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**Producing Educated Women:
Eveline LeBlanc and the University of Ottawa**

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Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in History - Specialization Women Studies

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Canada

In Memory of

John Muir

Summary

As a French-Canadian, Catholic institution, the University of Ottawa's practices and policies traditionally reflected the philosophy that universities served primarily to train boys for the professions. This ideal remained in effect until the mid-1950s when the University of Ottawa first considered actively recruiting women students. In 1959, the University hired Eveline LeBlanc to organize an initiative to actively recruit women students. This thesis explores two issues of importance to the study of women's history. Firstly, the main theme of this thesis pertains to Eveline LeBlanc and her professional role as a person of authority within the all-male, Catholic based administrative structure at the University of Ottawa during its transition to a co-educational institution. Secondly, this thesis also looks at the experiences of women students at the University of Ottawa from the mid-1950s until the mid-1960s as they struggle to obtain acceptance and define their position in a predominantly male setting.

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Introduction

In the nineteenth century, Canadians accepted that both boys and girls should receive the rudiments of an education. Higher education, however, was a completely different matter. English Canadian universities did not begin to accept female students into mainstream, non-care-giving academic programs until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This move was opposed by many because higher education could release women from their household duties and increase the possibility of their entry into the public sphere, a sphere of influence outside of their traditional role as wives and mothers.

As a private, French-Canadian, Catholic institution run by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the University of Ottawa's practices and policies reflected the philosophy that universities served primarily to train boys for the professions. For this reason, the University of Ottawa did not accept women into its academic programs until 1919 when the Senate approved the Bachelor of Arts programme for women's colleges.¹ Young women desiring to further their education, were admitted to convents or to one of the two affiliated colleges for women, Collège Notre-Dame and Bruyère College. From 1919 until 1950, the majority of female students not registered at an affiliated college enrolled in either the Normal School² or in the Nursing Sciences programme.³ Prior to

¹In 1919 4 nuns received their bachelor of arts degrees. In 1930, Sister Mary St. Andrew was the first woman to receive a Master of Arts degree from the University of Ottawa. In 1932, Sister Joseph-Arthur and Thérèse Archambault became the first women to receive a doctoral degree from the University of Ottawa.

²The Normal School was established in 1923.

³The School of Nursing, located at the Ottawa General Hospital was founded by the Grey Nuns in 1896 and affiliated with the University of Ottawa in 1929.

1955, the majority of these women received a general Bachelor of Arts.⁴ In general these women either held a religious vocation or were interested in the care-giving professions. While there were no official policies against women in programs of study oriented towards traditionally male professions, few women took courses outside of a general arts degree or those in the Nursing and Teaching fields.⁵

In 1959, the University of Ottawa hired Eveline LeBlanc, who was at the time working with the Ministry of Agriculture in Quebec to promote training in domestic science to young women in rural areas of Quebec, as Student Recruiting Officer. She was to administer a new initiative designed to actively recruit women into academic programs, but more particularly into the soon to be opened School of Domestic Science. LeBlanc soon became responsible for the development and implementation of activities designed to make potential female students, their teachers, and parents aware of the variety of opportunities that a University education could provide for women graduates. In the process, she made them aware of the variety of careers for which they could prepare at the University of Ottawa.

⁴There are a few exceptions to this. For instance, in 1950, one lay student received a degree in Commerce. In 1951, 4 students received a Bachelor in Library Science, and 3 in Medicine. In 1952, 5 women received a PhD in Arts, 20% of whom were nuns.

⁵It is difficult to know how many students received "Certificates in Nursing" as they are not listed with the University of Ottawa Lists of Graduates 1929-1966 until approximately 1959. There are a small number of women listed in the University of Ottawa Lists of Graduates who received their Bachelor of Science in Nursing Degrees in the early 1950s. (1950 - 2; 1951 - none; 1952 - 2; 1953 - 2; 1954 - 9) That said, the University of Ottawa's official history indicates that Elizabeth Story graduated in 1932 with a Bachelor of Science in Nursing. In addition to the course requirements for the Registered Nurse Certificate, Story passed a series of examinations for the Bachelor of Science degree with such high grades that the University granted the degree in recognition of her high academic achievement.

Women were first admitted to Ottawa University in 1919. However, until 1955, women, especially lay women, were a small minority of students outside of traditional feminine fields such as Nursing.⁶ For this reason, LeBlanc's appointment marked a double departure for the University. She was the first high-ranking female administrator at the University of Ottawa. In addition, LeBlanc was to attract women students, who until then had not been encouraged to apply for admission.

As a privately run, Catholic institution, the University of Ottawa provides historians with an opportunity to study the manner in which the University attempted to address the demand of female students to attend University rather than affiliated colleges offering students only Bachelor of Arts degrees. This thesis will address two sets of questions, those related to the admission of female students, and those related to the appointment of LeBlanc first as Student Recruiting Officer and later as Dean of Women.

One of the most important questions presented in this thesis concerns the University of Ottawa's decision to design a program to recruit female students. Did the University hire a female recruiting officer to try to direct female students, which it felt it could not prevent from attending, towards programs suitable for women? From which programs did female students initially graduate and did this change during LeBlanc's seven year tenure? What were the dominant social and academic attitudes that confronted women students during LeBlanc's tenure with the University of Ottawa?

There are also questions which one would like to ask that cannot be answered.

⁶Statistics on the number of female students graduating from the University of Ottawa between 1950 and 1960 are available in the table in Appendix 1 of this thesis.

Did the University target only white women? Middle-class women? Catholic women? Did non-white, middle-class Catholic or Protestant women attend? Did the number of women students applying for undergraduate studies increase during LeBlanc's tenure with the University of Ottawa? Unfortunately, only student files can address these questions and they are not accessible due to privacy regulations. In addition, the University of Ottawa Archives does not contain admissions statistics. These might only be available if one were to look at student files.⁷

The appointment of Eveline LeBlanc offers the opportunity to address a second set of questions. Did LeBlanc fulfil or change the expectations of the University regarding women students? What was her role in incorporating female students into University programs as well as developing services for these students? The appointment of LeBlanc offers the opportunity to investigate the experiences of women students not pursuing higher education in affiliated colleges as well as the academic and career opportunities for women.

Neither topic has attracted much attention from historians, as the historiographical survey in chapter 1 shows. These issues are nonetheless important to the development of the history of women in higher education which has to date not addressed problems encountered by women students entering Universities in the 1950s, let alone a Catholic and private institution. Initially, the University of Ottawa had intended to recruit women into traditional fields of study such as Domestic Science. The University actively promoted the idea that potential students would receive an education

⁷The sources used for this paper and their limitations are discussed in Appendix 2 at the end of this paper.

which they could apply to their future roles in society (presumably as wives and mothers but not necessarily as professionals). While LeBlanc fulfilled this role, she also introduced women students to the variety of careers available outside of the traditional feminine fields. LeBlanc played an essential role in the admission of women at the University of Ottawa. Her efforts eased the University's transition to a co-educational institution offering services to both male and female students.

Chapter 1: Historiography

The question of women in higher education may be looked at from two possible angles: from the point of view of the students, or from the point of view of the female academic professionals. The historiographical section of this paper will be divided in two sections. The first deals with works that discuss women in higher education as well as the theories that more recent social historians apply to their work. The second section will give a brief outline of recent historiography on women in academe.

Most of the historical research on higher education for women in Canada focuses on the period prior to the 1930s when women students gained access to most universities. There are few, if any, studies that explore the experiences of women students entering Canadian university programs in the mid-twentieth century. While there is occasional mention of women university students in the 1950s,⁸ it is generally a smaller portion of a larger study.⁹ This lack of historiographical material creates a void for historians wishing to study the social identity or experiences of women university students after the 1930s. One such group, comprised students requesting admission to Academic programs at the University of Ottawa between 1950 and 1968. The University of Ottawa is unique in that it was still one of the few universities in Canada

⁸See W.P.J. Millar and R.D. Gidney, "Medettes: Thriving or Just Surviving? Women Students in the Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto, 1910-1951," in Challenging Professions: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Women's Professional Work, ed. By Elizabeth Smyth et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

⁹The exception to this rule are the studies which have been written on Quebec's schools of Domestic Science.

that did not openly admit women into its programs.¹⁰ As late as the early 1950s, the University of Ottawa was still extremely reluctant to admit women into traditionally masculine fields such as Science, Philosophy, Business (Accounting, Commerce) or Law.¹¹

The historiography on Canadian women and higher education falls into two overlapping categories: institutional and social history. Social historians remain very empirical in their study of women's higher education. The first phase, work written prior to the mid-1980's,¹² approaches the subject from the perspective of particular institutions as they began to admit women into academia. While these historians may occasionally refer to social issues, the reference is usually vague and in the context of admission requirements or curriculum changes. Women are mentioned only with respect to the development of the institution's ability to cater to those women seeking to gain a higher education, or to the process of changes within the institution as it admitted female students.

¹⁰McGill University is an exception in this case since it did not allow women entrance into its medical school until the 1960s.

¹¹The first graduating class in the Faculty of Medicine graduated in 1951 and included three women. The first female graduate to receive her Bachelor in Commerce, received it in 1950 and was part of a class of thirty-two students. The first female graduate to officially receive her Bachelor of Science degree, received it in 1952. Mrs. Harry T. Roesler received her Doctor of Law in Social Science in 1950. These statistics are calculated based on data from the University of Ottawa Archives, Fonds 77, Lists of Graduates 1929-1966 and are representative only of the programs where women students were present. There were no female student graduates in Theology.

¹²Alison Prentice's The School Promoters, first written in 1974, is the exception here. The School Promoters will be discussed at a later point in this paper.

Two general works which most historians cite as reference materials for further research dealing with women and higher education in Canada belong to the first phase. The first of these works, The Proper Sphere¹³, written in 1976, is a collection of documents intended for an undergraduate readership. This collection serves as an introduction to late nineteenth century debates surrounding the higher education of women in Canada. Varying in nature and range from the expression of public opinion restricting access to higher education for women,¹⁴ to letters and public speeches endorsing higher education leading to non-traditional professions,¹⁵ these documents demonstrate early arguments supporting and opposing higher education for women. The collection was designed to draw the reader's attention to an issue which deserved further research and analysis.

Similarly, Margaret Gillet's We Walked Very Warily¹⁶, is a general reference work

¹³Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, The Proper Sphere: A Woman's Place in Canadian Society (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976)

¹⁴For example: 'Sweet Girl Graduates,' extracted from Queen's College Journal, Kingston, December 16, 1876.; 'Training For Housework,' extracted from Helen Cameron Parker, 'Technical Schools for Women,' The Canadian Magazine, 1893, volume 1, pages 634-637.

¹⁵For example: 'An Endorsement of Higher Education For Women,' extracted from Principal Grant of Queen's University, 'Education and Co-education,' The Canadian Monthly and National Review, November 1879, volume III, pages 509-518. [Inaugural lecture of 9th session of Montreal Ladies' Educational Association.]; 'Professions for Women,' extracted from 'Letters on the Education and Employment of Women,' The Canada Education Monthly, 1879, volume VI, pages 202-205.; 'The First Women Medical Students,' extracted from 'Historical Sketch of Medical Education of Women in Kingston', read before the Osler Club, Queen's University, September 14, 1916.

¹⁶ Margaret Gillet We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill (Montreal, Canada: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981).

that provides historians with a background on the issues concerning higher education. Mainly institutional in nature, it serves as a guideline to further research in the realm of educational research on women. In her introduction, "What Would You Have a Woman Know?" Gillet discusses the historical background and ideas surrounding the "Conventions of ladyhood,"¹⁷ as well as the opening of certain aspects of higher education to women. In her introduction, Gillet explores the nineteenth and early twentieth century belief that women should be shielded from the "crassness of college life where, ideally, any subject might be explored to its limit." Women should not be introduced to ideas in the "natural" domain of men which might threaten their health, well-being, "and by extension the health and well-being of the [their family] and the community."¹⁸

Gillet's first chapter places her topic in its social context; afterwards her work focuses on the institutional aspect of higher education at McGill. Gillet detailed the process of change which allowed women to gradually gain admittance to McGill, but does not provide a detailed analysis of their experiences (academic or social) as women students on a predominantly male campus. Historians such as Marks and Gaffield have described Gillet's study as "anecdotal"¹⁹ and they have a point. Readers are provided with the dates and descriptions of events or changes, as well as numerous photographs,

¹⁷Gillet 1.

¹⁸Ibid 3.

¹⁹Lynn Marks and Chad Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University 1895-1905: A Little Sphere All Their Own," Ontario History Quarterly: Journal of the Ontario Historical Society, (Volume LXVIII, Number 4, December 1986) 346.

but there is little discussion concerning their impact on women students. What impact did these changes have on the process of higher education for women? Did the change from separate lectures in the faculty of medicine for men and women²⁰ to admitting women directly into the faculty of medicine, have any impact on other medical schools? Did these changes occur as a result of a shift in public opinion in favour of women and higher education? Or, did the public opinion change as a result of the opening of McGill to female students? While Gillet presents the reader with a series of changes, their overall impact is unclear. For this reason, Gillet's work provides the reader with an introduction to the subject from an institutional point of view. Historians use Gillet's work as a starting point to identify the type of material which has already been looked at, as well as obtaining an idea of the questions left unanswered in previous institutional histories. Social historians continue to refer to Gillet's work. While she does not fully address social issues, Gillett identifies areas which need further attention that are pertinent for later periods of study as well.

John G. Reid's article, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914,"²¹ is an institutional history of Mount Allison Ladies Academy until it amalgamated with Mount Allison University. Like Margaret Gillett, Reid uses public institutional records²² to detail changes within the university system. For this reason, a large portion of Reid's

²⁰Gillet 218.

²¹John G. Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914," Acadiensis, volume 12, Number 2, Spring, 1983, pages 3-34.

²²For instance: An inaugural address delivered at the opening of Mount Allison Ladies Academy; Ladies Academy Catalogue; Minutes from the Board of Trustee meetings.

essay consists of the dates and events concerning changes to both the admission requirements and curriculum of both the Ladies Academy and Mount Allison University. Lack of reference to non-academic gazettes, or statistics on the future of graduates, makes it difficult for Reid to adequately discuss more contemporary issues such as class and gender.

As an institutional history, "Women at Mount Allison" is one of the few works in the first phase of historical research on higher education, that mentions, albeit in a minor way, issues of class. For instance, Reid notes that in 1893, Humphrey Pickard, a newly appointed principal of the ladies academy declared that the clientele of the institution should be "fully representative" of the social classes of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.²³ This seems appropriate since, as Reid states, the institution was initially the only one of its kind in the Maritimes. Although Reid briefly mentions the issue of social class, "Women at Mount Allison" focuses predominantly on the growth of Mount Allison Ladies Academy until it amalgamated with the university which had begun admitting women on a regular basis.

Reid touches on gender in his discussion of the administrative and academic experiences of women wishing to earn a university education equivalent to the one of their male counterparts. Reid's discussion of gender is scattered and present only in reference to official statements made regarding university policy. Of key interest, however, is the discussion of Grace Annie Lockhart's distinction as the first woman to be awarded a bachelor's degree. More recent historians infer from Miss Lockhart's degree

²³Reid 4.

that she attended mixed classes at Mount Allison University. However, as Reid very clearly indicates, Miss Lockhart took the majority of her courses as a student at the Ladies' Academy. Only in her final year, after receiving an M.L.A. in 1874, was she officially enrolled as a student at Mount Allison University.

"Women at Mount Allison" may be considered as an attempt to amalgamate both institutional and social history. However, while Reid makes an attempt to discuss gender and class, these discussions are limited by the lack of non-institutional sources such as student newspapers. While not clearly a social history, Reid's article indicates the beginnings of a gradual shift towards research on the history of higher education that is focussed on the construction of gender and class.

In contrast to Women at Mount Allison, Rose Sheinin and Lykke de la Cour's institutional history of the Ontario Medical College for Women takes the social construction of womanhood into account. "The Ontario Medical College for Women"²⁴ examines the history of the woman's medical college in Toronto and its role in advancing the cause of women in medicine. Although never allowed to grant degrees, the Ontario Medical College for women qualified its female students to "sit medical examinations at Trinity College, Victoria University, and Toronto University."²⁵ This qualification ensured that women could obtain the title required to legally practice medicine in Canada, a difficult feat since most universities would not allow women in their faculty of medicine.

²⁴ Rose Sheinin and Lykke de la Cour, "The Ontario Medical College for Women, 1883-1906: Lessons From Gender Separatism in Medical Education," in Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science, ed. by Marianne Gosztanyi Ainley (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990.)

²⁵Ibid 113.

Since this study approaches the topic from an institutional and social angle, it fits in both phases of historical research and is an example of how both phases overlap.

Sheinin and de la Cour use articles from Medical Journals and student newspapers to show how the Ontario Medical College for Women challenged commonly held notions that women were not capable of studying medicine. Sheinin's approach details the ways in which women challenged social norms and established their right to equal access to educational programs. This study is particularly important for researchers of higher education as it details the achievements of an institution created by women for women. In addition, Sheinin's article provides comparative material for studies of other universities which had affiliated women's colleges or schools.

The second phase of historiography consists of work written after the mid 1980s. This work takes a more social approach to women's educational history, recounting the experiences of women within the institution. The key difference between the two types of historical analysis is that social historians are more concerned with the students, their student life, social standing, class and religion, rather than institutional development. These historians investigate both the acceptability of further education and the way in which female students dealt with dominant social pressures to conform to the accepted and expected norms of marriage and motherhood. In addition, these works tend to explore both the separate spheres paradigm and what Joan Scott terms, "Gender, a useful category of historical analysis."²⁶ The mid 1980s also saw an increased interest in more theoretical perspectives on women's history. Historians of women in higher

²⁶Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender, A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," Gender and the Politics of History (Columbia University Press, 1988 and 1999) page 28.

education were no exception. Institutional historians had had little use for theory. By the mid 1980s, however, historians of women began to rely increasingly on various theories of gender, class, or patriarchy. Social historians and historians of women's education used some of these theories to inform their investigations.

Published in 1977, Alison Prentice's *The School Promoters*²⁷ is an attempt at combining both institutional and social history. Although it does not necessarily emphasize gender and class issues, it does touch on how social status and biological difference had an impact on the desire of mid nineteenth-century educational reformists such as Egerton Ryerson, to design a public system of education which would maintain the current social order. Prentice uses early editions (1848- 1853) of the Journal of Education in Upper Canada to outline the social history of a developing system of education. Charged with reorganizing the public school system, Ryerson viewed society as consisting of "mutually dependent ranks and orders." Failure to "adjust [to] one's place or role [it was implied] was unnatural and unbeautiful."²⁸ Wives and children, as Prentice states, were expected to accept their subordinate position in life.²⁹ While women should be educated, their education should prepare them for their future roles as wives and mothers. According to Ryerson, grammar school courses should only be used as "preparatory courses" for university and the professions. Therefore, these courses would be unsuitable for girls, whom it was assumed "were not interested in a university

²⁷Allison, Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1974, 1999).

²⁸Ibid 91

²⁹Ibid 108.

education.”³⁰

Although Prentice does not directly discuss gender and class, they are hinted at in her text as being worthy of further study. For instance, she indicates that one of the problems with Ryerson's ideas was that they homogenized women irrespective of social class by arguing that they needed to be “maintained in a protective environment.”³¹ True ladies, it was felt, would lose their character if they attempted to compete in professions traditionally dominated by men. The education of girls would be better spent through the instruction on proper etiquette and behaviour within their social circles. Girls were to be instructed in “womanly charms” rather than in practical skills which could then be used to obtain jobs.

Alison Prentice discusses education as a tool for maintaining an existing social order. This approach explains how an educational system may reinforce social values and class definitions. The School Promoters also served to introduce historians to an area of historical research which deserved further attention. It introduced historians to the ideas that class, gender, and education were worthy of further discussion and could be interlinked.

Although women's historians of the 1970s and 1980s increasingly relied on varying theoretical frameworks (class, patriarchy, and gender) to interpret their results, historians of Canadian women's education made limited use of those insights. A concept used in social history, class, may be defined in two ways. First, the Marxists use

³⁰Prentice 113.

³¹Ibid 113.

ownership of the means of production to define social class. The second use of this concept defines class according to income levels. Either way a woman's class was derived from her father's or husband's social class. While men could change class by changing their personal income level, women according to this definition, changed class only through marriage. Patriarchy, a concept which originated in the 1960s with the women's movement, promoted the idea that men wanted to dominate women and did. Under a system of patriarchy, the authority of men over women is maintained through social, political, economic, and religious institutions.

The use of these theories and concepts evolved rapidly in the 1980s. Some women historians tried to reconcile these theories and argued that class and patriarchy intersected. For instance, Heidi Hartman³² argued that the "material base" of patriarchy rests on men's ability to control the labour power of women. This control is maintained by excluding women from access to "some essential productive resources" (higher paying jobs) and by "restricting women's sexuality."³³ Historically, women have gained or been denied access to the means of production and resources through the men in their lives. A woman could quickly lose her *respectability* by deviating sexually or socially from the accepted norm and hence become "declassed."³⁴ Thus, for men, class was traditionally determined by economic status. For women, class was determined not only

³²Heidi Hartman, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," in Women and Revolution: A Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism, ed. By Lydia Sargent (U.S.A. : South End Press, 1981)

³³Ibid 15.

³⁴Gerda Lerner, Why History Matters: Life and Thought (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 178.

by the social position of a woman's husband but also by her ability to abide by social norms.³⁵

Historian Gerda Lerner, on the other hand, relies on both class and patriarchy to shape her discussion on women. She argues that class for women is connected or mediated through their "sexual ties to man."³⁶ Their connection to the class structure is mediated by the configuration of family, domestic labour, and their pursuant dependence on men (fathers, brothers, and husbands). Lerner depicts class as a process over time through which "hierarchical relations" are created and maintained in such a way as to give some men power and privilege over women and to other men by "their control over material resources, sexual and reproductive services, education and knowledge."³⁷ This control is maintained by a complex web of social relations which offer each group some advantages over other groups. These advantages are sufficient to keep each group within the social structure subordinate to the "top elite."³⁸

Class creates sets of relations whereby people gain access to a variety of resources and privileges. These include economic resources, political power, access to the networks through which society organizes power, and, of course, education. One's place or rank in the social hierarchy is determined by one's class and gender. As Lerner

³⁵Although written in 1980, Hartman's article "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," discusses the paradigm of class which is not used in the institutional histories written prior to the mid-1980s. For this reason, it is included in the second phase of historiography.

³⁶Lerner 177.

³⁷Ibid 184.

³⁸Ibid 184.

argued, "power in patriarchal societies has always been maintained through gender...dominance."³⁹ Although patriarchy is hierarchical, and although men from different backgrounds hold different places in the patriarchy, "they are also united in their shared relationship of dominance over women" while depending on each other to maintain that domination. Both Hartmann and Lerner agree that this control is maintained by restricting women's sexuality and excluding them from access to essential productive resources.

The attempt to reconcile class and patriarchy left some historians dissatisfied. The use of class as a concept also evolved. Historians such as E.P. Thomson,⁴⁰ argued that individuals could not constitute a class without being conscious of it. Class could not be a purely objective category. Rather, the concept of class had evolved to consider one's identity and thus included non-economic dimensions. In Gender and the Politics of History, Scott confronts the issue of class by advocating the use of gender rather than patriarchy as a method of defining historical analysis. She advocates the use of gender as a way of referring to the "social organization of the relationship between the sexes."⁴¹ According to Scott, gender may be used to identify both relationships of power and the "perceived differences between the sexes," which create social relationships.⁴²

Gender allows historians to investigate more clearly the shifting constructions of

³⁹Lerner 181.

⁴⁰E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Vintage, 1966).

⁴¹Scott 28.

⁴²Ibid 43.

womanhood and the way in which they are influenced by the variety of symbols⁴³ and factors associated with this construction. For instance, Gisele Thibault argued that the extension of higher education to women helped enforce twentieth century ideologies associated with the "exercise of women's domestic functions."⁴⁴ Opponents of higher education for women argued that women were biologically inferior to men, weak, frail and incapable of strenuous mental and physical exertion; too much study or employment outside of the domestic sphere would not only fatigue women because they had "smaller brains," but it would also ruin their reproductive organs.⁴⁵ According to such theories, university education for women should be limited to studies in feminine fields such as domestic science and childhood education. These paths, as Thibault argues, could ensure that women continued to fulfill their natural role as wives, mothers and caregivers. Promotion of these programs enforced the idea that the ideal woman would only live a fulfilled life if she married and had children, or if she were employed in a profession which involved the use of her nurturing and domestic abilities. If gender is a fundamental element of class identity, then women must conform to their class and gender norms. These norms determine the access of women to education and occupation.

Susan Russell, a British sociologist, argued that those women who received a

⁴³ For instance, images of Eve and Mary are frequently used in Western society to define womanhood; Eve symbolizing women failing to conform to social norms (everything dark, polluted and corrupt in one's character) and Mary symbolizing the ultimate example of purity, innocence, and silence (qualities historically sought in the ideal woman).

⁴⁴ Gisele Thibault, "Women and Education: on being Female in Male Places," Gender Bias in Scholarship: the Pervasive Prejudice, ed. Winnifred Tomm and Gordon Hamilton (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988) 70.

⁴⁵ Ibid 71.

degree of higher education could be instrumental in shifting class constraints and the position of women within society. In The Hidden Curriculum of School: Reproducing Gender and Class Hierarchies, Russell argued that students entered their schooling (public, secondary, or higher) with a "predisposition" for their place in society.⁴⁶ Schools contributed to the social reproduction of gender inequalities by streaming students according to pre-set gender hierarchies. Girls were encouraged to believe their "exclusive" role in life ought to be childbearing and child rearing. Any work obtained outside of the home, should be considered secondary to their role in the family.⁴⁷

In Women's Oppression Today, Michèle Barrett argues that the education which a woman receives "by virtue of her class background," will provide a significant contribution to the position which she will eventually occupy in the labour force.⁴⁸ Barrett argues that the educational system maintains teaching procedures and policies through which class differentiation is secured. First, the culture of the school defines and constructs femininity and masculinity. Gender determines which course of studies would be suitable for women. In addition, knowledge which is considered suitable for women by a particular society, "is not neutral but is constructed in the interests of the dominant class [and gender]."⁴⁹ Educational values shift dependent on the particular social values of that

⁴⁶Susan Russell, "The Hidden Curriculum of School: Reproducing Gender and Class Hierarchies," in Barrett, Michèle and Roberta Hamilton, ed., The Politics of Diversity (London: Verso, 1986) 345.

⁴⁷Ibid 343.

⁴⁸Michèle Barrett, "The Educational System: Gender and Class," in Women's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis, (London: Verso Editions and NLB, 1980) 138.

⁴⁹Ibid 147.

society. Both Russell and Barrett saw education as a manner of reflecting class values. Neither, however, concluded that gender made class, an argument later developed and adopted by most feminist historians.

Theories of class, gender, and patriarchy are more useful to social than institutional historians. However, despite the shift from institutional to social history, many historians of Canadian women and education remained very empirical. For instance, Paul Axelrod⁵⁰ sees the university institution as creating a new social class, rather than reinforcing the existing social order. The title, Making a Middle Class, infers that university education created a new middle class. Axelrod describes this new middle class as consisting of "upwardly mobile working class" professionals (engineers, dentists, civil servants, and pharmacists).⁵¹

Making a Middle Class provides a different model for the study of higher education, focussing on the students rather than on the institution. The study of the student population as an active agent of change, presents an opportunity for historians to look at questions concerning the social (outside of academia) lives of women. Axelrod does not focus specifically on women and higher education, but notes that women who aspired to non-traditional professional careers such as medicine and engineering, faced many barriers. Although universities admitted women to these programs, gender equality was not a reality. These women were still expected to eventually fulfill their domestic roles as wives and mothers. Axelrod's book represents a shift in educational

⁵⁰Paul Axelrod, Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties (Montreal & Kingston: Mc-Gill-Queen's University Press, 1990)

⁵¹Ibid 7.

history, from the institution and its founders, to the students and their impact on society.

Historian Lee Stewart's article "Women on Campus in British Columbia: Strategies For Survival, Years of War and Peace 1906-1920,"⁵² takes an innovative approach on the subject of higher education and women.⁵³ Unlike Prentice and Paul Axelrod, Stewart analyses gender relations⁵⁴ on campus. She uses the development of the Ladies Literary Society at McGill University College⁵⁵ to show how female students made a concerted effort to prove their abilities both as scholars and as public speakers.

"Women on Campus in British Columbia: Strategies for Survival," uses University Annuals to detail how women adjusted to the conflicting demands and expectations "inherent in the university community."⁵⁶ Stewart uses the Literary Debating Societies to demonstrate the conflicting images of womanhood facing female students. She argues that the 1920 Ladies Literary and Debating Society served as a way to encourage female students to become equal members of the university community. For instance, the Ladies Literary Debating Society included the resolution that "the system of coeducation [was] satisfactory in every way," in their subjects for debate that year.

⁵²Lee Stewart, "Women on Campus in British Columbia: Strategies for Survival, Years of War and Peace 1906-1920," in Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia, ed. by Barbara K. Latham and Robert J. Pazdro (Victoria, B.C.: Camosun College, 1984).

⁵³Ibid 186.

⁵⁴Gender relations in this case refers to the interaction of both male and female students on a university campus.

⁵⁵Now known as the University of British Columbia, McGill University College became a provincial institution in 1915. (Stewart 891.)

⁵⁶Stewart 187.

Stewart argues that debating societies offered women an opportunity to voice their convictions. At the same time, the college annual criticized women who voiced strong opinions in public (ie. Debating Societies) as exhibiting qualities "not generally admired in women."⁵⁷ This presents the reader with two conflicting images of womanhood: the outspoken academic and the proper lady who maintained a quiet decorum. Stewart's use of the Ladies Literary and Debating Societies, make her study useful to historians investigating the social issues surrounding women on campus. Few studies on educational history touch on women's lives in relation to extra-curricular activities and their impact on projected images of the ideal or proper woman. If women as students may be considered an active force, questions of gender and power become more relevant to the study of changes in the process of obtaining higher education.

"Women on Campus in British Columbia" focuses on the conflicting images of women attending university, rather than on the economic, social, or ethnic background of these students. Similarly, in "Women at Queen's University, 1895-1905: A Little Sphere All Their Own," Lynn Marks and Chad Gaffield use the student-written university journal (Queen's Journal) to identify two conflicting contemporary images of women students. For instance, an article in a "Ladies Column" criticized parents who sent their daughters to university "for no particular purpose," expecting them to return home satisfied to complete "domestic duties, personal interests and little surface social calls." This article is contrasted with another which states that it is "a queer girl who does not enjoy

⁵⁷Stewart 188.

housekeeping in at least a general way."⁵⁸ Marks and Gaffield use these journals as a reflection of the conflicting images of the ideal woman which female students encountered as they attempted to obtain their degrees.

While university journals are useful to demonstrate opinions within academia, they do not address the broader issue of public opinion outside of the confines of the university. Did the manner in which women students cope depend on their social background or on their program of studies? To address the issues such as the construction of gender, social background, and employment aspirations of female students, "Women at Queen's University" uses statistical data gleaned from student registers. The data obtained from these registers helped Marks and Gaffield analyse the economic and social backgrounds as well as future career aspirations of female students attending Queen's. This study revealed that 68% of Queen's women had fathers with high status occupations (for example lawyers and physicians) and 21% came from farming communities.⁵⁹ These numbers indicate that women from both modest and wealthy economic backgrounds attended university before marriage. However, the study also indicates that the majority of those women who attended Queen's were unsure of their future careers. As Marks and Gaffield, indicate this is indicative of a student population that is not entirely transgressing the norm of marriage and motherhood. University may have been seen by some as something to "occupy their time before

⁵⁸Lynn Marks and Chad Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University 1895-1905: A Little Sphere all Their Own," Ontario History Quarterly: Journal of the Ontario Historical Society (Volume LXXVIII, Number 4, December 1986) 335.

⁵⁹Ibid 342.

marriage...[or] a suitable place to find a husband."⁶⁰

By looking at student registers and journals, Marks and Gaffield addressed an aspect of educational history left unanswered by previous historians. However, in raising these issues, this study also reveals the need for further research on higher education and women. For instance, an investigation of the University of Ottawa's recruitment campaign for women students may reveal further changes in student demographics and career paths.

Barbara Riley's 1984 article "Six Saucepans to One: Domestic Science vs. The Home in British Columbia 1906-1939,"⁶¹ is another example of the gradual transition from institutional to social history. Riley's discussion details a few of the institutional changes in university education for women. However, in contrast to previous educational histories, Riley's approach focuses on public opinion as well as local initiatives to develop solid and useful educational programs for girls.

Riley's use of both oral history and local newspapers, makes her study important for historians conducting research on women and higher education. Riley interviewed thirty-six women who had spent most of their childhood in British Columbia. These women had all taken domestic science in the province's elementary schools between 1910 and 1930. The majority of these women came from Anglo-Saxon, middle-class families. Unfortunately, while Riley clearly defined the people selected for her study, the

⁶⁰Marks and Gaffield 342.

⁶¹Barbara Riley, "Six Saucepans to One: Domestic Science Vs. the Home in British Columbia 1900-1939, in Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia, ed. by Barbara K. Latham and Robert J. Pazdro (Victoria, B.C.: Camosun College, 1984).

information gleaned therein is presented as a general history of the development of Domestic Science programs in British Columbia. Since Riley does not explain why her study focuses on Anglo-Saxon, middle-class families, her study leaves several questions unanswered. Why did she define her study in such a way? What about non-white, or non-Christian women? Is this a factor to be considered? Should the reader assume that there were no non-white or non-Christian students attending public schools during the time frame of Riley's study? If not, then Riley should have clearly explained why. This weakens Riley's argument and leaves many questions unanswered.

In contrast to earlier studies, however, Riley used local newspapers to demonstrate the role of "public opinion or local initiatives" in affirming the necessity of new educational programs.⁶² For instance, an article in the Victoria Daily Colonist, March 18, 1903, argued that "industrialization had seriously dislocated Canadian society," causing the disintegration of "traditional institutions such as the home." An article in the Vancouver Daily Province, April 7, 1904, argued for the teaching of domestic science because "the home instinct which is endangered must be nurtured, the love for home must be cultivated." Supporters of the domestic science movement declared that helping restore the home would make family life happier and produce a greater "cohesion in the Empire."⁶³ Students could learn business skills as well as good housekeeping that they could then apply to their future roles as wives and mothers. These skills were designed to help young women become good wives able to run an efficient household.

⁶²Riley 160.

⁶³Ibid 162.

For her part, Judith Fingard⁶⁴ provides a unique approach to oral history. She uses a series of interviews from Dalhousie graduates to create a group biography of women who began formal study between 1881 and 1921.⁶⁵ These interviews allow Fingard to explore three generations of women who went to college, the kind of social environment they encountered, and their post-graduate experience. They demonstrate the difficulties female students faced when attempting to prove their academic abilities.

By analysing those life-stories, Fingard is able to trace changes within both the university and society. Information gleaned from these interviews allows Fingard to explore questions of class and of the social construction of womanhood. However, while she discusses the economic backgrounds of these students, she does not discuss in enough detail how female students constructed their own identity. Did they face the same problems as female students in other universities across Canada? Why did these women attend university? Was it because their parents desired educated daughters? Or did they view higher education as a way to improve their social standing?

While Fingard uses interviews from a large sample of previous students, the biographical information used in this article details the lives of students who specialized in and graduated from non-traditional professional fields. What happened to those students who either could not complete their studies because of outside obligations, or those who decided to change to a more traditional program (for example from medicine to nursing)?

⁶⁴Judith Fingard, "College, Career, and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921," in Youth University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, ed. By Paul Axelrod and John Reid (Kingston, Montreal, London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

⁶⁵Ibid 26.

The use of biographies to ascertain the construction of female student identity and the university environment is an interesting approach which could hold promise for further study.

Written in 1991, Nicole Neatby's essay, "Preparing Women for the Working World: Women at Queens During the 1920's," is based on student registration records and interviews and makes greater use of the concepts of gender and identity. The interviews used in this study allow Neatby to expand on the gradual social changes in what constituted the ideal woman. She explores the impact of the changes on women wishing to use their education to obtain employment. Student registration records allow Neatby to explore the reasons women sought higher education. What were the aspirations of female students entering university? Why did they think a university education was a worthwhile endeavour? Did they enter university in the hope of meeting a suitable husband?⁶⁶ Was higher education an attempt by women to extend their sphere of influence into traditionally male-dominated professions?

Nicole Neatby, addresses occupation in detail by exploring a shift in the perception of what constitutes the ideal woman. Most of the women interviewed for this study indicated that their parents wanted them to obtain a university education. One female graduate interviewed stated that her father "used to say 'go on to school and get an education so that you don't have to work as hard as I did all my life.'⁶⁷ From these

⁶⁶Nicole Neatby, "Preparing Women for the Working World: Women at Queen's During the 1920's," Gender and Education in Ontario, ed. By Ruby Heap and Allison Prentice (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991) 336.

⁶⁷Ibid 334-335.

interviews, Neatby concluded that some women recognized higher education as a preparation for the working world. However, social constraints continued to restrict these women to an education which would prepare them to fulfill their roles as the care-giver, nurturer, wife, or mother.

Parents of female students in Neatby's study appear to have wanted to ensure that their daughters could earn their own living.

These parents clearly wanted to guarantee their daughters' economic independence. It no longer seemed acceptable for single women to be without income. More than this, investing in university education could be seen as a way of ensuring their child's lifelong financial security...⁶⁸

For most of the women in Neatby's study, education was an economic safety net should they not marry, or should they become widows. A university education prepared women for the working world without "fundamentally threaten[ing] the primacy of the family headed by the male breadwinner."⁶⁹ Neatby's study is unique in its discussion of higher education as a preparation for the working world. Her discussion of this theme indicates not only a shift in the perceptions of women, but also a shift in the direction of historical research.

The second portion of the historiography on women and higher education deals with the acceptance of women academics. In order to gain a firm understanding of women in higher education one must understand both the students and those who become professional academics or women administrators.

⁶⁸Ibid 335.

⁶⁹Neatby 331.

The historiography of women involved in academia has in recent years developed into an important aspect in the history of women in higher education. While most of these works focus on women as university professors, they are key to understanding the position of women within the University setting, whether as a part of the Professoriate, or of the administrative structure. The women in these studies help shed light on the positive and negative experiences of women as they participated in non-traditional spheres of influence and employment. In their introduction to *"Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching,"* which covers education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Prentice and Theobald argue that individual biographies are significant to the history of women as they reveal the very marginal position of women in institutions of higher learning.⁷⁰ Prentice concludes her introduction with a series of open-ended questions designed to promote further research on women in academia. Readers are urged to look at how these individuals constructed their lives. Historians are urged to consider the extent to which these women were involved in a "feminist quest for autonomy not only economically but in their familial and sexual self-definition. How did they battle against the various structures and ideologies that constrained them?"⁷¹

According to Allison Prentice's Article, "Scholarly Passion: Two Persons Who Caught It," research on female academics allows a greater understanding of women's

⁷⁰ Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, "The Historiography of Women Teachers: A Retrospect," in Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching, ed. by Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald (London: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 22.

⁷¹Ibid 25.

contributions to the development of higher education in Canada. In her article, Prentice uses a biographical approach which she argues allows historians to look more closely at the lives of women “who pursued what *they* defined as important roles in the world of higher learning.”⁷² Her article looks at two women, Mary Electra Adams, a well-known nineteenth century “lady-principal” and Mossie May Kirkwood, an early twentieth-century English Professor and Dean of Women at the University of Toronto.⁷³ Prentice states that understanding the life histories of women such as Adams and Kirkwood help “illuminate” the history of Canadian women and higher education.⁷⁴ Studies such as this one demonstrate the ongoing efforts of female academics to provide other women with the opportunity to enter higher education.

Prentice’s study of both Adams and Kirkwood’s experiences as female educators is an excellent reference for the study of women at the University of Ottawa. In particular, Kirkwood’s role as Dean at the University of Toronto bears a remarkable resemblance to LeBlanc’s career as an administrator and later Dean of Women at the University of Ottawa. Both were engaged in the struggle to improve conditions for women students on campus. According to Prentice, Kirkwood fought to improve student life in residences by arguing that her job should be to encourage students and to spark

⁷²Allison Prentice, “Scholarly Passion: Two Persons Who Caught It,” in Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching, ed. By Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 259.

⁷³Ibid 259.

⁷⁴Allison Prentice, “Scholarly Passion: Two Persons Who Caught It,” in Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching, ed. By Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 259.

their creativity, not simply to act as a chaperone maintaining their social respectability. Prentice's study demonstrates the difficulties encountered by women in academia, regardless of their position. She also states that it was clear that these women accepted positions subordinate to both individual men as well as to men's "expressed interests." However, Prentice suggests that the roles of Adams and Kirkwood must be considered in the context of the development of educational opportunities as well as women's "growing quest for useful and remunerative employment."

Prentice and Boutilier's 1997 work, Creating Historical Memory: English Canadian Women and the Work of History ⁷⁵ is another useful work on women in academia. This collection of papers centres on women as academics and historians. Could women become good historians or should they remain solely in the private sphere? Creating Historical Memory uses gender to understand the experiences of women academics and their struggle to obtain recognition as professional scholars. More specifically, Prentice's article "Laying Siege to the History Professoriate," outlines the gradual acceptance of women scholars as teaching assistants or professors in History Departments in Canadian Universities. She demonstrates that the careers of these women did not occur in a "vacuum." The existence of many other women students "knocking at the doors of university history departments, however tentatively," impacted the careers of these women. ⁷⁶ Prentice argues that the careers of prominent women historians proved that

⁷⁵ Alison Prentice and Beverly Boutilier, Creating Historical Memory: English-Canadian Women and the Work of History, (University of British Columbia Press, 1997).

⁷⁶ Allison Prentice, "Laying Siege to the History Professoriate," in Creating Historical Memory: English Canadian Women and the Work of History, ed. By Alison Prentice and Beverly Boutilier (University of British Columbia Press, 1997) 223.

women could both teach at the university level and excel as scholars.⁷⁷ Women professors as Prentice states, proved to male students that they could provide the same quality of teaching and scholarship as their male colleagues.⁷⁸

These studies allow researchers to understand some of the motivations of women administrators and professors who promoted higher education for women either as an alternative to marriage and motherhood or as a path to becoming a good wife and mother. They also provide insight on the experiences of women in professional positions historically reserved for men. What is lacking in the historiography of women and higher education are studies based on more recent experiences of women in academia as either students, administrators, or professors. Available studies such as the ones discussed above provide a foundation for further study. While they address questions related to gender and history, these studies also create an opening for further investigation. Most studies do not address women administrators in the mid or late twentieth century. However, they do open a door to further exploration of issues. Each study demonstrates the need for further study, particularly in the area of women academics and administrators.

The University of Ottawa's recruitment campaign provides an interesting opportunity to further the study of women as students, academics, and administrators.

⁷⁷Challenging Professions: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Women's Professional Work, edited by Elizabeth Smyth et al., 1999, is also a good source for women in "non-feminine" professions.

⁷⁸See also: Barry M. Moody's paper "A View from the Front Steps: Esther Clarke Wright and the Making of a Maritime Historian," pages 233-253 and Megan J. Davies and Colin M. Coates' article "Kathleen Wood-Legh: A Canadian in Cambridge," pages 254-270.

As the first lay woman administrator and Dean of Women, as well as an occasional lecturer at the University of Ottawa, LeBlanc encountered opposition to her position within the University. Throughout her University career, she remained subordinate to a male authority and never held complete control over her position. While her position as Dean of Women should have made her responsible to only the Dean of the University, she also answered to the Dean of Men who in turn answered to the Dean of the University.

LeBlanc's position in the university structure remained precarious at the best of times. The need to design programs for women was not necessarily understood. There were those in the university administration that did not wish to encourage female enrollment and felt that the nuns running the Nursing and Domestic Science programmes should be able to deal with any difficulties. Thus, the decision to actively recruit women to the University was a controversial one. Placing this recruitment in the hands of a woman (regardless of her education or qualifications) was equally unusual and controversial. LeBlanc's position as a recruiting agent remained precarious until she was officially made Dean of Women.

Chapter 2: Women and The University of Ottawa. an Introduction

The University of Ottawa, run by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, was officially opened in September of 1848 as the College of Bytown, a bilingual, all-male institution. The college was designed to provide a curriculum based on the French tradition of classical colleges for boys. It therefor offered secondary-level courses in Latin, Greek, religion and mathematics. It retained its status as a College for boys until 1866 when a Royal Charter gave it university status⁷⁹ and the ability to grant degrees. In 1933, an Act of the Ontario legislature allowed the College to officially use the title of Université d'Ottawa.⁸⁰

The history of the University of Ottawa is characterized by a growth in the number of programs offered to students. The Faculty of Canon Law was added to Theology and Philosophy in 1929. Between 1930 and 1949, the University established a library, a School of Nursing, and a School of Social Science, Economics and Political Science. These were followed by institutes of Missiology, Psychology, Education, and Geography. Formed in 1949, the Institute of Education and Psychology became two separate institutes in 1967. The Faculty of Pure and Applied Science was established in 1957 and offered courses in English. The University did not offer a parallel program in Pure and Applied Sciences with French as the language of instruction until 1962.

The Faculty of Law was originally established in 1888, but only survived four

⁷⁹It continued to retain the official title of College of Bytown until 1933, but was commonly known as the University of Ottawa.

⁸⁰University of Ottawa: A Tradition for Tomorrow. University of Ottawa, 1990.

years. As the city of Ottawa grew in its role as the nation's capital, the University was again able to promote the study of law to potential students. On July 29, 1949, Reverend Jean Charles Laframboise, O.M.I., Rector of the University of Ottawa, officially announced the foundation of a Faculty of Law at the university. The Department of Civil Law was established in 1953 to allow graduates to practice in Quebec. A Common Law Department was added to the Faculty in 1957. In the early years of this program women graduates were few and far between. The first women graduates (Huguette Charette and Marie-Claire Lemieux) received their Licentiate in Law in 1956. Rose-Marie Perry was the first woman to receive a Bachelor of Law in 1960. Between 1956 and 1966 only 9 women students graduated with Diplomas from the Faculty of Law.⁸¹

The expansion of existing programmes and the creation of new programmes required the hiring of new academics. New teaching and research facilities meant that the University was able to attract more scholars. As a result, by 1959, the Oblate fathers accounted for only 15% of the administrative and teaching staff at the University of Ottawa.⁸² The remaining teaching staff consisted of lay academics. This in itself indicated a change in both the University policy as well as their perceptions toward academia. The academic focus at the University of Ottawa was in the process of shifting away from a theological perspective. Teaching staff no longer focussed on theologians.

⁸¹1956: 2 women received a Licentiate in Law
 1957: 2 women received a Licentiate in Law
 1961: 1 woman received a Bachelor in Law
 1962: 1 woman received a Diploma of Graduate Studies in Law
 1963: 1 woman received a Diploma of Graduate Studies in Law
 1965: 2 women received a Diploma of Graduate Studies in Law

⁸²University of Ottawa: A Tradition for Tomorrow, 12-16.

These changes allowed the university to attract a greater number of scholars and promote a wider variety of academic programs such as science. As a French-Canadian, Catholic institution, the University of Ottawa's practices reflected the philosophy which underpinned the Quebec educational system. In Quebec, universities served primarily to train boys for the professions. Girls should be educated to occupy a separate sphere as mothers, teachers, nurses, or cultivated hostesses and mistresses of the household in the case of the wealthy. It follows logically then, that women would not initially be accepted into academic programs at the university. While Quebec Anglophone girls had access to public high schools (grades nine to twelve) which allowed them access to university, Francophone girls could only obtain a post-primary education if they attended a private school run by nuns.⁸³ Francophone girls attending private schools had two possibilities for obtaining a post-elementary education: *école normale* (teacher's training colleges) and Domestic Science courses (*cours ménager agricole* and, later, *instituts familiaux*). By 1940, there were twenty-two teacher's training colleges. However, there were few graduates from these schools as girls could obtain a certificate from the Catholic Board of Examiners without attending a teacher's training college.⁸⁴

Francophone women had access to a pre-university education through convent schools only after 1908 when they were permitted to complete the last four years of classical courses required for university admission. This, however, did not gain them immediate university admission as there were relatively few classical colleges open to

⁸³Eveline LeBlanc was a product of this educational system.

⁸⁴Micheline Dumont et al. Edt., Quebec Women: A History, the Clio Collective, 1987, page 242.

girls. By 1938, there were eleven classical colleges open for girls.⁸⁵ However, until the 1950s there were relatively few graduates from these schools as French-Canadian society did not favour higher education for girls. The presence of Classical colleges provided a limited number of Francophone⁸⁶ girls the opportunity to study for instance in McGill's Bacheloreate of Arts program.⁸⁷ Girls Colleges did not receive government funding until 1961, an indication of the general feelings of French-Canadians towards educating girls.⁸⁸ Anglophone women, on the other hand, were admitted to McGill's faculty of Arts as early as 1884 but were required to sit at the back of the lecture halls with their "chaperones."⁸⁹

The Domestic Science movement in Quebec developed as an alternative method of educating adolescent females and of ensuring that they would be prepared for their future roles in life as wives and mothers. In 1919, a four-year diploma in domestic science was created offering courses to train girls as teachers, dietitians, or community workers.

⁸⁵Dumont, Micheline 247.

⁸⁶Anglophone girls had the opportunity to attend High Schools which allowed for their eventual entrance into University programs.

⁸⁷For further information on the development of schooling for girls in French Canada, refer to the following: Sherene Razack, "Schools for Happiness: Instituts Familiaux and the Education for Ideal Wives and Mothers," published in Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, ed. By Katherine Arnup, et al. (New York: Routledge, 1990); Nadia Fahmy-Eid, and Micheline Dumont, eds., Maitresses de maison, maitresses d'école: Femmes, famille et éducation dans l'histoire de Québec (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1983); Micheline Dumont and Nadia Fahmy-Edi, "La pointe de l'iceberg: l'histoire de l'éducation de filles au Québec," in Historical Studies in Education, volume 3, number 2, 1991, pages 211-236.

⁸⁸Dumont, Micheline 245.

⁸⁹Ibid 244.

By the end of the 1930s, education in Domestic Science had become an important aspect of education for girls. However, these programs were post-primary (post grade 8) programs which did not allow the student access to University.

By 1950 there were 38 domestic science schools and approximately 40 *écoles moyennes familiales* (intermediate family schools), which provided the equivalent of a grade nine education. After 1942, however, graduates could attain university level if they attended the *Ecole supérieure de pédagogie familiale* in Outremont, an affiliate of the University of Montreal which granted diplomas in family studies. In Quebec City, the nuns of the *Congrégation Notre Dame* also founded an advanced domestic science school within the *Université Laval*, which granted diplomas in domestic science.

Until the mid to late 1950s, education for Francophone girls centred almost completely on domestic education. The domestic science schools and *instituts familiaux* were set up predominantly to train women in the skills they would need either as wives and mothers or as serving sisters.⁹⁰ Those schools which led to diplomas were intended to direct women into care-giving professions such as teaching the primary grades or dietetics. These programs were not intended to allow women access to University programs. Rather, they were designed as part of a system which trained girls for "feminine vocations."

The 1950s had not completely discarded many of the old Victorian beliefs that women were neither physically nor mentally fit to "endure the rigours of advanced

⁹⁰Serving Sisters refers to un-cloistered nuns involved in teaching and nursing.

education..."⁹¹ These norms also upheld the standard opinion that the "natural" division of labour meant higher education for women was a "harmless pastime for those whose parents could afford it..." Critics of higher education for women argued that it was wasted on women whose sole function in life should be to "bear and rear children and to make [the] home comfortable and clean."⁹² It was assumed that women were not interested in an education that would allow them to be either one of or the sole breadwinner in a family. Rather, social ideals argued that women wanted to maintain their *God-given* role in life as wives and mothers. Deviation from this perspective of the ideal woman⁹³ in a care-giving role (wife, mother, educator to her children), was actively discouraged within the dominant education system.

Affiliated Colleges:

In Quebec, girls had access to elementary education. Those looking for post elementary training were channelled into domestic science or other fields "appropriate" to their gender.⁹⁴ Only a well-to-do minority took the classical courses and few graduates

⁹¹Leslie Andres Bellamy and Neil Guppy, "Opportunities and Obstacles for Women in Canadian Higher Education," Women and Education, edited by Jane S. Gaskell and Arlene Tigar McLaren (Alberta: Delsilig Enterprises Ltd., 1991) 163.

⁹²Jill McCalla Vickers and June Adam, But Can You Type? (Canada: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1977) 5-6.

⁹³In this case, the "ideal woman" refers to women who maintained what society deemed to be the highest levels of morality. Social constructs dictated that these women would fulfill their feminine duties as "good" wives and mothers in a private sphere of influence, the home. As the bread-winners of the family, husbands should be the only family member employed in the public sphere of influence.

⁹⁴Marta Danylewycz's Taking the Veil: an Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920, is an excellent source for further information on the role of women and religious education in Quebec.

from that stream went to University. As a French-Canadian and Catholic University, the University of Ottawa looked towards Quebec for inspirations and shared the philosophy of education characteristic of this province. Women students did not attend university accredited classes until 1919, when the University Senate approved the bachelor of arts program for women's colleges. Prior to the 1950s there are few indications of female lay students following academic programs outside of nursing and teaching at the University of Ottawa, or one of the affiliated colleges. While the university statistics indicate that there were a few women students taking courses not affiliated with nursing or teaching, none of these women graduates are present in any of the early graduating class photographs, including those of the mid-1950s. In essence, these few exceptional women were effectively invisible.

To address the growing demands of young women for higher education, the Rideau Convent (run by the Sisters of Charity) officially opened Bruyère College on September 15th, 1925.⁹⁵ Affiliated with the University of Ottawa, the college offered female students the opportunity to obtain their Bachelor of Arts in either French or English. Completely bilingual, Bruyère College offered students graduating from the

⁹⁵Soeur Paul-Émile has written a two-volume history of the Sisters of Charity, *Les Soeurs Grises*:

Soeur Paul-Émile, s.g.c., Docteur ès Lettres, lauréate de l'Académie française, Mère Elisabeth Bruyère et son Oeuvre: Les Soeurs Grises de la Croix, Mouvement Général 1845-1876, Tome 1 (Maison-Mère des Soeurs Grises de la Croix, Ottawa, Canada, 1945).

Soeur Paul-Émile, s.g.c., Docteur ès Lettres, lauréate de l'Académie française, Les Soeurs Grises de la Croix d'Ottawa, Mouvement Général de l'Institut, 1876-1967, Tome 2 (Maison-Mère des Soeurs Grises de la Croix, Ottawa, Canada, 1967).

Rideau Convent as well as public institutions, an opportunity to continue their studies.⁹⁶

Prior to its creation, the only female classical college in French Canada open to young women was in Montreal.

These students took all their classes at the College and never at the University. Students participating in the program studied for the same examinations as those at the University. Exams were sent to the Sisters teaching the courses and administered to the students within the confines of the College.⁹⁷ Between 1928 and 1968, 401 Bruyère College students graduated with a Bachelor of Arts Degree granted by the University of Ottawa.⁹⁸ In 1968, Bruyère College closed its doors permanently. After the University of Ottawa began to admit women, the college was unable to compete with the broader course offerings at that institution.

College Notre-Dame, the second women's college, opened in 1932 to offer female students the opportunity to complete a Bachelor of Arts. The college closed in 1959. Unfortunately, there is very little existing material on the College. We know that on March 13th, 1962, the University of Ottawa signed a contractual agreement with the Congrégation de Notre-Dame to create a university program in Domestic Science (Home Economics). The Congrégation de Notre-Dame then terminated its French Bachelor of Arts program,

⁹⁶Soeur Louise-Marguerite, s.c.o., editor, Un Héritage: Réminiscences du Couvent de la rue Rideau et du Collège Bruyère / A Light Rekindled: Reminiscences of Rideau Street Convent and of Bruyère College (Soeurs de la Charité d'Ottawa / Sisters of Charity in Ottawa: Ottawa, Canada) 127-153.

⁹⁷Oral discussion with Sister Louise Margaret, who taught at the Rideau Convent and the College, June 2002.

⁹⁸Archives Soeurs de la Charité d'Ottawa, Sr. Huguette Bordeleau, Archiviste, Résultat des examens de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1929-1968.

which made Bruyère College the only women's college in Ottawa offering Bachelor of Arts programs that were affiliated with the University of Ottawa. The Congrégation de Notre-Dame, designed and operated a program that was offered concurrently in both French and English. However, while the Congrégation ran the School of Home Economics, the Faculty of Arts at the University of Ottawa provided financial and administrative assistance. The sisters were directly responsible to the Dean of Arts.⁹⁹ It is unfortunately not possible to provide further information on College Notre-Dame. The University of Ottawa Archives contained very little information, except for the contract between the University and the Congrégation to create a School of Domestic Science.¹⁰⁰

Although the School of Domestic Science was established in 1962, there are very few graduates listed in the List of graduates for the University of Ottawa who received their degree in this particular program. Until 1964, there were very few women graduating with a degree (either a Bachelor of Arts or a Bachelor of Science) in Home Economics (Sciences Domestiques).¹⁰¹ Since the available list of graduates stops in 1966, it is not

⁹⁹University of Ottawa Archives, fonds 11/66-4, Contrats entre l'Université d'Ottawa et Congrégation Notre-Dame, le 13 mars, 1962.

¹⁰⁰Not an affiliated College, the School of Domestic Science was initially run independently from the University of Ottawa. The Congregation was completely responsible for its course offerings and the students participating in the program. However, the Congregation received financial support from the University and still had to abide by University of Ottawa policies and procedures. As such it could be considered similar to the affiliated colleges, particularly because of its connection with the defunct Collège Notre-Dame.

¹⁰¹According to the Lists of Graduates, fonds 77, in 1960 two women received Bachelors in Home Economics. In 1963, Marie Duhamel and Austra Janitis received a Bachelor of Arts in Home Economics. That same year, two women received a Bachelor of Home Economics, and 9 women received a Bachelor of Science in Home Economics. In 1964, 10 women received a Bachelor in Home Economics (Sciences Domestiques). In 1965, 6 women received a Bachelor of Science in Home Economics and 2 women received a Bachelor of Arts in Home Economics.

possible at this point to determine the number of students who received their degrees after 1966.

This lack of graduates could be explained in two ways. Firstly, the University of Ottawa began offering a program in Domestic Science approximately fifty years later than most other universities in Canada. Those students that were interested in pursuing studies in this area had already begun their studies at other universities in Canada. By the time the University of Ottawa initiated the School of Domestic Science, women were already demanding access to non-traditional programs of study such as math or science. The fact that Ottawa was an area that catered to the public service adds a unique dimension to any study on the University of Ottawa. In an area of growing employment for women, there was most likely no longer a demand for domestic science programs, especially when these programs were already very well developed in other universities across Canada.

Degrees in domestic science generally led the graduate towards careers in fields such as nutrition, health, or textiles. By the 1960s women interested in pursuing these careers were more likely to pursue programs of study in nursing or science which could provide them with a greater selection of possible jobs. The University of Ottawa also admitted interested women into its newly created Faculty of Medicine. In addition these women were influenced by popular culture and changing social forces which presented new ideals on the role of women in society. Many of these women likely read magazines such as *Chateleine* and knew that they were not limited to a future as a wife and stay at home mother. They could enter almost any given field in the working world and were opting to enhance their knowledge so that they could obtain employment for instance in

management or the public service. Most likely many of the potential women students opted for a program of study which would broaden their career choices in non-traditional professions.

Recruiting Initiatives:

In 1959, the University of Ottawa hired Eveline LeBlanc, a French-Canadian, Catholic educated woman, to administer a new initiative designed to actively recruit women into academic programs.¹⁰² Born on January 2, 1898, in Bonaventure, Quebec, Eveline LeBlanc received her primary education at the Ursuline convent in Rimouski. She continued her studies with the Sisters of the Congregation at their famous "Ecole Normale Classico-Ménagère de Saint-Pascal," affiliated with the University of Laval. LeBlanc later received an honorary Doctoral Degree in Social Sciences from L'Université Saint-Joseph in New Brunswick in 1957,¹⁰³ as well as a second honorary Doctoral Degree in Home Economics from the University of Laval in 1961.

From the beginning of her career LeBlanc did not fit into contemporary "moulds" for women. Rather than becoming a home-maker, mother, or nun, LeBlanc chose to have a career as a lay woman in both the public service and education. She began her career in 1916 when she became the first woman organizer of rural adult education services in

¹⁰²Unfortunately, there are no sources available that indicate what might have triggered the University's initiative here. Most of the Dean's reports are either unavailable, or were not produced for the years being discussed in this thesis. However, it is entirely possible that the University of Ottawa's administration felt that they could no longer avoid allowing women students entrance into all programs at the University of Ottawa. However, the Terms of Reference for LeBlanc's position indicate an active desire to recruit women students into a specific program, Home Economics.

¹⁰³University of Ottawa Archives, News Releases, MF # 541, released 2-10-59.

agriculture in the province of Quebec. In 1923 she became the first woman to hold the post of bilingual technician in the federal department of agriculture's home economics branch in Ottawa. Twenty-One years later, in 1944, at the request of the Premier of Quebec and Cardinal Villeneuve, LeBlanc became chief of the Home Economics Division of the Department of Public Education within the Province of Quebec.¹⁰⁴ In 1948 she was named as a delegate for European countries at the Congress of the American Home Economics Association in Minneapolis. In the spring of 1949, LeBlanc was appointed technical advisor to the Saskatchewan Ministry of Education for issues concerning the crafts and domestic sciences. By July, 1949, LeBlanc had returned to work for the Federal Government. Working for the Federal Department of Agriculture, LeBlanc undertook the organization of a French-Language information service for consumers in Canada. This service worked with Production Services in the Department of Agriculture to ensure that information was diffused by radio, television, the press, conferences, documentaries, and personal requests for information. LeBlanc broadcasted directly every week to consumers over the entire French network of the CBC. She was later the first officer in the Department to use television as a medium for public information. LeBlanc held this position until 1959 when she officially retired from the Public Service of Canada to begin her second career as Student Recruiting Officer at the University of Ottawa.

Prior to her involvement with the University of Ottawa, LeBlanc played a significant role in the education movement in Canada. In 1939 she founded the Home Economics

¹⁰⁴University of Ottawa Archives, Eveline LeBlanc: Biographic Material, fonds 6, NB-9580.31.

Teachers' Association in the Province of Quebec and was its president for ten years. LeBlanc was also Director of the French-Canadian Education Association, Director of the French-Canadian Adult Education Association, a member of the Executive Committee of the Quebec School for Parents as well as the Association of Domestic Science Technicians (de l'Association des Techniciennes en Sciences Ménagères), and national publicist for the Catholic Women's League (French). She was also a president of the Ottawa Film Society¹⁰⁵, member on the executive of the Canadian Film Society (du Palmarès du Film Canadien) as well as serving as Assistant Vice-President and French Liaison Officer of the Ottawa Community Chest (Caisse de Bienfaissence d'Ottawa), and Director of the Canadian Public Relations Society (Ottawa Branch).

LeBlanc was also responsible for the organization of several conferences such as the Quebec Convention of the Canadian Education Association in Quebec, in 1947, and the Congresses of l'Association Canadienne des Educateurs de Langue Francaise in 1951 and 1953. For two years LeBlanc organized and administered the Women's section of the Annual Salon of Agriculture in Montreal. She was also responsible for the organization of phases of the Women's Activities for the 1957 Convention at the University of Ottawa of the Learned Societies of Canada. According to her biography, she also travelled in Europe and North America as a delegate of various organizations as well as representing UNESCO in the "organization of courses."¹⁰⁶

In recognition of her services to the rural population of the province, LeBlanc was

¹⁰⁵She was also the first woman member of the Canadian Film Awards.

¹⁰⁶Saint Paul University Archives, "Eveline LeBlanc," AR 1958.L49Z 254.

made Commander of the Order of Agricultural Merit of Quebec. In 1950, the first woman to receive this honour, LeBlanc was also made an Officer of Order of French Fidelity for her work in favour of the *Presse Acadienne*, *la Radio-Ouest française*, and for her translation of the catechism for the diocese of Gravelbourg.

The hiring of LeBlanc corresponds with social and academic changes occurring within the University, and became an integral part of this process. The University's hiring an employee to promote its academic programs to a female audience in itself demonstrated the beginnings of a changing outlook for women in higher education. As will be seen in the next chapter, LeBlanc worked to promote the University of Ottawa through the media, conferences, and presentations to potential students, as well as to promote the importance of higher education for women.

Chapter 3: Student Perceptions

Until she became Dean of Women in 1961, LeBlanc was expected to recruit women students, but once they were on campus, she was no longer responsible for any of their academic or social experiences. While LeBlanc worked to attract women students to the University of Ottawa, women students sought ways to voice their experiences on a predominantly male campus.

Student-run newspapers were an integral part of University life for women students. Both the Fulcrum (English) and La Rotunde (French) had either a Women's Page or a Women's column in which women students could express their experiences or concerns.¹⁰⁷ La Rotunde began publishing a Women's Column in 1948 to confront growing demands for a column which reflected the interests and difficulties faced by women both on and off campus. The Fulcrum created a similar column on October 23, 1959 at the moment when the University of Ottawa was in the midst of a campaign to recruit women students. Although both student-run papers had a women's page or column, they do not run consecutively, and reflect the interests and experiences of two different groups of students. Articles which appeared in the Fulcrum are of more importance to this thesis since they began to appear the same year LeBlanc was hired as Student Recruiting Officer for Women.

On October 23, 1959, the editorial staff of the Fulcrum published its first "Woman's Page." Louyse Cornu, Women's Editor for the Fulcrum in 1959 wrote that the column was

¹⁰⁷For further information on women's columns in twentieth-century newspapers, see also: Nadia Fahmy-Eid and Micheline Dumont, "Recettes pour la femme idéale: femmes/famille et éducation dans deux journeaux libéraux: Le Canada et La Patrie (1900-1920)," Atlantis, volume 10, number 1, 1984, pages 46-59.

created in response to an ever-increasing demand by female students for a column that reflected their interests and difficulties with campus and academic life.

Since the Fulcrum first came into being, it has lacked but one thing — A Women's Page. Now due to much hounding by the ever-increasing female population of the University, we are bringing to you our first Women's Page ... In order to have a Women's Page we will require knowledge of what interests you as women university students. I invite you, one an all, to send me any ideas or suggestions you may have for the improvement of this page.¹⁰⁸

Designed to reflect the female student body, this column served as a 'sounding board' for debates impacting female students at the University of Ottawa. Editors invited students to submit articles or suggestions for the column making it a collection of student reflections and interests.

Initially, the Fulcrum's Women's Section consisted of a full page of articles reflecting aspects of female student life at the University of Ottawa. The first issue in which this column appeared, discussed the problems experienced by female students pursuing a university education. The Women's Editor for the Fulcrum pinpointed perceptions of women at the University of Ottawa when she described her experiences as a female student in the following manner:

¹⁰⁸University of Ottawa Archives, "Cordially Yours...", The Fulcrum, October 23, 1959, page 6.

N.B. While this comment states "ever-increasing" female population, this does not mean that the University had seen a dramatic increase in the number of women students attending. As may be seen by the statistics in Appendix 1 of this report, the increase was gradual at first. In this case the women's editor is most likely referring to women students in general studying at the University which would include students in the Normal School as well as the Nursing Program.

...the minute you step into the Haste Street entrance of the Arts building, the minute you set foot inside that room, if you are the slightest bit like me, you feel that you have 17 arms and legs, six eyes, and teeth that grow horizontally instead of vertically. If you walk through that room slowly, you can hear some of the choice remarks which come from the men of our campus.¹⁰⁹

Since the newspaper was the only official club on campus that allowed women to participate, these columns represented an opportunity for women students to involve themselves and to express their opinions. Editorial style writing such as this indicates that while women students were officially accepted in academia, unofficially they encountered social barriers that made full acceptance difficult.

The presence of a Women's Page in the Fulcrum gave women students the opportunity to counter arguments that they should be limited to the Women's Colleges¹¹⁰ and should avoid male fields. According to an article "Current Controversy Over Working Women," women found that acceptance in non-traditional professions was difficult. Men resisted women "dabbling" in traditionally male-dominated fields leading to a profession.¹¹¹ Beth More, Women's Page Staff Reporter in 1959, wrote that the commonly held opinion that women should "retire completely from certain fields [was] an admission of their competence and competitive potential in fields commonly dominated by men." More asserted that society should regard women as the "needed competition" to keep male

¹⁰⁹University of Ottawa Archives, "Cordially Yours," the Fulcrum, October 23, 1959, page 6.

¹¹⁰At this point the Women's Colleges affiliated with the University of Ottawa were still in operation. However, the number of students attending these colleges was rapidly decreasing.

¹¹¹University of Ottawa Archives, "Current Controversy Over Working Women," the Fulcrum, November 23, 1959, page 6.

students "alert and focussed on their desired goal."¹¹²

On January 8th, 1960, a column was included to respond to an article in which a college professor had argued that women should "step aside because it [was] more vital for men to have a [university] education."¹¹³ The Women's Column argued that this type of reaction decreased the value of any student's university education. Women students provided competition which forced male students to compete and resulted in a higher quality of graduates. Male and female students should be allowed to compete for their chosen profession resulting in the highest qualified graduates receiving recognition for their efforts.

Another article in the same issue of the Fulcrum, "Female Students Get the Once Over," contains the opinions of male students regarding the increase in enrollment of female students at the University of Ottawa. In response to the question of what male students thought of the increased number of women on campus, the article surveyed the opinions of men from a variety of different faculties. Most of the recorded remarks indicated that women were "decorative" and made the campus "more friendly," but "should be limited to particular programs." One respondent stated that he "didn't think that women should be allowed to register at the University. They should be given two years of Domestic Science instead."¹¹⁴ This column in particular demonstrates that female students

¹¹²University of Ottawa Archives, "Current Controversy Over Working Women," the Fulcrum, November 23, 1959, page 6.

¹¹³University of Ottawa Archives, "Cordially Yours...", the Fulcrum, January 8, 1960, page 6.

¹¹⁴University of Ottawa Archives, "Men's Opinion: Women Students Get Once Over," the Fulcrum, January 8, 1960, page 6.

initially were not welcomed into campus life and academia at the University. Social norms both on and off campus dictated that the appropriate place for women should remain in the traditionally feminine care-giving professions if they continued their studies. Social constraints maintained that the ideal woman would be a decorative, nurturing and domestic housewife. There was no room in the construction of the ideal woman for non-feminine professions such as Engineering, Medicine, or Law.

This type of discourse indicates that female students participating in professional university programs not involving the care-giving professions faced discrimination both within and outside of academia. The appearance of this article in a 1960 edition of the Fulcrum indicates that women students were becoming increasingly concerned with obtaining acceptance in academia based on their intellectual abilities and not on their natural abilities in domestic science or the nurturing fields. By the 1960s women students at the University of Ottawa had begun to actively present the argument that education for women should be viewed as a necessity which provided the possibility of maintaining a degree of self-sufficiency. This argument coincides with LeBlanc's arguments encouraging higher education for women which are presented in the next chapter. Both indicate a gradual change within the University of Ottawa community in student and social perceptions concerning the right of women to access University programs as well as their ability to achieve in non-traditional programs of study.

In contrast, by 1964, the "Women's Corner" editor, Susan Schmekel, centred two of her women's columns on career paths. Rather than defending the presence of women in the workforce, both of these columns discussed potential career opportunities for female graduates. Both articles deliberately avoided discussing careers involving

nurturing roles such as teaching and nursing. From the perspective of the Women's Editor, a graduate could expect to work in her chosen field for approximately twenty years, regardless of her plans for marriage or career progression.¹¹⁵ Based on the direction of this article, female students did not necessarily view post-graduate work as a "stopping-off place between college and marriage."¹¹⁶ Schmekel's articles on December 4th and 11th detail specific employment opportunities for instance in management, programming and as engineering assistants.¹¹⁷ Compared to the earlier articles on women, work, and professions, these 1964 articles do not defend the right of female students to work in the professions. Rather, they infer that there is no reason why graduating women should not seek to work in a profession of their choosing. An attempt was being made to provide information on job opportunities as well as to suggest ways to select appropriate career paths directed by personal interests rather than what society dictated as the 'natural abilities' of women.

The discussion of fashion tips and trends provides the clearest example of a transition in the construction of feminine identity. The majority of Women's Section columns after 1960 contain detailed information on fashion and grooming techniques. For instance, on March 9, 1960, Robert Powers provided his "Rules for Selecting Hats." Since this article was located on the Women's Page, it is interesting to note that the

¹¹⁵University of Ottawa Archives, "Women's Corner," the Fulcrum, December 4, 1964, page 8.

¹¹⁶University of Ottawa Archives, "Women's Corner," the Fulcrum, December 4, 1964, page 8.

¹¹⁷University of Ottawa Archives "Women's Corner," the Fulcrum, December 4, 1963, page 8, and, December 11, 1963, page 12.

author was male. Perhaps this is indicative of what the student body and/or editorial staff felt would interest their audience of women students. Or, was this an attempt to contradict the Women's Column reminding female students of their place as ornamental additions to family life and not intellectually independent entities? However, this is the only instance wherein an article written by a man appeared in the Women's Section of the *Fulcrum*. Powers' article seems to contradict the purpose of the Women's Section.

In contrast, on January 25, 1962, the Women's editor noted that the column was not following the expectations of its readership.

Ladies....I think we've been insulted. Certain factors feel that this column, because it does not deal exclusively with the latest trends in glamour and does not discuss the comparative merits of various cake mixes on the market is not interesting to the female students on campus. One must keep in mind that the accusation came from a man...not the most reliable authority on what women's interests include...¹¹⁸

Apparently, the predominantly male editorial staff (the exception being the editor of the women's column) felt that the column might not be reflecting the needs of women students and needed to focus more on what society dictated should interest women. This argument is countered with the statement that if women students found themselves "tortured by indecision when choosing between Tide and Blue Cheer, [they should] let [her] know and [she'd conduct] a survey."¹¹⁹ This type of debate indicates a degree of conflict between the editorial staff and the women's editor. Since the column reflected

4. ¹¹⁸University of Ottawa Archives, "Under the Hat," the Fulcrum, January 25, 1962, page

4. ¹¹⁹University of Ottawa Archives, "Under the Hat," the Fulcrum, January 25, 1962, page

student demand, the changes in the approaches to themes related to women students reflects a development in the students' perception of normal behaviour for women. A shift had occurred in the way in which women students perceived themselves and their needs.

By March 7, 1961, the direction of comments on education in the women's column had changed significantly. The Women's Editor began to advocate student politics rather than highlighting the acceptance of women in education. The editor felt that the position of President of the Women's Student Body should be formed to represent the needs of women students. She would operate as a spokeswoman and have an executive which "would discuss and organize functions especially for the women."¹²⁰ This article is interesting in that it advocates the involvement of women in student politics. This advocacy demonstrates a shift in the direction of the student-run newspapers as well as a shift in the way women viewed themselves and what they wished to achieve with their education. This article is also the first time in which one sees evidence of a desire to increase female participation in student politics.

In comparison with earlier articles discussing education, the articles in 1964 did not deal with a woman's right to obtain education. Rather they dealt with the usefulness of this education if these women did not pursue a career after graduation. In the 1964 edition of the "Women's Corner," writers no longer argued that women were entitled to receive a university education. Instead, writers of the column began to present an argument in favour of a woman's future plans.

COLLEGE EDUCATION IS A WASTE FOR THE WOULD BE
HOUSEWIFE. So goes the argument. Four years of college with all the

¹²⁰University of Ottawa Archives, "Vox Feminae," the Fulcrum, March 7, 1961, page 3.

expense and time to boot, they say, and then she up and marries a month after graduation — pht! — all that knowledge and acquired ability out the window! Who are “they”? ... or rather, who do “they” think they are? ... And should she marry, what of it? Can you say that her liberal arts education has gone by the boards? Since when is education ever wasted?¹²¹

Education was presented as an opportunity for both personal and intellectual growth as well as providing professional opportunities. If one follows this reasoning, then a woman with a university education who married and did not pursue a career outside of the home was not wasting her education. She could apply it to other facets of her lifestyle. “But learning is for our own good, our own satisfaction and contentment, and to belittle it as an end in itself, to measure it in dollars and cents, in income per year, is to do it an injustice.”¹²² Women had the right to further their education regardless of their future choices. Education was never a waste since it could be applied to all facets of life and help one make educated decisions.

Between 1959 and 1964, the Women's Page in the Fulcrum experienced changes which indicate a reconstruction of the feminine identity for women students. This page, which by mid 1961, becomes an individual column, provided female university students with a forum to present arguments contradicting many of the restrictive social norms concerning education, employment, and social position. Most visible in this column is the gradual transition toward the vision of women students as independent, self-sufficient

¹²¹University of Ottawa Archives, “Women’s Corner,” the Fulcrum, October 14, 1964, page 8.

¹²²University of Ottawa Archives, “Women’s Corner,” the Fulcrum, October 14, 1964, page 8.

students capable of earning the same academic merit as their male colleagues. As women became more accepted on the university campus, the direction of the articles changed. They discussed available opportunities for graduates and presented new opinions on socially constructed values.

Chapter 4: Eveline LeBlanc

Recruiting Officer for Women Students

The hiring of Eveline LeBlanc and the University of Ottawa's program to recruit female students allowed the University to present a public image of openness to women. It was not, however, intended to recruit students into all academic programs. Rather, the initial terms of reference¹²³ for Leblanc, indicate that University officials hoped she would promote the University's ability to provide women students with a cultured education which they could apply to their future roles as wives, mothers, or care-givers. In her capacity as student recruiting officer, LeBlanc became responsible for the development and implementation of activities designed to draw the attention of potential female students, their teachers, and parents to the variety of careers for which the University of Ottawa could prepare women. The idea was to encourage women students to apply, but not necessarily to encourage those students to follow programs of study traditionally considered masculine, such as science and commerce. Ideally, LeBlanc was to steer potential students towards Home Economics (Domestic Science), Nursing or Teaching.

Although the university had begun its transition toward co-education, officials continued to espouse very traditional views of women. While the University officially hired Eveline Leblanc to recruit women students, administrators also argued that she could *unofficially* function as a mentor to the increasing number of women students on campus. In correspondence to the Rector, University administrators argued that female students needed a mentor to ensure that they maintained the appropriate decorum and discipline

¹²³University of Ottawa Archives, "Terms of Reference," Eveline LeBlanc, Material Biographique, Fonds 6, N.B. 9580.31.

suitable to their position in academia. As a female mentor, LeBlanc could supervise matters concerning female students which might require "special attention." While the University encouraged women students to apply, the importance of ensuring their well-being and the maintenance of social norms continued to play a significant role in the recruitment of women students.

University of Ottawa Director of Public Relations, G.W. Boss., proposed that LeBlanc's title be kept general so as to allow the University some flexibility as to her job description. He argued that the title of "Special Assistant (Student Recruitment)" conveyed her role as student recruiting agent, but left the University room to add more general or specific responsibilities to LeBlanc's job description. Boss suggested that LeBlanc be responsible first to Sister Marguerite des Vertus (School of Home Economics) and then subject to direction from the Dean of Arts. In addition, if any of her activities related to the media, she should be required to operate through the Department of Public Relations.¹²⁴ Boss also argued that LeBlanc's office should be located in the School of Home Economics where she could be easily available to the director. Location anywhere else, he felt, would "render control difficult." In addition, since they were dealing with a relatively accomplished career woman he felt that terms of reference should be established immediately to avoid "difficulties later on because [they were] dealing with a

¹²⁴Since LeBlanc was to run a recruitment campaign that involved increasing the visibility of the University, she would inevitably have many dealings with various forms of media. This would mean that she would need the go-ahead for most of her programs from the Department of Public Relations and was to be considered as an employee thereof.

person of great enterprise.”¹²⁵ The Director of Public Relations’ comments indicate that the University wanted to engage someone to implement a programme that would increase the enrolment of women students as well as reflect the university’s willingness to admit women students. However, these comments also indicate that the administration wanted to ensure they maintained control over the direction of LeBlanc’s initiatives. One could not give a woman carte blanche over recruiting initiatives. If allowed carte blanche, LeBlanc could initiate radical changes to university policies or direct women students into academic programmes inappropriate to their gender and abilities.

The Council of Administration of the University of Ottawa defined a list of general principles constituting her Terms of Reference. As Student Recruiting Officer (Women), LeBlanc was responsible for the development and implementation of activities designed to promote University of Ottawa programs which could prepare women for a variety of careers. It was understood that she would conduct presentations to potential students, parents, school trustees, and women’s organizations to increase their awareness and support of the University of Ottawa’s programs. While she could suggest extra-curricular activities to the Director of the School of Home Economics, or to other Departments and Student Organizations, she was not expected to participate in the promotion of student social activities.¹²⁶

LeBlanc’s professional background and involvement in the educational movement

¹²⁵University of Ottawa Archives, “Letter to the Rector from the Director of Public Relations, August 12, 1959,” Eveline LeBlanc, Correspondence, Fonds 6, N.B. 9580.32.

¹²⁶University of Ottawa Archives, “Terms of Reference for Miss Eveline LeBlanc,” Eveline LeBlanc, Biographical Material, Fonds 6, N.B. 9580.31

made her an ideal person to recruit female students. She eventually developed a program which promoted the University's ability to provide a variety of academic programs for female students. As Student Recruiting Officer for women and later as Dean of Women, LeBlanc promoted the University's image as an institution friendly to women students. Initially she was to create a branch of the External Relations office at the University of Ottawa to target women students. LeBlanc presented the University with a project that included a section in the University's Department of External Relations focussing on the "feminine element" of the potential student population. This is not to say that LeBlanc presented education for women as an opportunity to learn a profession. Rather, women should be educated to prepare them for their roles as "mothers of tomorrow" responsible for family education. A well educated wife and mother would help ensure that her children were also well educated.¹²⁷ Young women possessing intellectual and monetary advantages should be well educated not only in preparation for married life as the spouse or later widow of a well-educated man, but also in case they remained unmarried and had to support themselves. In order to be a good companion (gagne-bonheur) to her spouse, she would have to be educated enough to discuss subjects such as literature or mathematics. However, as a firm believer in the necessity of higher education for both women and men, LeBlanc argued that education kept society "moving toward progress." It provided men and women with the opportunity to "improve their way of life and the way of life of others."¹²⁸ Higher education for women made

¹²⁷University of Ottawa Archives, Projets de Programme, Correspondance: Eveline LeBlanc, Fonds 6, NB-9580.32.

¹²⁸University of Ottawa Archives, Eveline LeBlanc: Memoires, Fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

economic security and independence possible. It also, according to LeBlanc, enabled them to better serve society and the Christian faith.

What is unique about LeBlanc's argument is that she argued that no door should be closed to women. She felt that the development of instruction for women in all fields including maths and sciences was crucial and should be encouraged as it strengthened "the intellectual capacity of the nation ... benefiting future generations."¹²⁹ The underlying thought here was that women should be able to use their talents to the fullest in any professional or academic pursuit they chose. In a lecture to grade twelve and thirteen students,¹³⁰ LeBlanc stressed that knowledge through education would provide students with the opportunity to obtain "security, recognition and worthwhile achievement."¹³¹ Higher education, according to LeBlanc, gave women the ability to support themselves and should be pursued with the view of earning a living as opposed to marriage and reliance on a male bread-winner for support.¹³² LeBlanc did not stress education as an alternative to marriage. Instead, she promoted education as a preparation for a variety of different paths.

As Student Recruitment Officer, LeBlanc gave a series of lectures designed to alert

¹²⁹University of Ottawa Archives, Eveline LeBlanc: Memoires, Fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

¹³⁰LeBlanc's memoirs indicate that she spoke to students in grades 11-13 in 17 private High Schools and 6 Public High Schools. She only records having lectured to one grade thirteen class at Vankleek Hill (a public High School). The rest were students in grades nine through twelve. For further information, please refer to Appendix C at the end of this thesis.

¹³¹University of Ottawa Archives, "Secondary Schools -12th and 13th grades," Memoires, fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

¹³²University of Ottawa Archives, "Meres et Filles," Annex 6: Memoirs, fonds 6, NB-9580.35, page 14.

potential women students to the possibilities offered by the University of Ottawa. In a presentation to the Vankleek Hill Parent Teacher Association, LeBlanc stressed that there were three clear paths available to women: religious life, married life, or single life. She felt that far too often girls were not adequately informed of the choices available to them. Students needed to be aware that a good education should consist of both the domestic arts (in preparation for married life) and professional skills (in the event that women might have to support themselves). These lectures were designed to inform female students and their parents that women were not limited to nursing and teaching. LeBlanc wanted to present all fields of higher education as a possibility for all women. Her lectures were designed to introduce young women and their parents to paths of academic pursuit other than traditional "feminine" fields of study. Women students were presented with the idea that they could join their male colleagues in most areas of study.¹³³

For instance, in a 1960 presentation at Collège Bruyère, LeBlanc argued that a general education for young women should help develop the mind, help form good judgement, enrich the "feminine spirit" with the necessary knowledge to adapt to changing times, and should encourage them to develop and improve themselves. Higher education increased the number of options available to young women allowing them to further contribute to society or, at the very least, to maintain a degree of self-sufficiency. She argued that "femininity" was not a component of and could not be counted on to maintain a good standard of living. Those who chose to pursue higher education had the option of

¹³³Theology, Canon Law, Civil and Common Law were specifically left out of these lectures as potential areas of study for women. There are no female students listed in the Lists of Graduates for Theology.

choosing non-traditional fields and would be able to support themselves. Higher education provided women the opportunity to work in any profession for which they earned the qualifications.¹³⁴

Throughout this series of lectures, LeBlanc pointed to the increasing number of women from all social classes who were either continuing their education or working in a variety of professions. Women could no longer afford to “sit at home awaiting prince charming. Gone [were] the times when unmarried women remained at home helping their married sisters.”¹³⁵ She told students that working women fell into three categories:

- 1) Office, Commercial Enterprise, and Industrial technicians
- 2) Working professionals in the arts, literature, sciences, social sciences, economics, and liberal professions.
- 3) Intellectual (academic) professionals as well as those involved in nursing or teaching¹³⁶

Since many young women were working, they should be adequately prepared to obtain employment that would support them. Many of LeBlanc's lectures advised students to choose courses which would not “close the door to higher education.”¹³⁷ Education should enrich both the mind and the spirit of young women and provide them with the knowledge necessary to adapt to new situations, permitting them “to pursue moral and intellectual

¹³⁴University of Ottawa Archives, “Les Trois Routes,” Annex 4, Memoires, fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

¹³⁵University of Ottawa Archives, “La Femme et sa Mission,” Annex 7: Memoires, fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

¹³⁶University of Ottawa Archives, “Une vieille histoire redite sur une nouveau ton - Pourquoi?” Annex 3, Memoires, fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

¹³⁷University of Ottawa Archives, “Une vieille histoire redite sur une nouveau ton - Pourquoi?” Annex 3, Memoires, fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

improvement.”¹³⁸

Potential female students needed reassurance that lower class women were not the only ones in the work force. Although by the 1960s women had made progress toward equality, they still faced traditional perceptions of women. “Good” women stayed home and allowed their husbands to support them. Those who chose to continue their education still tended to gravitate toward accepted traditional care-giving fields such as nursing and teaching. Social norms guided these students toward care-giving professions as the only acceptable alternatives to marriage or religious life. LeBlanc’s lectures were designed to show students and parents that women students could pursue alternative courses of study and still find employment suitable to their skills and aptitudes.

In her lectures to youth and parents LeBlanc introduced students to the realities of the workplace. Before students left school to try their chances in the working world, Eveline LeBlanc stressed that they needed to be prepared for “reality.” Students who completed less than their tenth year of school would have difficulty obtaining work. Those who left school after completing only grades seven, eight, or nine, could, only with difficulties, find a low income job. She stated that a large number of young men and women looking for work in industry or commerce did not have the necessary skills or were not mature enough to take on certain available jobs. Those who abandoned their studies early, would eventually understand that they had nothing left to rely on except the

¹³⁸University of Ottawa Archives, “La Femme et sa Mission,” Annex 7: Memoires, fonds 6, NB-9580.35, page 5.

handouts of others.¹³⁹ According to LeBlanc, more young men and women needed to obtain secondary and post-secondary education, since these graduates would encounter fewer difficulties finding work. She encouraged female students to obtain a University education in order to enrich their lives and to provide them with a greater number of choices. With an advanced level of education women could either marry and have a family or they could choose to become a professional. Women were not limited to the private sphere only as wives and mothers. An education would ensure that they could be self-sufficient regardless of their situation.¹⁴⁰

As Student Recruiting Officer, LeBlanc attempted to introduce students to both traditional and non-traditional career options. Before choosing to pursue higher education, students needed to evaluate their strengths and weaknesses to ensure that they chose a post-secondary path suited to their personality and abilities. Despite her assertions that women could do anything they wanted, LeBlanc's lectures focussed mostly, but not exclusively, on careers which fulfilled the traditional *nurturing* role of women. For instance in her lecture to High School students she focussed primarily on the fields of teaching, nursing, home economics, and social science. Each of these fields cast women in a traditional nurturing or teaching role. In the case of the teaching profession, the characteristics she emphasized included holding a strong belief in "the brotherhood of men and the fatherhood of God." If one did not hold these beliefs, then

¹³⁹University of Ottawa Archives, "Une veille histoire redite sur une nouveau ton - Pourquoi?" Annex 3. Memoires, fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

¹⁴⁰University of Ottawa Archives, "Une veille histoire redite sur une nouveau ton - Pourquoi?" Annex 3. Memoires, fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

one would miss "the truest satisfaction of teaching." LeBlanc's Catholic background and the fact that most of her presentations were done for a Catholic audience influenced some of her ideas on teaching and nursing. She linked both of these professions with a strong belief in God and a desire to promote Christian values and ideals. These fields were all used as examples of good careers which would also successfully prepare women for their probable roles wives and mothers.¹⁴¹

Although she advocated higher education for women, LeBlanc also reinforced many of the dominant social ideas that women would prefer to fulfill their natural roles as wives and mothers. However, she also encouraged women who had the skills and aptitudes to pursue careers in scientific fields such as chemistry or medicine, which she felt provided opportunities that would still allow them to maintain their femininity. In an article written in Le Droit, LeBlanc stressed that both men and women could find an aspect of any given profession that would be well suited to their aptitudes. For instance, in the medical profession, she urged women to find specializations that were more feminine. Those women desiring a career in the pharmaceutical profession could achieve success if they drew on feminine characteristics of order, dexterity, method, and a good memory, required for the profession.¹⁴² Women, according to LeBlanc might gain further acceptance in a male-dominated profession if they appeared to be relying on typical female skills and aptitudes. While they could choose to embrace a male-dominated

¹⁴¹ University of Ottawa Archives, "Secondary Schools - 12th & 13th Grades," Eveline LeBlanc: Memoires, fonds 6, NB- 9580.35.

¹⁴² University of Ottawa Archives, "Les carrières accessibles à la femme," Le Droit, May 28, 1960, Eveline LeBlanc: Press Clippings, fonds 6, NB 9580. 34

profession, the likelihood was that these students would be evaluated according to the notions that women were patient, precise, and good at repetition.

In lectures given to grades twelve and thirteen students, LeBlanc stressed that more and more women were becoming involved in fields such as chemistry. While she did not believe that chemical engineering was a field suitable for women, she argued that chemistry could be considered an appropriate career choice for "the boy or girl of greater than average aptitude, whose record shows an ability to master difficult college work and then continue on a lifetime of constant learning."¹⁴³ According to LeBlanc, since there was a need for teachers of chemistry in universities and high schools, young women wishing to study chemistry could look forward to the possibility of teaching positions. A woman trained in chemistry could move successfully in this field and have a rewarding career. Young women with a strong academic background in the sciences could also pursue the field of Medical Sciences. According to LeBlanc, students with potential in this area would be easily identifiable. They would have the strongest personalities as well as the highest grades. These young women would be the ones who most likely obtained the highest grades as they had to work harder since it was considered unusual for a young woman to show any interest in a scientific field. However, she also informed students that those who chose to follow this career path needed to consider their potential future familial obligations. She stated that "although women doctors [did] marry, the girl

¹⁴³ University of Ottawa Archives, "Secondary Schools - 12th & 13th Grades," Eveline LeBlanc; Memoires, fonds 6, NB- 9580.35.

who [maintained] her scientific interests despite consideration of marriage [was] rare.”¹⁴⁴

While LeBlanc made potential women students aware of all of the career possibilities available, she tended to stress care-giving professions as providing women with a fulfilling and socially acceptable career. That is not to say that she did not encourage interested or able students to follow non-traditional career-paths. These options were presented with the condition that the student needed to be strong enough both academically and emotionally to succeed.

Of key importance in LeBlanc’s presentations to parents, associations and future students, was the idea that all women had the right as individuals to receive an education according to their aptitudes and not their gender. Contemporary social thought still favoured a gendered education for women. LeBlanc on the other hand, believed that women needed to be adequately prepared to deal with a rapidly changing and industrializing economy in which women played an increasingly public role.

When considering the breadth of LeBlanc’s recruitment campaign, one needs to remember that these comments are reflective of the general social atmosphere in the 1950s and 60s. LeBlanc is not necessarily encouraging potential students to actively pursue non-traditional programs of study. What she is doing is making students aware that if they have the academic ability and the desire to pursue non-traditional areas of study, they can pursue these careers. This in itself is important as women were only beginning to enter fields traditionally dominated by men. In addition, as a Catholic and French university, the University of Ottawa had not traditionally allowed women to pursue

¹⁴⁴ University of Ottawa Archives, “Secondary Schools - 12th & 13th Grades,” Eveline LeBlanc: Memoires, fonds 6, NB- 9580.35.

academic paths such as chemistry or medicine. Social values of the time stressed that although women might have the acceptable qualifications, they would eventually get married and leave. Aware of these difficulties, Eveline LeBlanc encouraged women to follow career paths in both the traditional and non-traditional areas of study for women. She made students aware of the difficulties, but encouraged them to follow their intellectual curiosity. Curiosity, LeBlanc argued, was the beginning of "useful knowledge." She encouraged the young women she spoke with to continue to dream of the future and to follow as many of those dreams as possible in the pursuit of higher education.¹⁴⁵

Dean of Women

Eveline LeBlanc was initially hired to develop and administer a program to promote the University of Ottawa to female students. However, by 1960, the job of student recruiter had grown in duties and responsibilities. Someone needed to ensure that these new students had access to gender-related services and programs such as student housing, social events,¹⁴⁶ and counselling (both academic and personal). The Rector of the time, Père Henri Légaré, o.m.i., felt that someone had to be responsible for the well-being of female undergraduate students including those registered in domestic science and nursing programs which were still administrated by Catholic Nuns, as well as the

¹⁴⁵University of Ottawa Archives, "Les Trois Routes," Annex 4, Memoires, fonds 6, NB-9580.35.

¹⁴⁶Until the early 1970s there is no record of organized sporting activities or clubs for women, except for the occasional intermural (these began in 1969) and the use of a gymnasium at Lisgar Collegiate once a week during specific times when no male students would be present. Women were not allowed to use the sports facilities on the university without prior authorization for specific events. Unfortunately, records for the sports and intermural aspect of university life for women are extremely limited prior to 1970.

occasional female graduate student. The Rector argued that this administrator would ensure that the problems experienced by female students could be adequately dealt with. For instance, when the university began its recruitment campaign, it had anticipated that female students would follow traditional academic paths. Instead, young women registered in the Arts, Political Sciences, and Applied Sciences, which created unanticipated difficulties such as the lack of adequate facilities (for example: washrooms for women).¹⁴⁷ In addition, the increase in female students had created a significant problem in housing. Female students not living with their families were required to live in pre-approved residences. One of the responsibilities of this new administrator, who could be Dean of Women, would be to ensure that adequate and appropriate housing was made available to these students. In addition, unmarried female students were, regardless of their age, considered to need constant supervision to ensure that they behaved morally in both their social and academic lives. A Dean of Women could be responsible for maintaining contact with the parents of female students. If a student deviated from acceptable standards of modesty and propriety, or if her academic performance was inadequate, the Dean of Women would inform her parents.¹⁴⁸

Discussions on the creation of this position raised some controversy. Some argued that rather than creating the position of Dean of Women, it would be better to give LeBlanc a post in the Department of Student Affairs. This would allow her to continue her

¹⁴⁷University of Saint Paul's Archives, "Mémoire au Conseil d'Administration," FE 729.D821.3

¹⁴⁸University of Saint Paul's Archives, "Mémoire au Conseil d'Administration," FE 729.D821.3

duties as Student Recruitment Officer. While other universities such as McMaster in Hamilton and Western in London had had a Dean of Women for many years, officials at the University of Ottawa were initially reluctant to create such a position. The Administrative Council of the University suggested that the creation of a post of Assistant Director of Student Affairs or Assistant Director of Women could be created. LeBlanc could eventually be given the title of Dean of Women if this were really necessary.¹⁴⁹

On July 20, 1959, Léonard Ducharme, o.m.i, Director of Student Affairs at the University of Ottawa, sent a memorandum to the Rector with suggestions for an alternative title to Dean of Women.¹⁵⁰ Père Ducharme suggested that if the University Counsel wished to integrate Ms. LeBlanc as a member of the University personnel, she could assist the Dean of Student Affairs in matters directly related to women students. For instance, she could conduct the orientation process with incoming female students and then make suggestions or recommendations to the Department of Student Affairs. Ms. LeBlanc could effectively be used by the current Dean of Student Affairs as a resource person in any case that might arise where "feminine intervention" might be "desirable." In this case, Père Ducharme suggested that if Ms. LeBlanc proved vital to the functioning of the Department she could eventually be considered as a "very serious candidate for the post of Dean of Women, when the time came to create such a post."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹Ibid

¹⁵⁰Documents written in French refer to LeBlanc as Directrice des Etudiantes. In English documents her title is provided as Dean of Women.

¹⁵¹University of Saint Paul's Archives, Mémoire au T.R.P. Recteur, le 20 juillet, 1959, "Re: Poste de "Dean of Women" et présence de Mlle LeBlanc au sein du Département des Affaires étudiantes," AR 1958.L49Z 300.

This would allow the University to test LeBlanc's skills as Dean of Women students without changing her ability to continue her duties as recruiting officer for women.

If the University of Ottawa made LeBlanc Dean of Women, it would effectively raise the profile of female students on campus. Creating a post specifically designed to cater to women students inferred that the University was both accepting and encouraging women students to participate in higher education. While women students may have previously been admitted, the creation of a Dean of Women officially acknowledged their presence at the University of Ottawa. While Ducharme did not appear to want LeBlanc made Dean of Women, by 1961 he admitted the need for someone to work with the various faculties to solve the new problems created by increasing female enrollment. In a memoir written to the Administrative Council, Ducharme argued that a Dean of Women could help in matters such as housing. LeBlanc could regulate the conditions of students living off campus as well as keeping parents aware of their daughter's academic progress or social shortcomings. A Dean of Women could help safeguard both the chastity and respectability of female students. However, Ducharme advocated the post of Dean of Women as the equivalent of an assistant responsible to the Director of Student Affairs, Ducharme, and the Dean. He suggested that she be responsible for the women's residence rules, personnel, and discipline. She should provide counselling for women students as well as help to form policies that touched on student affairs concerning women students. As Dean of Women, LeBlanc would also act as an assistant to the Deans of each faculty with women students. In this way, she would not have the same authority held by the Dean of Men who was responsible only to the Director of Student Affairs. The position for which Ducharme felt LeBlanc was qualified to occupy was more

that of an administrative assistant with little or no influence in university affairs.¹⁵²

In 1961, the University of Ottawa promoted LeBlanc to the post of Dean of Women. This made her the first lay woman to occupy a high-ranking position in a French-Canadian University. Her new job description was very broad and allowed her to continue with many of her previous activities recruiting students as well as taking on new responsibilities. The new position solidified her position in the University structure and allowed LeBlanc to present herself as an authority figure and as a mentor to women students. However, for the most part the new Dean of Women was to ensure the continued well-being and respectability of women students. Since most of these students would have been under the legal age of majority, they would have been under the authority of their parents had they lived at home rather than in residence.

As Dean of women LeBlanc took over parental responsibilities for many of the young female students studying at the University of Ottawa. LeBlanc was to ensure that female students were adequately supervised and maintained their respectability while students at the University of Ottawa. These policies stemmed from the idea that women students required a higher degree of "protection" in order to ensure that they did not lose their "respectability" in a predominantly masculine university. University administrators attempted to maintain social perceptions of the ideal woman by acting in loco parentis for female students. She also represented the interests of women students at the University and ensured that university policies reflected their needs. Finally, part of the new job description included executing academic sanctions placed on students by the various

¹⁵²University of Saint Paul's Archives, Mémoire au Conseil d'Administration, le 17 octobre, 1960, FE 729.D82L 3.

departments within the university, as well as ensuring the quality of on and off campus housing for female students.¹⁵³

The Fulcrum, described this new position as “counsellor to the University’s 537 women students.”¹⁵⁴ The idea was that LeBlanc could provide an “understanding ear” for female students struggling to fit into a male institution. LeBlanc knew that these students would encounter various forms of resistance. As such, they would need advice or guidance on a variety of issues, advice that the existing male or religious staff might be less qualified to give. Once she became Dean of Women, she placed small notices in each of the student newspapers introducing herself to the student population. They informed female students of her presence on campus and provided contact information for both her office in the University and her private residence. These were placed in the student newspapers each year in the fall and encouraged students to drop in or to make an appointment to meet her and introduce themselves. In addition, LeBlanc kept a “reserve fund” from which female students could borrow if their funding did not arrive in time. As a former nutritionist, LeBlanc argued that if students did not have enough money to eat properly¹⁵⁵, they would not do well in their studies.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³Saint Paul University Archives. “Attributions de la Directrice des Etudiantes à l’Université d’Ottawa.” AR 1958.L49Z 714.

¹⁵⁴University of Ottawa Archives, “Miss LeBlanc, Women’s Dean,” the Fulcrum, September 14, 1961, page 3.

¹⁵⁵The first residences available for women did not provide meals for students.

¹⁵⁶University of Ottawa Archives, McKinnon, Ann, “Dean Switches From Home Economics at 60, And No Regrets,” Halifax Mainstream, August 21, 1965, fonds 6, Press Clippings, NB-9580.34.

Throughout her career as Dean of Women, LeBlanc also personally funded two yearly scholarships¹⁵⁷ for students registered in Domestic Science courses who demonstrated financial need.¹⁵⁸ The fact that LeBlanc chose to provide a scholarship for a very traditional field of study for women demonstrates her educational values. While she stressed that women should be able to pursue any profession they chose, she continued to hold some of the traditional social norms concerning women's education. On the other hand, most students probably took a few domestic science courses initially as part of their degree, and one did not have to be registered in the Domestic Science program in order to qualify for the scholarship. One simply had to demonstrate financial need and be registered in a course offered by the School of Domestic Science. This could have been a way to help students pursue the program of their choice, while apparently encouraging them to pursue a traditional program. When this scholarship was offered it was one of the few options available to women students needing financial help.

In a description of her position as Dean of Women, LeBlanc stated that although her position involved the administration of women students, she was primarily interested

¹⁵⁷This was one of the few scholarships available for women when LeBlanc initiated the scholarship. In 1956-57, only 9 women received scholarships. In 1960-61, 18 women received scholarships. In 1961-62, 41 women received scholarships, most of whom were in the Faculty of Arts except for one which received a scholarship to study Common Law. In 1962-63, 42 women received scholarships, one of which was for Chemical Engineering. While the number of women receiving scholarships increased, initially few women received them. These women were generally enrolled in an Arts program.

¹⁵⁸University of Ottawa Archives, Leitch, Diane, "It All Began..." the Fulcrum, October 23, 1963, volume 23, no. 5, page 9.

in counselling.¹⁵⁹ In a letter to a colleague, LeBlanc described counselling as “the most important part of [her] job.” Each student filled out a questionnaire which was submitted with her application. LeBlanc then personally interviewed each new female student and in cooperation with the School of Psychology wrote a short report on the student’s emotional state of mind. She felt that female students could suffer from emotional problems not simply because of their presence in a male-dominated institution, but also because of family pressures. She wrote that the greatest problems facing female students were finances, study habits and family difficulties. A letter to a colleague dated 1965 stated that in order to combat the first two problems, she planned to organize seminars in the fall on how to budget time for studying, use a library, and write an essay.¹⁶⁰ While these seminars would not ease the family pressures women students might deal with, they would help ease the transition to university studies.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹University of Ottawa Archives, McKinnon, Ann, “Dean Switches From Home Economics at 60, And No Regrets,” Halifax Mainstream, August 21, 1965, Press Clippings, NB-9580.34.

¹⁶⁰University of Ottawa Archives, letter to Mrs. Alain Frecker describing LeBlanc’s position and professional experiences as Dean of Women, April 29th, 1965, Fonds 78, NB-1947.147.

¹⁶¹While LeBlanc indicated that she would run these courses in the fall of 1965, there is only one other reference to them, which was printed in an article in the Fulcrum on LeBlanc’s retirement. There is no other evidence to indicate whether or not LeBlanc actually organized and offered these seminars. However, there are indications that LeBlanc taught a few courses during her career at the University of Ottawa. A few of the sources on the School of Domestic Science mention that in the early stages of her career (1959,60) she may have taught some classes at the School of Domestic Science. This would coincide with her background in the Domestic Science Education movement. However, I have been unable to find anything to confirm that she taught any classes or that she offered seminars on study habits and essay writing to women students. On that note, however, it is possible that she may have asked an assistant to organize the seminars.

Chapter 5: Housing for Women Students

As Dean of Women, one of the first hurdles which LeBlanc dealt with involved appropriate housing for female students. In 1960, LeBlanc estimated the number of female students attending the University of Ottawa to be 370, 150 of whom did not live with their families and were not members of religious congregations.¹⁶² Although female students had attended classes at the University of Ottawa since 1919, there was no permanent residence available for women. This lack of an official residence for women made these students an unrecognized and effectively invisible entity at the University. Prior to the designation of Rose-Marie Pavilion¹⁶³ for women students circa 1959-60, the University of Ottawa reserved its only official student residence for male students. Female and male undergraduates vied for rooms on a limited list of pre-approved housing that the university considered acceptable for young men and women.

Existing 1960s residential facilities for women students at the University of Ottawa, bear a striking resemblance to those described by Alyson King in her study of early twentieth-century student housing for women at the University of Toronto. King described a situation in which women students faced inadequate and frequently what parents viewed as unstable or immoral housing arrangements. Faced with pressure from both students and parents to maintain a standard of living for women students, the University of Toronto created its first residences for women. These early residences were similar to

¹⁶²“Etudiantes regulieres, 1960, 61,” University of Saint Paul Archives, AR 1958.L49Z 872.

¹⁶³Rose Marie Pavilion was a small red-brick building located close to campus which could house up to twenty-two young women. Students living in these rooms did not have a kitchen or entertaining facilities available to them.

those initiated by LeBlanc at the University of Ottawa at least forty-five years later (Pavillion Rose-Marie). They were designed to resemble a "large middle-class home" that provided women with safe accommodations and allowed the university to monitor their behaviour.¹⁶⁴

Lack of student housing (residences) for women, combined with the shortage of available approved housing near the University created a difficult situation for new women students. Students attending the University of Ottawa who did not live within the city limits were required to either live in residence or choose a room or apartment from a housing list that had been pre-approved by the University administration. LeBlanc inspected any available rooms for women to ensure that they offered adequate space, acceptable food, and reasonable rents.¹⁶⁵ The University of Ottawa expected landlords to provide clean rooms with adequate lighting, a private bath, and a separate entrance. Women living in these rooms were expected to maintain a high level of morality. They could never entertain gentleman callers in their rooms. Landlords were expected to "occasionally" provide "some living room space for the students to receive gentlemen callers." This policy was strictly enforced and any infraction had to be immediately reported to the Dean of Women.¹⁶⁶ These women faced close scrutiny and were expected to maintain their morality and femininity.

¹⁶⁴Alyson E King, "Centres of 'Home-Like Influence: Residences for Women at the University of Toronto," Material History Review, Volume 49, Spring 1999, pages 39-60.

¹⁶⁵University of Ottawa Archives, "It All Began....." the Fulcrum, October 23, 1963, Vol. 23, No. 5, Page 9.

¹⁶⁶University of Ottawa Archives, Notice to Landlords and Students, Fonds 78, NB-1946. 27.

This type of housing arrangement posed several problems for university officials wanting to ensure the safety and well-being of female students. Without a university-operated residence, officials had no easy way to regulate the conduct of women students, or protect them from threats they might not encounter if they lived at home. While LeBlanc could ensure the safety of rented rooms, her influence on the conduct of women students was somewhat limited. She needed to rely on landlords to relay any conduct considered un-ladylike. This left the University of Ottawa in a precarious situation. While they could promote university programs to women students, they could not necessarily ensure a safe and private place for these students to live, nor guarantee parents that their daughters would be adequately supervised. As long as no permanent residence existed for women students, the university would have difficulties promoting its programs to parents with daughters wanting to attend university. Parents would be less willing to send their daughters to an institution that could not protect the safety and respectability of young women students.

LeBlanc approached University administrators for financial assistance to purchase a home which could be converted into a residence for women. The University of Ottawa opened its first university-owned residence for women in September, 1962.¹⁶⁷ "From a miserable housing situation came a decent home for first-year female students."¹⁶⁸ In the past, the University had operated a women's residence, but this was the first

¹⁶⁷ Available sources do not indicate the number of students that this first home could house.

¹⁶⁸ University of Ottawa Archives, "It All Began....." the Fulcrum, October 23, 1963, Vol. 23, No. 5, Page 9.

university-owned residence for women on campus in the institution's 114 year history. Although this residence ensured that female students would have adequate lodging, it did not provide meals. LeBlanc made arrangements for the students to obtain meals from a neighbour.

Although not perfect, this was a badly needed improvement for women on campus.¹⁶⁹ Financial support for the creation of a University-owned place for female students contributed to the changing perceptions of women students on the University of Ottawa campus. The residence provided women students with an alternative to the limited number of approved residences for undergraduate students. These changing views facilitated LeBlanc's recruiting efforts. A willingness to offer increased services to students was more likely to attract students than an institution which presented an image of women students as "second-rate" not warranting the same services as male students who had their own residence.

The new residence provided female students with more options. Those who did not live with their families could be more secure in the possibility of finding appropriate lodgings. Administrators felt that a university-owned residence for women students provided a solution to the concern that rooming homes provided minimum moral guarantees.¹⁷⁰ A residence for women students could ensure the privacy of students as well as providing the opportunity to present a vision of an institution that promoted both

¹⁶⁹University of Ottawa Archives, Eveline LeBlanc, News Releases, microfilm vol. 16-23 (29-11-1961 - 02-03-1961).

¹⁷⁰University of Ottawa Archives, Memoire sur le logement étudiante, Fonds 78, NB-7078. 209.

respectability and scholarship. The new residence presented students with a secure place to live, study, and develop social skills. In addition, an all-women residence would allow the university to compete with other Canadian Universities that already provided a residence for their women students.

Much like the residences created forty-five years earlier at the University of Toronto, this residence maintained a "home-like atmosphere"¹⁷¹ that helped reinforce the patriarchal conception that women students needed continual protection and supervision. The new residence resembled the home setting so clearly that it served to disguise its original purpose within the University of Ottawa to house women students pursuing higher education. Maintaining such an atmosphere could be interpreted as an effort to remind women students of their perceived roles as home-makers and care-givers rather than bread-winners.

Although this first residence for women was an important step toward the improvement of facilities for female students, a great deal of work remained. The new residence provided only a temporary solution to the increased numbers of female students attending the University of Ottawa. It could only accommodate 30 girls, 18 in single rooms and 12 in double rooms. These residence rooms could not accommodate the close to five hundred new female students enrolling each year.¹⁷² For this reason, almost immediately following the completion of this residence, LeBlanc began searching for a better solution.

¹⁷¹King, Alyson E 56.

¹⁷²University of Ottawa Archives, Press Releases, Fonds 6, reel # 543, vol. 16-23, 29-11-1961 to 02-03-63.

In a letter to the Rector, dated February 6, 1961, LeBlanc outlined her itinerary for a business trip to visit various universities to investigate the role of Dean of Women in institutions of higher learning, as well as housing designed specifically for women. Over the course of a week, LeBlanc interviewed the Deans of Women at University College, University of Toronto, St. Hilda's College, Trinity College, Holy Names College, Assumption University, University of Western Ontario, McMaster University, and Queen's University. LeBlanc toured residences for women at each of these universities. She hoped to gather knowledge on both the positive and negative aspects of residence buildings and programs available to women students at other universities. Visiting residences for women which had been in operation for several years (for instance, Queen's) provided LeBlanc with arguments to convince university administrators that a residence for women was desperately needed. She also hoped to find out what students and administrators viewed as advantageous in these residence programs.¹⁷³ Talking with other Deans of Women also helped her define her functions within the University administration.

While it is not possible to ascertain what exactly occurred during these interviews, correspondence with the Rector of the University of Ottawa indicates that the outcome was positive. LeBlanc was able to redefine her role as Dean of Women and her responsibilities for ensuring the welfare of incoming women. Acutely aware of the need for a new residence designed entirely for women students, LeBlanc argued that women students required a "space" which would allow them the opportunity to study and learn

¹⁷³University of Ottawa Archives, letter to the Rector, February 6, 1961, Fonds 6, NB-9580, Correspondence.

social skills which would add to their academic lives. In April, 1962, in a letter to the Rector, LeBlanc wrote that women students were in desperate need of a new residence. The current rooms available in Rose-Marie Pavilion (the first University-owned residence opened by LeBlanc) as well as the homes rented by the university to provide students with rooms, could not accommodate the number of women students looking for a place to live.¹⁷⁴

By 1963, under the guidance of LeBlanc, University administrators borrowed money and began plans for the design and construction of a new residence for women. The University received a grant from the Canada Council of the Arts in 1965 to help defray the costs of building the residence. James More and Sons Limited in Ottawa received the contract to construct a four floor residence which could house 150 women students attending the University of Ottawa. According to a press release dated January 9, 1965, the new residence was essential to accommodate the increasing number of women students. Approximately 900 of 4,200 students attending the University of Ottawa in 1965 were women. Only 72 of 900 of these women could be lodged in student

¹⁷⁴Rose-Marie Pavilion could only accommodate 30 women students. As a temporary measure, LeBlanc had also arranged to rent rooms at buildings near the university that could be transformed to accommodate students. Two homes on Wilbrod Street (155 and 157) could accommodate 35 students. Another home at 503 Cumberland could accommodate 30 students. 15 and 17 College street could accommodate 32 students, while 33 and 35 College street could accommodate 35 students. However, these rooms could only be used temporarily. They did not set up to provide adequate facilities for students such as kitchens. LeBlanc proposed that these homes be temporarily converted to house the overflow of students who were unable to find permanent accommodations approved by the University. LeBlanc stressed that while this could fill immediate needs, a permanent new residence needed to be built to accommodate the increasing number of women students at the University.

housing. The new residence was to accommodate 150 women students.¹⁷⁵ In January, 1965, the sod was turned for the University's "first real home for women students."¹⁷⁶ Eventually designated LeBlanc Residence, it would be the first University-owned residence designed and built specifically for women students.

Officially opened in July, 1966, LeBlanc Hall¹⁷⁷ was designed to provide adequate housing for the increasing number of female students registering for courses at the University of Ottawa. Residents were expected to follow strict rules of conduct. Women were not allowed male callers except during the daytime, and only in a "common room" designated for this purpose. Students had to abide by a curfew and required written permission from their parents to absent themselves from the residence for a weekend.¹⁷⁸ These regulations effectively replaced the parental role by monitoring the conduct of young women in residence. Student life was closely monitored to ensure that the reputations of students living in the residences were protected. Students disobeying the rules risked expulsion from the residence and possibly academic sanctions as well. Students caught missing curfew were removed from residence. Parents of students residing in a residence for women could be sure that someone was *watching over and*

¹⁷⁵University of Saint Paul Archives, "Residence," Press Release, January 9, 1965, FE 634.A88R2.

¹⁷⁶University of Ottawa Archives, "Eveline LeBlanc, 1898-1977: University's First Dean of Women broke new ground for 'her' girls," La Gazette, November 1977, vol. XII, Eveline LeBlanc: Press Clippings, NB-9580. 34.

¹⁷⁷Now known as LeBlanc Hall, this residence was built and named after its founder. It maintained the name of LeBlanc Hall from its construction in 1966.

¹⁷⁸University of Ottawa Archives, "Women Students Residences: Regulations for the academic year 1965-1966," Fonds 78, NB-1947. 148.

protecting their daughter's respectability.

LeBlanc Residence was designed with a "wrap-around" stone fence "topped with an iron grill [to ensure] privacy."¹⁷⁹ The stone fence and iron grill ensured that students were "protected" from the unsavoury elements of society. The fence played two roles. One, purely physical. Ottawa University was located between a middle-class district (Sandy Hill) and a working class one, alongside the railroad track, and the canal. The fence ensured the physical safety of the students and protected against intrusions. The second role of the fence was symbolic. It created a space reserved for respectable young maids. On the other hand, the fencing and security measures also served to keep the students isolated. Great lengths were taken to ensure the morality and respectability of women students. The "delicacy" of the female character had to be protected from prying eyes and temptations to behaviour damaging to a woman's reputation. While the University gradually accepted the presence of female students, it still felt a need to protect women. In this case, the iron fence surrounding the new residence could be interpreted as an attempt to isolate women students and ensure that they maintained their respectability while attending the University of Ottawa.

This, however, was short-lived. By 1968, the objectives of student life in residence had dramatically changed. University administrators saw the need to provide increased services to women students. Residence life became equally as important as ensuring adequate housing. Women students on residence were no longer monitored by a single person. Rather, the Dean of Women arranged to have student monitors

¹⁷⁹University of Ottawa Archives, "New Women's Residence," the Fulcrum, January 13, 1965, vol. 10, no. 4, page 3.

appointed to help new students into university life. Student monitors were appointed to ensure the success of student-life for those living in residence. These monitors were responsible for both maintaining order as well as promoting social activities for the women.

LeBlanc initiated this process by planning a variety of social events for students living in residence. For instance, in the early stages of the new residence, LeBlanc arranged afternoon teas and social events. She attempted to ensure that students enjoyed both their university experience to the fullest which naturally included both academic and social events. For instance, in the first year of the new residence, LeBlanc organized a tea with Madame Vanier.¹⁸⁰ That same year her students arranged social events such as dances.¹⁸¹ In an article in the *Halifax Mainstar*, 1965, LeBlanc argued that there were "too many parents who [were] not adjusting sufficiently" to their daughters participating in university life. Parents wished to place stricter regulations on their daughters curfew and social abilities. LeBlanc felt that parents needed to understand that times had changed and student life had evolved. Female students were participating in more mixed extra-curricular activities such as sports and evening dances and outings. Female students in a mixed institution could not expect to remain completely separated

¹⁸⁰Madame Vanier was the wife of Governor General the Right Honourable Georges Vanier. The Right Honourable Georges Vanier was Governor General from 1959-1967.

¹⁸¹In the early 1960's, LeBlanc's correspondence to the Rector indicates her desire to institute a women's committee in residences which would be student-run and would organize such extra-curricular activities as sporting events, dances, card games or evenings out. However, there is no record in either The University of Ottawa Archives or the University of Saint-Paul Archives, of such a committee being formed.

from their male counter-parts.¹⁸² This is not to say that interaction was encouraged. Rather, LeBlanc recognized that she could not prevent social interaction between the sexes.

Rather than a protective environment designed to maintain student morality, the women's residence had become an additional place of learning. Curfews were decreased and the number of mixed social events increased. In 1968, the Directress of LeBlanc Hall, J.D. Berthiaume, wrote that life in residence should be "an educative experience" for students. Women were encouraged to live independently and to explore a new world where they familiarized themselves with "various kinds of human behaviour" and experienced a broad range of social and academic activities.¹⁸³ "In residence the student learns how to develop her personality, to get rid of the ideas preconceived and imposed by environment and family, to build her own convictions...."¹⁸⁴ Perceptions of life in residence and women students quickly changed to suit a new and larger generation of women entering academia.

¹⁸²University of Ottawa Archives, McKinnon, Ann, "Dean Switches From Home Economics at 60, and No regrets," Halifax Mainstar, August 21, 1965, Press Clippings, Fonds 6, NB-9580.34.

¹⁸³Sports committees were set up for women students in residence in the early 1970s. The University of Ottawa Archives contains a record of women students in residence organizing and participating in a variety of intermural sporting activities as well as outdoor field trips. When LeBlanc initially began her post at the University of Ottawa, sporting activities for women were not really available. The University provided limited facilities at a local high school once a week, but students were only allowed to use these facilities at specific times and were not allowed access to University of Ottawa gym equipment or facilities since this would put them in contact with male students.

¹⁸⁴University of Ottawa Archives, "Objectives and Organization of LeBlanc Hall, January 1968," Fonds 78, Boite 7078, dossier # 1163.

Conclusion:

At the age of sixty-six, after seven years of service with the University of Ottawa, LeBlanc retired due to health reasons. Prior to her arrival, the University of Ottawa had been neither equipped nor prepared to deal with those women interested in obtaining a post-secondary education in fields other than Nursing Science, Home Economics, and Teaching. When she began her career with the University in 1959, women comprised only 15% of the student population and the university lacked the necessary facilities to accommodate women students who expressed an interest in higher education at the University of Ottawa.

As Recruiting Officer for Women and then Dean of Women, LeBlanc encountered a University in the process of change and became an integral part of this process. She helped smooth the University's transition to a co-educational institution. The number of women students attending the University of Ottawa increased to 21% in 1964-65. By the time of her retirement in 1968, female enrollment at the University of Ottawa had increased to 22% of the total student population.¹⁸⁵

While LeBlanc played a role in the admission of women students into a broader range of academic programs at the University of Ottawa, she was not completely responsible for this change. Her efforts as both Student Recruiting Officer and later as Dean of Women facilitated what historians would term an inevitable evolution in the University of Ottawa's policies concerning the admission and training of women students. Since both of the affiliated colleges were in the process of closing in the late 1950s,

¹⁸⁵University of Ottawa Archives, Statistical Study 1967-68, Fonds 56, NB-3973.6.

women students logically began to apply for admission to the University of Ottawa directly. In addition, according to the lists of graduating students, as the number of women students graduating from the University of Ottawa increases, there is a gradual decrease in the number of nuns graduating. This in itself is indicative of a changing academic structure. Based on this, it is more plausible to see LeBlanc as a facilitator of a gradually changing institution rather than as a woman breaking new ground in academia. While her efforts to incorporate women students into academic programs at the University of Ottawa may have been innovative, her ideas were by no means new. When LeBlanc was attempting to set up a new residence for women, she consulted Women Deans at the University of Toronto and the University of Western Ontario. Both of these Universities had had Deans of Women for several years and had been accepting women students into a variety of programs long before the University of Ottawa had considered hiring LeBlanc.

What makes LeBlanc's career at the University of Ottawa interesting are her efforts to push forward changes already occurring within the broader Canadian social context. While she seems to have been a very conventional woman, she did work to promote the already changing ideals on educating women. Rather than marry or join a convent, LeBlanc sought a career which allowed her to promote education for francophone girls and later for higher education for women in Canada. Her role as Student Recruiting Officer for Women seems to have been relatively traditional. In essence, LeBlanc was expected to fulfil a role which fit more with the expectations of women in the 1890s. Her efforts are not unlike those of some of her compatriots within the administrative structure of universities. A recent Biography of Jean Royce and her

role within Queen's University until the early 1960s demonstrates similar patterns of academic life in Canada.¹⁸⁶ The question raised in this work which is fundamental to LeBlanc's career is whether or not certain behaviours, deliberate or not, made it possible in an institution governed by men, for a woman to be treated seriously and yet remain unthreatening. Essentially, Both LeBlanc and Royce were women working in the 1950s expected to continue to promote traditional roles for women. Both of these women worked in world dominated by men and managed to work with the system to promote higher education for women regardless of the field. While she drew the attention of students to a variety of both traditional and non-traditional career possibilities, her focus remained to encourage these students to select careers which they would find more fulfilling.

Although she was hired to direct students toward the new Domestic Science program, her lectures indicate she felt that a dedicated student with the right aptitudes should be able to pursue the career of their choice. Student graduate statistics indicate that the number of women graduates in non-traditional programs began to increase during her tenure. To recruit modern female students influenced by changing social forces and popular culture, LeBlanc moulded her message to suit a new generation of potential students. While she included in her lectures information on the new Domestic Science program, she continued to introduce students to the other options that were open to them. She knew that the students she addressed were a part of a shifting culture with different ideas and she adjusted her presentations accordingly.

¹⁸⁶Roberta Hamilton, Setting the Agenda: Jean Royce and The Shaping of Queen's University, ed. By Franca Iacovetta and Karen Dubinsky (University of Toronto Press, 2002).

LeBlanc's efforts to improve the living conditions for women students helped forward the University of Ottawa's transition. LeBlanc facilitated this transition by making sure that administrators were aware of the difficulties faced by women students regardless of their career choice. Her efforts to create a residence for women students furthered the position of women students at the University of Ottawa. Without her efforts to publicize the Catholic University's willingness to provide higher education to women, as well as her push to improve services for women, it is questionable whether the University of Ottawa would have experienced as quick an increase in women student graduates in the 1960s. While this increase in students was inevitable, LeBlanc served to quicken the pace.

Thus, LeBlanc's role within the University of Ottawa may be seen as both a facilitator and a ground-breaker. LeBlanc worked within a male-dominated institution to promote education for women and break invisible barriers to non-traditional fields of study. While she cannot be considered a "ground-breaker" in the Canadian context of higher education, she facilitated the University's transition. LeBlanc helped ensure smoother access to and improvements within a male-dominated Roman-Catholic and French-Canadian institution that was not initially prepared to deal with changing social forces that had already ensured changes in other Canadian Universities.

Appendix 1: Number of Women Graduates 1950-1966

The statistics in this table have been rounded up to the nearest percentile. In addition, in some instances, the numbers may vary as it was not possible to ascertain whether certain names in the list of Graduates were male or female. This can only be verified by looking at the student dossiers which are not available to the public. For this reason, the numbers for certain fields (Science, Library Science, Commerce, Law) are approximate.

Year	Degree	Number of Graduates	Number of Women	Women as Percentage of Graduates	Nuns as % women
1950	BA	234	63	27%	48%
1950	B.Ed.	1	1	100%	100%
1950	B.Sc. N.	2	2	100%	----
1950	MA	24	9	38%	22%
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 75 Approximate # of Nuns: 35					
1951	BA	243	54	23%	39%
1951	B.Ed.	1	1	100%	---
1951	B.Lib. Sc.	4	4	100%	---
1951	B.Com	22	2	9%	---
1951	M.A.	22	5	23%	40%
1951	M.D.	45	3	7%	---
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 73 Approximate # of Nuns: 23					
1952	B.A.	236	63	27%	43%
1952	B.Ed.	4	3	75%	67%
1952	B.Sc.	22	1	5%	---
1952	B.Sc.N.	2	2	100%	---
1952	M.A.	15	3	20%	100%

1952	Ph.D	19	6	32%	20%
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 78 Approximate # of Nuns: 33					
1953	B.A.	196	43	22%	51%
1953	B.Sc.N.	3	3	100%	67%
1953	B. Lib. Sci.	6	3	50%	---
1953	B. Commerce	24	2	8%	---
1953	M.A.	15	3	20%	100%
1953	Ph.D. Arts Slavic Studies	1	1	100%	---
1953	M.D.	49	1	2%	---
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 55 Approximate # of Nuns: 27					
1954	B.A	251	53	22%	53%
1954	B.Ed.	5	5	100%	---
1954	B.Sc.	29	3	10%	---
1954	B.Sc.N.	9	9	100%	44%
1954	B.Lib. Sci.	9	7	78%	---
1954	B. Commerce	24	2	8%	---
1954	M.A.	13	4	31%	50% (2)
1954	M.A Lib. Sci.	1	1	100%	---
1954	M.D.	45	3	7%	---
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 87 Approximate # of Nuns: 34					
1955	B.A.	251	76	30%	55%
1955	B.Commerce	26	2	8%	---
1955	B. Lib. Sci.	9	6	67%	---
1955	B.Ed.	16	6	38%	83%
1955	B.Sc.N.	8	8	100%	12.5%
1955	M.A. Ed.	8	3	38%	67%

1955	M.D.	91	3	3%	---
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 104 Approximate # of Nuns: 50					
1956	BA	322	66	20%	54%
1956	B.Ed.	28	15	54%	67%
1956	B.Sc.	5	2	40%	----
1956	B.Sc.N.	9	9	100%	67%
1956	B.Commerce	25	4	16%	----
1956	MA	12	7	58%	50%
1956	M.Ed.	10	5	50%	30%
1956	Licentiate in Law	22	2	9%	---
1956	PhD.	4	1	25%	---
1956	MD	32	1	3%	---
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 114 Approximate # of Nuns: 63					
1957	BA	258	68	26%	54%
1957	B.Ed.	22	4	18%	75%
1957	B.Theology	38	2	5%	----
1957	B.Commerce	40	2	3%	----
1957	B. Lib. Sci.	3	2	67%	----
1957	B.Sc.	1	1	100%	----
1957	B.Sc.N.	4	4	100%	25%
1957	Licentiate in Law	27	2	7%	----
1957	MA Psychology	5	2	40%	---
1957	M.Ed.	13	8	62%	88%
1957	PhD	4	1	25%	100%
1957	MD	50	4	8%	----
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 100 Approximate # of Nuns: 53					

1958	BA	263	89	34%	54 %
1958	B.Ed.	19	7	37%	86%
1958	B.Lib. Sci.	1	1 (unknown)	100%?	----
1958	B.Sc.	4	1	25%	----
1958	B.Sc.N.	8	8	100%	25%
1958	B.Commerce	36	unknown	unknown	----
1958	MA	19	9	47%	67%
1958	MEd.	13	7	54%	83%
1958	M.Sc. Chemistry	5	1	20%	----
1958	PhD	10	4	40%	75%
1958	MD	----	----	----	----
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 127 Approximate # of Nuns: 71					
1959	B.A.	293	85	34%	52%
1959	B.Ed.	14	4	29%	67%
1959	Teaching Licence Ed.	1	1	100%	----
1959	B.Sci.Dom.	5	5	100%	----
1959	B.Sc.	2	2	100%	----
1959	B.Sc.N.	----	----	----	----
1959	B.Lib.Sc.	4	2	50%	----
1959	Cert. Lib. Sc.	1	1	100%	----
1959	B. Commerce	47	6	13%	33%
1959	B.Sc.N.Ed.	8	8	100%	62.5%
1959	B.Sc. Public Health Nursing	2	2	100%	50%
1959	Cert. N.Ed.	13	13	100%	15%
1959	Cert. Public Health Nursing	17	17	100%	----

1959	Nursing Diploma	34	34	100%	---
1959	MA.	6	4	67%	25%
1959	M.Ed.	11	5	45%	60%
1959	PhD.	9	6	67%	66%
1959	MD	55	2	4%	---
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 200 Approximate # of Nuns: 66					
1960	B.A.	285	73	26%	55%
1960	B.Ed.	37	9	24%	89%
1960	Bachelor Law	27	1	4%	---
1960	B.Sc.Dom.	2	2	100%	---
1960	B.Sc.	13	4	31%	---
1960	B.Sc.N.	---	---	---	---
1960	B.Lib. Sci.	15	13	87%	---
1960	B.Commerce	25	1	4%	---
1960	B.Sc.N.Ed.	10	10	100%	30%
1960	B.Sc.Public Health Nursing	4	4	100%	---
1960	Cert. N.Ed.	23	21	91%	28.6%
1960	Cert. Public Health Nursing	25	25	100%	---
1960	Nursing Dip.	39	39	100%	2.6% (1)
1960	M.A.	10	7	70%	57%
1960	M.Ed.	12	5	42%	60%
1960	M.Sc.	4	1	50%	---
1960	PhD	8	4	50%	75%
1960	MD	51	4	8%	---
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 223 Approximate # of Nuns: 71					

1961	BA	273	99	36%	46%
1961	B.Ed.	33	10	30%	70%
1961	Bachelor Law	21	1	5%	----
1961	B.Sc.Dom.	2	2	100%	----
1961	B.Sc.	13	4	31%	----
1961	B.Sc.N.	----	----	----	----
1961	B.Lib. Sci.	15	13	87%	----
1961	B.Commerce	25	1	4%	----
1961	B.Sc.N,Ed.	10	10	100%	30%
1961	B.Sc.Public Health Nursing	4	4	100%	----
1961	Cert. N.Ed.	23	21	91%	28.6%
1961	Cert. Public Health Nursing	25	25	100%	----
1961	Nursing Dip.	39	39	100%	2.6% (1)
1961	M.A.	10	7	70%	57%
1961	M.Ed.	12	5	42%	60%
1961	M.Sc.	4	1	50%	----
1961	PhD	31	4	13 %	25%
1961	MD ¹⁸⁷	53	10	8%	----
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 256 Approximate # of Nuns: 85					
1962	BA	388	114	29%	54%
1962	B.Ed.	25	8	32%	100%
1962	Bachelor Law	23	---	---	---

¹⁸⁷In 1961, there was 1 female graduate with a Ph.D in Anatomy, and one female graduate with a Master of Science in Gynaecology. Both of these graduates have been included with the graduates from the M.D. program as they are listed in the list of graduates of the University of Ottawa in the Faculty of Medicine.

1962	B.Sc.Dom.	3	---	---	---
1962	B.Sc.	30	---	---	---
1962	B.Sc.N.	---	---	---	---
1962	B.Lib. Sci.	20	12	60%	---
1962	Certificate in Lib. Sci.	2	1	50%	---
1962	B.Commerce	25	0	---	---
1962	B.Sc.N.Ed.	15	14	93%	60%
1962	B.Sc.Public Health Nursing	3	3	100%	---
1962	Cert. N.Ed.	40	38	95%	21%
1962	Cert. Pub. Health N.	38	38	100%	---
1962	Nursing Dip.	37	37	100%	---
1962	M.A.	31	3	10%	33%
1962	M.Ed.	19	6	32%	83%
1962	M.Sc.	10	1	10%	---
1962	PhD	26	5	19%	40%
1962	Diploma of Graduate Studies in Law	3	1	33%	---
1962	MD	45	10	22%	10% (1)
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 291 Approximate # of Nuns: 95					
1963	BA	331	121	37%	50%
1963	B.Ed.	37	8	22%	50%
1963	Bachelor Law	19	---	---	---
1963	B.Sc.Dom.	3	3	100%	---
1963	B.Sc.	81	9	11%	---
1963	B.Lib. Sci.	34	16	47%	---

1963	Certificate in Lib. Sci.	---	---	---	---
1963	B.Commerce	47	---	---	---
1963	B.Sc.N.Ed.	27	27	100%	44%
1963	B.Sc.Public Health Nursing	7	7	100%	---
1963	Cert. N.Ed.	50	49	98%	18%
1963	Cert. Pub. Health N.	46	46	100%	---
1963	Nursing Dip.	37	16	43%	13%
1963	M.A.	24	1	4%	---
1963	M.Ed.	28	9	32%	22%
1963	M.Sc.	12	3	25%	---
1963	PhD	41	7	17%	14%
1963	Diploma of Graduate Studies in Law	8	1	13%	---
1963	M.D.	44	7	16%	57%
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 330 Approximate # of Nuns: 101					
1964	B.A.	507	147	29%	37%
1964	B.Ed.	30	10	32%	90%
1964	Bachelor Law	---	---	---	---
1964	B.Sc.Dom.	10	10	100%	---
1964	B.Sc.	49	3	6%	---
1964	B.Sc.N.	---	---	---	---
1964	B.Lib. Sci.	34	16	47%	---
1964	Certificate in Lib. Sci.	---	---	---	---
1964	B.Commerce	94	6	6%	---
1964	B.Sc.N.Ed.	27	27	100%	44%

1964	B.Sc.Public Health Nursing	7	7	100%	---
1964	Cert. N.Ed.	50	50	100%	20%
1964	Cert. Pub. Health N.	46	46	100%	---
1964	Nursing Dip.	43	42	98%	7%
1964	M.A.	27	9	34%	---
1964	M.Ed.	26	9	35%	89%
1964	M.Sc.	21	2	10%	---
1964	PhD.	28	5	18%	---
1964	Diploma of Graduate Studies in Law	8	---	---	---
1964	M.D.	44	7	16%	29%
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 396 Approximate # of Nuns: 42					
1965	B.A.	446	159	36%	36%
1965	B.Ed.	53	12	23%	42%
1965	Bachelor Law	---	---	---	---
1965	Bachelor Social Science	11	5	45%	---
1965	B.Sc.Dom.	6	6	100%	17%
1965	B.Sc.	57	10	18%	---
1965	B.Sc.N.	6	6	100%	17%
1965	B.Lib. Sci.	38	17	45%	---
1965	Certificate in Lib. Sci.	---	---	---	---
1965	B.Commerce	93	4	4%	50%
1965	B.Sc.N,Ed.	32	31	97%	42%

1965	B.Sc.Public Health Nursing	16	16	100%	13%
1965	Cert. N.Ed.	64	62	97%	23%
1965	Cert. Pub. Health N.	55	55	100%	5%
1965	Nursing Dip.	55	55	100%	2%
1965	M.A.	46	19	41%	47%
1965	M.Ed.	35	19	54%	68%
1965	M.Sc.	20	4	20%	---
1965	PhD.	40	9	23%	56%
1965	Diploma of Graduate Studies in Law	9	2	22%	---
1965	M.D. ¹⁸⁸	57	7	12%	---
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 498 Approximate # of Nuns: 129					
1966	B.A.	519	161	31%	38%
1966	B.Ed.	43	14	33%	42%
1966	Bachelor Law	19	2	11%	---
1966	Bachelor Social Science	27	7	26%	---
1966	B.Sc.Dom.	9	9	100%	11%
1966	B.Sc.	69	7	10%	---
1966	B.Sc.N.	7	7	100%	43%
1966	B.Lib. Sci.	34	24	71%	8%

¹⁸⁸In 1965, there was 1 female graduate with a Ph.D in Biochemistry, and one female graduate with a Master of Science in Biochemistry. Both of these graduates have been included with the graduates from the M.D. program as they are listed in the list of graduates of the University of Ottawa in the Faculty of Medicine.

1966	Certificate in Lib. Sci.	---	---	---	---
1966	B.Commerce	91	6	7%	---
1966	B.Sc.N.Ed.	70	66	94%	21%
1966	B.Sc.Public Health Nursing	21	21	100%	10%
1966	Cert. N.Ed.	46	44	96%	20%
1966	Cert. Pub. Health N.	34	34	100%	6%
1966	Nursing Dip.	52	52	100%	4%
1966	M.A.	67	18	27%	67%
1966	M.Ed.	47	13	28%	53%
1966	M.Sc.	25	4	16%	---
1966	PhD.	54	18	33%	78%
1966	Diploma of Graduate Studies in Law	9	---	---	---
1966	M.D.	51	7	14%	---
1966	Master in Hospital Admin. ¹⁸⁹	3	1	33%	100%
1966	Bachelor Theology ¹⁹⁰	53	2	4%	50%
Approximate # of Female Graduates: 517 Approximate # of Nuns: 145					

¹⁸⁹This is the first year for this program at the University of Ottawa.

¹⁹⁰This is the first year in which a woman graduate appears on the list of graduates for the University of Ottawa in the Bachelor of Theology program.

Appendix 2: Sources

Historians dealing with recent topics of discussion frequently face difficulties in the process of their investigation with either the availability of sources or with the nature of the material being examined. Since this study deals with the 1950s and 60s it has its own set of difficulties which must be addressed.¹⁹¹

The most important issue is the lack of accurate statistical data. There are few records of undergraduate or graduate students admitted to programs at the University of Ottawa or any of its affiliated colleges. While there are general statistics which indicate approximate numbers of students attending the university, these only give overall numbers of male and female students. Moreover, the data they contain is sporadic covering only 1960, 1961-62, 1963-64 and 1966-67. The statistics for 1966-67 are the only ones which indicate not only the number of male and female students in each faculty, but also the number speaking French or English, and the number of students who were Catholic, Protestant or Jewish. The remaining prepared statistics list only the number of male or female students receiving degrees in each Faculty or program.¹⁹²

The only relatively accurate and consistent information came from a list of students who had graduated from the University of Ottawa between 1950 and 1970.

¹⁹¹It should also be noted here that the memoirs of Eveline LeBlanc are not necessarily a personal account of her experiences at the University of Ottawa. Rather, they are a detailed account of her professional activities as Student Recruiter. However, these memoirs combined with available correspondence demonstrate some of the difficulties encountered by LeBlanc. They are also an excellent and detailed source concerning her role and activities within the university structure.

¹⁹²University of Ottawa Archives, Fonds 56, dossier 3973.5

Unfortunately, while the names are given, there is no other information indicating the age of the student, their religion, their social or ethnic backgrounds, or the high school from which they graduated. Any of the particulars pertaining to admissions which would list the age, sex, race and religion as well as a photograph¹⁹³, are only available in the student dossiers. These student dossiers are protected by privacy rules and are therefore not accessible to researchers. The list of graduating students does, however, allow the researcher to determine how many female students graduated in a given year, as well as, how many of these students were members of a religious order (Nuns). Student almanacs¹⁹⁴ are available, but were not produced every year and only a limited number of these have been preserved. For this reason, these almanacs are of limited use. They can be used only to give a general idea as to whether the majority of students might have originated from Ontario or Quebec. Available almanacs, however, indicate through student addresses that there was an international presence on campus. However, it is impossible to speculate which programs, undergraduate or graduate, these students registered in, where they originated from, or if many of them were international students, without accessing the student dossiers.

This study also used material in the private archives of the Sisters of Charity in Ottawa. Much of the material on the affiliated colleges is located in the archives of the

¹⁹³While graduating class photographs exist for the 1950s, there are no women graduates in any of these photographs.

¹⁹⁴These books functioned as both a welcome guide to new students explaining the services offered and some of the university regulations, as well, as a telephone and address listing of students in the various programs. One also needs to keep in mind that these almanacs may not necessarily list all of the students attending university, since they reflect only those who wished to have their names, telephone numbers and permanent addresses published.

Sisters of Charity in Ottawa, but is not accessible to researchers. Most of the material dealing with the affiliated colleges has not yet been classified and for this reason is not available to the public for consultation. This meant that my research on the affiliated colleges relies predominantly on informal discussions with the sisters who maintain the archives, as well as, the limited material available at the University of Ottawa archives. It is possible that additional material is available at the mother house for the Sisters of Charity in Montreal. However, the knowledge of this source followed near completion of this thesis necessitating its exclusion.

Appendix 3: School Presentations

The following is a list of schools which allowed LeBlanc to make a presentation on higher education to students in grades 9 to 13. The numbers in each of the columns represent the number of female students that were present for LeBlanc's presentations.

LeBlanc was not permitted to give presentations at four of the area high schools (Rockland, Plantagenet, Cassleman and Williamstown).

School	9 th Grade	10 th Grade	11 th Grade	12 th Grade	13 th Grade
Académie Marie Goretti (Alexandria)	----	----	10	4	----
Académie du Sacré Coeur (Vankleek Hill)	11	11	8	5	----
Académie St-Michel (Cornwall)	----	----	----	30	----
Académie Sainte-Croix (Cornwall)	----	----	7	----	----
Couvent Notre-Dame (Ottawa)	----	----	----	28	----
Couvent N.-D du Rosaire (Ottawa)	----	----	30	6	----
Couvent du Sacré-Coeur (Ottawa) (9 and 10 together)	64	25	13	18	----
Ecole Joseph Roy (St-Isidore de Prescott) (Grades 9 and 10 together)	35	16	13	7	----
Ecole N.-D du Bon Conseil (Ottawa)	----	----	----	13	----
Ecole N.-D. Des Victories (Ottawa)	----	29	14	5	----
Ecole Secondaire Privée (Alfred)	----	----	12	8	----
Ecole St-Conrad (Ottawa)	----	----	13	10	----

Mont St-Joseph (Ottawa) (Grades 9 and 10 together)	32	35	30	13	----
Pensionnat N.-D. Du Sacré Coeur (Ottawa)	210	175	160	110	----
Pensionnat N.-D. De Lourdes (Ottawa)	----	----	62	40	----
Iona Academy (St. Raphael's West, Ont.)	----	----	15	11	----
St. Andrew's Academy (St. Andrew's ON)	14	4	7	6	----
Hawksbury	----	----	16		----
Embrum	----	----	7	11	----
Vankleek Hill	----	----		12	11
Alexandria	----	----	20	18	----
Saint Félix de Valoix (group) (Cornwall)	20	10	---	---	----
Maria Goretti (Alexandria) (together)	15	20	----	----	----
Ecole Saint-Dominique (Ottawa) (together)	38	23	---	---	---
Ecole Séparée (Alfred) (together)	30	18	----	----	----

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