the Bishop's University Calendar through the 1930s shows that there was no change in 12 of 16 positions at Bishop's during this period.

Retrospective sources have also been incorporated into this study. Surveys, interviews and letters of alumni answer specific questions regarding the students' time at the university. Although these sources must be used cautiously, they do permit hindsight and reflection on the importance of issues and events. More specifically, these sources include interviews with women who attended Bishop's from after 1910 until World War II conducted by a current Bishop's sociologist, Dr. Melissa Clark-Jones, and her associates; letters obtained from the university archives written for an alumni magazine column entitled "Retrospectives"; and, finally, surveys conducted as part of this study. The surveys were sent out to forty alumni, and nineteen replies were received. The surveys asked questions regarding discipline, activities, and parental occupations, among other things.[41] They were intended to elicit information about particular issues which had come up during the preliminary research. The results will be used both qualitatively and quantitatively. The respondents were contacted through the Alumni Association, and had maintained a relationship with the university for over fifty years. Most retained positive memories of their experiences. While this obviously influenced their responses, it does not negate their memories and observations. The respondents were promised anonymity and, as such, their surveys will be referred to only by assigned numbers and questions. The surveys will be deposited in the Bishop's University Archives.

There is also a limited body of historical literature written about Bishop's University. In his 1950 publication, D.C. Masters reported on The First Hundred Years.[42] The chapter on the 1930s is a scant seven pages and simply covers events at the university. While Masters acknowledges the students for their reports in the Mitre and the

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[41] See Appendix A, for a copy of the questions sent to the alumni.

[42] Masters, Bishop's University: the First Hundred Years (Sherbrooke: René Prince, 1983)

achievement of three Rhodes scholarships in three years[43], there is little information on the daily realities of university life for either the faculty or the students.

Most recently, a past principal, Christopher Nicholl, has written A History of Bishop's University, 1843-1970 to commemorate the 1994 sesquicentennial of the university.[44] While this study is much more thoroughly researched and logically organized than Masters' attempt of some forty years ago, it is still very much an institutional history reflecting Nicholl's own association with the university. Nicholl thoroughly documents the administrative decisions made by Principal McGreer, and acknowledges Bishop's place within the province of Quebec; however, while providing a narrative of the main events at the university, the study lacks analysis. Despite the academic and administrative context, and like traditional institutional histories, the complexity of student experience is not fully acknowledged.

The present study aims to fill a gap in knowledge concerning the lives of students at Bishop's University, even if only for a short period of time. It is decidedly a record of the students and their collective identities, and an examination of how their different experiences as students were constructed by themselves and influenced by external forces beyond their control. The study's goal is to create images of the fullness of student lives, while exploring the complexity of the university community.

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[43] Ibid., 146.

[44] Christopher Nicholl, Bishop's University, 1843-1970 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994)

Chapter 2
The University of Bishop's College and its Place in the Eastern Townships

While this thesis as a whole will explore the extent of Bishop's students' participation in a common English-Canadian university culture, the present chapter will discuss the importance of regionalism to a study of Bishop's during the 1930s. It is quite clear that the composition of the student population, which will be discussed in this chapter, and the academic programs offered by the institution, to be discussed in the next, were influenced by the university's situation as a small Anglo-Protestant institution in Quebec. In addition, the university's location near Sherbrooke, in the Eastern Townships, meant that it was located in the most prosperous and populous area of the region--allowing it to draw students and support from the community. This chapter will examine the intertwining issues of the cost of attending Bishop's, the economic development of the Eastern Townships and Sherbrooke, and the composition of the student population based on geographic origin, religion, gender, class background, and expectations.

Perhaps as much as academic abilities, it was the cost of attending university which determined who would be permitted to pursue a university education in the thirties. At Bishop's, the total cost of attendance was determined by three things: the academic program the student was enrolled in, the gender of the student, and whether or not the student lived in residence. As one might expect, the three issues were interwoven. Despite the fact that tuition fees fluctuated throughout the period, they were consistently lower for Divinity students (who were always men) than for the Arts students. In the academic year 1930-1, for example, tuition for Arts students was $150 per year, while Divinity students paid only $75. However, while the Divinity fees remained steady, tuition for Arts students dropped the following year to $125, presumably because of the Depression. Tuition did not increase again until 1935-6, when the "Divines" paid $100, and the cost to Arts

students returned to $150.[1] (Tuition fees and other student expenses are laid out in Tables 1 & 2) According to the Minutes of the Corporation, the university was attempting to reduce its annual deficit by $3,175.[2] An identical increase took place in 1938-9 when fees were raised to $125 for students of the Divinity program, and $175 for the Arts.[3]

In addition to tuition, other fees--such as the maintenance fee or damage deposit and student activity fees--were collected by the university. The maintenance fee was $25 and dropped in 1935-6 to $15. Student activity fees were $16.50 a year for men until 1935-6 when they increased to $20. Women's activity fees remained constant at $11.50.[4]

Living expenses represented the largest proportion of university costs and, for male students especially, demarcated individuals according to class background. At Bishop's there were three options available to the students. Some students continued to live at home, providing that it was a reasonable distance from campus. This choice eliminated the need to pay room and board or residence fees[5], but living at home singled out these students. In an editorial discussing the lack of school spirit in 1935, the writer speculated that the cause was too many day students.[6] Because day students could not participate as

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[1] Tuition and residence costs were outlined annually on page 12 of the Bishop's University Calendar (1930-39) under the heading "College Fees".

[2] BUA, Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 25 October 1934, 158.

[3] BUA, Bishop's University Calendar 1938-39, 12.

[4] Student activity fees were also annually recorded in the Bishop's University Calendar 1930-39, as a "Special Charge".

[5] "Compiled Survey Responses of Bishop's University Alumni of the 1930s," question 15, surveys. Students reported either that they could not afford to live in residence or that it was cheaper to live at home.

[6] "Editorial," Mitre, vol. 42, no. 4 (April 1935): 3.

extensively in the campus activities, they were perceived as a threat to student unity and school spirit.

Table 1
Costs to Male Bishop's Students Living at Home or Residence, 1930-39 ($)

	Tuition - Arts	Tuition - Divinity	Maint'ce Fees	Act'ty Fees	Res. Fees	Total Cost Home	Total Cost (Res.) Arts/ Div
1930-31	150	75	25	16.50	325	341.50	516.50/ 441.50
1931-35	125	75	25	16.50	325	316.50	491.50/ 441.50
1935-38	150	100	15	20.00	325	185.00	510.00/ 460.00
1938-40	175	125	15	20.00	325	210.00	535.00/ 485.00

Source: Bishop's University Calendar, 1930-39 .

For female students attending Bishop's in 1931, but living at home, the annual cost would have been $161.50, plus transportation.[7] (Costs for female students are compiled in Table 2) Because of the student activity fees, costs to male students were slightly higher. Female students from out-of-town usually boarded with local families. For this group, room and board was about $1 per day or $30 per month.[8] The academic year lasted about nine months, bringing the annual cost of university attendance for non-local women up to $431.50 in 1931. In either case, for students to live off-campus, permission had to be obtained from the principal.[9]

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[7] As calculated from information in the Bishop's University Calendar 1930-31.

[8] BUA, "Retrospectives" file, letter from Vivian Woodley Elkins.

[9] BUA, Rules, Orders and Regulations for the Conduct and Government of Bishop's College and the University of Bishop's College (Lennoxville, PQ: np, nd): 7.

Table 2
Costs to Female Bishop's Students Living at Home or Boarding, 1930-39($)

	Tuition - Arts	Maint'ce Fee	Activity Fee	Boarding	Total (Home)	Total (Boarding)
1930-31	150	25	11.50	270	186.50	456.50
1931-35	125	25	11.50	270	161.50	431.50
1935-38	150	15	11.50	270	176.50	446.50
1938-40	175	15	11.50	270	201.50	471.50

Source: Bishop's University Calendar, 1930-39; BUA, "Retrospectives" file, letter from Vivian Woodley Elkins.

Male students had the additional option of living in residence. At Bishop's there were three residences, the Old Arts Building, the New Arts Building and Divinity House. As one respondent to the surveys articulated, "The life in residence enables one to grow in many aspects of life and one can obviously be a vital part of the ongoing activities within the college."[10] Residence allowed male students easy access to the university's facilities, such as the library, gymnasium and laboratories. Close living quarters also made it easier to form relationships with other students and organize associations and meetings. Essentially, individuals who lived on campus were students of the university twenty-four hours a day. For these students, residence fees remained at $325 per year throughout the 1930s. Thus the annual cost for a male Arts student in residence would have been $491.50 in 1931 and $535.00 in 1939. In 1937, taking into consideration the cost of laundry, spending money, clothing and other expenses, McGreer estimated the expenses for one year to be between $650 and $700.[11]

In the Maritimes and the Prairies, where the Depression arguably struck more severely, university administrations were forced to provide additional financial assistance for students. For example, the University of Saskatchewan tried to keep tuition fees as low

[10] "Surveys," question 15, survey 5.

[11] BUA, MP, Box 7 (1937), File A1 (AB-AS), McGreer to Ven. Archdeacon A.P. Gower-Rees, 17 April 1937.

as possible and, despite increases, still only charged $90 in 1934.[12] Saskatchewan students were also permitted to sign promissory notes, although degrees were not awarded until all fees were paid. The situation was so drastic in 1934-5 that 600 of about 1800 University of Saskatchewan students signed promissory notes.[13] At Mount Allison University, where the mandate prevailed to provide education for all those of intellectual ability, some of the solutions to assist students were more creative. In some cases individuals were provided with part-time work.[14] Other students, such as the children of ministers, were provided with fee discounts. In extraordinary situations, students were able to pay their fees in kind, their families providing the university with foodstuffs.[15]

At Bishop's, students' costs were offset by scholarships and sponsorships. In 1937-8, $707.65 in scholarships was divided among five first-year students,[16] but these awards were based on academic standing rather than financial need. Fortunately, there was additional money available for those requiring financial assistance. To cover the expenses of Divinity students, funding was acquired on a case-by-case basis from various dioceses across Canada.[17] In return, these individuals were expected to serve that diocese for a period of up to five years after graduation.[18] Similar support might also be obtained from

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[12] W.P. Thompson, The University of Saskatchewan: A Personal History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 125.

[13] Ibid.

[14] John Reid, Mount Allison: a History, to 1963,vol. II: 1914-1963 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 138.

[15] Ibid., 139.

[16] BUA, MP, Box 8 (1938), File S (SA-SM), "Scholarships and Bursaries 1937-1938," nd.

[17] BUA, MP, Box 5 (1933-34) File D (DE-DU), "Divinity Students 1933-34", nd.

[18] "Surveys", question 8, survey 1; BUA, MP, Box 4 (1930-32), File R, McGreer to Miss A.M. Reid, 17 April 1930.

individual congregations, the bishops of Quebec or Montreal, organizations like the Student Lay Readers' Association, or England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[19]

Non-divinity students might be assisted by individual sponsors. For example, the McGreer papers contain letters to a university benefactor to whom the principal appealed to continue her support of a student. The request was for $125 to pay tuition fees, an amount not much less than the average scholarship.[20] While time consuming, the personal appeals by McGreer probably reduced the pressure on the university to provide financial assistance for students. It is important to note that the sponsorships were obtained on a personal recommendation from Principal McGreer. He determined which students would receive financial assistance and which would have to do without.

Just as certain students relied on the financial assistance provided by scholarships and sponsorships to pay fees, the university itself relied on the community for support. The campus was located near Sherbrooke which was the most prosperous and economically diverse centre in the Townships. This meant that the institution could count on local residents to provide both students and financial assistance. Given the importance of this support, it seems worthwhile to examine the economic condition of both the Townships in general and Sherbrooke in particular.

The early economic life of the Townships was based largely on livestock-oriented agriculture and the exploitation of forest resources. Large-scale manufacturing for an external market began only with the construction of the railroad in the middle of the nineteenth century.[21] By the 1930s, the local economy was based on agriculture,

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[19] BUA, MP, Box 4 (1930), File Q, S. Saunders, Bursar, to the Lord Bishop of Quebec, 8 December 1930.

[20] BUA, MP, Box 4 (1930), File R, McGreer to Miss A.M. Reid, 17 April 1930.

[21] Marcel Bellavance, A Village in Transition: Compton, Quebec, 1880-1920 (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1982), 12.

manufacturing and asbestos mining, all benefiting from their location close to the markets and industries of Montreal and New England. While Sherbrooke became the main industrial centre of the Townships, most towns sustained industrial enterprises of various sizes.

The early reliance on livestock and dairy production continued through the Depression. An economic study of Sherbrooke commissioned in the 1940s found that while livestock represented 10.9 per cent of farm investments in 1931, the ratio had increased to 15.0 per cent by 1941. By comparison, all other areas of agricultural investment--buildings, machinery and land--had declined.[22] On a smaller scale, hogs, honey, maple syrup, woodlot products, grain and hay also contributed annually to the local cash crop economy.[23] The region's close proximity to Montreal, the diversity of local agricultural goods and the relative stability of agricultural prices in Quebec during the 1930s helped the Townships to withstand many of the worst effects of the Depression.[24]

During the mid-nineteenth century the most important industry in the Townships after agriculture was forestry. The industry was driven by the influx of settlers and lumber companies who sold lumber in the American market.[25] By the 1930s, lumbering had become a less important industry, as the economic study of Sherbrooke suggests, because

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[22] Dominion Management Associates Ltd., The City of Sherbrooke, Quebec, Canada: An Economic Appreciation of its Industrial, Commercial, Social and Cultural Aspects (Montreal, 1952) II-14. This study was commissioned by the City of Sherbrooke and published in 1952, presumably to be used to promote the city. Much of the information was based on the 1941 Census records making it relevant to a study of the region in the 1930s.

[23] Ibid., VI-11.

[24] Paul-André Linteau et al. Quebec Since 1930 (Toronto: Lorimer, 1979), 19.

[25] See J.I. Little, "Public Policy and Private Interest in the Lumber Industry of the Eastern Townships: the Case of C.S. Clark and Company, 1854-1881," Histoire Sociale-Social History, 19, 37 (May 1986): 9-37.

"the forests in most of the area have no longer the extension required by large-scale lumbering operations."[26] Only in three counties, Megantic, Wolfe and Compton, were there significant enough woodlands to sustain even a minor industry.[27] By the 1920s, however, pulp and paper had emerged as a major provincial industry. American and British demand for newsprint drove investors to invest heavily in mill construction.[28] But ultimately over-production created a crisis and, in 1927, prices fell dramatically. The downward trend continued into the early years of the Depression with the value of province-wide production falling from $129 million to $56 million between 1929 and 1931.[29] The prices recovered in the later thirties as supplies of pulp and paper declined. Unfortunately, no published sources refer specifically to the pulp and paper industry in the Eastern Townships. We are left to speculate about the impact of the world-wide crash in prices on local communities. We know that during the 1930s Bishop's students visited pulp mills in East Angus, Bromptonville and Windsor Mills.[30]

For the most part, until the beginning of large-scale exploitation of asbestos in the north-east corner of the Townships in the 1880s, mining was only a marginal enterprise in the Townships. In 1931 Quebec was still the country's only producer of asbestos[31] but the industry was hard hit by the Depression. The value of asbestos production fell from

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[26] Dominion Management, I-8.

[27] Dominion Management, VI-30.

[28] Bernard Vigod, Quebec before Duplessis: The Political Career of Louis Alexandre Taschereau (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 155.

[29] Linteau et al, 10.

[30] "Maths and Science Club," Bishop's Yearbook 1935, 51; "Maths and Science Club," Bishop's Yearbook 1937, np.

[31] Dominion Management, X-2; CYB 1933, 347.

$13,172,581 in 1929 to a low of $3,039,721 in 1932.[32] The effect of these economic conditions is reflected in the high unemployment rates of mining communities such as Thetford Mines and Black Lake. The 1931 Census recorded that in Thetford Mines 974 of 2,294 wage earners were unemployed: an unemployment rate of 42 per cent. In neighbouring Black Lake, the rate was a staggering 63 per cent.[33] Prices began to recover in 1933, however, and by 1937 production was valued at over $14,000,000.[34] The miners were predominantly French-Canadian and unlikely to send their children to Bishop's, but the mining industry, like agriculture and forestry, did contribute to the overall economic diversity of the region and provide the region with the stability to sustain a university. Additionally, mine owners such as A.S. Johnson were major benefactors of Bishop's.[35]

During the Depression, Bishop's benefitted still more directly from its location within a few miles of Sherbrooke which was just shy of city status in 1931 with close to 30,000 people.[36] In addition to its industrial significance, Sherbrooke provided economic, transportation and government services to the region.[37] The Sherbrooke-Lennoxville area had become increasingly important to those anglophones who had not left the region to find work in the major cities or to homestead in the Canadian or American west. As

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[32] CYB 1931, 375; CYB 1934-5, 376.

[33] Canada, The Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, vol. VI, (Ottawa: 1935): 1269; Ibid., 1271.

[34] CYB 1940, 349.

[35] In 1937, Johnson donated $3,000 to the university's financial campaign. BUA, MP, Box 7 (1937), File L2 (LE-LY), "List of Subscribers to Financial Campaign, March 1937."

[36] 1931 Census, vol. II, 9.

[37] This is reflected in reports from the 1941 Census which indicate that 41.2 per cent of Sherbrooke's population was employed in trade and finance, service industries and the professions. Dominion Management, V-7.

outlying Protestant churches and schools closed, many English-speaking Townshippers moved to Sherbrooke and Lennoxville thereby preserving the remaining community from extinction.[38] Bishop's participated in this process as during the thirties the university trained both clergymen and teachers to keep cultural and educational institutions staffed.

Most sources imply that while Sherbrooke was not completely immune to the effects of the Depression, it came through the period relatively unscathed. In his biography of Premier Alexandre Taschereau Bernard Vigod cites Sherbrooke as one of the "happy exceptions" to the "bleak picture" presented by the Depression. He attributes this to a "well-diversified industrial base" and a municipal government which could "afford sufficient public works to keep everyone employed."[39] During those years, Sherbrooke confronted its unemployment problem through infrastructure programs. These projects included the construction of streets, sidewalk building and bridge maintenance. In September 1931 the Sherbrooke Daily Record reported that the city claimed such plans would reduce the number of unemployed from 1,000 to 500.[40] On other occasions, the newspaper reported that the city had police officers deliver firewood for needy families.[41] As Vigod suggests, these programs were possible because of Sherbrooke's own economic stability. The town owned and operated municipal electrical plants which not only produced large quantities of electricity to sustain industrial growth, but also generated revenue for municipal coffers.[42]

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[38] Ronald Rudin, The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-speaking Quebec, 1759-1980 (St. Pierre, Que.: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985), 196.

[39] Vigod, 175.

[40] SDR, 22 September 1931, 4; 22 September 1932, 5.

[41] Ibid., 2 June 1931, 6.

[42] Vigod, 175; Dominion Management, VII-6. The history of electrification and municipalization of hydroelectricity in Sherbrooke is documented in Jean-Pierre Kesteman's La Ville Electrique: Sherbrooke 1880-1988 (Sherbrooke, Que.: Olivier, 1988).

That the area around Sherbrooke and Lennoxville benefitted from the internal Townships' migrations and a strong economy is supported by the findings of W.A. Hepburn in his 1938 survey of Protestant education in Quebec. In his study, Hepburn reported that in District No. 6, which included Sherbrooke and Stanstead Counties, the tax assessment per public school student was approximately $4,930.[43] This compared favourably with other assessments, the $4,200 estimated for the district which included Brome, Missisquoi, and Richelieu. District No. 7, which included the largely French-speaking Drummond, Shefford and Arthabaska, was rated at only $3,320 per student.[44] Based on the educational tax base, the area that included and surrounded Sherbrooke had the greatest potential to support a university financially in the Townships.

The Sherbrooke area also had an agricultural advantage. The economic study commissioned by the City of Sherbrooke in 1951 found that in 1941, farms in zone "B"--in which Sherbrooke was at the centre--annually sold $967 worth of farm products. This compared with zone "A"--west of the Sherbrooke area--which averaged $682 per year, and zone "C"--east of Sherbrooke--which averaged $599 per year.[45] It is not surprising, therefore, that a high percentage of students attending Bishop's were not just from the Townships, but from the Sherbrooke and Lennoxville area in particular. The relatively high educational tax base for Protestant students in this area, as well as the statistics on agricultural sales, clearly demonstrate the area's ongoing prosperity and the greater ability of parents to pay for their children's education.

The costs of university attendance, as well as the relative prosperity of the Sherbrooke area, help to explain the attraction of Bishop's University to local students

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[43] W.A.F. Hepburn, Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey (Quebec, 1938), p 351-2. The District also included parts of Compton County.

[44] Ibid., p 351-2.

[45] Dominion Management, VI-14.

during the 1930s. This point is demonstrated by considering a composite of the student population which shows the geographic origin, religion and sex of the students. The composite is based on the student Entrance Register which recorded personal information about the 548 students who entered the university between 1930 and 1939.[46] In turn, these findings can be compared to other Canadian institutions, particularly those studied by Axelrod, to place the university and its students into a national context.

Through this period, Bishop's was predominantly a regional university serving the community within which it was located. The most efficient way to demonstrate the effect of regionalism is to consider the groups under the following headings:

- students from the Lennoxville and Sherbrooke area,
- students from other areas of the Eastern Townships,
- students from the greater Montreal area,
- students from other areas of the province of Quebec, and
- those from outside the province.

Of the 548 students registering at the university during the 1930-39 period, 452 (82.5 per cent) were from the province of Quebec. This corresponds to Axelrod's observation that approximately four-fifths of Canadian students attended university in their home province.[47] Of all the students, 186 (33.9 per cent) came from the Sherbrooke and Lennoxville area alone. Another 118 students (21.5 per cent) could be considered Townshippers. In other words, 55.4 percent of all students attending Bishop's were from the region. Proximity to the university increased the opportunities available to local students through convenience and the reduced costs of attendance. This explanation is confirmed by the respondents to the survey completed for this study. In explaining why they chose to attend Bishop's

[46] This information was compiled into a database under the following categories: student name, student number, age, religion, address, name of parent or guardian, preparatory school, personal references and the date of degree completion.

[47] Paul Axelrod, Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) 30.

specifically, eight of nineteen responding alumni referred to the fact that Bishop's was in or near their home town. They stated that the location made it economically viable for them to attend university. [48]

Bishop's only drew 77 students (13.7 per cent) from the greater Montreal area, with an additional 71 (13.0 per cent) coming from other areas in the province such as Quebec City, Shawinigan, Rouyn and the Ottawa Valley. The small numbers of students from other parts of the province can be explained by the presence of McGill University in Montreal and the small size of the English-speaking population elsewhere.[49] Among those attending Bishop's from outside the province were 15 (2.7 per cent) from the United States and England, while the rest of Canada contributed 76 (13.8 per cent) students to the university's rosters. The geographic origin of the students not only reflects the university's regional mandate, but also highlights other characteristics of the student population. For example, students from Montreal had more in common with students from outside the of international status, 64 (70.3 per cent) were Anglican. Similarly, 51 of 77 students province in that they appear to have attended Bishop's largely because of its denominational character. Of the 91 students from outside the province, and including those from Montreal (66.2 per cent) listed Anglican as their religion. By contrast, only 45.6 per cent of the students from the Townships, including Sherbrooke and Lennoxville, were Anglicans. Thus the denominational nature of Bishop's significantly influenced the religious composition of the student population.

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[48] "Surveys", question 6, surveys.

[49] Robin Harris claims that in the 1920s, "Bishop's remained a small college, McGill continued to be a large and important university." Robin Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976): 218.

Table 3
Geographic Origin of Bishop's Students, 1930-39

	Number	Percentage (%)
Lennoxville/Sherbrooke	186	33.9
Other Townships	118	21.5
Total Townships	304	55.4
Greater Montreal	77	13.7
Other parts of Quebec	71	13.0
Total from Quebec	452	82.5
Other parts of Canada	76	13.8
International	15	2.7
Unknown	5	0.9
Total	548	99.5

Source: BUA, Student Register, vol. 5 & vol. 6.

That said, the importance of religion to the student population should not be overstated. Despite the strong association between Bishop's and the Anglican Church, the university claimed that it did not discriminate against students on the basis of religion. Of the students who reported a religion during registration, 54.0 per cent were of the Anglican faith. The next highest group were members of the United Church who made up 24.5 per cent of the students, followed distantly by the Presbyterians with 7.9 per cent (see Table 4). While these ratios are markedly different from those of other English-language universities in Canada in that the Anglicans are over-represented and the Catholics are under-represented (refer to Table 5), they do coincide with the anglophone population of Quebec. In their study, Paul-André Linteau et al. claim that in the 1930s, Anglicans represented almost half of anglophone Quebeckers, followed by members of the United and Presbyterian churches.[50] In the Townships, Anglicans made up 39.4 per cent of the

[50] Linteau et al., 60.

Protestant population. United Church members followed closely at 32.3 per cent and Presbyterians distantly at 6.7 per cent.[51]

Table 4
Religious Denomination of Bishop's Students, 1930-39

Religion	Number	(%)
Anglican	294	54.1
United	133	24.5
Presbyterian	43	7.9
Catholic	28	5.2
Hebrew	16	2.9
Baptist	6	1.1
Protestant	6	1.1
Episcopalian	3	0.6
Greek Orthodox	3	0.6
Universalist	3	0.6
Adventist	2	0.4
Congregationalist	2	0.4
Christian Science	1	0.2
Greek Catholic	1	0.2
Synau Orthodox	1	0.2
Methodist	1	0.2
Not listed	5	0.9
Total	548	101.1

Source: BUA, Student Register, vol. 5 and vol. 6 .

By using gender as a category of analysis, other interesting patterns emerge, reflecting the availability of facilities for female students as well as the gendered expectations of women. For the period 1930 to 1939, 123 (22.4 per cent) of Bishop's

students were women. This number is almost identical to the national ratios. Axelrod reports Statistics Canada figures which show that in 1930, 23.7 per cent of university students were women. By 1935, this ratio had dropped slightly to 22.5 per cent.[52]

[51] Based on 1931 Census, Table 42, 562-597.

[52] Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 21.

Table 5
Religious Denominations of Canadian University Students, 1930s (%)

Religion	Canada (1941)	Bishop's	Dalhousie	Toronto	Manitoba	Alberta
Anglican	15.2	54.1	22.6	21.6	16.0	14.8
United	19.2	24.5	34.4	32.9	27.8	26.6
Presbyterian	7.2	7.9	7.6	11.4	3.8	7.2
Catholic	43.4	5.2	15.1	14.7	10.3	9.1
Hebrew	1.5	2.9	11.3	7.2	11.4	4.2
Baptist	4.2	1.1	6.3	2.6	2.2	3.2
Protestant	0.1	1.1	0.4	6.4	17.7	26.6
Others	5.8	2.8	1.8	2.7	8.4	7.1

Source: Paul Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 31; BUA, Student Register, vol. 5 and vol. 6.

However, it does not appear that female students were proportionately represented among students from outside the region. Of the 91 students who came to Bishop's from outside the province and including international students, only eight (8.8 per cent) were female. This trend also applies to non-Townshipper women from Quebec. Of the 77 students from Montreal, only four (5.2 per cent) were female, and of those from other areas of the province only 10 of 71 were female.

The proportions change significantly when the students from the Townships alone are considered. Sixty of the 186 students from Sherbrooke and Lennoxville were female, which is comparable to the 37 of 118 for the other Townships locations. For the Townships as a whole, 31.9 per cent of the student population was female. The high proportion of local female students at Bishop's can be attributed to the reduced cost of a university education for local students. Given the general propensity at the time to educate sons instead of daughters, the reduced expense of attending a local university and living at home increased the probability that local parents would enroll daughters at Bishop's rather than outside the region. To a lesser extent, the same logic applies to the situation of male

students as well, which helps to explain the ratio of students from the Sherbrooke-Lennoxville area.

The low proportion of women from outside the Townships also reflects on the lack of programs and facilities for female students at Bishop's during the 1930s. There was an absence of the academic programs usually aimed at women such as Domestic Science and Social Work.[53] In addition, the lack of residence facilities meant that female students either lived at home or boarded with local families. McGill's Royal Victoria College, which opened in 1899[54], provided residence and supervision for female students, and many parents were unwilling to send their children, especially daughters, to universities lacking what would be considered adequate supervision. Therefore there was little to attract students away from Montreal to Bishop's. For the local population, however, familial networks among the anglophones in the Eastern Townships presumably provided supervision and accommodation for some female students, accounting for the high proportion of women students from the region attending Bishop's.

Regional distinctions and Sherbrooke's economic condition during the thirties are important when considering the applicability of Axelrod's national findings. His study argues that university students during the 1930s were not drawn exclusively the children of the wealthy. Instead he suggests that most students came from middle-class households, and that university attendance was an attempt to ensure the preservation of middle-class status despite the Depression. While students attending Bishop's seemed to be aspiring to middle-class professions and lifestyles, students were not drawn from upper middle-class or

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[53] In addition to the University of Toronto, McGill and the University of British Columbia, even smaller institutions such as Mount Allison and Acadia had women's programs. CYB 1934-35, 1057.

[54] Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981) 157.

even lower middle-class households. Instead, findings suggest that a significant proportion of students came from Sherbrooke's skilled and unskilled labour force.

Unlike the universities studied by Axelrod, Bishop's had no policy of collecting information about the occupations of students' fathers. Nevertheless, a fragmentary picture of the class backgrounds of Bishop's students can be pieced together from three different sources. First, interviews conducted by Melissa Clark-Jones and her colleagues provide information on the occupations of six pairs of mothers and fathers. Secondly, the survey completed in association with this study documents the occupations of another sixteen pairs of parents. Finally, the widest ranging source is the 1934 directory of the citizens of Sherbrooke. As well as listing names and addresses, it also records the occupations or employers of residents. As a source, the directory must be used cautiously. There is no way to verify how accurately the occupations of individuals were recorded, but in the absence of other means of tracing the occupations of the fathers, it does provide insights into the backgrounds of the students from Sherbrooke. By cross-referencing the directory with the student register, which provides the names and addresses of the fathers, we have 74 listings for fathers of Bishop's students living in Sherbrooke.

While the findings from the register and directory will be considered independently, the occupational information from the interviews and surveys will be examined together. The results of each were compiled and then categorized under the occupational headings used by Axelrod: professional, business, supervisory (or managerial), white collar[55], artisan/skilled, semi-skilled/unskilled and farming/fishing. Axelrod also compares his findings with the national averages in each occupational category. The results for Bishop's not only support Axelrod's claim that the university students were not drawn strictly from the upper

[55] In Axelrod's analysis white collar occupations include clerks, civil servants, cashiers and salesmen. Axelrod, p. 23.

class families[56], but pose a greater challenge to the myth (as well as to the image of Bishop's as an elitist institution) by suggesting that the university drew many of its students from Sherbrooke's working class.

The results from the compilation of the surveys and interviews are by no means conclusive, based as they are on only twenty-one fathers (see table 6). They do indicate, however, that the percentage of fathers employed in professional occupations is consistent with Axelrod's findings. Twenty-nine per cent of the fathers in the Bishop's sample were doctors, dentists or clergymen, compared to Axelrod's 27 per cent (see table 8). In striking comparison, artisan or skilled workers who make up only 8 per cent of Axelrod's sampling, were 24 per cent of the fathers from the Bishop's survey/interview sources. Significantly under-represented in comparison to Axelrod's national statistics were fathers from the business and supervisory occupational categories, who made up less than 10 per cent of those surveyed or interviewed from Bishop's but 39 percent of Axelrod's results. While the findings are by no means definitive, the trends they illustrate become clearer when examining the results from the Sherbrooke Directory.

The Directory provided 71 paternal occupational categories for the 119 students attending the university from Sherbrooke (see table 7). In comparing these results to those of Axelrod, the findings for the professional category were similar. Twenty-five per cent of fathers of Sherbrooke students were professionally employed, again not unlike Axelrod's

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[56] Axelrod does not refer to the mothers of university students in his study. However, in her study, Clark-Jones reveals a relationship between female university students and the level of education of their mothers. In ten of seventeen cases, mothers were employed before marriage and often had more education than the fathers. Melissa Clark-Jones and Patricia Coyne, "Through the Back Door," Atlantis vol. 15, no. 2 (Spring 1990): 43. This finding was less pronounced in the survey completed for this study which included male students. However, it was still found that eight of eighteen mothers had been employed prior to marriage. Seventeen respondents were also able to say what their mothers' level of education had been. Three believed their mothers only had some grade school. Nine responded that their mothers had at least partial or completed high school. Five of the seventeen had some post-secondary education.

finding of 27 per cent (see table 8). And the business class is again under-represented, still making up only 13 per cent of the fathers, nowhere near the 27 per cent found by Axelrod. The supervisory and white collar categories are both somewhat comparable to Axelrod's national statistics (17 to 12 per cent and 17 to 10 per cent, respectively). Most dramatic is the combination of artisan, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, if still under-represented, who made up 27 per cent of Sherbrooke fathers but only 13 per cent of Axelrod's findings among Canadian university students.

Table 6
Occupations of Fathers of Bishop's Students, 1930-39
Based on Surveys and Interviews

	Survey	Interviews	Total	(%)
Dr/Dent	2	1	3	14.3
Clergy	2	-	2	9.5
Professor	1	-	1	4.8
Farmer	1	2	3	14.3
Shopkeeper/ clerk	-	1	1	4.8
Skilled Trade	4	1	5	23.8
Insurance	1	-	1	4.8
Banking	2	-	2	9.5
Merchant	1	-	1	4.8
Managerial	1	-	1	4.8
Clerk	1	-	1	4.8
Total	16	5	21	100.2

Sources: BUA, Interviews; Surveys.

The concentration of information available for students attending Bishop's from Sherbrooke obviously has a significant impact on our perception of the economic background of the students population as a whole. It seems clear that the strength of the manufacturing sector and the potential for living at home and attending the college

Table 7
Occupations of Fathers of Bishop's Students, 1930-39
Based on the Sherbrooke Directory

	Sherbrooke Directory	(%)
Dr/Dent	8	10.8
Clergy	4	5.4
Professor	2	2.7
Military	1	1.4
Farmer	0	0
Salesman/ shop clerk	3	4.1
Skilled Trade	5	6.8
Banking	1	1.4
Merchant	9	12.2
Managerial	11	14.9
Retired	3	4.1
Labourer	14	18.9
Advertising	4	5.4
Clerk	5	6.8
Accountant	4	5.4
Total	74	

Sources: Sherbrooke and Lennoxville City Directory and Rural Routes for 1934-35 .

provided academic opportunities for many working-class students from the surrounding community. Additionally, some artisans and skilled labourers could earn relatively high wages even during the Depression. For example, in 1930-1, railway engineers in Sherbrooke averaged $1,348 per year.[57] There were also other relatively high paying jobs such as the position of knitter in textile mills which averaged $1,972 in 1930-31.[58] These comparatively high salaries, even if they could not sustain a student in residence for a year, might allow a family to pay the tuition fees for a son or daughter living at home. Naturally,

[57] 1931 Census, Vol. V, 678.

[58] Ibid., 676.

a comparison with other working-class families is difficult to make noting that these individuals could earn twice as much as their unskilled counterparts.

Additionally, as noted above, the small student population enabled McGreer to obtain sponsorships to assist students to cover their costs. This may not have been possible at larger universities located in urban centres which drew students from a wider geographic range, nor is there evidence reported that would suggest that this type of personal sponsorship was solicited by larger institutions. The university's regional mandate may have ensured local students a significant proportion of such sponsorships.

Table 8
Occupations of Student Fathers: Sets of Findings for Bishop's College versus Paul Axelrod, and Canadian Average.

	Bishop's from Surveys/ Interviews (%)	Bishop's from Sherbrooke Directory (%)	Axelrod's Findings (%)	Canadian Average (%)
Professional	28.6	25.4	27.1	6.4
Business	4.8	12.7	27.3	5.5
Supervisory	4.8	16.9	11.7	24.8
White-collar	23.8	16.9	10.0	n/a
Artisan/ skilled	23.8	7.0	7.9	Listed with semi-unskilled
Semi/ unskilled	0	19.7	5.2	33.6
Farming	14.3	0	10.8	27.3
Totals	100.1	98.6	100.0	97.6

Source: Paul Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 23; BUA, Interviews; Survey; Sherbrooke and Lennoxville City Directory and Rural Routes for 1934-35.

The question remains as to whether or not the figures for Sherbrooke can accurately reflect the students coming from other parts of the Townships or the province. The Sherbrooke sampling does only represent about 10 per cent of the student population. Nor is their particular reason to believe that the economic background of the rest of the region made it any more likely than other places in Canada to send young people to

university. Thus, while the local community provided a significant portion of the day students, the students who arrived from elsewhere and who could afford to live in residence, and whom we are therefore unable to trace, would undoubtedly make the findings for Bishop's more parallel to Axelrod's.

With that said, Axelrod's statistics must also be analyzed critically. He bases his observations about the class background of English-Canadian university students on findings from only four universities: Dalhousie, Queen's, the University of Toronto and the University of Alberta. Three of these could be considered provincial institutions and the fourth, Queen's, was a relatively large university of over 700 students.[59] Therefore, the applicability of Axelrod's findings to local, and regional universities cannot be assumed.

While there appears to be a distinction between the universities studied by Axelrod and Bishop's (at least if his four samples examined are representative), observations about the aspirations of the students themselves to middle-class careers matched those of Bishop's students. As Axelrod observes, "students perceived university as a critical step to attaining, sustaining or improving their position within the middle class."[60] The following observations about student expectations at Bishop's are based on the annual section of the Mitre which introduced freshmen and "freshettes" to the university, and to one another. These short descriptions usually provided the birthplace, age, and academic/career aspirations of the new students. The compilation of the results for the period 1930 to 1939 produced a sampling of 100 female and 303 male students. While most students might not have followed through on their original plans, these career predictions reflect not only their own expectations but those of their families.

[59] CYB 1931, 982.

[60] Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 35.

Clearly, nobody went to university expecting to work as an unskilled labourer in a factory after graduation, but there was significant indecision among students since 25.3 per cent were not able to say what they planned to do after obtaining their degrees.[61] It was those preparing to teach, practice engineering or enter the ministry who were the most definite about the role of their degrees in their future plans.

There were significant differences between the employment expectations of male and female students. In her study of Queen's University women in the 1920s, Nicole Neatby found that the female students were unwilling to challenge male-dominated career choices. She attributes this finding to the different nature of male and female expectations. While men were considering life-long careers, women were choosing jobs which were to be given up upon marriage.[62] For these women, a university education was a means of ensuring themselves a temporary job of relatively high status and economic independence.[63] The choices presented by the co-eds at Bishop's seem to confirm these trends. Overwhelmingly, the most popular choice for female students was teaching, which was recorded for 40 per cent of respondents. The next highest choice was nursing which appealed to 8 per cent of incoming female students. Four per cent of female respondents wanted to be language specialists, and another four per cent doctors or medical or lab technicians. Three per cent wanted to study physiotherapy after graduating. Social work, secretarial, library science and journalism each appealed to 2 per cent of female students. The least popular recorded choices were commerce, commercial art, dietary science and

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[61] Based on this same section of the Mitre which introduced the new students to the university community. A similar uncertainty was found among women Queen's students by Nicole Neatby in "Preparing for the Working World: Women at Queen's During the 1920's," in Ruby Heap and Allison Prentice, eds., Gender and Education in Ontario: a historical reader (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991), 340.

[62] Neatby, 341.

[63] Ibid., p 335-6.

diplomatic service, each of which was cited by only one per cent of the respondents.

The career options cited by the male students were much more diverse and more inclined to include prestigious long-term career goals which required the additional commitment of graduate work. They also reflected both traditional professions and more modern scientific positions. The most popular choices were various engineering careers which attracted 15 per cent of the male respondents.[64] The attraction of male students to the engineering option in the 1930s helps to explain the university's development of its science program during the same period. The next most popular choice (less surprising given Bishop's denominational mandate) was Divinity with 13 per cent of the male students. The next highest was medicine with 10 per cent; and then legal careers with 8 per cent. Teaching placed fifth among male students, attracting only 7 per cent of those reporting career aspirations. Significantly, many of these choices required at least some graduate work, an economic investment less likely to be made for female students who were expected to give up employment upon marriage.

During the 1930s, Bishop's was clearly a small, denominational, regional university serving local needs. As a regional institution, Bishop's provided valuable educational opportunities to the young people of the Townships. Because they could live at home, Bishop's allowed students who came from working class backgrounds in Sherbrooke to attend university. In addition to local needs, gender clearly influenced the composition of the student population, demonstrating how the lack of facilities for female students failed to attract students from beyond the Townships. And while this thesis demonstrates a wider range of class backgrounds than Axelrod proposes for Canadian university students of the 1930s, their expectations still conformed to future middle-class careers and lifestyles, and gendered expectations of appropriate career pursuits.

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[64] Engineering options listed included: electrical, chemical, mechanical, mining and aeronautical.

Chapter 3
The Academic Structure

During the 1930s, Canadian academic institutions were challenged and changed by the Depression. Because of the collapse of western economies, universities did not experience dramatic growth. A few lucky ones maintained a steady course and rode out the Depression but other institutions, less stable to begin with, suffered from funding cutbacks, increased competition from other universities, and student poverty. In addition, all English-Canadian universities were struggling with the dichotomies of modernization and traditionalism, stability and change. Universities were attempting to balance the values of classical education against the reality of the economic depression which emphasized practicality. The tension was articulated by traditionalist administrators complaining about the development of professional schools, the specialization of fields of study and the research of applied, rather than pure, sciences at Canadian universities.[1] These changes challenged the premise of classical education by emphasizing the application, rather than the pursuit, of knowledge. The redefinition of academic priorities was hardly confined to the 1930s, but the process was accelerated as a university education became an economic investment to secure a job. Bishop's was not an exception.

While issues like modernism and traditionalism affected the evolution of universities at a national, if not international, scale, Bishop's also had a mandate to accommodate the cultural and economic needs of the local Eastern Townships' community. The university was able to meet those needs despite the Depression because of its institutional stability. Bishop's continued to provide a Liberal Arts education and the students continued to come predominantly from Quebec, and

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[1] Paul Axelrod, Making a Middle Class (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 41.

especially the Townships. The core of the Arts professors remained the same. While still training clergymen, the Divinity Program underwent significant academic and personnel changes as the course of study was lengthened to train clergymen more effectively, and Dean Philip Carrington moved on to become the Anglican Bishop of Montreal in 1936.[2] The university also increased its social and economic relevance by providing teacher training to its graduates and expanding its Science department to accommodate emphasis on research and development. Scientific research was of importance to anglophone businesses in the Eastern Townships and Montreal, as well as for the resource extraction industries of northern Quebec. By examining characteristics of the Arts and Divinity Faculties, Science and Education departments, as well as the absence of so-called women's programs from 1928 through the 1930s, we can explore the academic priorities of Bishop's during this period.[3]

For the students, the formal academic structure of the university created boundaries of scheduled classes, mandatory courses and academic personnel within which they lived and functioned. It is difficult now to determine how these structures operated on a daily basis because, while the university calendar records the courses offered, no syllabi survive. Instead, there are administrative documents describing academic developments, such as the introduction of the Bachelor of Arts in Science degree in 1936.

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[2] Christopher Nicholl, Bishop's University, 1843-1970 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994): 189-90.

[3] 1928 was selected because it was the year during which changes were initiated in both the Divinity Faculty and the Education Department which of significance to the 1930s period.

For Bishop's students during the thirties, academics was based on the Oxford model of three long years of study running from September to June.[4] Most students at Bishop's confirmed the traditional association between university attendance and youth. The average age for students commencing attendance at Bishop's was 18.4 years.[5] Among women, the average was slightly lower at 17.9 years while for men it was 19.8 years.[6] Admission into the Arts program in 1930 required two letters of recommendation and successful completion of senior matriculation exams.[7] For a fee of five dollars, applicants could write matriculation exams during the third week of September in six of twelve subjects.[8] Of the twelve, Latin, Mathematics and English were mandatory and the other choices included Greek, French, History, Botany, Chemistry, Physics, Physical Geography, German and Divinity.[9] Those who failed one of the subjects might be permitted to start the program and rewrite the missed subject during the December exam period.[10] After completing the preliminaries,

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[4] Advertisement placed regularly in the Mitre during the 1930s, see for example vol. 39, no. 1 (October 1931): 1; Mitre vol. 42, no. 1 (October 1934): 1.

[5] These averages are calculated from the students' age upon entering the university as recorded in the BUA, Student Register.

[6] The higher age for men is deceiving, as the majority of male students did start university before turning nineteen. The average was increased by the thirty students entering who were over the age of twenty-three. Of the thirty, nineteen were entering the Divinity program. By contrast, only four women over twenty-three registered during the same period.

[7] BUA, Bishop's University Calendar 1930-31, 14.

[8] Ibid., 13.

[9] Ibid., 14-16.

[10] BUA, Minutes of a Faculty Meeting, 18 September 1933, 138. Students were charged $2 for each supplemental exam and supplementals could also be written by students to make up for an exam failed in a course. BUA, Bishop's University Calendar 1930-1, 13. By permitting rewrites, the administration acknowledged that local high

undergraduates had the option of entering either the Arts or the Divinity program. The Arts option was by far the most popular, and in the early thirties it included all of the Science courses offered at the university. A degree in Arts was still firmly based in the ideals of classical scholarship, and it encouraged students to study a wide range of subjects. As a result, it was only in their third and final year that students were permitted to specialize in any given subject.

Nor were students permitted many options when selecting courses. In keeping with the values of classical education, of the seven courses students took during the first year, Latin, English and Divinity were mandatory. English continued to be mandatory in the second year and all students took Divinity throughout, with the exception of those selecting the Honours option.[11] Furthermore, Principal McGreer's influence began early in the academic year. One student, who attended between 1936 and 1939, reported in a recent interview that every year the principal met with each student at registration. The alumna went on to describe how the courses students selected were "mostly what Dr. McGreer told us".[12]

Students, probably with advice, made the decision to enter the Honours stream during their second or third year. Had they pursued the "ordinary course", students would have completed two years of general study and one year of "special study" in a

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schools might not have completely prepared the students and allowed the students an opportunity to correct the deficiency at the university.

[11] Ibid., 17.

[12] BUA, Bishop's women's education: the early years--Interviews, ms., conducted by Melissa Clark-Jones and P. Coyne (Lennoxville: Bishop's University), Interview 10, 189. This practice was confirmed by Science professor A.N. Langford who said that each year McGreer personally registered each student. Arthur N. Langford, "The B.Sc., the M.Sc. and Related Topics at Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec: Part I - The McGreer Years," Journal of Eastern Townships Studies, no. 6 (Spring 1995): 105.

specific subject.[13] In comparison, the Honours program relied more heavily on the tutorial system and was "designed to foster the students' power of working for and by themselves."[14] This choice exposed the students to a wider range of readings and necessitated a higher standard of writing, answering questions and at least second-class grades.[15] The Honours option was intended for students aiming for post-graduate work in professional or Masters programs.

In 1936, reflecting the struggle between modernization and traditionalism, the Arts program was split and a Bachelor of Arts in Science was created. Ultimately, the creation of a separate Science option protected the classical elements of the Arts degree by addressing the question of Latin which was mandatory for all Bishop's students but was becoming optional in the public school system.[16] The failure of high schools to teach Latin meant that some students were severely challenged by the first year requirement.[17] These students and others took their first year of Science at Bishop's but then moved on to finish their degree elsewhere where Latin was not mandatory.[18] The compromise meant that first-year Latin was no longer necessary to

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[13] Bishop's University Calendar 1930-31, 17.

[14] Ibid., 17.

[15] Ibid., 17 and 30.

[16] Langford, 105.

[17] A.H. McGreer, report to the Senate of the Diocese of Quebec in the Journal of the 41st Session of the Synod of the Diocese of Quebec (Quebec, 1936), 71; BUA, Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 16 June 1937, 188.

[18] Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, October 17, 1935, 175; A.H. McGreer, report to the Church Society of the Diocese of Quebec in the 89th Report of the Incorporated Church Society of the Diocese of Quebec for the Year Ending December 31, 1936 (Quebec, 1937), 62.

earn a degree if one chose the Science option, though Divinity did remain compulsory for everyone.

The creation of the Science degree represented more than a small university's attempt to preserve mandatory Latin for its Arts students. In an industrial society, sciences provided the means of increasing productivity through scientific developments. In 1936, Principal McGreer made the link between the university and the industrial community by citing the example of a Bishop's graduate, G.H. Tomlinson, who had developed a commercial use for waste sulphide liquid, a bi-product of the pulp and paper industry.[19] Scientific developments by alumni made universities like Bishop's relevant to industries controlled by anglophone business interests in Quebec--groups which were likely to provide economic support for the university. By increasing the scope of the Science department to accommodate research and development priorities, Bishop's was demonstrating its relevance to modern Canadian society.

The development of the Science program at Bishop's translated into significant growth at the university and was the basis for the 1937 financial campaign.[20] In addition to offering an additional degree, the number of faculty members in the Science department was increased from one to two in 1926, then to three in 1936. Within a few months of the announcement that the degree would be offered in 1936, McGreer reported that there were twenty-four students registered in the Science department.[21] By 1939 there were fifty-eight students in all years of the Bachelor of Arts in Science.[22]

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[19] Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 22 October 1936, 181.

[20] In the promotional material explaining the needs of the university, improved and expanded labs were cited. Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 22 October 1936, 182.

[21] Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 22 October 1936, 181.

[22] McGreer, report to the Church Society 1939, 78.

The creation of the Science degree made the university more attractive to local students, and kept them in the community and they no longer had to go elsewhere to complete their degree.

The new Science curriculum brought change to the university's timetable. The increased number of courses offered also meant that the Bishop's tradition of completing all academic classes before noon had to be eliminated. The demands on laboratory time and space meant that labs had to be held in the afternoon and that there was less time for the cultivation of collective university life. Such traditions were challenged by the increased academic pressures of a growing university.[23]

The changes to the Arts program had been foreshadowed by changes to the Divinity program after the arrival of the new Dean, Philip Carrington, in 1927. Within two years, the Divinity curriculum had been revamped: the program was lengthened from two years to three and a new Bachelor of Theology degree offered.[24] Carrington's early reforms were followed by the introduction of the Divinity House Diploma in 1932. To qualify for the award, the "Divines" (as the Divinity students were called) had to live in residence at Divinity House, take part in practical training activities, and attend chapel services regularly.[25] In summarizing the developments in 1932, Carrington reassured the Church Society that, "We are maintaining our traditions. We are improving our work. We are keeping in touch with modern methods and modern scholarship."[26]

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[23] As demonstrated in the introduction of the timetable, printed in the Calendar for the first time in 1938.

[24] Dean of Divinity, Philip Carrington, report to the Church Society 1930, 66.

[25] Dean of Divinity, Philip Carrington, report to the Church Society 1932, 73.

[26] Ibid., 74.

The new Divinity program was clearly an effort to modernize and professionalize the up-and-coming Canadian Anglican clergy. The emphasis on scholarship by increasing the duration of study, for example, was intended to encourage the Divines to think critically about the church's role in a changing industrial and urban society and how its position could be strengthened against the attacks of modern life. Practical training included a wide variety of activities such as participating in spiritual retreats, acting as Rover Scout masters in a newly formed Boy Scouts association, and obtaining preaching experience during summer vacation. In 1937, classes in Voice Culture, Public Speaking and Reading were offered by the university to Divinity and Education students.[27] These activities all served to increase the effectiveness of future priests by developing leadership skills among the ordination candidates and improving their ability to communicate. The practical training aspect of the new Divinity program recognized that in modern and consumer society the church too had to market itself to the public. These changes to the program seemed to decrease the traditional emphasis placed on a spiritual "calling" to the ministry. It was no longer enough to be a man of God. It had also become necessary to engage in scholarship and effective public relations.

The "Divines" were clearly set apart from the Arts students by their own course of study and fee schedule. On a personal level, their calling to religious service and their slightly older age made them more focussed about their future plans and probably meant that they took their work more seriously. Divinity House, the residence for the "Divines", also physically separated them from other students. These divisions were

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[27] Dean of Divinity, Philip Carrington, report to the Church Society 1930, 66; Dean of Divinity, Basil Jones, report to the Church Society 1936, 70; Minutes of a meeting of the Corporation, 28 October 1937, 197; and Dean of Divinity, Basil Jones, report to the Church Society 1937, 77.

worrisome to some faculty members. For example, the Dean, Carrington felt it necessary to instruct Divinity students only to wear cassocks when on chapel duty. According to his biographer, Colin Cuttel, Carrington believed it healthier to treat the Divines as Arts students who might be ordained as opposed to Divinity students who might not.[28]

Education was the only other professional program offered by the university. Although it was listed in the Calendar from 1898, it was to be offered only as demand warranted, and to be staffed by the existing faculty members rather than someone who specialized in teacher training.[29] The Education department evolved during the twenties and thirties in response to problems within the Protestant school system of Quebec.[30] In the Eastern Townships, the system suffered from the declining strength of the anglophone population.[31] As a member of the province's Protestant Committee on Education, McGreer recommended in 1932 that the remaining schools be consolidated and provided with adequate staff and that the quality of teachers be improved.[32]

To address these issues, in 1925 McGreer hired the school inspector, Dr. W.O.

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[28] Colin Cuttell, Philip Carrington: Pastor, Prophet, Poet (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1988), 56.

[29] Robin Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 218.

[30] In the metropolitan Montreal area, the funding for Protestant schools was disproportionately distributed. In his 1933 report, Hepburn was attempting to address this issue, and the issues facing the other Protestant school boards around the province. W.A.F. Hepburn, Report of the Quebec Protestant Education Survey (Quebec, 1933), 34-5.

[31] Ibid., 340-41.

[32] McGreer report to the Church Society 1932, 65; McGreer, report to the 42nd Church Synod 1938, 64.

Rothney, to serve as a lecturer for Education courses on Saturday mornings.[33] In 1928, Education became a full-time department and a year-long diploma program was offered to Bishop's graduates allowing them to teach in the province's high schools.[34] The program included a theoretical component and a practicum at Lennoxville High School. As noted above, education students were also offered the same speech training classes extended to the Divines.[35] In addition to the year-long programs, Rothney and other faculty members offered summer schools for teachers who wanted to earn a Master's of Education degree,[36] thereby encouraging teachers to return to university and improve their techniques. Underlying these developments was McGreer's assumption that improvements to the Protestant education system were to originate from the university, thereby increasing the role of Bishop's in Quebec society.

In addition to its cultural importance, the Education program at Bishop's was also significant because it was the university's only concession to women's academic programs. Historian Robin Harris attributes the modest increase in university attendance in Canada during the 1930s to the growth of "professional courses...which catered exclusively to women."[37] These programs included Household Science, Nursing, Social Work, Education, Library Science and Occupational and Physical Therapy, all choices leading women into what Margaret Adams has termed the

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[33] W.C. Skinner, "Well known Men of the Eastern Townships: Dr. W. O. Rothney, M.A., B.D., PhD," SDR, 7 December 1929, 1.

[34] Nicholl, 176.

[35] Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 28 October 1937, 197; McGreer, report to the Church Society 1930, 64.

[36] McGreer, report to the Church Society 1931, 70.

[37] Harris, 398-99.

"compassion trap".[38] While all of these programs developed at McGill University over time, none except Education materialized at Bishop's.[39] A partial explanation might be that, with the exception of the Divinity option, Bishop's did not offer any other professional programs; perhaps such options could not be reconciled with the ideals of classical education. Additionally, it has been suggested by Nancy Sheehan that the admission of women into universities was often an economic decision made by the university to increase tuition revenues. By not providing additional facilities such as residences or extra academic programs, the university assured itself of a guaranteed financial return with almost no investment.[40] This seems to have been the case at Bishop's where a women's residence was opened only in 1950 despite the presence of women in the university Arts program since 1903.[41]

A discussion of the academic programs at Bishop's would not be complete without considering the case of students who did not complete the academic program at the university. Information on drop-outs is based on the student entry register which recorded the graduation year of the students. The drop-out rate is calculated according to the year that the student entered and is based on the fact that the student did not complete a degree at Bishop's. For the sake of clarity, drop-out rates have also been co-related to those students who had two or more failures in their final term, a

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[38] Ibid.; Margaret Adams, "The Compassion Trap," in Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran eds., Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1971), 402.

[39] The development of these programs is summarized by Gillett in We Walked Very Warily (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981)

[40] Nancy Sheehan, "Collegiate Women in Canada," History of Education Quarterly, 22 (Spring 1984): 143.

[41] Nicholl, 135.

situation which according to the Calendar would have necessitated repeating a year.[42] The students who did not reappear under these circumstances will be considered to have dropped out because of academic problems. No explanation is given in the other cases for those who did not complete their program.

There does not appear to be a pattern to degree incompletion at Bishop's during the 1930s. The numbers fluctuated annually, for both the students who did not complete the program because of failure as well as for those for whom no explanation is available. Normally, degree incompletion affected thirty to forty per cent of the students entering the program, with the average being 33.6 per cent. The highest drop-out rate is listed among students entering in 1930 when fully 60 per cent did not complete their degree at the university. Of those, 63 per cent could be considered academic failures. The best year was 1936 when only eighteen per cent did not complete their degree at Bishop's, of whom 40 per cent were affected by academic failures.

Beyond failing out of the program, explanations for not completing degrees include financial constraint caused by the Depression[43], the death of a parent, the completion of degrees at another university which did not require Latin or offered more academic options, and the outbreak of World War II which caused some students who registered in 1938 and 1939 to withdraw and enlist in the army. The sex of the students seems to have had little to do with the rate of degree completion at Bishop's during the 1930s. Of the 123 female students who entered the program, forty did not complete a degree. At 32.5 per cent, this rate of incompletion is actually slightly lower than the average for the entire student population, which was 33.6 per cent.

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[42] Bishop's University Calendar 1930-1, 50.

[43] BUA, MP, Box 5 (1933-4), File I, McGreer to K.S. Ingalls, 16 February 1933.

The trend to modernize some of the academic programs offered by the university did not translate into significant personnel changes within the university's faculty, except to accommodate the growth in the Science department. Principal McGreer was the ultimate authority on a day-to-day basis, although technically he could be over-ruled under extraordinary circumstances by the "Visitor", who was the senior of either the Anglican Bishop of Quebec or Bishop of Montreal.

During the 1930s, the faculty at Bishop's conformed broadly to those described by Axelrod at other Canadian universities. The university was governed by a "simple bureaucracy", characterized by "educational paternalism" and strong Christian moralism.[44] According to the Rules, Orders and Regulations for Bishop's during the thirties, the responsibility for the lectures and examinations and the moral conduct and discipline of the students, was "in the hands" or "care" of the principal and professors. All punishments, as well as serious breaches of discipline had to be reported to the principal. Discipline was also maintained by the porter, who was responsible for monitoring late leaves and recording attendance at the chapel services.

Within the intimate residential college, the responsibility McGreer and his faculty accepted for their students was manifested in what Axelrod called an "educational paternalism". This characteristic was exhibited by McGreer at the beginning of every academic year as he spoke to each student about academic plans. Many students remember him as a having a genuine interest and concern for the students in his charge.[45] McGreer went beyond simply advising students academically to paying personally for student medical bills at the Sherbrooke Hospital in at least one

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[44] Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 40-41.

[45] “Compiled Survey Responses of Bishop’s University Alumni of the 1930s,” question 16, surveys 2, 5-7, 10, 11 and 14.

case,[46] and influencing graduate studies decisions and employment opportunities. In a letter of recommendation to the Medical Faculty at McGill, McGreer began "_________ is, as his name suggests, a Hebrew, but he is an exceptionally fine representative of his race." Despite the cautious introduction, McGreer goes on to "heartily commend him".[47] By acknowledging the anti-Semitism which was common in academic circles, McGreer demonstrated the contradictory nature of this racism. While Jewish people as a group might be deemed unacceptable, this particular individual, through McGreer's paternalistic intervention, might overcome the discrimination. In those terms, the discrimination took on almost a benevolent tone, as it exempted a worthy individual.

As this written interaction indicates, university administrators, who were often clergymen, or their offspring, also subscribed to a strong Christian moralism. Outside the Divinity faculty, H. Chadwick Burt (the Philosophy and Economics Professor), Rothney (the Professor of Education) and McGreer himself had theological training.[48]

Through the Depression, only four of sixteen faculty positions underwent staffing changes, although new positions were created. However, such personnel changes continued to ignore the female student presence on campus. As McGreer informed a female job applicant during the thirties, "There is no position in the University at the moment for which a woman would be eligible. All employees of the

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[46] BUA, MP, Box 5 (1933-34), File C5 (CH3-CU), McGreer to Leonard Prefontaine Esq., Treasurer, City of Sherbrooke, 26 May 1934.

[47] BUA, MP, Box 4 (1931), File M2, McGreer to Prof. J.C. Simpson, Faculty of Medicine, 11 June 1931.

[48] The Calendar 1930-1, 10; W.C. Skinner, "Well Known Men of the Eastern Townships: Dr. W.O. Rothney," SDR 7 December 1929, 1.

University are men."[49] The complete absence of women was unusual for a Canadian university. While by no means proportionate to the number of female students, women did make up 533 (or 12.6 per cent) of 4,210 professors, associate and assistant professors, lecturers, instructors and tutor assistants in Canada during 1928-29. At the institutions listed, only five had no female faculty while seventeen had at least one.[50] It should not be surprising that the Bishop's faculty so overwhelmingly male, given the absence of residential facilities for women.

As far as Bishop's was concerned, another important factor that defined the function of the faculty and experiences of the students was the small residential nature of the campus. For example, according to a prospectus written in 1939, "From its inception it [Bishop's] has been a residential University offering its [male] students the advantages of intimate associations with each other and with members of the Teaching Staff in a common university life."[51] During the thirties, the campus provided accommodations for seventy-nine of the male students and most of the faculty members.[52] Married faculty members and their spouses were provided with homes on campus. Unmarried faculty members acted as deans of residence and supervised the male students outside the classroom.[53] Because of their isolation from other academic

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[49] BUA, MP, Box 7 (1937), File C6 (CI-CU), McGreer to Miss A. Conniffe, 19 November 1937.

[50] CYB 1931, 979.

[51] BUA, MP, Box 9 (1939), File P2 (PR-PU), "Bishop's University."

[52] There were 79 rooms in residence. In 1930 and 1931, McGreer permitted some students to share rooms but found that "students do not work so well when they share a room." After that, those sharing space were kept to the minimum. McGreer, report to the Church Society 1931, 65.

[53] “Surveys”, responses to questions 17 and 18, surveys 1-8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18 and 19.

communities, faculty members spent a considerable amount of time strengthening the university community, academically and socially.

The intimate nature of the campus meant that an education at Bishop's was not strictly limited to the classroom, and that there were additional demands on the time of faculty members and their wives, bringing them into regular contact with many of the students. Principal McGreer often thanked his faculty members for their participation in such activities. He was quick to inform outsiders that a professorship at a smaller university was more demanding than at a larger one because "there is a vast amount done in social intercourse in the rooms of the Deans of Residence and in the houses of those who live on university grounds."[54] Thus, in addition to time spent in the classroom, faculty members and their wives hosted social events like weekly teas in their homes, attended sports games and banquets, acted as patrons for extracurricular activities and chaperoned field trips and dances.[55] As a result, there were strong personal relationships between the faculty, their wives and the students.

In describing the faculty members at Bishop's during the 1930s, one former student recalled, they were "a motley crew. Altogether erudite. Some brilliant, several eccentric, all dedicated to their work and their students."[56] As McGreer suggested, teaching at a small university could be quite demanding. In addition to the social obligations of faculty members, the academic demands were also significant. A

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[54] McGreer went on to say, "It was impossible to tabulate the results of all the associations between the faculty and the students, but they are a very large part of the contribution which the university makes towards the preparation of students for his or her life's work." Minutes of a meeting of the Corporation, 17 June 1936, 174.

[55] Most students had distinct memories of Mrs. Boothroyd's Women's Glee Club and the assistance of Mrs Raymond and Mrs Richardson with drama productions. “Surveys”, question 17-18, surveys 5, 6, 7, 15 and 17; "Bishop's teams were Honoured Last Evening," SDR, 6 May 1930, 5.

[56] “Surveys”, question 17, survey 19.

posthumous biography of the History professor, E.E. Boothroyd, noted that during his decades of teaching at the college, he had probably taught all the courses at one time or another, with the exceptions of Divinity and Mathematics.[57] A former student who was the child of a faculty member recalled that a normal course load for father was a staggering 24 lectures a week.[58] In spite of the heavy teaching loads, most alumni surveyed remember the faculty members as friendly, approachable people who were helpful with academic problems.[59]

Naturally, the heavy teaching load and other activities left less time for research and publishing. However, a few of the faculty members were acknowledged by external organizations, while others managed to publish books despite the heavy demands on their time. In 1936, McGreer reported to the Church Synod that Professor Kuehner of the Science department had been made a fellow of the Canadian Institute, and that English professor W.O. Raymond had been made a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.[60] As Dean of Divinity, Carrington was also well respected. While at the university he published two books, was awarded an honourary degree by Western Theological College in Ernston, Illinois, and then went on to become the Anglican Bishop of Quebec.[61]

Like the limited number of faculty, the limited financial resources during the 1930s affected the role of faculty members. For example, Science professor Maurice

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[57] Dorothy Dutton, "Bishop's Retrospectives: Eric Edward Boothroyd, " Bishop's University Magazine, vol. 7, no. 1 (Aug. 1981): 26.

[58] "Surveys", question 17, survey 6.

[59] "Surveys", question 17, surveys 1, 3, 5, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 18.

[60] McGreer, report to the 41st Synod 1938, 69.

[61] Mitre vol. 39, no. 1 (October 1931): 43; Ibid., vol. 41, no. 2 (December 1933): 33; Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 14 June 1933, 133.

Home spent many hours during evenings and vacations making laboratory equipment worth hundreds of dollars which the university could not afford to buy.[62] Salaries were also affected by the Depression, although Bishop's was able to avoid laying off faculty members or cutting salaries as was the case at other Canadian universities such as the University of British Columbia and Acadia.[63] However, the salaries of younger lecturers and professors were checked by financial constraints.[64] For example, when the university hired Dr. A.N. Langford to lecture in Natural Science and to supervise undergraduates as a Dean of Residence, he was only to be paid $1200 a year plus room and board, compared to the more established faculty who were earning $3500.[65]

The appointment of McGreer as principal in 1922 had brought about significant change in the fortunes of the university. In that year, the university still only had sixty-eight students and, as McGreer reminded the Church Society, a $7,748.70 deficit. By 1931 McGreer was able to report that the university had an enrollment of 155 students and a deficit of only $3,726.76.[66] A report for 1930-31 indicated that Bishop's annual income was $95,708, of which $19,801 was derived from fees.[67] An additional $6,000 came from the government funding.[68] This amount is somewhat deceiving. Rather than making moderate annual contributions the Quebec government made large

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[62] Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 28 October 1937, 198.

[63] Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 21, 191.

[64] Ibid., 25 October 1934, 159.

[65] Ibid., 28 October 1937, 198.

[66] McGreer, report to the Church Society 1931, 68.

[67] CYB 1931, 987.

[68] Ibid., 987.

grants to Bishop's in 1930 and 1939.[69] In the same 1930-31 report, an additional $43,686 was said to have come from "Other sources", which included boarding fees and presumably donations by individuals, Anglican groups or corporations.[70] Investments were also a significant source of income, providing a return of $26,221 in 1930-31.[71] We can assume that these investments were safe from the crash in October 1929 because McGreer reported to the Church Synod in 1933 that the university's financial stability despite the Depression could be attributed to the Corporation's wise investments which were relatively unaffected by the Stock Market crash.[72] In addition to sound financial management, Bishop's also benefitted greatly from the support of the Quebec anglophone community in its fund-raising attempt in 1937 which raised $347,000.[73]

As principal from 1922 until his death in 1947, McGreer oversaw a period of growth and change at Bishop's. Structurally, the Corporation was altered to allow non-Anglicans to serve the university and, as a result, during the late twenties and through the thirties the university was also served and supported by the province's non-Anglican, English-speaking business elite.[74] McGreer was also attempting to increase the university's relevance to the anglophone community through academic

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[69] BUA, Bishop's University Calendar 1940-41, 96-7; McGreer, report to the Church Society 1930, 65; SDR, 3 April 1930, 1; Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 14 June 1939, 218.

[70] CYB 1931, 987.

[71] Ibid., 983.

[72] McGreer, report to the Church Society 1933, 58.

[73]. BUA, Bishop's University Calendar 1940-41, 97.

[74] Nicholl, 179-80; D.C. Masters Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: a History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 194-5.

changes, especially the investment of money and personnel in the Science department. These changes were tempered by faculty members who reflected and promoted traditional values in their efforts to protect elements of classical education at Bishop's. Thus, with some modifications during the 1930s, Bishop's University was essentially able to maintain stability economically, numerically and professionally. While the Depression posed some challenges, it did not significantly alter the functioning of the institution.

Chapter 4
Student Identities and Extracurricular Activities

Each year the students' own governing bodies at Bishop's sponsored and organized a variety of extracurricular activities. In addition to the participation of students, the activities received support from the faculty and administration. Extracurricular activities were considered important enough that classes were not scheduled after twelve noon each day in order to allow students to participate fully on teams and in clubs. In fact, when told that science laboratory periods would have to be scheduled in the afternoon, Principal McGreer is reported to have said, "Why, in the afternoon we play football."[1] This policy was grounded in the belief that the student experience should go beyond academics and include activities which developed the students socially, spiritually, intellectually and physically. While particular activities were encouraged by the administration, it is also important to consider the student activities or choices which conflicted with administrative goals. In particular, it was on the issues of late leaves and mandatory chapel attendance that the students challenged the institutional authority.

Examining extracurricular activities is an important part of this study. At a basic level, how students spent their time outside the classroom reveals personal priorities and interests. On a larger scale, there is a direct relationship between extracurricular pursuits and student identities. Students, for example, developed a sense of themselves as future leaders. Many activities promoted qualities such as good citizenship and teamwork while encouraging students to gain reasoning, debating and communication skills. Furthermore, initiations, athletics and other activities fostered a common Bishop's student identity to help

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[1] A.N. Langford, "The B.Sc., the M.Sc. and Related Topics at Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec: Part I - The McGreer Years," Journal of Eastern Townships Studies no. 6 (Spring 1995): 88.

overcome divisions based on class and geographic origin. Ironically, however, while many activities encouraged the development of a shared student identity, this identity was not always universally accessible. It is clear that males were always considered full-fledged members of the student community. The status of female students varied. In some activities requiring female participation such as theatrical productions or social events, women were accepted as students. More often, however, female students were distinguished by the qualifier "woman". This distinction was illustrated most clearly by the existence of two separate student governing councils: the Students' Association, which represented the interests of only the male students, and the Women Students' Association which addressed the needs of the female students.[2] This chapter will examine the Associations and some of the activities and organizations they sponsored, thereby exploring the relationship between organized extracurricular activities and the construction of gendered student identities.

An article written in 1939 about the workings of the two associations reported that "the powers of each group are parallel and ... the women have complete control of their own government and sports." Each association was then responsible for organizing and financing certain activities, such as the glee clubs, athletics and discussion groups, which were segregated according to gender.[3] The Mitre, dramatic society productions, the Yearbook and formal dances were the shared responsibilities of both associations.[4] However, the basic segregation of female and male students during the 1930s went beyond merely having two groups organizing activities for their respective genders. At an

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[2] In addition to the student associations, there were also two executive councils which consisted of officers elected by the respective associations.

[3] R.L. Gourley, "Shades of Sylvia Pankhurst," Mitre, vol. 46, no. 4 (April 1939:24.

[4] Ibid., 24.

organizational level, the associations differed in their capacity to provide services. This was reflected in the student activity fees collected by the two associations. Male students paid $16.50 and later $20.00 in yearly activity fees, while women contributed only $10.50 to the organization of their activities.[5] The difference in fees covered the cost of athletic opportunities, such as football, which were only available to the male students. Beyond fees, different histories and demographics meant that the Associations had different mandates reflecting the needs of their respective communities.

The sources available for determining the mandates of each association differ in quality. The Minutes of the (male) Students' Association are preserved in the university archives. There are also articles in the Mitre which describe the function of this council and the distribution of its finances.[6] However, no minutes of the Women Students' Association have survived, if they ever existed.[7] As a result, relatively little is known about the day-to-day functioning of the women's organization. This study's reconstruction of the Women Students' Association is based on interviews done with women who attended Bishop's during and before the 1930s, write-ups of the Women's Association in the Yearbook, as well as the debates presented in the Mitre.[8]

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[5] Recorded annually in the BUA, Bishop's University Calendar (1930-39) under the heading "Special Charges".

[6] See for example, Russel F. Brown, "Explains Where the Money Goes," Mitre, vol. 40, no. 5 (June 1933): 8-9.

[7] Whether the minutes ever existed, or were simply never deposited in the Archives, either scenario has important implications. Did the women not consider their meetings worthy of Minute taking, or the Minutes not worth saving? If they did exist, why did they not find their way into the archives?

[8] BUA, Bishop's women's education: the early years--Interviews, ms., conducted by Melissa Clark-Jones and P. Coyne (Lennoxville: Bishop's University) The results of the interviews are published in the article, "Through the Back Door," Atlantis, 15, 2 (1990): 40-48.

For the Students' Association, implementing its mandate was facilitated by the university's residential nature and the size of the male population. The 60 to 85 students attending association meetings represented more than half of the male enrollment and was obviously sustained largely by the students living on campus in the 79 single rooms.[9] Furthermore, the male population was also large enough that everyone did not have to participate in activities to make them successful. These conditions meant that as well as coordinating the activities of the male students, the Students' Association performed an important communicative function. For example, the monthly meetings often served as forums for student complaints about the quality of the food and the sanitary conditions of the residences.[10] Individual students brought their complaints to the Association to have their concerns taken to the administration. The principal, in turn, used the Students' Association president to convey messages to the male students regarding such routine matters as the consumption of electricity and the theft of dishes from the dining room.[11] In addition to linking the male students and the administration, the Students Association connected the male students with their peers across the country through the National Federation of Canadian University Students (NFCUS).[12] For example, in 1933 the

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[9] BUA, Students' Association Minutes (SAM), 16 January 1930 recorded 81 members present; SAM, 3 November 1931 recorded 72 members present.

[10] In 1936 these complaints resulted in the hiring of a university dietitian. The complaints are recorded in the BUA, Student Association Minutes (SAM), for example: 2 December 1930, 178-9; 3 October 1933, 233; 3 November 1936, 305. The dietitian did not make much of a difference and at the end of 1937 a chef was hired. Mitre, vol. 44, no. 1 (October 1936): 31; Minutes of a Meeting of the Corporation, 16 June 1937, 190. Sanitation complaints were also recorded in the SAM, 3 March 1931, 184.

[11] SAM, 6 October 1931, 189; 3 November 1931, 191; SAM, 21 January 1938, 318.

[12] According to a article entitled "N.F.C.U.S." some of the issues of interest were International Student Services, the World Disarmament Conference, the Travel Commission, Reduced Railway Rates, the Exchange of Undergraduates Plan and

president, Arthur Ottiwell, attended the Executive Council meeting of NFCUS at the University of Western Ontario.[13] In this case, the Association appears to have represented the entire student population, including the female students.

Beyond performing communicative functions, the Students Association made the male students part of the larger continuum by passing on Bishop's traditions. These traditions protected the seniority-based hierarchical structure of the male student culture. Elections for most positions had taken place the previous year, so that senior-level students controlled the activities. In addition, freshmen were not permitted to vote at meetings before their second semester. The meetings were also used to apply peer pressure to reinforce the inter-year distinctions. For example, freshmen were often reminded of their duties by more senior students with a seemingly sacrosanct reverence for tradition. These duties included carrying matches to light seniors' cigarettes and performing phone service in residence.[14] This hierarchy provided the structure within which male students developed a sense of group traditions and loyalty. This male student culture had evolved in isolation from a female presence until 1903 when the first female undergraduates were admitted into lectures. Women were still not admitted into residence until after World War II, thereby limiting their participation in most extracurricular activities.[15]

The numerical support and communicative capacity of the men's organization contrasts with the functions of the Women Students' Association during the 1930s. Not

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Scholarships and Summer Work for Students. Mitre, vol. 39, no. 3 (February 1932): 24-25.

[13] BUA, SAM, 5 December 1933, 227; "NFCUS Meeting," Mitre, vol. 41, no. 3 (February 1934): 37.

[14] BUA, SAM, 7 March 1933, 214; 6 December 1932, 210.

[15] Christopher Nicholl, Bishop's University, 1843-1970 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press): 135.

being permitted to live in residence or be on campus after five o'clock, and lacking a common room for themselves on campus, women students struggled with the more basic issues of space and identity. Because they lacked the means to meet and spend time together, it was more difficult for them to forge bonds with one another and develop a strong group identity. The situation was compounded by the women's lower numbers and the fact that the twenty-five or so female students were spread across a thirty-kilometre radius between Lennoxville/Sherbrooke and the outlying areas.[16] Additionally, during the 1930s the women lacked a historical precedent for their version of the Students' Association which had only been in existence since 1927.[17] At that time, Mrs Carrington, the wife of the Dean of Divinity, had encouraged the female students to organize themselves into a social support network. According to the recollections of an alumna, Mrs Carrington even went so far as to obtain money from the university or the men's association so that the women could, as a group, rent a room in the village.[18] Prior to this, the women were assigned a cloakroom on campus but had no place to congregate, talk, or even eat lunch. Considering that some female students travelled in by train every day, the lack of even a lunchroom was a major inconvenience.[19]

Without the direction from Mrs Carrington in the late 1920s, the female students did not seem inclined to organize themselves formally. It was pressure from Mrs Carrington that pushed the women to obtain a constitution.[20] Perhaps their numbers

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[16] Bishop's women's education, Interview 15, 311.

[17] Bishop's University Yearbook 1930, np; Bishop's University Yearbook 1931, np.

[18] Bishop's women's education, Interview 1, 6-7; Interview 2, 30.

[19] Bishop's women's education, Interview 1, 7; Interview 2, 30.

[20] Ibid., Interview 11, 211.

seemed too small to accomplish much, and their dispersal across the countryside was discouraging. In any event, during the 1930s, female students were gradually becoming more organized as a group, and actively pursuing the formal structures which helped to contribute to a common identity that the male students took for granted.

One of the most basic ways for both groups of students to develop mutually exclusive shared identities was through initiations. Each fall on university campuses across Canada, rituals took place to introduce new students into collective student culture. Like other coming-of-age rituals, initiations into the university community were rites of passage, "generating group consciousness [and] inculcating the values of college society."[21] At least for the male students, the ritual was built on tradition consisting of a number of smaller ceremonies to impress the freshmen and demonstrate the worthiness of group membership. Each of the ceremonies subjected the individual's identity to the larger collective one. For the male students, the first week's activities included a pep rally, the COTC Smoker, a football game, the introductory dance, and the initiation ritual. Freshmen remained subject to the "Freshmen Rules" for the duration of their first year. The female students seemed to be accepted into their collective with much less fuss. For them, the same week's activity included a much milder initiation, a tea in the women's common room, the introductory dance, and the football game if they were inclined to attend. We can speculate that the women's relatively small community had not yet developed rigid hierarchies. As Walden observes for the University of Toronto, this characteristic may have resulted in a stronger sense of community.[22]

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[21] Keith Walden, "Hazes, Hustles, Scraps and Stunts" Youth, University and Canadian Society, eds. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 97.

[22] Ibid., 107.

For new male students, the initiation was probably the most dramatic ceremony practiced. The initiation was organized by a committee of juniors who had experienced it the year before and wanted to establish themselves in a position of prestige and power for the coming year.[23] The seniors did not usually participate in the activities but instead were witnesses, as Walden suggests, because "passive enjoyment was more in keeping with their dignity."[24] By successfully completing physical trials, the initiants demonstrated their own worthiness to the student collective. The initiation ceremony practiced in the early 1930s can be reconstructed from articles in the Mitre. It started at night, with the juniors beating sticks in the corridors and the freshmen waiting in their rooms with pillow cases over their heads.[25] Next there was a "ceremonial decoration of bodies", which often included red finger nails and green hair.[26] The Freshmen were then led into the basement of the New Arts building, chanting, "For we are lowly worms...". They were then divided into smaller groups and symbolically branded. Juniors heated up pieces of metal and cooled them noisily in buckets of water, leading the blindfolded freshmen to believe they would be "branded" next.[27]

Freshmen were then rushed outdoors, across the quad to the gym, pillow cases still intact. They were made to wrestle blindly with one another and retrieve pebbles tossed into the crowd. Freshmen might also carry around chickens which pecked at their chests, while being bombarded with eggs. The pranks were meant to confirm the "pecking order"

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[23] Walden observes that between 1880 and 1925, initiations increasingly became "freshmen-sophmore affairs". Ibid., 110.

[24] Ibid.

[25] "Initiation Night," Mitre, vol. 42, no. 1 (October 1934): 39.

[26] "I'm a Lowly Worm," Mitre, vol. 44, no. 1 (October 1936): 21.

[27] Ibid.; "Initiation Night," 39.

for the year by humiliating and humbling the freshmen and entertaining the juniors and seniors.[28]

During the early 1930s, university initiations came to the attention of the general public. Pressure was applied to Canadian universities to ban initiations after a successful lawsuit was launched by the parents of a University of Alberta student who suffered a nervous breakdown after his initiation in 1932. The settlement ruled that the university was responsible for the physical and psychological well-being of its students. By 1936, initiations were banned from Bishop's and other Canadian universities.[29]

That same year, the Mitre published debates about the banning of initiations, and in these articles male students described the function of initiations, as well as student attitudes towards them. In general, those in favour of preserving the initiations argued that the rituals were a test of character, and that they instilled in the freshmen a respect of the senior years. One student claimed that the initiation should be protected as tradition, "especially since tradition is far saner than modernism."[30] Other students supported banning the "meaningless ritual" and replacing it with activities which encouraged students to meet one another and make them feel at home. This idea was supported by one student who felt that such changes would eliminate tensions between the first and second year students and "would enable Bishop's to take her place among universities who have abolished a tradition which serves no purpose."[31] After the administration made its

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[28] "Notes and Comments," Mitre, vol. 44, no. 1 (October 1936): 31.

[29] Axelrod, Making a Middle Class (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990): 104-106; A.B. McKillop, Matters of the Mind: the University in Ontario, 1759-1951 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994): 439; Mitre, vol. 41, no. 2 (December 1933): 44. Initiations were also condemned by the N.F.C.U.S. Mitre, vol. 39, no. 3 (February 1932): 25; vol. 45, no. 1 (October 1937): 6.

[30] O. Horace Seveigny, "For Initiation," Mitre, vol. 44, no. 2 (December 1936): 5-6.

[31] "Editorial," Mitre, vol. 44, no. 2 (December 1936): 3.

decision, the editorial staff at the Mitre claimed that the freshmen lacked any respect for seniors, disregarded ancient customs, and were guilty of slovenly behaviour. According to the editorial, "bad manners in chapel are a prerogative of seniors!"[32] Clearly, everyone agreed that it was important for new students to be bonded to the university, accept the collective identity, and respect the traditions of the institution. The debates were really about whether these goals were best achieved through the challenging physical initiation or by ceremonies whose function it was to welcome the new students.

After the initiation, the worst of the freshmen's treatment was over, but the initiation process continued until June through the Freshmen Rules. Although no complete copy of the rules has been found, there are numerous references to such regulations in the Mitre and Students' Association Minutes. According to these sources, the duties of the freshmen included setting up for dances and chalking the football field.[33] Freshmen also had to sell tickets for the Dramatic Society productions.[34] Freshmen were required to attend Students' Association meetings where a Freshmen Roll was called, but, as noted above, they were not permitted to vote on any issue until their second term.[35] They might also be required to entertain at Students' Association meetings with songs, yells, recitations and piano playing.[36] The long training period confirmed the inferior status of freshmen students and protected the student hierarchy while also serving to break down class barriers and other impediments to group identity.

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[32] P.G.E., "Editorial," Mitre, vol. 45, no. 3 (February 1938): 6.

[33] "Freshmen Organization," Mitre, vol. 43, no. 1 (October 1935): 23; BUA, SAM, 6 December 1932.

[34] BUA, SAM, 7 March 1933; SAM, 5 November 1937.

[35] BUA, SAM, 6 October 1936; SAM, 8 November 1938.

[36] BUA, SAM, 4 October 1938.

There is very little material about the initiation of women students. Their ceremonies were not documented as completely in the Mitre as the men's were, nor did they seem to be debated or challenged. Because most of the activities of female students took place off campus, beyond the formal jurisdiction of the principal, it is not even clear if women stopped performing initiations after they were banned on campus. Regardless, from the reports we do have, it is clear that the female students' version of the ritual was much tamer. According to one of the alumna interviewed by Clark-Jones, the senior students "tried in every way to frighten you[,] you know[,] to surprise and frighten you, and ask some embarrassing questions and serve tea or something afterwards."[37] Other reports had the "freshettes" going through town with either their clothes on backwards, or in their pajamas, singing "How Green I Am."[38] In another article, "The seniors appreciated the obliging spirit in which the 'freshies' went through their paces. Each one proved herself a good sport. We are glad to take this opportunity of welcoming the class to Bishop's University."[39] The women's initiation was set apart from the men's because it was more good natured, intended to be fun, and lacked the violence, or the potential for violence. The initiation was also more flexible because it was performed on a smaller scale, and was not ingrained in tradition. It is also significant that inter-year distinctions were not as clearly made among the female students. Both seniors and sophmores initiated the "freshettes", indicating, perhaps, that their activities promoted inclusiveness rather than distinction. All of these traits suggest that, in general, the women's initiation was more of a welcoming ceremony than a physical trial.

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[37] Bishop's women's education, Interview 15, 309.

[38] "Strange Scene Enacted at Lennoxville Post Office," SDR 28 September 1935, 5; "Coed Activities," Mitre, vol. 39, no. 1 (October 1931): 19.

[39] "What Price Initiation?" Mitre, vol. 42, no. 1 (October 1934): 39.

In 1936, it was only the first week's initiation ceremony, with its seeming irrationality and potential for violence, that was the target of the administration. The majority of activities associated with the early weeks of university were not under attack. The pep rally and the COTC Smoker, for example, were seen to perform important functions in introducing new male students to extracurricular options and encouraging them to sign up.[40] After these events, students were served free fruit and cigarettes, which were usually donated by one of the cigarette companies.[41]

A single reference was found to an event organized by the women which was claimed to correspond to the men's pep rally. The event was a hike which served "to start the year in a seemly fashion, and to welcome the newcomers."[42] At dusk, after enjoying a campfire, hot dogs and coffee, the students trudged home, singing their way back to Lennoxville. Not only did the smaller numbers of women students make this type of intimate event possible, but, with fewer organizations to promote, large-scale events such as pep rallies were unnecessary.

The introduction dance and the first football game were the only co-educational activities organized for the new students. These events demonstrate how activities were organized to have different meanings for the female and male students. It is hardly surprising that football games were a significant measure of community spirit among university students; according to one student it was after attending his first game that he truly felt like he belonged to the college.[43] At this public event, the female students were

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[40] "COTC Smoker," Mitre, vol. 44, no. 1 (October 1936): 36.

[41] Ibid., 33.

[42] "Women Students' Association," Mitre, vol. 38 no. 1 (October 1930): 13.

[43] Gerald Cameron, "Impressions of a Freshman," Mitre, vol. 39, no. 1 (October 1935): 37.

welcome to contribute to the display of numerical strength, but because they did not live on campus their participation was uncertain.

In the case of the dance, women were necessary to ensure dance partners. According to the 1938 Students' Association Minutes, the motion to permit freshmen to bring dates from outside the university was rejected on the grounds "that the purpose of the dance could be fulfilled better if outside girls were not brought by freshmen."[44] The decision indicated that the Students' Association was trying to wean the freshmen from their contacts outside the university and encourage them to socialize amongst themselves. It was only after the freshmen's loyalty was established that they would be permitted, like the more senior students, to bring dates from the outside. Not surprisingly, there is no mention made of the female students bringing dates to the dance. The introductory dance demonstrated that sometimes women were part of the university community and had a place within the institution, albeit a subordinate one, while also illustrating how the same event might have been experienced differently by the female and male students.

By the time the students had passed through the ceremonies which made up the introduction ritual, they were well aware of the expectations which would define their lives for the next three years. From the outset, male and female students were clearly segregated and the boundaries between different years were laid out. The male students especially were introduced to, and immersed in, traditions distinguishing them as members of the Bishop's University community. As for the female students, their activities confirmed the segregation which would prevent them from being accepted as full members of that same community.

The divisions between years were clearly highlighted through initiation rituals and freshmen rules which were enforced by senior students. There was also an association

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[44] BUA, SAM, 4 October, 1938, 27.

made with the anticipated year of graduation such as, Class of '36. This means of identification was so strong that even after students dropped out, and their activities were reported in the Alumni News section, they were still identified with the class of the year of their anticipated graduation.[45]

After initiation rituals indoctrinated loyalty to the alma mater into the students, this fidelity was exploited by the Canadian military. Through the Canadian Officer Training Corps, an important link was made between loyalty to the university and to the nation. Because both concepts are based on traditionally masculine ideals, the COTC offers historians tremendous potential for exploring degrees of masculinity. The definition of masculinity promoted among the male students by the COTC received particular support at Bishop's because Principal McGreer had served as a military chaplain in World War I.[46] The link between masculinity and the Corps is hardly surprising. In his study of male initiation rituals, The Men from the Boys, Ray Raphael claims that, "Historically, war has been seen as the primal archetype for masculine activity, the supreme example of what men can do better than women. War created the ultimate challenge for the manly virtues of physical prowess, strength and courage."[47] In the 1930s, and well beyond, the Canadian military completely excluded women from combat roles because, theoretically at least, it was women whom the men were fighting to defend. This perception was reinforced by the feminization of the pronouns and adjectives used to refer to the Canadian nation-state,

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[45] "Graduates," Mitre, vol. 44, no. 1 (October 1936): 44; "Alumni Notes," Mitre, vol. 46, no. 4 (April 1939): 39.

[46] Nicholl, 164; "Compiled Survey Responses of Bishop's University Alumni of the 1930s," question 25, surveys 17 & 18; question 16, survey 16.

[47] Ray Raphael, The Men from the Boys: rites of passage in male America (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1988), 19.

which also required safeguarding.[48] Unfortunately, the COTC has received little scholarly attention, and even Axelrod gives the subject only passing reference.

Since the primary function of the Corps was to train officers for the Canadian army, the placement of the COTC in universities reinforced the students' understanding of themselves as future leaders. Structurally, the COTC was part of the Canadian Non-Permanent Active Militia. During the thirties, there were 86,308 Non-Permanent members, out of a total of 90,576 in all Canadian ranks.[49] According to military historian C.P. Stacey, the Non-Permanent Active Militia made a significant contribution when the Canadian military was restructured in 1938, giving "the Army a group of personnel, officers, and men, who continued to play dominant parts in it even when the great majority of the Army's members had come to be volunteers of no militia experience recruited from civilian life."[50] The Corps program consisted of practical training and special lectures throughout the year, carried out in conjunction with the regiment stationed in Sherbrooke.[51] These preparations allowed members to write exams to earn "A" and "B" certificates. The "A" certificates, offered on the basis of recommendations from the War Office in London, entitled the bearer to a commission in the Canadian Militia.[52] In 1938,

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[48] T. Le M. Carter, "Why I Did Not Join the COTC," Mitre, vol. 40, no. 4 (April 1933): 6; Edward F.H. Boothroyd, "In Defense of the COTC," Mitre, vol. 40, no. 5 (June 1933): 21.

[49] C.P. Stacey, Six Years of War: the Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), 19.

[50] Ibid., 51.

[51] The Bishop's COTC Cashbook shows money allocated for transportation to the Armoury.

[52] SDR, 18 November 1929, 7. It is not clear what the "B" certificates represented. It might be assumed that in order to earn the "A", the "B" had to be obtained first.

there were 4,553 students participating in the Corps across the country.[53] An alumnus from Bishop's who served in the Canadian Army throughout the war and after suggested that the COTC trained 30 per cent of all Canadian officers, and that the Bishop's COTC alone provided the Sherbrooke Fusiliers Regiment with twelve officers who served during the Second World War.[54]

At Bishop's during the 1930s, the presence of the COTC on campus prompted a debate between students who were supporters of the COTC and those who were not. As Thomas Socknat suggests, it was the peace movement that "captured the attention of students as much if not more than the effects of the depression."[55] The two groups were participating in a debate on an international scale and were able to deal with a particularly divisive issue, directing it into a healthy and productive debate. At Bishop's the discussion ultimately resulted in a student activity fee compromise which protected both student unity and personal belief systems.

According to pro-COTC student writings in the Mitre, military service was the price to be paid for living in a society which protected personal rights and liberties.[56] These articles also often referred to the duty, loyalty and honour owed to "King and Country", which symbolized those rights and freedoms.[57] Ironically, freedom required conformity to ensure that Canadian society was able to progress and defend itself. As

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[53] Stacey, 19.

[54] “Surveys”, "Comments," survey 16.

[55] Thomas Socknat, Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada 1900-45 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 156.

[56] Boothroyd, "In Defense of the COTC," 25.

[57] J.G. Withall, "Why I Joined the COTC," Mitre, vol. 42, no. 2 (December 1934): 16.

such, there had to be unanimity among citizens because dissent would only lead to chaos.[58] Thus, military organizations have always used uniforms, haircuts and marching drills to represent solidarity. Deviations were simply cowardly or traitorous.

In his article, Edward Boothroyd also alludes to the characteristics developed among students by the Corps. Significantly, he refers to the "man" who has "the sense of duty and a steadfastness of character" to follow through on his commitments.[59] It was also the "disciplined man" who "has gained an attribute which will help him later in life."[60] Finally, the Corps also physically benefitted the student. Boothroyd argued that, "it develops the body, straightening backs...[and] assisting in co-ordinating the muscles of the body to work promptly at command."[61] As student E.V. Wright summarized, the Corps did much to "foster the 'esprit de corps' which is the proud heritage of our race."[62] The descriptives used by Boothroyd and Wright are gender-appropriate expectations of male students. Society deemed it acceptable that men should be honourable and disciplined in their actions while developing a strong bodies. If a somewhat primitive ideal, physical strength still represented the individual's ability to advance or defend his beliefs.

Obviously this perspective was not shared by the pacifist voices on campus during the 1930s. Unlike the COTC, the pacifists were not a formally identified group. Instead, student organizations, such as the Political Discussion Group, made pacifist issues part of their mandates. Students also used the Mitre to argue against war and, by extension, the

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[58] Boothroyd, "In Defense of the COTC," 25.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] E.V. Wright, "COTC," Mitre, vol. 38, no. 1 (September 1930): 21.

COTC. As Socknat described, the students supported an ideology of "personal non-participation in wars...with an endeavor to find non-violent means of resolving conflicts."[63] While it is impossible to quantify the size of the movement, we do know that those participating in the written debates were male.

Many of the pacifist arguments were based on internationalist principles and advocated support of the League of Nations.[64] Critiques of war preparations were also inspired by contemporary sources such as Beverly Nichols' book, Cry Havoc, which McGreer blamed for the declining popularity of the COTC in 1934.[65] Among other things, Cry Havoc argued that war was instigated and encouraged by large munitions companies which would have young men killed for profit.[66] These particular arguments were not often used in the Mitre debates, perhaps because they questioned the sacrifice made by soldiers in the First World War.

In the tradition of Cry Havoc, however, a writer who called himself "Pax" attacked the Corps in 1934, arguing as follows: "That club is for the making of competent [...] teachers who shall train others to be expert killers. If a soldier is not efficient, competent as a murderer, he is punished..."[67] In summing up the argument, the writer asks, "How

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[63] Socknat, 8.

[64] Carter, "Why I Did Not Join the COTC," 6-7; Colin Cuttell, "Half the Battle," Mitre, vol. 41, no. 5 (June 1934): 9.

[65] Bishop's University Yearbook 1934, 54; BUA, MP, Box 5 (1933-34) File M2 (Mc-ME), McGreer to Prof. T.W.L. McDermott, McGill University, 7 April 1934. It is not actually clear that the popularity of the COTC declined particularly dramatically during this period.

[66] Beverly Nichols, Cry Havoc (Toronto: Doubleday, Doran & Gundy Ltd., 1933), 32-3.

[67] Pax, "To a Member of the OTC," Mitre, vol. 41, no. 5 (June 1934): 10.

dare you suggest that we treat humans that way, and claim yourself to be civilized."[68] The article was an attempt to direct the debate away from a discussion of patriotic ideals to an issue of humanity instead. It also brought the debate down from intangible idealistic principles to the stark reality of the situation. Pax was trying to shock his readership out of its unthinking acceptance of the COTC and the inevitability of conflict, while highlighting the tragedy and barbarity of war.

It does not seem that the pacifists were attempting to have the COTC disbanded or even removed from campus. Through their writing, Pax, Colin Cuttell and T. Le M. Carter were encouraging students to exercise their own power by not joining the COTC. As Carter argued, "The greatest potential harm that can arise from my individual dissent from this principle is less than the harm almost inevitably caused by my adherence to it."[69] It is interesting, however, that the students at Bishop's were able to compromise the diverging principles in 1936. Up until that time, the Bishop's COTC donated $500 to $600 every year to the Students' Association in order to assist with operating costs.[70] The donation linked COTC membership with the well being of the Students' Association and loyalty to the alma mater. The implication that school loyalty was contingent on COTC membership was challenged by the pacifists.[71] The fees compromise proposed in 1934 and eventually adopted by the Students' Association which in 1935 recommended increasing student

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Carter, "Why I Did Not Join the COTC," 7.

[70] BUA, COTC Cashbook entries for 10 June 1931, 23 May 1932, 2 June 1933, 18 June 1934. On 26 May 1936, there is an entry for "Corps Pay". Student Association fees had risen that year to $20, and COTC members were to be paid individually.

[71] Carter, "Why I Did Not Join the COTC," 7; Cecil Royle, "A Legend of Bishop's College," Mitre, vol. 42, no. 1 (October 1934): 10.

activity fees by four dollars a year to replace the money usually donated by the COTC.[72] According to one of the critics, Cecil Royle, "The students would then be free to join the COTC and draw their regular pay which would amount to nearly $10.00 each year." This meant that students would not be enlisted, "by a distorted appeal to our College spirit" but make the decision on the basis of personal values.[73]

The history of the COTC at Bishop's during the 1930s demonstrates important characteristics about the students. At an organizational level, it showed how values like group identity and masculinity were applied in practice. The organization was also significant because the arguments for and against it illustrate how the students were able to direct a divisive situation into healthy debate, resulting in compromise which addressed the financial needs of the Association and the individual's right not to support the COTC.

Closely associated with the masculine ideal promoted through military service was the definition promoted through athletics at the university. Since the turn of the century, university sports teams have increasingly come to represent the academic institution in public opinion. These same teams have also become a rallying point for student loyalty within the institution itself--supported and advocated by administrations which believe that positive character traits are developed through athletics. In addition, university sports also serve to identify alternate student identities at the institution, highlighting rivalries between years, faculties, residences and genders as these groups play against each other to establish formal or informal hierarchies.

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[72] BUA, SAM, 4 December, 1934, 245; SAM, 22 January 1935, 248; SAM, 5 March 1935, 251.

[73] Cecil Royle, "A Legend of Bishop's College," Mitre, vol. 42, no. 1 (October 1934): 10.

According to McKillop in his study of Ontario universities, organized sports among male students increased in importance after 1880 when the first women were accepted into universities.[74] Competitive team sports, like hockey, can therefore be understood as an expression of masculinity to balance the feminine presence by creating a normative student experience in which women could not participate. By the 1930s, women were participating in athletics at universities like Bishop's; however, the games played by women were not given equal, or near equal, standing with those of their male counterparts.

For the administration, the character traits to be developed through athletics justified support of the program. Among the characteristics praised by faculty and friends of the university at a 1930 sports banquet were: "that every man on every team had done his bit nobly", that sports was "a tradition of honest endeavour towards the highest ideals", that Bishop's had a "tradition of clean, true sportsmanship", "that Bishop's men were so strictly amateur, no compensation of any sort being offered", that the students had a "splendid spirit with which they had played the game," and that "comradeship" had been developed through competition.[75] The traits praised in the speeches of the guests, and obviously considered important enough to report in the local papers, were based on Victorian ideals of sportsmanship, which was to be purely amateur, and embodied values such as athletic excellence and personal sacrifice for the team.[76] Students seemed to accept this interpretation, as E. Parkinson demonstrated in his 1930 article, "Athletics in a College

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[74] McKillop, 244.

[75] Amateurism was particularly important in light of a contemporary study by the American Carnegie Foundation which revealed the recruitment practices and subsidization of athletics. In comparison, such tactics were considered "un-sportsmanlike" by Canadian institutions. "Carnegie Foundation Completes A Survey of University Athletics," SDR, 24 October 1929, 1; "Bishop's Teams Were Honoured Last Evening," SDR, 6 May 1930, 5.

[76] Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), 46-7.

Career." He claimed that, "Before a team can win anything[,] it must act as a team, not as a collection of individuals; and to do this each member must be ready to sacrifice himself for the benefit of the whole."[77] From the banquet speeches and student articles, it seems that everyone involved, the administration, the students and friends of the university, believed that athletics contributed to the development of "a good man", who could be part of the team.

The sports played at the university ranged from the genteel, such as badminton, golf and tennis, to the highly physical football and hockey. Surprisingly, the women students at the university were able to ice their own hockey team and support a basketball team, despite their relatively small numbers. While men and women played a number of the same games, the ways the games were played and perceived set them apart. As in the other activities, the actual number of female students limited the number of participants and the financial backing more severely than for men's teams. The most obvious effect was that the women students were limited to playing locally, whereas the men might travel to play teams from other universities, the nearest of which were in Montreal.[78] The men's teams also benefitted from salaried coaches and presumably referees, while the "co-eds" were often coached by one of the male students.

The nature of the common student identity constructed around sports teams is intriguing. Sports can be understood as a stylized warfare, but with more broadly acceptable implications than the COTC. Team sports, such as hockey, basketball and football, which attracted the most attention at Bishop's during this period, set one team off against another. Each team was easily distinguished by its uniform and by group yells or cheers. Both the team itself and its spectators focussed their energy on the opposite team.

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[77] E. Parkinson, "Athletics in a College Career," Mitre, vol. 37, no. 4 (April 1930), 10.

[78] See the sports summaries in the Bishop's Yearbook 1930-39.

The battle was a symbolic one, as both sides fielded the best their school had to offer. With each game the teams established an official, or unofficial, hierarchy. For both the athletes and spectators, the games were a shared experience to talk about, and particularly memorable games became part of the collective memory, like epic tales of the hero and his enemy. The connection with warfare was confirmed by an annual banquet where honoured guests and participants met to celebrate victories, perhaps acknowledge defeats, and participate in feasting.

While students were able to direct their youthful exuberance towards an external enemy, sports also allowed students to play out rivalries and tensions within the university. There were numerous intramural men's teams representing various student sub-groups. Examples included games of football or hockey between competing residences such as the Old and New Arts buildings, between the faculties of Arts and Divinity, and between years, setting lowly freshmen off against the more senior students. These challenges also helped to establish a hierarchy, but in this case it was an internal one.

Significantly, the students also pitted themselves against one another on the basis of gender. The women could only field one team for any sport, and it was always a rallying point for them. As in the case of the women's initiations, their lower numbers made their activities more inclusive. The Sherbrooke Record reveals an interesting Bishop's tradition whereby the women's hockey team would play a team called the "Divinity Duds" which was made up of men who were inexperienced in hockey. The 1930 write-up claimed that, "according to the rules in this league, no man who is able to skate with any degree of ability, or who has had any previous experience at the game is eligible to play."[79] To add insult to injury, the male players were also expected to play in character, as clowns and sheiks, or in costume, which might include evening dress, complete with top hat.

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[79] "U.B.C. Winds Up Hockey Season for Years 1930," SDR, 18 March 1930, 8. Nicholl also makes brief reference to this tradition in his study, 182.

The "co-eds" reportedly won the 1930 game by a score of 3 to 1, but according to the summary it was a game without rules with shenanigans such as tripping the referee, and every "dud" goal being called off-side. By the third period the ice was filled with both the players and the subs, so that the score could not be kept and the end result was chaos. Perhaps it was organized to mock the playing abilities of the relatively inexperienced female students or to drew attention to the male students who did not conform to understood standards of masculinity by playing this particularly physical sport. It does not seem to be coincidence that it was the masculinity of the Divinity students, whose solemn calling probably tempered the usual exuberance of male university students, that was called into question. More positively, perhaps this game should be understood as a farce, played to release the tensions at the university, or as good clean fun during which the women were able to demonstrate their developing skills in an understood male preserve. It may have also been a case of two "out" groups getting together to poke fun at the seriousness with which others played the game. Regardless, the game was a complex expression of gender identities not only distinguishing female students but also alluding to degrees of masculinity.

In other cases, the rejection of female athletics by male students was more categorical. In a written debate in the Mitre concerning perceived gender inequalities on campus, a male student defended the exclusively male composition of the annual sports banquet given to honour the "Bishop's Teams". He argued that, "If the Co-eds wish to give awards, what is to prevent them? It is not the province of the men's athletic committee to grant awards to the Co-eds."[80] What he failed to recognize was the support granted to male athletes by the university itself, whose Executive Committee sponsored the banquet and made speeches congratulating the teams and players. He also failed to

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[80] R.L Gourley, "Shades of Sylvia Pankhurst," Mitre, vol. 46, no. 4 (April 1939): 24.

acknowledge how tradition defined the administration's and the students' responses to athletics.[81] The female students could have acknowledged their own athletes, but they would not have received the same support or recognition from the university community. As the lack of acknowledgment and understanding demonstrates, separate could never be equal.

Along with athletics which developed the students physically, and the mandatory chapel and Divinity classes which were to inspire the students spiritually, there were also many activities which encouraged students to think and express their ideas about contemporary issues and topics. The most informal of these activities were the so-called "bull sessions" which took place in dormitory rooms between any number of male students. There are occasional references to these talks in the student publications, but, for the most part, we know very little about what was discussed. We can be sure, however, that arguments made to cap a spirited bull session might be later recycled in Debating Society debates or as a column in the Mitre. We also know that these sessions resulted in at least one official student club, the Political Discussion Group. Intellectual groups at the university developed leadership skills, as well as encouraging students to think about, synthesize, challenge and argue on any number of topics. Additionally, students were also encouraged to think about the structures through which society was governed and how to use them. When considering these organizations, it is intriguing that the importance of gender fluctuated dramatically. The bull sessions which took place in the dorms were inaccessible to female students, as was the traditional debating society. However, it does

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[81] "Bishop's Teams Were Honoured Last Evening," SDR, 6 May 1930, 5.

seem that new groups like the Maths and Sciences Club and the Political Discussion Group encouraged participants of both sexes.[82]

The Political Discussion Group developed directly out of such bull sessions. The evolution of the club during the 1930s exemplified the problems and rewards of student organizations, which were affected by the waxing and waning of student interest. According to the university yearbook in 1934, during its first year of existence (1932-33), the student members of the Political Discussion Group met in one another's rooms to listen to papers presented by students. By the second year, half the time of each session was spent listening to the paper, while the second half was spent discussing the subject. According to the summary, the organization was very informal and the only official was a Convener who organized and initiated the meetings.[83] In 1935, the club changed its name to the Humanities Group and encouraged papers on any subject relating to the humanities.[84] The group retained its political interest through its membership in the International Relations Clubs, a corporate membership in the League of Nations Society of Canada, and an affiliated membership in the Student Peace Movement.[85] The club also had a faculty advisor in the person of Professor W.O. Raymond.[86] For the 1935-36 academic year, the group returned to its original name, the Political Discussion Group, and adopted the formal structure of most student and public organizations with an Honourary President,

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[82] We can only speculate about how comfortable female students felt within these groups, but we do know from the group descriptions and photos that they did participate.

[83] Bishop's University Yearbook 1934, 53.

[84] Bishop's University Yearbook 1935, 50.

[85] All of these groups were outside the university. Bishop's University Yearbook 1935, 50; Bishop's University Yearbook 1936, np.

[86] Bishop's University Yearbook 1935, 50.

a President, a Vice-President and a Secretary -Treasurer. The group was also much more organized, boasting that it sustained weekly meetings.[87]

In the new sessions, students were no longer formally presenting papers, but participating instead in general discussions on subjects such as "Sanctions", "Canada's Foreign Policy", and "Mandates and the Distribution of Raw Materials".[88] A summary in the Mitre in 1937 reported that the group "will be glad to have with us men and women who are interested in the current events of the world around us."[89] The same article reported that the meetings were usually led by faculty members and visitors from outside the university. On that particular occasion, the discussion was directed by the visiting principal of McGill University.

The group's structure had changed dramatically from informal student-driven meetings in dorm rooms which would have been impossible for female students to attend to a group whose power to direct discussion had been turned over to faculty members and guests of the university. This development may not have been as paternalistic as it appears. In retrospect, quite often it was faculty members who maintained the groups through periods of waning student interest, the most obvious case being the Maths and Sciences Club. The Club was originally developed by the Science department's Professor Kuehner. While initially some students did give a few papers, the club was sustained by the papers and labs presented by the Science faculty members.[90]

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87 Bishop's University Yearbook 1936, np.

88 Bishop's University Yearbook 1936, np.

89 Mitre, vol. 44, no. 4 (April 1937): 27.

90 Bishop's University Yearbook 1938, 49.

In addition to the Political Discussion Group and the Maths and Sciences Club, there were other groups intent on stimulating students intellectually. The Debating Society and the Mitre were traditional favourites, with the debates of each reflecting many contemporary issues and problems and thereby assisting the students in coming to terms with the world around them. Among the topics was the rise of fascism in Europe which fed a corresponding interest in the pacifist movement as we have seen. Among the favourite subjects of the debating society were women's issues, resulting in sessions on topics such as "A woman's place is in the home" and the value of co-education.[91] The Maths and Science Club was meant to introduce students to technological and scientific developments, as exemplified by the student paper presented on photography.

Each of the intellectual groups emphasized specific characteristics in students to hone the governing class of society.[92] For instance, the field trips made by the Maths and Sciences Club to local pulp mills and asbestos mines illustrated practical applications of scientific developments. In addition to gaining information, the students were also developing their skills of oration and persuasion to prepare themselves for future roles of responsibility. For example, the Literary and Debating Society organized activities such as the mock trials, the Mock Parliament and the Mock World Conference, not only as games but also as means of understanding important "real world" concepts such as justice and the balance of power. The students were trying to interpret the world by working through and with these symbols of democracy.[93] Each activity helped the students to adapt the knowledge from the classroom and the media to real life situations.

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[91] "Students At Bishop's Held Fine Debate," SDR, 1 February 1930, 5; "McGill won in Debate Over Bishop's Team," SDR, 1 March 1930, 10.

[92] Bishop's University Yearbook 1937, np.

[93] "Literary and Debating Society," Bishop's University Yearbook 1931, 33.

During the 1930s, student organizations encouraging intellectual pursuits were of particular significance because they were preparing the participants for future leadership. The skills attained helped students to break down and then assimilate information which was to be used to guide or influence others. Furthermore, these exercises encouraged students to consider contemporary events and problems in preparation for the real world. While in some cases women students were encouraged to participate, the segregated Debating Society and the curtailed female presence on campus meant that women tended to be less visible in the co-educational activities.

While organized extracurricular activities provided students with ways of expressing and creating identities with the sanction of the university's administration, it was in the area of discipline and student conduct that the students actively challenged administrative principles. Issues of conduct were regulated by the rules set out in the volume, Rules, Orders and Regulations for the Conduct and Government of Bishop's College. Each year new students were required to sign the following declaration upon entering the university:

> I A.B. do solemnly promise and declare that I will, with the assistance of Divine Grace, faithfully obey the Laws of the College, and diligently prosecute all studies required of me, according to the Rules of the Institution.[94]

This declaration was signed by incoming students in a university ledger. It was kept on record, presumably to be brought out when a student failed to uphold his or her word. The wording of the declaration formally precluded any protest or challenge of the articulated

[94] BUA, Rules, Orders and Regulations for the Conduct and Government of Bishop's College and the University of Bishop's College (Lennoxville, PQ: np, nd), 6-7. The Entrance Register was a volume with this excerpt printed on the top of each page. Each student then signed below it. BUA, Entrance Register, (1900-53).

rules and regulations by the students. That this provision failed to keep all the students from questioning the established order is evident in issues of discipline.

In the surveys, students recalled no major disciplinary problems, but listed a number of minor ones that one would expect to plague a campus of young men. Included in the list are tardiness, academic problems (including cheating), failure to attend chapel, climbing the bridge and tower, water fights in the residences, red blankets hung in the window for May Day, and numerous pranks carried out at the expense of others.[95] The range of punishments was usually appropriate to the misdemeanor. They included gating, fines, lectures, suspension of student activities, being "sent down" and, ultimately, suspension.[96]

From observations, the disciplinary problems at the university could be divided into the four following categories. First there were personal rights issues, such as compulsory chapel and curfews. At least some of the students believed that they were mature enough to make decisions like these without administrative assistance. As a result, they were often pushing the boundaries by not conforming, or filing complaints through the Mitre and the Students' Association to the principal and the Corporation.

The second category of disciplinary problems included personal challenges. Students were often reprimanded for climbing the bridge and the university tower. These physical challenges were often undertaken by young men simply because they were there to do. The height of these obstacles could have also represented the individual's increased status to manliness, as an exhibition of physical prowess.

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[95] "Surveys," question 21, surveys.

[96] "Surveys," question 21, surveys. Gating meant that the student lost the privilege of leaving the university. Being "sent down" suspended the students academic pursuits by sending him or her home.

Thirdly there were academic problems. Not surprisingly, such problems were related to students' academic progress. Obvious troubles included academic dishonesty and failure to live up to academic expectations. The McGreer Papers report the case of a student "sent down" (sent home, or in this case, sent to an aunt's home) for a week in 1934 to consider his academic future.[97]

Fourthly and finally were the student pranks which produced the most amusing stories from the period. Examples included stealing the gun from the Lennoxville War Memorial, and three students each stealing one page of the Governor General's speech during the Convocation exercises.[98] Another such story is recounted in the surveys:

> I'm not sure what relation that had to the incident of locking the Principal in the Chapel after a week-day Evensong--the fire door was firmly placed in front of the door exit from the Chapel. Dr. McGreer as you can imagine was livid. He called a meeting of those who were not in the Chapel--[the meeting was] held in the upstairs hall--when he went to go out[,] the door had a rope tied to the knob of the door across the hall and he could not get out, until somebody cut the rope!...We learnt via the grape vine who the original perpetrators were, but McGreer never found out![99]

Pranks were popular with students for a number of reasons. First of all, they were anonymous; even the survey respondents did not name the pranksters. Secondly, the students were challenging both authority and its values. They often attacked the sacred, as in the case of the Governor General who was the King's representative in Canada, the

[97] BUA, MP, Box 5 (1933-4), File C5 (CH3-CU), McGreer to Miss Colby, 14 November 1934; MP, Box 5 (1933-4), File A1 (AB-AR), McGreer to Carroll Aikins, 14 November 1934.

[98] "Surveys," question 21, survey 18; "End Comments," survey 5.

[99] "Surveys," "End Comments," survey 5; this story was also reported in survey 18.

principal after chapel, or the symbol of Canada's war dead. Students thereby demonstrated that their support of the establishment was by no means unanimous or unqualified.

Because they were issues related to personal freedom, the late leaves and mandatory chapel attracted the most contemporary discussion from the students. As attempts by the administration to control and direct the morality of the students, both were strongly defended by the principal. The students often circumvented the locked door that enforced the curfew by climbing in and out of the residences through the fire escapes, which they also called "emergency entrances".[100] Unfortunately, this was a dangerous alternative, and, as one student pointed out, the risk increased as the administration raised the levels of the fire escapes to prevent such escapades.[101] The student reaction to these rules was to send the student council president to ask the principal to have the doors remain unlocked until a later hour. At a May 1934 Students' Association meeting the motion was passed to have the president ask the principal to have the doors left open until 11:30 or midnight from 10 p.m. The principal refused to comply.[102] A similar appeal was made in October 1935 asking McGreer to bring the matter to the corporation.[103] The minutes of the corporation reveal that this did not happen. Interestingly, this time the students were only trying to have leave extended to 10:30.

To support their campaign, the following year students requested information from other universities through the National Federation of Canadian University Students (NFCUS). They found out that the late leaves at Bishop's were only comparable to the

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[100] "More Definitions," Mitre, vol. 46, no. 2 (Dec 1938): 32.

[101] "Editorial," Mitre, vol. 42, no. 5 (June 1935): 5.

[102] BUA, SAM, 8 May 1934, 235; SAM, 29 May 1934, 236.

[103] BUA, SAM, 16 October 1935, 266.

most conservative rules applied to female students at other institutions. At the University of Alberta, for example, there were no rules governing the doors and students were free to come and go as they pleased. The results of the informal survey were printed in the Mitre.[104] Despite the challenges made by the students on the issue of late leaves, the administration made no changes during the 1930s.

The students were somewhat more successful in their challenge of the mandatory chapel rule. As an Anglican college which trained clergy, religion remained of particular significance at Bishop's during the 1930s. Despite the changes which affected compulsory Latin, Divinity classes remained mandatory for almost all students throughout their three years.[105] Similarly, chapel attendance remained mandatory for all male students in residence. In response to protests, the number of chapel attendances per week was reduced in 1933 from seven to five, one of which was to be the Sunday service. However, local day students were now also expected to attend, which was not apparently the case before the reforms.[106]

When the required number of chapel attendences was reduced, the principal reminded the students that:

> ...it was the intention of the founders of Bishop's College to provide here opportunity for all-round development in which the spiritual as well as the intellectual and physical have a place...Students entering Bishop's should recognize that this was a university which provided for the whole man. If that was not the kind of education they required, they were not obliged to come to Bishop's; they might seek an education elsewhere. But if they remained at Bishop's, they must obey the college rules.[107]

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[104] "These Late Leaves," Mitre, vol. 43. no. 4 (April 1936): 8-9.

[105] Only those who pursued an Honours course were exempted.

[106] "A Change in the Chapel Rule," Mitre, vol. 41, no. 1 (October 1933): 41.

[107] Ibid.

The debate was not muted by McGreer's threat. The value of mandatory chapel was even questioned by the Dean of Divinity. Carrington tried to change the nature of the services, but McGreer refused to allow it.[108]

The students continued to raise the issue in the Mitre. In June 1935, an editorial suggested that mandatory chapel might actually be counter-productive.[109] It also questioned why compulsory chapel only applied to male students. As one editorial pointed out, "Why are some members of the institution shepherded into a requisite number of chapels, and others forbidden to pass the gate?"[110] In the interviews conducted by Clark-Jones, women students recalled that they were not made to feel welcome at chapel.[111]

We can only speculate about McGreer's apparent objection to women attending chapel services. Somewhat shockingly, it might seem that he was not concerned for the spiritual well-being of his female students. One could argue that he assumed that since most women lived at home or with family, they did not require spiritual guidance from the university, yet he made the Sunday chapel services mandatory even for the male day students. It is entirely possible that McGreer believed that having women attend the chapel services would be disruptive to the sanctity of the service. As the university's last clerical principal, McGreer was struggling to maintain the traditions upon which the institution was based. In any case, while the chapel did remain compulsory for the male students, they

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[108] BUA, MP, Box 5 (1933-34), File D1 (DA-DE), letter from McGreer to Carrington, 12 December, 1934. While not exclusively based on the issue of mandatory chapel, tensions between McGreer and Carrington led to Carrington being banned from preaching in chapel. Nicholl, 190.

[109] ECR, "Editorial," Mitre, vol. 42, no. 3 (February 1935) 4.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Bishop's women's education, Interview 2, 32; Interview 10, 196.

were able to bring about change, and they refused to be bullied into silence on the subject by the administration.

Disciplinary problems, particularly among the students in residence, reflected a still more direct rejection of the values imposed by the administration. Symptomatic of this trend was the evolution during the 1930s of two student groups, the Parchesi Club and the Frothblowers. These student groups mimicked the fraternities cropping up at other universities. According to one survey respondent, the Parchesi Club was made up of students from the Old Arts Building residence who drank ale. The Frothblowers lived in the New Arts and drank beer. If somewhat secretive initially, members became bolder through the thirties and their activities, including initiations and banquets, were reported in the Mitre. Surprisingly, there is even one reference to a female student being initiated into their ranks, although her name was not published.[112] In comparison, discipline was hardly an issue among the female students, especially because they did not live on campus and very few of their activities took place there.

Taken as a whole, the extracurricular activities at Bishop's during the 1930s are important to understanding the formation of student identities. The segregation of many activities based on gender ensured that female students were unable to participate fully in a common student culture. It is also important to keep in mind the changing status of women students, which was usually based on the perception of how much they could contribute to an activity. This segregation occurred on different levels. In some cases, the divisions were set out by the male Students' Association and, in others, the administration also contributed by limiting women's access to activities. On another level, women students seemed less inclined to be ranked into sub-groups than did the male students who were

[112] "Surveys," questions 23-4, survey 14; "Notes and Comments," Mitre, vol. 45, no 5 (June 1938): 35; "Notes and Comments," Mitre, vol. 46, no. 4 (April 1939): 31.

divided according to year, residence, and faculty. Men also participated in certain activities which promoted specifically masculine traits such as physical prowess through organized sports and military training. Activities were also clearly set up to encourage students to develop characteristics which would be useful later in life, particularly in leadership roles in Canadian society. As Axelrod suggests, the wide variety of potential activities were designed to ensure that each student was given the opportunity to develop to his or her potential, but still within the boundaries defined by the institution.

Conclusion

This thesis has basically attempted to fulfill three goals. First of all, it has considered issues from the university students' perspective rather than simply simply treating them as products of administrative policy. It has also outlined the multiplicity of student experiences and identities, challenging the traditional perception of a normative student experience. Finally it has attempted to determine the extent to which Bishop's students participated in a common English-Canadian student culture while also exploring the importance of regionalism to the university's mandate and the resulting impact on the students.

As Axelrod suggests, a Canadian university student culture did exist in the 1930s, distinguished as it was by an increasingly practical approach to post-secondary education. Because of social and economic changes, universities became called upon to provide the work force in an increasingly bureaucratic and technological society. This trend was clearly demonstrated in the academic courses offered to and taken by students, their future career expectations, and the activities that they participated in. Striving to achieve or preserve middle-class status, students completed degrees in the hopes of securing employment. The traditional focus in universities on a classical education which advocated the pursuit of truth and knowledge as an end in and of itself was sacrificed to increasingly specialized academic programs and the development of professional schools. This made it necessary for colleges like Bishop's to adapt their programs to meet these needs, while they struggled to preserve elements of the classical education which had defined them for so long.

These developments were reflected in the career aspirations cited especially by male students, who saw the promise of jobs in engineering and research and development fields. It was also clearly demonstrated in the instantaneous popularity of the Bachelor of

Arts in Science degree, which eliminated the mandatory Latin course from degree requirements. Even the afternoons which had once been reserved for extracurricular activities were taken up by the demands of laboratory time. The 1930s were a transitional period. Extracurricular activities were still considered important to develop strong leadership skills, but increasingly students required a more tangible return, such as academic credits, from their educational investment.

While subject to these larger social forces, on a personal level the experiences of students were still strongly influenced by local conditions. As a small post-secondary institution in the Eastern Townships, Bishop's had a particular responsiblity to serve the regional community and educate its young people. The university's location near the regional centre of Sherbrooke, especially influenced the composition of the student population. This research speculates that because it was possible for many to live at home while attending university, Bishop's students might have been even more likely than Axelrod's sampling suggests to be the off-spring of lower middle-class and working-class families. Bishop's had therefore managed to offer a form of university education that was affordable and accessible to the English-speaking population which lived within commuting distance. Also during the thirties, the university was playing a particular role in preserving the anglophone presence in the Townships training both Anglican ministers and public school teachers. Finally, the university also tried to accomodate the research and development needs of local resource-based industries.

Challenging the myth that Canadian university students during the 1930s were not exclusively or even principally products of the privileged economic elite allows for a re-examination of the normative student experience. At Bishop's, the principal's reports, student writings, and the insitution's promotional material conveyed an image of the student as a male enrolled in the Arts Faculty living in residence. The research illustrates that there were many students who could not afford to live on campus. Because of this,

they could not participate fully in the student experience which was tied tightly to residence life.

Such limitations were particularly true for the female students at Bishop's during this period. Our exploration of alternate student identities revealed the strength of the small community of female students. Without a doubt, the female students were consistently identified by the administration, the male student population and themselves as "others". Throughout the thirties, female students were denied the space on campus and in residence that would have permitted them to challenge the defined ideal normative experience.

Rather than examining female students in isolation from their male counterparts, this thesis has attempted to study their experiences in a comparative fashion, allowing for areas where the two might have come together. Additionally, instead of unconditionally accepting the normative ideal and perpetuating it, I have tried to look at both masculinity and femininity in terms of social expectations. For instance, male students used structures such as the Students' Association to perpetuate a hierarchical student society which distinguished students according to years. Students were also identified by the Arts or Divinity option and even by residences. All of these rivalries were played out through activities such as sports, games and debates. These official or unofficial hierarchies were perpetuated by events such as initiations which limited access to the higher echelons, especially for first year students. It seems that these many cleavages allowed male students to belong to many different groups at the same time. Because these memberships overlapped, they ultimately resulted in a stronger common loyalty to the university. Escaping normative paradigms has allowed a broader definition of the university community to emerge, a definition which includes students, such as women, who did not or could not conform to the normative ideal.

While organized activities highlighting internal rivalries, less formal student activities also dechallenged the administration's position on late leaves and mandatory chapel attendence. As issues of personal freedom among young male adults, resistance came in the form of non-compliance and challenges to the policies through the Mitre and directly to the principal through the Association president. These attempts were only marginally successful in bringing about change, thwarted mostly by McGreer's morally driven sense of responsibility for the male students.

While by no means a complete documentation of the student experience during the period of the 1930s, this research does lay the ground work for future studies. Further research could include examining the economic background of students from outlying parts of the Townships and analysing the careers and direction of students after graduation based on alumni records. There is also potential for exploring other aspects of student culture at the university by looking at life in residence and the various social events.

During the 1930s, university students were a unique group, enabled as they were to avoid, at least temporarily, the chronic unemployment of the period. Until recently they have generally been perceived as a part of a privileged elite during an era of economic hardship, an image which clings particularly to Bishop's as an Anglo-Protestant bastion of conservatism in a French-speaking province. It is clear, however, that there were a significant number of students who employed cost-saving measures to allow them to attend university by winning scholarships, gaining sponsorships or living at home. Despite the advantage of their education, they were uncertain about the future, recognizing that they could only bide their time and wait for things to improve.

APPENDIX A

January 1994
New Westminster, BC

Dear Bishop's Graduate:

First, I would like to introduce myself. My name is Maija Leivo and I graduated from Bishop's in the spring of 1992. I am currently working on my Masters degree in History at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. For my thesis project, I have chosen to write about the experience of the students who attended Bishop's during the 1930's. In many ways I feel I already know many of you from my readings of the Mitre and the Students's Council Minutes but, despite much hard work, I still have many questions. This is why I am distributing this survey.

I realize that you may not be able to answer all of the questions, but I ask you to complete what you can, as all this information will help me to understand your experience there, and the things that made your group unique.

I hope that if I have not left you enough room that you will continue your answers on the back or on a separate piece of paper. I am interested in what you have to say. I also ask that you return the surveys by January 31, 1994, in order that I have enough time to incorporate your answers into my thesis, which I hope to have completed in April.

Guarantee of confidentiality
All information provided in the surveys will remain confidential. The findings reported in my thesis will be coded so that individual identities will not be revealed. After I have completed my thesis, the survey responses will be destroyed to maintain confidentiality.

Right to Withdraw
If for some reason you decide that you would like to remove your survey from my research, you may do so any time up until April 30, 1994. If you are uncomfortable contacting me, my supervisor, Dr. Jack Little, can be reached at (604) 291-4533.

If you are interested in the product of this research, the thesis itself will be deposited in the the archives at Simon Fraser University after completion.

The surveys are to be returned to me at the following address:

Maija Leivo
#204-315 10th St.
New Westminster, BC
V3M 3Y2

Thank you so much for your co-operation and please do not hesitate to call if you have any questions. I am available at (604) 521-0523.

Yours sincerely, Maija Leivo

SURVEY

BACKGROUND

1)Name: 2)Sex:

3)When did you attend Bishop's?

4)Which program were you in?

5)Why did you attend university? eg. personal development, social opportunities, parental pressure?

6)Why did you attend Bishop's specifically?

7)What were your expectations of the university? What did you plan to do after graduation?

8)Who financed your education? You? Your parents? Both?

9)Did you work at any time while attending Bishop's? Was it summer employment or part-time work during the academic year?

10)Did you have other family members who attended Bishop's?

11)How much education did your father have?

12)What was his occupation?

13)How much education did your mother have?

14)Was she ever employed? What did she do?

15)Did you live at home, board, or live in residence? Why?

FACULTY

16)When you were a student, what were your impressions of Principal McGreer?

17)Describe the general character of the faculty at Bishop's? Did they have responsibilites **other** than teaching? How was your interaction with them?

18)What was the role of faculty wives at Bishop's? What contact did you have with them?

ACTIVITIES

19)With which activities were you involved at Bishop's? Were they important to your experience there?

20)Were alcohol and cigarettes significant parts of your experience? To the student experience?

21)Were there ever disciplinary problems at the University? What were they and how were they dealt with?

22)What was the students' view of the Mitre? Did it reflect any of your values at the time?

23)Who were the Frothblowers? What was their significance?

24)What was the Parchesi Club? What was their significance?

GENERAL

25)How do you think your gender affected your experience at Bishop's?

26)What was the university's relationship with the community?

27)Do you think the fact that you attended university in the 1930's affected your experience in any way?

28)How were students' identities created? Were they defined by their grades, their activities, the sports they played?

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