ELEGANCE AND EXPRESSION. SWEAT AND STRENGTH:
BODY TRAINING, PHYSICAL CULTURE AND FEMALE EMBODIMENT
IN WOMEN’S EDUCATION AT THE MARGARET EATON SCHOOLS
(1901-1941)

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Education
in the Graduate Department of Theory and Policy Studies
University of Toronto

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ABSTRACT

Elegance and Expression, Sweat and Strength:
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(1901-1941)

Doctor of Education

1997

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This thesis examines the history of the Margaret Eaton School, a private institution of higher learning which was designed to train young upper and middle class women in the field of dramatic arts and physical education in Ontario between 1901 and 1941. The three organizational phases of the school, the School of Expression (1901-1906), the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression (1906-1925) and the Margaret Eaton School (1925-1941) is examined through the directorship of the school's three principals: Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, Mary Hamilton and Florence Somers.

This investigation examines the changing image of the Margaret Eaton girl, as training in elegance and expression for the theatre shifted to training in athletic skill and pedagogic knowledge for the field of physical education. From Emma Scott Raff Nasmith's Delsartean techniques of body movement, to the camping experiences of Mary Hamilton's Algonquin wilderness, to Florence Somer's maternal vision of women's athleticism; each phase added
yet another dimension to the evolving portrait of the Margaret Eaton girl. Elegance and expression and sweat and strength were aspects of this body experience. Each director forwarded her own vision of women's education which carried both elements of consistency and facets of difference from her predecessor. This thesis examines the uneven contours of this community experience, and analyzes how faculty and students both extended the borders of possibilities for women and, also, conformed to prescriptive patterns of gender appropriate behaviour.

An examination of the school's archival documents is augmented by interviews with faculty and students of the school, and provides the basis for this investigation of over forty years of body training in women's higher education. Through this body experience, students were both transformed and empowered, restricted and stereotyped. The thesis concludes with the closure of the school in 1941, and its absorption into the nation's first co-educational degree program--the School of Physical and Health education at the University of Toronto--in 1942. A glimpse into the benefits and costs of this next stage in the "evolution" of women in higher education is offered, as lost autonomy and a dramatically altered vision of what it meant to be "physically educated" were exchanged for the hope of academic legitimacy.
For my mother,

Margaret Davison Lathrop
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ABBREVIATIONS

AO-EC: ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, EATON'S COLLECTION, TORONTO, ONTARIO

EFA: EATON FOUNDATION ARCHIVES, TORONTO, ONTARIO

NA: NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA, OTTAWA, ONTARIO

TA: TRENT UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

UCA: UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO

UTA: UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES, TORONTO, ONTARIO

DPHE: DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL AND HEALTH EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, BENSON BUILDING

UT-RBC: UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, RARE BOOKS COLLECTION

VUA: VICTORIA UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES
INTRODUCTION

The woman who is receiving her education today is fortunate, for she is living in a period when the old order of things is passing away and a new era is at hand. Today is the day when the idea of public service reigns in the hearts of thinking people, and when men and women will tolerate and follow only those whom they know are true to the best interests and ideals of the nation. There are great opportunities for work in the world today. It is your privilege to serve.¹

Referring to a sense of new opportunity, which the post-suffrage era was presumed to inaugurate for Canadian women, George S. Nasmith reminded the 1918 graduating class of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression that they were a privileged group of young women who were well prepared to serve the needs of the nation. Nasmith, the second husband of the school’s principal, Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, echoed the popular view that women were on the verge of a new social era. Trained to have high ideals, well-trained minds, value work and to recognize "the best and beautiful"² in life, these students in Dramatic Art and Physical Education were graduates of a female academy bearing the name of one of Toronto’s most prominent upper class families.

The early graduates of the School of Expression and the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression were fashioned

²Nasmith, Commencement Exercise Address, 1918, in Jackson, A Brief History of Three Schools, p. 13.
in a crucible of upper class schooling. These young women received a two-year diploma in either Dramatic Art or Physical Culture, and were exposed to a curriculum which emphasized the virtues of elegance and beauty of body and spirit. During this early stage of the school's history, most of the students came from wealthy homes, and generally attended only a course or two in elocution, physical culture, oratory or dramatic art.\textsuperscript{3} Scott Raff Nasmith remarked that her students came "from the best homes in Toronto."\textsuperscript{4} and although there were three scholarships offered to "discover talent and offer instruction to some who would otherwise not have been able to study."\textsuperscript{5} most of her students had their tuition paid in full by their families.

Twenty years later, however, the school's mandate was no longer concerned with the dramatic and literary preparation of "hand, head and heart."\textsuperscript{6} By this time, the school attracted a broader social class of students. Students attended the school as a result of their interest in physical education and desire to teach, and they came from both upper and middle class social backgrounds.

Interviews with graduates from 1938-1941 indicated that although a small percentage of their peers came from wealthy families, most came from the middle class. Tuition fees charged by the school were

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{3}VUA, Box 9, File 135, Personal Papers of Nathanel Burwash, Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, Fall, 1911.
\textsuperscript{4}AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)," Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, October, 1914.
\textsuperscript{5}AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes (1906-1924)," Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff, November 15, 1915.
\end{flushleft}
comparable to those at the University of Toronto. and for many students anxious to find employment in a field other than nursing or secretarial work, the two year Margaret Eaton diploma offered an ideal opportunity.

In 1937, the editor of the school's yearbook, M.E.S. Amies, commented on the status of women at the school. She observed that although Canadian women in the "new era" of the 1920's and 1930's had achieved some measure of economic independence through increased access to employment in the public sector, they had yet to achieve independence of the mind. Isabel Callan foreshadowed Strong-Boag's critique of this period in Canadian history, who argued that for feminists, revolutionary changes were not realized for women following the conferral of the federal franchise.  

The suggestion that women have many 'rights' and abilities is not a new idea today. They have demonstrated to the world that they have the ability to be economically independent. One finds in many fields: politics, business, law, medicine, education and religion, women who have proven their right to hold important and responsible positions. No longer do we hear discussions on the emancipation of women--it is an accepted fact.

But how many women are mentally independent? There are a few brave souls who think for themselves and who stand up for their own conclusions. The majority of us, however, glibly accept ready-made opinions, ideas and values. Independent thinking, I suppose, is really a result of studying and learning about the situations in the world and then using your knowledge. Let us broaden our scope of knowledge, let us find out the relative values of each opinion and idea before we accept it as our own. And certainly let us not be

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afraid to own an original, independent thought.  

Callan's call for independent thought and critical analysis was echoed by a second student's query. In the same edition of *M.E.S. Amies*, an anonymous student submitted an article entitled, "In Defense of Nonconformity." in which she compared the pressure of institutional hegemony to the oppressive tyranny of fascism. She described the figure of Mussolini and the image of the German goose-step and asked. "Why must we walk and dress, think and speak as others do?"  

Although Michael Apple argues that schools largely create people who see no other serious possibility than the economic and cultural assemblage presented to them, this student's defense of "transgressions," "deviations" and "original thought" suggests that despite educational conditioning, students may have developed a sense of counter-hegemonic consciousness. In addition, the valedictorian for the class of 1938 added her voice to caution "observers of education in the abstract." Patty Sterne Sanders argued that student experiences at the Margaret Eaton School were quite diverse, and that they did not reflect a "standardized product." She commented:

Sitting here in our white dresses we have doubtless appeared to be a group of very uniform individuals. That impression will perhaps be emphasized as we receive our diplomas in almost unvaried ritual. On the surface there seems to be good reason for H.G. Wells' suggestion that the graduate is a

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12Patty Sterne Sanders, "The Valedictory Address, 1938," The Margaret Eaton School, in files given to the author.
standardized product, 'shaken and examined when full, and certified to know all that there is to be known.' One who ventures to speak in anything like a representative fashion for the graduates this afternoon realizes just how deceptive appearances can be. Beneath the surface the differences in Margaret Eaton graduates are more prominent than the similarities.13

These student reflections challenge Michael Apple's assumption that the hegemonic influence of schooling produces predictable and uniform experiences. Indeed, speaking as an insider, Patty Sterne Sanders warned future historians that "outside" appearances were deceptive. Her comment suggests that an understanding of life within the school must not only attend to what these young women were taught and how they were told to behave, but that one must also consider how they integrated this knowledge within an emerging sense of female identity. As Jill Conway notes, "It is not access to educational facilities which is the significant variable in tracing the liberation of women's minds. What really matters is whether women's consciousness of themselves as intellects is altered."14

In her review of scholarly research in the history of higher education for women, Alison Mackinnon also agrees that the issue concerning the status of women and higher education must extend beyond issues of institutional access and ask questions which relate to personal experience and agency. Mackinnon asks, "Do [educated] women begin to see themselves as women differently?"15 Although

13Patty Sterne Sanders, "The Valedictory Address, 1938," in files given to the author.
the feminist sociologist, Dorothy Smith, maintains that middle class women are particularly susceptible to male thinking about a woman's place within the school environment. Other scholars argue that the female sphere, within a segregated educational environment, offers the potential for the incubation of a distinct female culture. Research by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Martha Vicinus, for example, suggests that higher education for some middle class women may have afforded a sense of possibility and choice which challenged patriarchal expectations of marriage, motherhood, and compulsory heterosexuality. Barbara Miller Solomon, in her analysis of American women and higher education, reports demographic evidence suggesting that less than 50 percent of American college women who graduated by 1915 chose to marry. In addition, Rosalind Rosenberg cites an early survey concerning female sexual practice in 1918 which indicated that lesbian experience was remarkably widespread among American college

16 Dorothy Smith questions whether middle class women have a language of their own and argues that they are particularly susceptible to colonization by dominant male discourses. See D. Smith, "A Sociology for Women" in J.A. Sherman and E.T. Beck (eds), The Prism of Sex, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), p. 143-144.


women. Despite the burden of a "double conformity" to both "ladylike" behaviour and male educational standards, some college women transgressed societal norms. As Mackinnon observes, this is precisely what some advocates and many opponents of women's higher education feared most.

Higher education not only offered women a forum for critical thinking, but it also created an environment where habits and practices shaped the way women engaged with one another. Judith Fingard, in her study of college women at Dalhousie University, describes a community of women who developed a sense of identity "forged by competing with each other in debates and games." Games, sport and physical activities not only conveyed social values at a relational level, but they also shaped embodied meaning at the phenomenological level. As Teresa de Lauretis argues, body actions, gestures, temporality and rhythms are as much a part of our "horizon of meaning" as language. If womanhood is constructed, as Valverde

21Mackinnon, "Male Heads on Female Shoulders," p. 41. See, also, Caroll Smith Rosenberg (Disorderly Conduct, p. 245-296) for a discussion of the discourse in 19th century Victorian America which identified middle class women who choose not to marry as 'redundant,' 'militant,' 'hysterical,' and 'mannish lesbians.'
suggests, then the ways in which the body is conditioned to move will influence the formation of gender identity. As Iris Young suggests in her critique, "Throwing like a girl." restricted body habits which inhibit the full experience of the body's movement potential through space may lead to immature movement patterns. In this way, body limitations—whether in the form of restrictive clothing or sex-appropriate physical activity—shape the experience of embodiment and the feeling of how the subject reaches out, with and through the body. If the female body is offered only a narrow range of movement potential, how does this relate to perceptions of self and issues of power in relation to others?

What had it felt like, for early feminists, to be "in" the body in a liberated, nonrestrictive sense? Canadian feminist Nellie McClung, recalling her early youth in late 19th century rural Saskatchewan, employed terms such as "elation," "equality" and "freedom" in her descriptions of games, sport and dancing. She described running foot races with her brother and encouraging both male and female students to play football, despite the outrage of parents who claimed, "it wasn't a ladies game." McClung described sports which were "fresh, clean and thrilling" and railed against restrictive clothing and her droopy scarlet bloomers which were "flaring outrages" under her skirt. Similarly, Winnifred Peck's early memories of her Victorian

27McClung, *Clearing in the West*, p. 228.
private school education in England also describe the glories of running freely with the associated sense of liberation and equality. She recalled,

Part of the fun [of games playing] came from the games dress—short tunics and baggy bloomers with tam-o-shanters which always fell off. What freedom, what glory, to scamper about after one ball or another in sun or rain or wind as one of a team, as part of a school, on an equality, with brothers at last!28

Both Nellie McClung and Winnifred Peck described their embodied movement experiences in terms of power—with the games forum as the primary arena for equality with brothers. "at last." They also shared the common frustration that restrictive clothing inhibited the freedom for a full movement experience. In her outspoken defense for sensible clothing and the right for young girls to play football and ride astride, McClung characterized these "unnatural" sanctions against the full range of physical activities for women as. "a baffling stone wall."29

These experiences of physicality—the felt sense of vigor, freedom, elation, and empowerment through functional and expressive movement—suggest that physical activity functioned as a powerful site of meaning which had the potential to either deepen gender "difference" based on the characteristics of frailty and inequality, or conversely, to forge a distinctive sense of female

29McClung, Clearing In the West, p. 106.
"difference" which could be experienced as self-possessed and autonomous.

As a major component of the Margaret Eaton School experience, the body was presented as the vessel of dramatic training, physical expression and professional preparation. It is this unique emphasis upon a body-centered education--an education which included the uneven and at times contradictory experiences of both elegance and expression, sweat and strength--which offers a distinctive point of entry into the analysis of the socialization and embodied experience of "The Margaret Eaton girl."

Historiography and Issues of Location

Writing women's history in the last decade of the twentieth century requires that the researcher come to terms with Jane Flax's caveat that we begin to "think more about how we think"30 and examine issues of historiographical contextualization and personal location. Regardless of the point of entry--women's history, gender history, educational history or the "new" social history--the project of writing history is a political endeavor which involves issues of power and knowledge, identity and experience.31 "Thinking about how we think" not only requires the adoption of a strategic position within the feminist and postmodern theoretical context, but it also challenges the researcher to examine personal issues of feeling.

location and power.\textsuperscript{32} And, as Maxine Sheets-Johnstone argues, it is important to challenge the pervasiveness of Cartesian dualism which has relegated "top billing to our minds" and consider that the perceiving subject--whether engaged in feminist literary criticism or feminist historical analysis--is not purely a cognitive perceiver.\textsuperscript{33} The \textit{embodied} feminist subject brings to her analysis a particular interpretative framework which is framed by experiences of class, ethnicity, gender and \textit{physicality}.

The act of writing history is a political project which inevitably draws the researcher into the theoretical debate concerning the construction of knowledge, the dissemination of power and the nature of the subject. Much of the recent theoretical debate in women's history has focused on the difficult intersections between postmodernism and feminism. It is interesting to note that the "nature" of the body subject is pivotal to these discussions. Because we see and experience sexual difference though our knowledge about the body, it is not surprising that the body may be found at the center of this debate. What aspects of gender identity and body experience flow \textit{from} the physical body, and what aspects are constructed and written \textit{onto} it?

\textsuperscript{32}Deanne Bogdan (\textit{Re-Educating the Imagination: Toward a Poetics, Politics and Pedagogy of Literary Engagement} (Portsmouth, NH: Boynton/Cook Publishers, 1992), describes the situated perspective of the feminist reader in terms of "feeling," "location" and "power." Similarly, Ruth Roach Pierson ("Experience, Difference, Dominance and Voice in the Writing of Canadian Women's History," in Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson and Jane Rendall, eds., \textit{Writing Women's History: International Perspectives} (London: Macmillan, 1991) describes the situated interpretative framework of the feminist historian in terms of "difference" "dominance" and "voice." Both feminist perspectives acknowledge the important connection between personal location, literary literacy and interpretative analysis.

Perhaps, however, this question polarized the issue unduly. As recent scholarship indicates, the difficult intersections between feminist and postmodern interpretative frameworks has led many scholars to lament the "shifting sands"\(^{34}\) of a theoretical landscape which makes it difficult to find, as Gail Brandt and Patti Lather suggest, "a place from which to act."\(^{35}\) Scholars such as Nancy Hartsock and Denise Riley, concerned that the female subject may be deconstructed to the point of nonessence, argue in favor of a strategic return to a form of essentialism which holds both a pluralistic model of multiple subjectivities and a political vision which is grounded in the reality of the shared experience of embodied oppression.\(^{36}\) In order to save the subject and "take the risk of essence." Patti Lather agrees that the Irigarayian idea of a "re-deployment of essentialism which thinks through the body"\(^{37}\) may be a helpful way out of this

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\(^{34}\) See, for example, Marianna Valverde ("Poststructuralist Gender Histories: Are We Those Names?" Labour/le travail 25 (Spring 1990), p. 233) who describes the theoretical terrain as "shifting sands."

\(^{35}\) See, for example, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, ("Postmodern Patchwork: Some Recent Trends in the Writing of Women's History in Canada" Canadian Historical Review, LXXII) pp. 441-470), who describes the influence of postmodernist theory on the writing of women's history in Canada. Brandt sees the emphasis on difference, the rejection of linear historical vision, attention to discourse and the movement away from discrete categories of analysis to be consistent with feminist theory, but notes the denial of 'women' and 'patriarchy' as meaningful categories of analysis is problematic for feminist theory and practice since it calls into question individual agency and political activism. See, also, Patti Lather (Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/In The Postmodern (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 29) who speaks of the need for feminist politics to maintain a foothold--"a place from which to act"--which will bridge notions of deconstruction with those of essentialism.

theoretical minefield. This "strategic" or "re-deployed" form of essentialism appears to return to the body as a primary site of perceptual experience. Although diving into the "knowable past" requires a recognition of the many differing layers of experience, these experiences are all perceived through the physical essence. As Adrienne Rich puts it, it is to dive into the wreck with knife and camera in hand so as to decipher, decode and read the book of myths--retrieving not the story of the wreck, but the thing itself.

**Female Embodiment**

Part of the feminist project to "save the subject" may be found through a return to the body and an understanding of the many profiles of what it means to be embodied female. It is not coincidental that this theoretical return to a position which is strategically essentialist connects with political advocacy which demands that the female subject be "saved" in the very real sense from acts of oppression and violence. Feminist scholars such as Catherine Mackinnon, Iris Young and Helen Lenskyj who examine issues of female embodiment which intersect with legal issues, physical activity patterns and health concerns draw direct connections between female physicality, female sexuality and issues

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37 Patti Lather quotes Gayatri Spivak who urges that we "take the risk of essence in order to increase the substantive efficacy of feminist resistance." See, *Getting Smart*, p. 29 and p. 31.
of violation against women. As Mackinnon notes, "issues like rape, incest, sexual harassment, prostitution, pornography--issues of the violation of women, in particular women's sexuality--connect directly with issues of athletics." And, as Lenskyj asserts, "for radical feminists, the female body and female sexuality are primary sites of struggle."

If the body is the site of our gendered subjectivity--our female struggle--then the form of being which finds its expression in the body may be a critical aspect of female perception and "identity" consciousness. Maurice Merleau Ponty, a French philosopher born at the turn of the century, theorized about the role of the "lived body" in the formation of perception. Ponty invoked Edmund Husserl's call for a "return to the things themselves" and proposed that a return to the "phenomenal body" would involve a recognition of the "corporeal" ground of our intelligence and the "postural schema" of our physical essence. In his descriptions of the "lived body," Ponty

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41 Mackinnon, "Women, Self-Possession and Sport" p. 118.


43 "Identity" is not considered a universal concept. As Elizabeth Spelman warns, it is not a "metaphysical given," but rather, a "shared viewpoint" and a "difficult political achievement." See, Elizabeth Spelman, Inessential Woman (Boston: Beacon Press), p. 13.

explained the important distinction between "my body for me. and my body for others." More than an instrument in the world, he argued that it is the site of our expression, the form of our intention and the place holder of our perception. The body, he argues, exists both as a "thing" and as a "consciousness." Ponty observed. It is always something other than what it is, always sexuality and at the same time freedom, rooted in nature at the very moment when it is transformed by cultural influences, never hermetically sealed and never left behind. Whether it is a question of another's body or my own, I have no means of knowing the human body other than that of living it and losing myself in it.

Although Ponty may muse about the "losing" of self in the body, feminists argue that this ideal is difficult to achieve when one is socially constructed as "the other" within a patriarchal and heterosexual context. The female body, often constructed as "the other" and viewed within the context of biological destiny has, in certain historical contexts, not offered much room for freedom and personal transformation.

Female Embodiment and Schooling

Physical education, like domestic science, was an area where women were perceived to have special educational needs. Special needs necessitated special treatment in the form of separate institutions and sex-specific curriculum. On the playing fields and gymnasias of Victorian England, women's colleges and academies

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functioned, as Gillian Avery explains, as "islands on the sea of masculinity." These island enclaves and their sex-specific curricula presented the potential for physical and social emancipation as well as oppression. Gillian Avery, Paul Atkinson, Kathleen McCrone and David Kirk note emancipatory developments for women in curriculum reform, sport activity and dress innovation. However, as Helen Lenskyj concluded from her analysis of physical training for women in turn of the century Ontario, education of the body also functioned as a most effective vehicle of oppression. Physical education could be a powerful medium to seal the female body within a restrictive, sex-appropriate realm of thinking, moving and feeling.

The complex relationship between schooling and the status of women—in some instances facilitating career opportunities and in other instances limiting them—is a question which may be examined from a number of perspectives. In this study, I propose to examine how young women, under the auspices of physical education, were trained to be "in" their bodies and how they were encouraged to feel about their own sense of embodiment.

50 Iris Young, *Throwing Like a Girl*, p. 14.) identifies the question, "How does the subject feel about its embodiment?" and describes these embodied perceptions as "tactile, motile, weighted, painful and pleasurable."
The Margaret Eaton Schools

The Margaret Eaton Schools are comprised of three phases: The School of Expression (1901-1906), The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression (1906-1925), and The Margaret Eaton School (1925-1941). These phases constitute the three organizational phases of a private institution of higher learning designed to train young upper and middle class women in the fields of dramatic arts and physical education. Under the direction of Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, Mary Hamilton, and Florence Somers, the graduates from this female academy not only influenced the direction of theatre in Canada, but also contributed to the emerging professional field of physical education. From the modest beginning of The School of Expression, to the eventual amalgamation with the University of Toronto, the history of this body-centered space for female education presents a number of intriguing questions concerning the construction of gender and the status of women in higher education. Cautious of the assumption that the shift from a private female academy to a coeducational degree program enhanced the status of women, this study explores the experiences of the women who attended these three schools. As Alison Prentice notes, schooling may be viewed as both radical and conservative. My analysis will consider the degree to which the Margaret Eaton graduates in their uniform white dresses exemplified classed and sex-specific orthodoxy, and/or to

51 Alison Prentice, "Towards a Feminist History of Women and Education" in David Jones (ed.), Approaches to Educational History, ed., (University of Manitoba, Monographs in Education, 1981), p. 43 and 49, challenges the developmental view that entrance into coeducational settings naturally increased the status of women. Prentice also questions monolithic models which present 'emancipation' versus 'oppression' critiques of women in higher education.
what degree they participated as feminist agents of reform extending the borders of possibilities for women. Attention to this dual possibility may reveal both the contours of prescriptive patterns of socialization and evidence of individual agency.

**Review of Literature**

The Margaret Eaton School has received relatively little historical attention, despite the important role it played in both the history of the little theatre movement in Canada and the history of women's physical education in the province. With the exception of Heather Murray's fascinating literary analysis of the school's contribution to dramatic arts and theatre in Canada,

52 all other historical treatments have approached the school's history from the physical education perspective.

Until recently, the Margaret Eaton school figured in physical education research only as a small area of passing interest within a larger framework of investigation. As such, historical treatments generally focused on the early stages of the school's history and tended to generalize that the school functioned exclusively as an upper class finishing school for women. Maureen O'Bryan, for example, concluded that the experiences of all the graduates for the forty year period of the school's history were characterized by "elegance and expression."53 Helen Gurney, although acknowledging

52Heather Murray, "Making the Modern: Twenty Five Years of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," *Essays in Theatre*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (November, 1991); H. Murray, "We Strive for the Good and the Beautiful": Literary Studies at the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," unpublished manuscript.
that the school made "a major impact on physical education for girls and women in Canada."\textsuperscript{54} nevertheless maintained the view that these "old staid Victorian ladies restricted the development of girls' competition in the province."\textsuperscript{55} Helen Lenskyj also reinforced this image of upper class conservatism, and asserted that professional preparation--even in the later years of the school--was preoccupied with "personal culture" and offered only a "potentially progressive step towards promoting women's sport and physical activity in Ontario."\textsuperscript{56} Although these glimpses of the school may accurately reflect a part of the school experience, a more comprehensive analysis allows the possibility for a more complicated reading of the school to surface.

In the most thorough and recent analysis of the school, John Byl presents a comprehensive history which traces the chronological development of the school's three phases of organization. With an emphasis on finance, governance and administration, his institutional examination primarily focuses on the political tension between the Eaton board of directors and the administration of the school. His study is the first comprehensive investigation to acknowledge the importance of the last stage in the school's history as one which had a major role in the history of women's physical education in the province.

\textsuperscript{56}Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls,"p. 281.
Byl's foundational work provides an excellent base from which feminist questions regarding female empowerment and embodiment may be explored. The two areas which Byl suggests require further investigation--those of modern dance and the camp experience--underscore the importance of experiences of female physicality in women's education. Further, the prospect of a more thorough investigation into the lives of the three female principals of the school--their visions for female education and their interconnections with one another--offer the possibility of a richer portrait of life within this women's community. And finally, within the larger context of women in higher education, the period immediately following the closure of the school and the assimilation of the school's students, faculty and curriculum into the University of Toronto requires analysis. What were the costs and benefits of co-educational access for women in higher education?

Personal Location

Although academic theory is cultivated in the public realm, it is most certainly forged in the private one. As a white, middle class feminist historian who believes in the primacy of the body as a profoundly underestimated site of knowledge, it is important to speak from a position which acknowledges this location. Personal situatedness reveals issues of privilege and power, authority and voice.

In addition to gender, class, and ethnic characteristics which position me relatively "inside" the subject of this research, my personal history also brings images of "the Margaret Eaton girl" which were imprinted in my youth by my mother, a graduate of the school in 1939. These images have little to do with the classed portrait of a young Margaret Beattie, whose suggestion that her husband, Timothy Eaton, relocate his fledgling dry goods store to Toronto resulted in the creation in one of Canada's most successful family enterprises. The Margaret Eaton image, as I inherited and lived it, did not speak of class privilege or refinement. It was an oral tradition which described an experience of being "in" the body in a powerful, athletic, versatile and skilled way. As one graduate of the school summarized, it was an image which simply asserted that a graduate of the Margaret Eaton School could do "everything."  

This sense of possibility for young women came in the form of personal narratives—stories about faculty, friendships between the girls, and life within the school. As Ien Dienske suggests, these stories helped to give shape to my life for they were stories of action and possibility in the realm of the physical. These stories carried images of wilderness canoeing in Algonquin with Native guides, challenging portages and weather so cold that one had to break through the morning ice in the washbasins. Stories, also, of the bonds of female

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58 Helen Plaunt, a graduate of 1938, included an article in M.E.S. Amies entitled, "The Awful Truth." She observed that Margaret Eaton graduates could ride, golf, swim, dive, play tennis, canoe, and trek through the wilderness. She further noted, "They can and do everything." M.E.S. Amies, 1937-1938, p. 40.

friendship shared in the pool, in the gymnasium and in the residence. There were also stories of subversion—arriving back to the residence late and avoiding the vigilant surveillance of Mrs. Marriott, the infamous dean of the women's residence. These stories also included descriptions of capable and much admired faculty members, exhausting classes, and exhilarating gymnastic and dance demonstrations. These descriptions conveyed a sense of confidence and certainty, of independence and autonomy.

These stories, however, also carried with them an edge of ambivalence and odd juxtaposition. They raised a number of disturbing questions. Why, for example, did my mother only teach for one year before she left her profession, deciding to marry and return to the domestic sphere of home and children? Why were course descriptions of anatomy, physiology, and remedial gymnastics described in terms of an education suited perfectly for motherhood and domestic economy? Why was she careful to echo the admonishments by the last principal of the school, Florence Somers, that women were "not to look muscle-bound," although they were expected to engage fully in all physical activities with strength, vigor, and self-assurance? Why did portraits of the faculty vary from images of distance and stoicism to ones of tenderness and empathy? Why were descriptions of the one faculty member whose sexuality was "suspect"—yet never explicitly acknowledged—carefully measured with polite but vague references, punctuated with moments of awkward admiration and suspicious discomfort?

These Margaret Eaton impressions not only shaped my youth, but also influenced the course of my professional career which
eventually led to a degree in physical education and a teaching position within an Ontario University. As a instructor in games, gymnastics and an historian of the body, I remain fascinated by the ways in which physicality and movement literacy shapes gender identity. I also see, in the dailiness of my teaching, fears which still plague female physical education students--the fear of looking "too muscle-bound" and not heterosexually attractive; the fear of territorial backlash in the weight room; the fear of the label, "lesbian."

My entrance point for this research is therefore framed by an expectation that the Margaret Eaton experience was probably uneven--characterized by both conformity and conflict, acquiescence and challenge. The theme of female embodiment will be the primary lens through which I will view this history in the belief that the body's engagement in the world through movement offers as much an opportunity for empowerment as it does for oppression. Once experienced, the feeling of self-possession and autonomy which flows in and through the body is a knowledge of competence and delight which is neither easily forgotten, nor readily relinquished.

**Method**

This investigation includes an analysis of the existing archival material which relates to the history of the school with particular attention to biographical materials concerning Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, Mary Hamilton and Florence Somers. In addition, it draws on interviews with faculty and graduates in order gain insight into life at the school.
Archival material on the history of the school is scattered and sparse. Documentation on Emma Scott Raff Nasmith and Dora Mavor Moore is available at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Collection in the University of Toronto. Information relative to the school's financial status and governance are found in the Eaton foundation archives which are held in the Archives of Ontario. Source materials concerning Chancellor Burwash and early history of Scott Raff Nasmith's work as the Director of Physical Training for the women of Victoria are found in the Victoria Archives. In the Benson Building of the University of Toronto, the Department of Physical and Health Education holds a number of scrapbooks, calendars, and a few scattered academic records pertinent to the history of the school. Also included in these materials are Departmental minutes of faculty meetings which document proceedings immediately following the school's closure. The Benson Building also houses the remnants of the Margaret Eaton Library. Information relative to Mary Hamilton and history of early camping is available at the Trent University Archives, and a sound recording celebrating Camp Tanamakoon's 25th anniversary is available at the National Archives in Ottawa.

Interviews for this research were conducted with Marion Hobday Allen, the last surviving faculty member of the school, and Margaret Eaton graduates from 1925, 1938, 1939, 1940 and 1941. Class notes from the school and the camp and several copies of the M.E.S. Amies magazine and newsletter were given to the author by Frances McConnell Ziegler, Patty Sterne Sanders, Muriel Nelles Whyte, and Margaret Davison Lathrop. In addition, these files also included copies of the rules of conduct, minutes from camp counselor
meetings, course texts, a diary of camp activities and records concerning visiting lecturers, guest performers, special training sessions and annual school demonstrations.

Additional interviews with Jean Forster and Helen Gurney augmented the early history of physical education in Ontario and the early years of the University of Toronto's Physical Education and Health degree program after amalgamation with the Margaret Eaton School.

Organization

The dissertation is structured around the personalities and philosophies of the three female principals of the school: Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, Mary Hamilton and Florence Somers. The investigation explores how their different visions were manifest in the governance, curriculum and experience of life at the school.

The organization of the material does not follow a rigorous chronology of the school's administrative history. Rather, the intent is to prioritize the personalities and visions of each of the three principals, and thus have their lives form the primary narrative of the investigation. The history of the school evolves as the subtext to this primary analysis.

The Emma Scott Raff Nasmith period, between 1901 and 1925, is examined in Chapters I and II of the dissertation. Scott Raff Nasmith's personal emphasis on expression, elegance and appropriate feminine deportment is contextualized within the social history which witnessed the evolution of drama and theatre arts in Ontario.
Historically, her vision for the school is linked to the influence of European systems of body culture.

The educational vision of Mary Hamilton is examined in Chapters III and IV. This period of the school's history, between 1925 and 1934, examines the shift toward an exclusively physical education emphasis at the school. Hamilton's pragmatic belief that the school must prepare graduates for the field of teaching physical education is apparent. Her vision is contextualized within the history of the camping movement in Ontario, and related to the belief that professional preparation for physical education required a Christian moral education.

The last phase of the school's history, under the directorship of Florence Somers, covers the period between 1934 and 1941. As an American and a graduate of the Sargent School of Physical Education, Somer's vision for the school is contextualized within the larger controversy surrounding women and athletics during the 1930's and 1940's in Ontario. Chapters V and VI examine her legacy and the final stages of the school's history as it amalgomated with the University of Toronto. The final chapter also initially explores the "new" vision for physical education which was offered in the new co-educational degree program offered, and how this compared the former training of the "Margaret Eaton girl."
CHAPTER I

Emma Scott Raff Nasmith and the Formative Influences of The School of Expression

I came to college because it was the most convenient way of continuing my education. I want to be able to earn an honest living if I so chance that I may have to. Some people think that it is not necessary for a girl to go to College, but the point I want to emphasize is that learning to use your brains should not hinder you from being able to do menial work, but rather, lend help. Whatever our vocation in life is, we are all sure one time or another to have some sorrow. How much better will it be to have something to fall back upon: to be able to pick up a book, perhaps of foreign poems, and be able to appreciate it! This is why I came to college.¹

In a first year composition entitled, "Who I am and Why I came to College," the young Dora Mavor, nineteen years of age, describes the aspirations which probably typified young privileged women who sought higher education at the turn of the century in Ontario. Her comments may reflect a period of transition in higher education for middle and upper class women, as the advent of university co-educational access began to erode the place of the 19th century female academies, and women began to ask for vocational training in addition to courses of study designed to enhance female accomplishment.² As Prentice suggests, this transition from academy

schooling to university education for women may have been a continuous one, as the vocational aspect of academy training gradually became more explicit. For the young Dora Mavor, undoubtedly shaped by her father's reformist politics and a home environment which she described as "an atmosphere of art propaganda." The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression—the first female academy in Canada to combine the study of literature and dramatic arts with that of physical culture—was her preferred choice.

Although women had been admitted to the University of Toronto for nearly twenty-five years before The School of Expression (1991) argue that Canadian women's academies and colleges of the nineteenth century often "fell between the cracks" of mainstream Canadian educational history (p. 260). Examples include the Wesleyan Ladies College, established in 1861, and the Brookhurst Female Academy in Cobourg, founded in 1872.

Early 19th century female academies were sometimes explicit that they were, in part, female teacher training institutions that would produce teachers for common schools. See, Joanna Selles-Roney, "Manners or Morals? Or 'Men in Petticoats'? Education at Alma College, 1871-1898" in Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, Gender and Education in Ontario (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991, p. 247-268.

James Mavor was a British political economist who came to Canada in 1892 and accepted a position as a professor of political economy at the University of Toronto. He was interested in social reform and economic research, and critiqued the class based aspect of the settlement movement. According to Sara Z. Burke (Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), the curriculum of the Department of Political Economy was designed to produce "cultured male citizens" (p. 26) whose sense of moral reponsibility did not translate into any immediate plans for social action.

Dora Mavor Moore recalled, "In my very early teens, twelve or thirteen, my father was very interested in bringing the top people from England. I was in an atmosphere, how shall we say it, of 'art propaganda' and the promotion of art for this country which was still a new angle in the late 1890's. I met all these people and I found them exceedingly charming for I was terribly shy and theatrical people are always giving out and this fascinated me at a very early age." NA, ACC-1987-0416. Interview with Grace Lydiatt Shaw, March 6, 1963. See, also, Sara Burke (The Highest Good, p. 24) who noted James Mavor was renown for his "enthusiasm for collecting famous people."
was established in 1901 as Jo Lapierre argues, female co-eds generally sought education in arts faculties specializing in modern languages and music-areas they brought with them from the academies—and not in the new science and social science fields. Between 1880 and 1900 women occupied a small percentage in faculties of medicine and law and those who chose the general arts degree route were generally limited to professional aspirations within the fields of music and school teaching. Perhaps as a result of these limited vocational opportunities for women, together with the fact that the academic environment was, indeed, quite "chilly" for the proportionately few women who braved the co-educational enterprise, two interesting initiatives for women in higher education were experimented with during the first decade of the 20th century. These two initiatives were launched in the areas of elocution and domestic science. In 1907, Margaret Eaton procured the funds to erect a magnificent building to house The Margaret Eaton School of Expression. In the same year, the Faculty of Household Science was formally recognized under the University of Toronto Act, and, six years later, Lillian Massey-Treble allocated funds to provide for a building for the study of this particular vision for female education. In both cases, these initiatives were endowed by wealthy members

61877 was the year of the first matriculation of women into the University of Toronto. See, Anne Rochon Ford, *A Path Not Strewn With Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), p. 80.

of Toronto's elite community and directed by patriarchal educational interests. It is no wonder that these experiments in "special" areas of higher education—largely steeped in the hegemonic discourse that women were "naturally" different from men—raised the ire of many of those who fought hard to win the right of co-educational access for women at the University of Toronto. The history of The School of Expression, therefore, is a story which must be contextualized within the broader debate which raged concerning the benefits and drawbacks of a separate versus a co-educational experience for women in higher education.

The controversial issue of "what" women should learn in higher education was equally matched by the divisive issue of "how" they should learn it: whether in the context of a single-sex or a co-educational classroom. In Britain and the United States during the latter part of the 19th century, separate women's colleges were established. Colleges such as Newnham and Girton in Britain, and Vassar and Smith in the United States operated according to a single-sex, "co-ordinate" model of education. These women's colleges were separate from the men's, although they often shared some form of affiliation. In Ontario, by the mid 1870's, the same-sex versus co-educational debate erupted when a number of Ontario women who had successfully passed their matriculation examinations began to demand co-educational access. In 1883, eleven women petitioned University College for permission to attend lectures with their male counterparts. Opponents argued against co-education on the grounds

8"Report of the Committee appointed to Enquire in Regard to a possible College for Women." University of Toronto Monthly 9, 8 (June 1909). This report referred to "the special needs of women's education" (p. 287).
of financial cost and moral impropriety, and proponents--like the Toronto Women's Suffrage Society--argued that co-educational access was simply an extension of the right of suffrage. Although co-educational access was eventually secured by an act of provincial Parliament, the larger issue which remained was whether or not co-education, as a strategy, could guarantee equity. Although The School of Expression was initiated by upper class, conservative interests who forwarded a conservative agenda for women, the environment of a same-sex academy offered the potential, at least, for a separate, distinctive and autonomous women's community.

Other social issues also framed this historical period and contributed to the formative influences of The School of Expression. Although, as Mariana Valverde cautions, "practically all historians claim that the period of their particular interest is a 'transitional age.'" the decades between the 1880's and World War One were particularly noted for social, economic and political change in Canada. By the 1920's, all the essential structures of the Canadian state were present in embryonic form and, as Valverde argues, English Canada had acquired a certain "cultural consensus" based on British and American influences. Middle and upper class movements of social and moral reform reproduced social structures rooted in race, class and gender particularities, and at the same time, helped to shape them. The discourse around social purity focused on body issues such

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9Anne Rochon Ford, A Path Not Strewn With Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 12.
11Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water, p. 15.
as health and cleanliness and conveyed the idea that social "diseases," such as poverty and crime, were directly related to personal habits of hygiene and physical training. In addition, as Sara Burke argues, the Toronto academic atmosphere was one that reflected Robert Falkner's injunction to seek the "highest good" through settlement service and social reform.\textsuperscript{12}

At the same time that social and moral reform advocates in English Canada issued the call for "light, soap and water," Hillel Schwartz argues that the broader European and North American context experienced a revolutionary shift in attitude concerning the body and physical movement. Between 1840 and 1930 Schwartz claims that a "new kinesthetic" emerged, influencing the fields of dance, art, drama, physical training and all manifestations of "physical culture."\textsuperscript{13} This "new kinesthetic" of the twentieth century, which Heather Murray suggests found expression in modernist artistic and theatrical movements during World War I in English Canada,\textsuperscript{14} represented a change in the way the body was viewed, both structurally and socially. Expression became a very important aspect of body training, not only because it could free the creative spirit of the dancer and magnify the authentic voice of the dramatic or religious speaker, but also because it could be used as a vehicle to uplift and educate those of lesser social standing. Thus, amid the swirling context of economic and social reform movements which

\textsuperscript{12}Burke, \textit{Seeking The Highest Good}, p. 53.


shaped middle class ideology in English Canada during the turn of the century. the discourse concerning expression and physical culture was also a particularly important contributing element. For the young Dora Mavor, contemplating her future in 1907, this expressive training did, indeed, enable her "to earn an honest living" and eventually led her onto the national stage of the Canadian theatre.

"The Three Schools"

In the short history of the Margaret Eaton school written by alumna Dorothy Jackson and entitled "The Three Schools," Jackson summarized forty years of female education as a testimony to "creative concepts... the courage of convictions... intelligent adaptability... [and] sustained financial support for constructive efforts." Rather than present an institutional history primarily concerned with the three administrative phases of the school's organization, Jackson largely focused on the life of the school from the perspective of the students and faculty. Her historical overview was not primarily concerned with the issues of governance, buildings and finance, but rather, presented a portrait of the ideals and sentiments which reflected the spirit of the school. She took the reader, "backward to the beginning of the twentieth century and beyond, to ancient Greek traditions." Her text offered brief, personal glimpses of the three principals who charted the school's direction: the "remarkable" Emma Scott Raff Nasmith; the "persistent" Mary Hamilton; and the "sound" "tolerant" and "quiet" Florence

16Jackson, A Brief History of the Three Schools, p. 7.
Somers. The aesthetic, artistic and educational ideals which these women exemplified shaped the experiences of the young female graduates who entered this academic and social realm.

Following Jackson's example, my analysis will also examine the history of "The Three Schools" as it was marked by changes in the leadership of the school and the corresponding educational visions which Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, Mary Hamilton and Florence Somers imparted. These visions, particularly as they were manifest in forms of expressive and functional body training, served both to reinforce hegemonic notions of class, race and gender, and at the same time, may have operated to create opportunities for agency, challenge and change.

The Early Education of Emma Scott Raff Nasmith

Heather Murray contends that The School of Expression (1901-1906) and The Margaret Eaton School of Expression (1907-1925) made a major contribution to literary education in Canada at the turn of the century. She argues that this environment provided the most extensive dramatic arts training available for the period and that it should be viewed as contributing to both amateur theatre and the little theatre movement in Canada. In addition, she notes that the school was not only "the country's primary proponent of women's physical culture and athletics in the first part of this century." but also that it maintained two branches of literary study—rhetoric and

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17 Jackson, A Brief History of the Three Schools, p. 7, 20 and 25.
18 Heather Murray, "We Strive for the Good and the Beautiful": Literary Studies at The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," unpublished manuscript, p. 3.
oratory—at a time when the rest of the university had dropped such courses from the curriculum. Robert Scott's study of amateur theatre in Toronto also agrees that much of the credit for these distinctive achievements should go to the unique education and unusual energy of the "remarkable" Emma Scott Raff Nasmith.

Emma Scott Raff Nasmith's personal history and educational training were both "remarkable" and, at the same time, representative of a familiar pattern characteristic of female education for the period. Her educational experience was eclectic, unsystematic and interrupted by the life events of two marriages and one child. The balance between higher education, employment, marriage, child care and home management was a difficult historical challenge for Scott Raff Nasmith, as it continues to be for successive generations of women in higher education.

Born in Waterdown, Ontario, in 1880, Emma Scott was raised in Owen Sound, the daughter of a "silver-tongued" Methodist minister, the Reverend James Scott. After graduating from Owen Sound Collegiate, she gained some education at Victoria and the University of Toronto and attended art classes with George Reid. In the next

19Rhetoric was gradually replaced by English, and oratorial instruction, in English Canada, was replaced by homiletics. See, Nan Johnson, Nineteenth Century Rhetoric in North America (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1991).
22George Reid taught art in 1890 at the Central Ontario School for Art. According to Heather Murray ("Making the Modern," p. 42) Reid painted directly on the canvas without preliminary sketching, and turned from portraiture to make his name in emotional genre painting. He was principal of the Central Ontario School of Art and Design (later the Ontario College of Art) from 1912-1918.
stage of her life, incredibly condensed into three short years between 1894-1897. she traveled to Colorado, married, gave birth to a child, became a widow and returned to Canada for further education. The Globe's gloss of these events at the time of her death is, by itself, quite remarkable by virtue of its brevity. The obituary summarized this personal history.

As a young woman she studied art with George Reid of Toronto and went to Colorado, where she taught painting and married William Bryant Raff. Upon his death shortly after, she returned to Owen Sound with her daughter Dorothy. A year later she came to Toronto to study vocal expression. Here she began her professional life under the name of Mrs. Scott Raff.23

The report continued that after Mrs. Scott Raff's return to Toronto she studied with Harold N. Shaw24 head of the Toronto Conservatory of Music's Dramatic Art Department. She subsequently acted as his assistant when Shaw transferred to the Toronto College of Music.25 After graduating from the College of Music, Scott Raff went on to study elocution and expression at the Curry School of Expression in Boston and the Gower St. Academy in London. She was reported to have also studied mimicry "with the celebrated Herman Vizin in London, and pantomime with the greatest exponent of that art. Madame Canalazzi."26 Scott Raff attended lectures in England and

23UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Art and Literary Leader Dies," February, 1940.
26UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Art and Literary Leader Dies," February, 1940.
France and, according to her correspondence with Dora Mavor between 1910-1913, developed a keen interest in Greek architecture and archaeology.  

In 1900, the young Emma Scott Raff opened her studio in a few small rooms at the corner of Bloor and Yonge Street above the old Traders Bank building. Here she offered training in "elocution, physical culture, pedagogy and literature." Through the efforts of Nathanael Burwash, the Chancellor of Victoria and a personal friend of her father's, she was appointed the Director of Physical Culture for women from 1902-1913. In return for a small stipend and room and board, she taught classes in physical culture at Annesley Hall, the women's residence, and was also allowed the use of Annesley's gymnasium for her own students enrolled at The School of Expression. The history of Scott Raff's work at Annesley Hall, and how this opportunity arose as a result of the efforts of the Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association, is pursued later in this chapter.

The Influences of European Body Culture

The body training which Emma Scott Raff received and which she, in turn, imparted was an unusual collage of body related exercises which involved aspects of carriage, deportment, posture.

29 VUA, 90.064, Vol 1, Box 3, File 19. "Director of Physical Education, Reports Re. Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913." The salary ranged from $200-$600 per year.
gesture, and vocal projection. It was linked to European systems of body culture which, by the end of the nineteenth century, had begun to revolutionize attitudes toward physical movement. An examination of these influences help to explain the philosophy underlying Scott Raff's use of the term "expression," and what she envisioned when she proposed her model of a "threefold education for women."30

According to Robert Scott,31 Emma Scott Raff's early instruction with Harold N. Shaw in Toronto was one which related musical appreciation to dramatic presentation. Shaw's intent was to prepare students for a stage career. This dramatic training was furthered when she studied with Samuel Silas Curry in Boston. Curry had studied elocution with the Delsartean trained professor of oratory Lewis Monroe, and the actor-impresario Steele MacKay.32

The connections which tie Emma Scott Raff's educational history to Silas Curry's school in Boston and the work of Steele MacKay are critical ones, for they demonstrate the link between body training for women at the School of Expression and the dramatic movement work of Francois Delsarte. Francois Delsarte (1811-1871) was one of three important European movement theorists who influenced late 19th century systems of body culture and transformed approaches to physical movement in the field of modern dance, physical training, the theatre, dramatic arts and.

indeed, a very broad range of body related education. Delsarte, together with Emile Jaques Dalcroze (1865-1950) and Rudolf Laban (1879-1958) opened schools of theatre, music, and dance education. These movement theorists shared a common philosophy which acknowledged that human movement was a critical component of artistic expression. Influenced by ideas of romanticism and naturalism, all three reacted against the mechanizing influences of the industrial revolution which they argued had led to stagnation in the arts and "artificiality" in movement patterns of work and leisure. They believed that art forms such as music, dance, and drama could play a critical role in the reuniting of mind, body and emotion and, through physical expression, make visible the critical link between thought and feeling.

Although Francois Delsarte's students primarily entered the field of drama and public speaking, Emile Jaques Dalcroze and Rudolf Laban influenced the arts primarily in the areas of music education and modern dance. Emile Jaques Dalcroze pioneered a system of

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33 Canadian physical educator R. Tait McKenzie acknowledged the influence of Francois Delsarte in the formation of ideas about free and expressive movement which revolutionized approaches to gymnastics. "Delsarte may be said to have been the greatest influence in directing attention to the value of muscular action to express thought, and his principles continually crop out in other schemes of gymnastics" See, R. Tait McKenzie, Exercise in Education and Medicine (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, 1923), p. 136. See, also M. Brown and B. Sommer, "The Evolution of Natural Movement Education" in M. Brown and B. Sommer, Movement Education: Its Evolution and a Modern Approach (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969) for an examination of the influences of Emile Jaques Dalcroze, Francois Delsarte and Rudolf Laban on the history of 20th century changes in drama, music, gymnastics and dance. See, also, Isa Partsch-Bergsohn, Modern Dance in Germany and the United States: Crosscurrents and Influences (Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994) and Vera Maletic, Body, Space Expression: The Development of Rudolf Laban's Movement and Dance Concepts (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987) for historical examinations which link the work of Delsarte, Dalcroze and Laban to the history of modern dance and contemporary systems of physical education.
music tuition known as "eurhythmicst"\textsuperscript{34} and Rudolf Laban, the father of "Central European Dance." was most noted for his foundational work in movement theory and dance notation.\textsuperscript{35} In the work of both Dalcroze and Laban, the theme of freeing the body from rigid constraints was central. Dalcroze commented,

I think that the body should become an instrument of art, and this it will do by means of special training, having as its object the suppression of resistances, which prevent the individual from expressing himself according to his personal rhythm.\textsuperscript{36}

Similarly, Rudolf Laban's work attempted to free the body from all forms of conventional limitation. Working in the field of dance, Laban sought to liberate the dancer from all extraneous influences, whether in the form of musical rhythm, story line or any formal dance step. He experimented with the principle of "free" or "absolute"\textsuperscript{37} dance, and believed that the body's expressive character needed to be drawn from the natural elements of the body's own spatial and dynamic characteristics. The German expressionist dancer Mary

\textsuperscript{34}The term "eurhythmics" means "good rhythm." It was the method by which Emile Jaques Dalcroze taught music appreciation. The method involved rhythmic gymnastics, ear training (solfege) and improvisation in the belief that rhythm must be felt to be understood. The concept of "Eurhythm" was also used in the 1920's by Austrian philosopher Rudolf Steiner and Rudolf Laban (See, Maletic, \textit{Body, Space, Expression}, p. 160.

\textsuperscript{35}Rudolf Laban pioneered a system of dance notation called "Labanotation" or "Kinetography Laban." He was also noted for his movement theories of "eukinetics" and "choreutics." See, for example, Rudolf Laban, \textit{Choreutics} (London: Macdonald and Evans, 1966); Rudolf Laban and C.F. Lawrence, \textit{Effort} (London: Macdonald and Evans, 1947); and Rudolf Laban, \textit{Principles of Dance and Movement Notation} (London: Macdonald and Evans, 1965).


\textsuperscript{37}Hans Brandenburg, (\textit{Der Moderne Tanz} (Munchen: Georg Muller, 1917), p. 36-41) employed the term "free" and Martin Gleisner, \textit{Tanz für Alle} (Leipzig: Hesse and Becker Verlag, 1929), p. 92.) used the term "Absolute" to describe Laban's new form of dance. See, Maletic, \textit{Body, Space, Expression}, p. 6.
Wigman, who left the Dalcroze School in Hellerau to work with Laban, commented that Laban alone "provided for his students the experience of free improvisation and freeing the creative forces."

The work of Emile Jaques Dalcroze and Rudolf Laban was, therefore, quite significant in the history of movement education in Europe at the turn of the century. Their influence, particularly through students such as Mary Wigman, will be revisited later in this analysis when their ideas in the area of eurhythmics and modern dance surface at the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression in 1924 and the Margaret Eaton School in 1934. With respect to the specific educational history of Emma Scott Raff, however, it was the theory of Francois Delsarte which had the most direct and significant impact.

Francois Delsarte originally studied to become a singer at the Paris Conservatory and then left to study and eventually teach elocution and drama at the Cours d'Esthetique Applique. Delsarte introduced a system of body training which was designed to integrate speech and gesture. His primary intent was to correct the stilted, artificial and stylized body actions which were characteristic of early 19th century dramatic performance. He described his

38Mary Wigman and Rudolf Laban pioneered with the inter-relationship of dance, sound, word (Tanz, Ton, Wort). This theory was rooted in the belief that movement was related to the expressive powers of gesture, speech and song. (See, Maletic, Body, Space, Expression, p. 6).
40Madeleine Boss Lasserre, a graduate of the Dalcroze School of Eurhythmics, was listed as a part-time instructor for the School of Expression, and taught at the school from 1924-1926. See, Calendar, 1924-25, p. 10; Calendar, 1925-26 p. 10.
41Marion Hobday Allen studied at the Mary Wigman school and taught interpretative and modern dance at the Margaret Eaton School from 1934-1941. Interview with Marion Hobday-Allen, by the author, June 19, 1991.
approach as "applied aesthetics" and trained both actors and orators in a method which would allow them to express thought and emotion gracefully and naturally. His lectures were not only designed to help actors, singers and musicians to understand the relationship between gesture, sentiments and the senses, but as Hillel Schwartz notes, the problem of affectation in political and pulpit oratory was also an area which benefited from his work. As the male theological students of Victoria later came to recognize, Delsartean classes in voice and movement training could prove to be extremely helpful to future preachers.

Francois Delsarte's investigation into the relationship between movement and emotion paralleled the work of other theorists of the period who were also intrigued by the physiological and psychological aspects of human movement. The English photographer Eadweard Muybridge and French neurologist Etienne-Jules Marey both studied movement patterns of the body. They photographed the work and domestic rhythms of both able and disabled men and women, and examined movement responses

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42Schwartz, ("Torque: The New Kinaesthetic," p. 108) comments that Delsartean exercises were used to correct offensive preaching mannerisms in the late 19th century.

43UCA, Box 9, File 135, "Letter from thirteen students in Theology and Arts to Chancellor Burwash, Members of the Senate and Board of Regents," Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash, "The Margaret Eaton School."

44Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904) was most noted for his work in time-motion photography. His texts included Animals in Motion (1899) and The Human Figure in Motion (1901).

during emotional states. Dr. Guillaume-Benjamin Duchenne, a French physician, was particularly interested in facial expressions and used electro-physiologic stimulation to examine patterns of emotional expression. Delsarte, also a student of anatomy, observed the anatomical and physiological effects of emotional states and believed that there was a direct relationship—a "Law of Correspondence"—between movement and emotion. Further, believing that the mind, body and spirit acted in unison he observed, "To each spiritual function responds a function of the body; to each grand function of the body corresponds a spiritual act." Influenced by Greek classicism, Delsarte argued that the mind, body and spirit should act in harmony and that each part "... is essential to the other two, each co-existing in time, co-penetrating in space, and cooperative in motion."

Although Francois Delsarte did not publish his work, his students carried forth his theories and popularized their own. Delsarte's influence was quite pervasive, for his work influenced such major figures as Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn in the field of dance, Steele MacKaye in the field of the


49 Isadora Duncan (1874-1927) was an especially important innovator in the history of modern dance. Born in the United States, she travelled widely and established schools of dance in Europe. According to Shwartz ("Torque: The New Kinaesthetic," p. 72) the mothers of both Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis studied with Francois Delsarte.
theatre, and Genevieve Stebbins and Emily Bishop in the field of gymnastics.

The specific connection which linked Delsartean dramatic and voice training with Emma Scott Raff's early education was Steele MacKay, the young American actor who studied with Delsarte before his death in 1891 and taught at the Curry School in Boston where Scott Raff studied. MacKay was an actor, director and playwright who introduced Delsarte's system of expressive training into the United States, perfecting a series of what he termed, "harmonic exercises."50 According to Ted Shawn, these harmonic exercises became the basis for different systems of Americanized Delsarte gymnastics and were designed to "so train and discipline the body that it would become a responsible and expressive instrument through which fluid movement could pass without obstacles of stiff and unyielding joints and muscles."51

The system of body training which Emma Scott Raff received at the Curry School was thus one which reflected a Delsartean approach to the body. The body needed to be prepared, or "freed" to be a more perfect instrument for the various expressions of the soul. True expression was thus a manifestation of voice and gesture, and every gesture, every movement, had a true purpose. Emma Scott Raff envisioned her school as a place.

Where the voice is trained to express what the soul feels; while the body, by a reverential, assiduous care, is made obedient to the mind; where self-reverence,

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50Shawn, Every Little Movement, p. 11. A course on "harmonic gymnastics" was offered at Margaret Eaton School in 1912 on Tuesday evenings. See, Calendar 1912-1913, p. 33.
51Shawn, Every Little Movement, p. 49.
self-knowledge, and self-control are essentials: where gentleness and grace of thought, bearing and action, are imparted; where those who have special faults of delivery, vocal defects, imperfect enunciation, hesitancy in speech and tendency to colloquial speech, will have special help towards elimination; where the education which consists of mere knowledge is supplemented by the culture that opens the way to wider understanding and a larger life: a school for the development of personality on native characteristics, a realization of the best that life holds for the individual, of inward grace, and spiritual poise, which means happiness for self and power for social good.52

"Literature as a Living Art"

The aesthetic, artistic and curricular vision which Emma Scott Raff promoted in the School of Expression both reflected and reproduced social values which were gendered, classed and rationalist. She believed that the old ideas of elocution should be replaced by a thorough knowledge of literature and dramatic training in voice culture. She argued that women should receive special education because of their unique needs. She promoted a threefold model of higher education, firmly rooted in Platonic rationalist belief concerning the primacy of the mind, a Victorian sensibility regarding appropriate spheres of action and service for women, and an individualist, disciplined, and service oriented Methodist spirituality. In 1910 she described the objectives of the school:

The real purpose of our School is a threefold Education for Women. We believe that head, hand, and heart should be trained at the same time, and so are working for mental, moral and physical strength.

52 "The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression" News (8 January, 1907): 4.
The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression aims to develop the individual so that every person may realize her highest powers for service through this one sphere of existence, and we know that education to be true must be for the individual. This is what will eventually distinguish our School from other Institutions, for we are supplying a need not met with heretofore. Because I dislike modern methods of Elocution, I am giving my whole time to this work of training students to love truth, and to know that it is beauty. 53

Although body work was part of the three fold education for women which Scott Raff envisioned, physical training was presented only as a means to a greater end. Physical strength was listed as the last attribute to be derived from a female education, following the more important mental and moral benefits. Clearly, the body metaphor which Scott Raff employed--the "head, hand and heart" analogy--were meant to describe the three realms by which a woman could realize her "the highest powers of service."

Emma Scott Raff's School of Expression, with its emphasis on voice and expressive body training, followed the expressive movement model advocated by Francois Delsarte. A review of the textbooks which Scott Raff employed for use in the School of Expression between 1907-1911 indicates that she relied heavily on texts by Samuel Curry, including Lessons in Vocal Expression, Foundations of Expression, and Classics for Vocal Expression.54

Although Scott Raff believed that "more attention should be given to

54Calendars 1907-1925. Between 1907-1925 the School of Expression used ten textbooks by Samuel Silas Curry, out of a total of fifteen. One of the five texts not written by Curry was written by Scott Raff, entitled, The Speaking Voice. Between 1907-1925 the only text listed for physical training was, Handbook of School Gymnastics by Nils Posse.
the spoken word in education"55 she was careful to distance herself from forms of elocution which she felt were contrived, false, characterized by affectation and "unequal to modern demands."56 A newspaper report at the time of the opening of the school's new building in 1907 confirms the reasons why she may have wished to clearly distinguish her training from popular notions of "elocution."

The reporter commented:

The word 'elocution' has fallen into disrepute and has become associated with cheap display and superficial study. The mushroom schools of oratory, which seemed to spring up by the scores in the United States years ago, brought disrepute on the elocutionist and provoked a smile by their idle pretensions.57

In the event that there was any uncertainty over the legitimate and challenging nature of the study of voice culture, and that it was quite different from former methods of elocution, the 1909-1910 Calendar left no room for doubt. The Calendar stated:

The School cannot be lightly entered upon nor continued, and is of a severe enough character to eliminate the unfit: and that the whole effort of the school is towards intelligent, rational, literary interpretation, a vigorous protest against that crass type of elocution from which, in good time, we shall be delivered.58

In addition to alleviating popular concerns regarding the difference between elocution and voice culture, Scott Raff also had to address the popular perception that dramatic training and the theatre environment were not appropriate for young, impressionable

55Dorothy Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 7.
women. As Ann Saddlemeyer points out in her history of the theatre in Ontario, "elocution" was the art form which eventually evolved into modern drama in the school curriculum. However, in the early 1900's, the theatre was an arena which evoked considerable concern for it was not considered to be a healthy "moral climate." As late as 1912, a delegation from Annesley Hall's Committee of Management reported to the Board of Regents of Victoria that young female students were attending the theatre unchaperoned. They argued that the young women of Victoria College should not do so unless chaperoned by the Dean of Women. Further, in a newspaper article which described the opening of the new Margaret Eaton School building in 1907, the report acknowledged the resistance which dramatic training faced. The press clipping noted, "The old prejudice against the drama is fast disappearing, as the formerly Puritan Canadian has come to see the possibilities of the art." Thus, for Scott Raff, the challenge was to bring modern methods of dramatic training into a legitimate form which would be considered suitable for female education. Elocution, in her view, needed to be replaced.

60 Selles-Roney ("A Realm of Pure Delight," p. 358) describes this incident as an example of the power struggle which occurred between Chancellor Burwash and Margaret Addison, the Dean of Women. Burwash earlier complained, in 1911, that the students of Annesley Hall were out too many evenings during the week attending dances unchaperoned. The matter was investigated, and a majority of the Management Committee of Annesley endorsed Addison's position that it was a matter for student government. Seven members, however, disagreed and wrote a letter to the Board of Regents. They argued female students attending the theatre must be chaperoned by the Dean of Women and not male escorts. Margaret Burwash, Lillian Massey-Treble and Margaret Eaton were listed among those who signed the letter of complaint. 61 AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24 "Education-Margaret Eaton School," press clippings, (1907-1925).
by the idea of "voice culture." which would include both literary education and dramatic training.

In addition to her defense of voice culture. Scott Raff sought to create a unique space for individual development. The school Calendar of 1909-1910 commented. "We take students as we find them. and individual need receives individual attention by class and personal lessons."62 Her vision. however. reflected a very specific set of gendered expectations about what the special and individual educational needs of women and children might entail. In descriptions of the physical characteristics of the body. she employed terms such as "gentleness." "grace" "poise"63 and "purity of tone."64 In addition to the benefit of "literary pleasure."65 the school offered physical training classes. These classes. according to the Calendar. were designed to meet the needs of prospective female students. The Calendar described these young hopefuls in the following terms:

They may be in search of health and can find curative and corrective work in the gymnasium. or work for grace. ease. poise. and rhythm in the lovely Folk. Classic. and National Dances taught here.66

Reinforcing this "curative" educational theme for young women. the school also offered children "sympathetic individual instruction." Classes were offered for "the stammerer. or those with any speech defect" who were assured that they could obtain "freedom through

62Calendar, 1909-1910, p. 11.
64Calendar, 1910-1911, p. 12.
65Calendar, 1909-1910, p. 9.
66Calendar 1914-1915, p. 8; Calendar 1915-1916, p. 10.
treatment." It would appear, therefore, that Scott Raff anticipated physical training would serve either as a curative function, or as a means to "free" the body and properly prepare it as a vessel for true expression.

The belief that young women required a particular kind of educational experience was also apparent by virtue of the school's Calendar discourse as well as comments from the popular media. In the 1908-09 Calendar, the school was described as a "professional and practical education for women" and as a "finishing course for girls." When the new school building was opened, one unattributed newspaper source criticized higher education for women on the basis that it encouraged them to "dabble in the little learning which had inevitably proved to be a dangerous thing." The reporter praised the work of the School of Expression because it focused education for women in the most appropriate spheres—the areas of physical culture and domestic economy. The reporter associated the work of School of Literature and Expression to a curriculum in household science and noted,

> Literature and voice culture are allied in this modern curriculum with physical culture and household science, proving the healthy recognition of the importance of developing the body and the keeping of the home.

The need to justify female education by demonstrating its relevance to the home was also apparent later in the school Calendar.

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67 Calendar 1914-1915, p. 8; Calendar 1915-1916, p. 10.
68 Calendar 1908-1909, p. 12.
In the *Calendars* of 1910-1911 and 1912-1913 a qualification was inserted, presumably to alleviate the concern that educated women might choose a life on the stage over that of the home. The insertion read, "The end aim of this training is not to fit our student for the platform or the stage but for life and the home."71 In order to prepare young women for the home and allow time for them to develop into prospective wives and cultured companions for their husbands, the school offered an appropriate social space for preparation. The *Calendar* observed.

What to do with the girl who has just left school is often a problem. With time not completely filled by domestic and social duties, she may have unlimited energy and a real desire for culture and the higher things in life, without any special gift that would mark out a "career" for her.... The woman for whom opportunities for culture have been reserved for the mature years of life can find the help and stimulus she needs in some or other of the classes of literature or languages or history of art. The backward or defective girl can find sympathetic individual instruction that other schools can not arrange for in their stereotyped programs.72

Despite conservative assurances that women would not choose a life on the stage as opposed to one in the home, the major thrust of Scott Raff's school was designed to train young women in literature and dramatic art. The Delsartean movement training which she received at the Curry School, and in turn imparted in her own school, were voice and movement techniques designed to free the body for dramatic expression on the stage.

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71 *Calendar* 1910-1911, p. 15; *Calendar* 1912-1913, p. 16.
72 *Calendar* 1909-1910, p. 8-9; *Calendar* 1914-1915, p. 8; *Calendar* 1915-1916, p. 10.
Physical Training for the Women of Victoria

In 1902, Scott Raff was appointed the Director of Physical Training for the young women of Victoria. By 1903, her duties were expanded to include expression and physical culture classes which she taught in the gymnasium of the new Annesley Hall residence for women. In 1902, Dr. Lelia Davis was appointed as the women's medical examiner and exercise advisor. This appointment indicated that Emma Scott Raff's expertise did not include an assessment for physical health or the prescription of corrective exercises. Indeed, one early account, describing the registration procedure, reported that it was Lelia Davis who decided on the appropriate course of remedial work for the female students of Victoria. The Dean of the Residence reported:

Of our fifty-six students, all but two registered in the gymnasium.... Each of the fifty-four underwent a thorough examination by Dr. Davis and Mrs. Raff and the doctor decided on the kind of gymnastics required for each one.73

Although the actual activities which Scott Raff taught in her physical culture classes at Victoria were not well documented, the few references to her work sound as if the physical culture classes were quite short in duration and rather limited in movement rigor. Reports indicated that physical culture classes were offered twice a day, once before breakfast and once before dinner, Monday through Friday.74 According to the Dean of the women's residence at Annesley Hall, students rose at 6:45 a.m., took compulsory physical

73VUA, Box 9-139, "Report on the Dean of Residence before the annual Meeting of the Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association, March 23, 1904."

74VUA, 90.064V, Box 2, File 3. "Dean's Report to the Committee of Management of Annesley Hall, 1903-1906." November, 1903.
culture from 7-7:30 a.m., ate breakfast, attended morning classes, and then had another period of physical culture from 11-11:30 a.m. Scott Raff Nasmith reported to the Board of Management that the morning training consisted of work in "Swedish apparatus, Delsarte and aesthetic movements." These Delsartean aesthetic exercises probably involved rhythmic breathing and relaxation exercises designed to limber the body for vocal and dramatic presentation.

The first period of the morning session is prefaced by this remedial and building process, followed by deep breathing, and then 15 minutes of good vigorous exercise followed by a period of relaxation and breathing to bring the heart back to a normal beat.

The responsibility for the physical health of Annesley Hall students fell under the purview of the Annesley Hall Ladies Committee of Management. In 1903, the newly appointed Dean of the residence, Margaret Addison, complained to the committee that she felt the students were "physical wrecks." Although Addison identified heavy academic loads and extensive social activities as primarily responsible, it is doubtful that Scott Raff's rather light

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75 UCA, Box 6, File 9, "Dean's Report to the Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association, 1904," M. Burwash Papers.
76 VUA, 90.064, 3-19, "Emma Scott Raff to the Board of Management of Annesley Hall," 1905.
78 In 1902 the Board of Regents of Victoria resolved that a women's committee should be organized to act as a Committee of Management in order to regulate students, direct finances and appoint staff. Four standing committees were established to overlook the 'house', finance, gymnasium and infirmary. See Selles-Roney, "A Realm of Pure Delight," p. 329.
79 UCA, Box 6, File 9, "Dean's Report to the Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association, 1903," M. Burwash Papers.
regimen of physical exercise was rigorous enough to build physical strength and cardiovascular endurance.

Scott Raff’s approach to body work reflected both a Platonic view of the body’s secondary position to the mind, and a Delsartean view that the body be trained to be a perfect instrument of expression. Although prescriptive and gymnastic exercises were mentioned in her reports, Scott Raff’s approach largely reflected an expressive rather than a functional purpose. For Scott Raff, philosophically and spiritually, the body needed to be prepared for the worthy work of literary appreciation and dramatic expression.

In fact, it is rather interesting to find her description of the ideal school model as one which proposed a "gymnasium whose end aim is rhythm." This view was not far removed from the Platonic ideal which described the body as the "spirited element" which needed to be tamed through exercises which promoted harmony and rhythm. Plato’s. *The Republic*, offered this prescription for internal harmony:

And it will be the business of reason to rule with wisdom and forethought on behalf of the entire soul; while the spirited element ought to act as its subordinate and ally. The two will be brought into accord, as we said earlier, by that combination of mental and bodily training which will tune up one string of the instrument and relax the other, nourishing the reasoning part on the study of noble literature and allaying the other’s wildness by harmony and rhythm.  

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Patrons of The School of Expression and The Controversy over Separate Education for Women

In his history of Victoria, C.B. Sissons offers the following unflattering description of Emma Scott Raff's work. Sissons commented. "As time went on it was evident that Mrs. Scott Raff's particular contribution, which may be regarded as superficial, had made a strong appeal to Mrs. Burwash and to the Chancellor."\(^{82}\) Regardless of whether or not Scott Raff's work in physical culture was, indeed, "superficial." Sisson's observation that she garnered strong support from Nathanael Burwash and his wife was accurate. Both Margaret Burwash and her husband Nathanael endorsed a model of separate and "appropriate" education for women; and the type of education they envisioned was most compatible with the model which they believed Emma Scott Raff represented.

Nathanael Burwash, a Methodist minister and Chancellor of Victoria from 1887-1913, served on the advisory council of the Margaret Eaton School and was president of the Board of Directors from 1906-1918. He was a personal friend of Scott Raff's father, James Scott. He was also a friend of Timothy Eaton who also served on the advisory board of the school. Margaret and Timothy Eaton entertained the Burwashe at their cottage in Muskoka, and it was here, at the Eaton summer residence, where Timothy Eaton agreed to build a school for literary and dramatic study for his wife, Margaret. On a visit to the Eaton cottage, Emma Scott Raff was told of the decision and directed by Timothy Eaton: "Go to Toronto and get Dr. Burwash to go with you, and buy land for a school in which to

incorporate your teaching."

It was Burwash who had initially encouraged Scott Raff to open The School of Expression in 1901, and it was he who tried to expand Victoria's offering in elocution in 1910. Despite the protests from the Board of Regents, Burwash wanted to expand Scott Raff's work in voice culture and ensure that theological students would benefit from her teaching. He was an ardent supporter of her approach to literature and expression, and as Director on the Advisory Board of the School of Expression, he frequently contributed to calendar descriptions of the school's work. He believed in the importance of vocal training in education, certainly recognizing its importance for effective pulpit oratory, and argued that an authentic spirituality must be one of personal interaction. The 1905 Calendar included a message from Burwash attesting to his belief that the perfection of the inner life was linked to the perfection of expression. Burwash observed.

Our inner spiritual life and its expression are inseparably connected. Our thought, feeling and purpose, as they rise in our own consciousness, are already expressed, first to ourselves and then to others. It is equally true that the perfection of this inner life depends on the perfection of its expression. A thought that is not fully, clearly and adequately expressed is not fully, clearly and adequately conceived. Hence, in all ages, expression has been an important part of education. The prevailing method of education today cultivates written rather than vocal expression. This we regard as a very serious defect. Our most healthy, natural, and our highest spiritual life, is not that of the closet alone. It is face to face with our fellow-men, and in the great struggle of our active life that our best is called forth. As it is called forth, it an once finds expression in attitude, in countenance, and in spoken

83 Calendar 1918-1919, p. 6.
84 Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 7.
word. or act.\textsuperscript{85}

In addition to Burwash's commitment to the principle of separate education for women, he believed that female teachers should only be allowed to teach either female students or boys under the age of ten years.\textsuperscript{86} Further, as Joanna Selles-Roney observes, he was extremely concerned that the residence space for women at Victoria reflect a disciplined and centrally controlled autocratic model.\textsuperscript{87} Reflecting a belief that education and Methodism were inextricably linked, he endorsed a patriarchal family structure for women's education. As Joanna Selles-Roney's survey of nearly one hundred years of Methodist education in Canada concludes, Methodist schooling reinforced the family service model for women.

The schools replicated the patriarchal structure of the family by being controlled by male principals and boards. Women teachers served as maternal role models for the female students. Students were presented with the very strong message of the ideal woman whose future was intended to be directed towards service in the family.\textsuperscript{88}

In a convocation address in 1896, eighteen years after women were first enrolled at Victoria,\textsuperscript{89} Burwash commented that the fundamental idea of the college was to educate the individual "man." and that this was best achieved via the presence of professors who

\textsuperscript{85}Jackson, \textit{The Three Schools}, p. 8
\textsuperscript{87}See footnote 60.
\textsuperscript{88}Selles-Roney, "A Realm of Pure Delight," p. ii.
\textsuperscript{89}Augusta Stowe successfully completed the matriculation examinations for Victoria in 1878. She graduated from Victoria Medical School in 1883, and was the first woman to earn a medical degree at a Canadian university, and described the experience as one "not strewn with roses." (See, Rochon Ford, \textit{A Path Not Strewn With Roses}, p. 27).
reflected the "highest type of manhood." His choice of androcentric language reflected his disregard for the co-educational mission of Victoria.

Margaret Proctor Burwash may not have shared her husband's autocratic view of education for women, but she did advocate the separation of the sexes in higher education. She was also an important member of the elite network which facilitated Scott Raff's entry into higher education. Margaret Burwash was a member of the Barbara Heck Association. This group of Methodist women was later reorganized as the Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association in 1901, and included other wealthy Methodist women such Mrs. George Cox, Mrs. Chester Massey and Mrs. Massey-Treble. These women eventually raised funds to build Annesley Hall, the Methodist residence for women at Victoria, which was designed to provide young women with a separate and protected space and to replicate a home environment as closely as possible. This family model for residence life was part of Margaret Burwash's educational vision which held that women possessed a "distinct nature." and that they required special mentoring by female role models.

I believe in men and women standing together in intellectual work, but there is a side of our nature which is exclusively feminine, which cannot be developed or molded by men. It is a great misfortune for any young woman to be dwarfed or warped in this 'quality.' In time I hope to see women instructors in university work. But if we could now have a cultured woman of strong personality, who had the gift or grace of keeping in touch with young people, at the head of college home

90VUA, Box 20, File 2. "Address at Convocation by Chancellor Burwash" N. Burwash Papers, (Nov. 1896).
life, it would be a great step in advance.91

Through the efforts of the Victoria Women's Residence and Educational Association, Annesley Hall was completed in 1903. Nathanael Burwash's personal recollection of these events describes Mrs. Lillian Massey-Treble and Miss Norris (women affiliated with the Lillian Massey School of Household Science) as the overseers of the project. He describes their vehemence that "neither time, labour, nor expense [was] to be spared" and their concern that "the building included provision for Physical Culture."92 This inclusion stemmed from the nineteenth century belief that college women required constant monitoring of their physical health, lest they become overtaxed by the rigors of academic life. Their unique physical constitution, it was believed, required constant vigilance and appropriate programs of exercise and rest.93 The plans for Annesley Hall, therefore, included gymnasium space and equipment. It was the Heck Association which engaged Scott Raff as director for physical culture, and who broadened her duties to include voice culture and expression.

As Joanna Selles-Roney illustrates, the School of Expression and the School of Household Science were the two enterprises which were endorsed by the Victoria Women's Education and Residence

91UCA, 90.141, Box 1, File 1, "M. Burwash to M. Addison", 25 Feb., 1895, The M. Purwash Papers. Note, Margaret (Proctor) Burwash, prior to her marriage, taught at the Wesleyan Female College in Hamilton and was the preceptress of the Ladies' Academy in Sackville, N.B. See, Marguerite Van Die, An Evengelical Mind: Nathanel Burwash and the Methodist Tradition Canada 1839-1918, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
Association. A part of the academic requirement for the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression was taken at the School of Household Science. The 1905-1906 Calendar indicated that their students shared lectures on "physiology and hygiene" and "food and bread chemistry" with the students of the Lillian Massey School.94

The association between Margaret Burwash and Lillian Massey-Treble concerning educational initiatives for women was telling. Equally telling were the connections between The School of Expression and the continued debate over separate versus coeducation. In 1908, a Senate Committee of the University of Toronto, chaired by George Wrong, was established to inquire into the feasibility of establishing a separate college for women.95 Wrong was loosely affiliated with the work of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression as he had helped to organize its history curriculum.96 His views were challenged by a number of women, notably among them Charlotte Ross, the literature and rhetoric instructor at the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression from 1906-1926. Ross and other Toronto alumnae joined to oppose this initiative for segregation, arguing that women's needs were best served through ensuring equal access to arts and professional educational opportunities and by the increased hiring of female instructors.97 Wrong's initiative was subsequently defeated.

95"Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire in Regard to a Possible College for Women." *University of Toronto Monthly*, 9, 8 (June 1909), p. 286-289.
96Murray, "We Strive for the Good and the Beautiful," p. 30.
97"Reply of the Alumnae." *University of Toronto Monthly* 9, 8 (June 1909), p. 289-91. Women who opposed the move to segregation included Mabel
Further evidence that Scott Raff and her school triggered controversy in the larger debate over women's higher education stemmed from the direct criticism she received in 1906 when a number of concerned female undergraduates at Victoria complained that her work was not up to academic standards, and that any formal endorsement of a Department of Expression would seriously threaten the academic legitimacy of their institution. Forty-seven female students signed a letter of complaint to this effect.

The women undergraduates believe that the Department of Expression may become a serious menace to the academic standing of Victoria University, her graduates and undergraduates, and the danger of this will be increased by the possibility of Victoria becoming more widely known as a school of elocution than as a University. Therefore we urgently request that the Board of Regents make a most careful investigation into this matter.98

Concerns along these lines had been expressed as early as 1901, when alumna Alice Chown wrote to Margaret Proctor Burwash and opposed the idea of a Department of Expression linked to Annesley Hall residence. Chown objected quite vehemently to Scott Raff, citing her "superficiality, her constant desire to train for poses and effects. [and] her utter lack of comprehension of what true culture means."99 Chown, a graduate of the Wesleyan Ladies College and Queen's College, probably viewed Scott Raff's work as deeply conservative and counterproductive to the cause of women who had

Cartwright, Principal of St. Hilda's and Margaret Addison, Dean of Annesley Hall.
98VUA, Box 9, File 135, "The Margret Eaton School" "Letter from forty-seven women undergraduates of Victoria University to the Board of Regents." Personal Papers of Nathanel Burwash.
99UCA Box 9, File 135, "A. Chown to Mrs. Burwash," August 1, 1901, Margaret Burwash Papers.
fought to achieve academic respectability with men. Chown was also critical of Adelaide Hoodless, a leader in domestic science for women, who, she argued, suffered from "a lack of science and mental training." It is most probable that both Alice Chown and the forty-seven female undergraduates of Victoria University who complained about Scott Raff were concerned that their academic credibility might be compromised. Given the recent debate concerning same-sex education, these female undergraduates feared that Victoria might become simply a School of Elocution—for women only.

In 1903 the Victoria Board of Regents responded to the concerns of the female undergraduates and reported that "no further study, other than Physical Culture, be authorized in connection with the Women's Residence." Constant in his support of Scott Raff, Chancellor Burwash still insisted that more time be devoted to the study of elocution in the education of Victoria College students. In 1910, he proposed a motion that Victoria "give more time in individual work in Elocution" [and that] $1,500.00 be set apart for that department and arrangements if possible be made with the Margaret Eaton School." Despite his efforts, the Board chose neither to re-appoint Scott Raff, nor to pursue any further arrangements with the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression.

In an interesting turn of events, in 1903--three years before the letter written by the female undergraduates complaining about the Scott Raff's lack of academic legitimacy--the Board of Regents of Victoria College received a letter from thirteen male students in Theology and Arts, highly praising her work and commending the type of voice culture classes which she offered. Recognizing the profitable connections which attention to voice and body presentation could do for pulpit oratory--perhaps foreshadowing the later development of homiletics as a theological area of study--they commented:

We, the undersigned students in Theology and Arts, humbly beg to state that during our college course we have felt the need of additional training, beyond the requirements of the University Curriculum, in voice culture, expression etc. that might assist towards our highest usefulness in life. We have taken work with Mrs. Scott Raff and desire hereby to testify to the value of the instruction and practical training received. In tone production the method is equal to that adopted by the best vocal teachers in the city; in expression, careful attention is given to Bible and hymn reading; in platform deportment, the best practical exercises are also given. No other teachers seem to have so fortunately combined these three departments.

If means could be devised by which the benefits of such training might be brought within reach of all Theological and Arts students of Victoria, we believe that the permanent usefulness of the College would be perceptibly increased thereby.\(^{103}\)

When the Board of Regents eventually responded by appointing an instructor in elocution in 1912, they chose Mr. W.H. Greaves--also a

\(^{103}\)UCA, Box 9, File 135, "Letter from thirteen students in Theology and Arts to Chancellor Burwash, Members of the Senate and Board of Regents." Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash. "The Margaret Eaton School."
graduate of the School of Expression in Boston--to the position, not Emma Scott Raff.\textsuperscript{104}

Perhaps the most important member of the elite circle of friends who facilitated Emma Scott Raff's vision for a school of expression was Margaret Beattie Eaton. Margaret Eaton attended classes in dramatic expression with Scott Raff in 1903, and it was through her efforts that her husband, Timothy, donated the funds to build a new facility for the school. Margaret Eaton had an ardent interest in theatrical activity and possessed, according to her former teacher of elocution, Jessie Alexander, "dramatic instinct and natural love of literature."\textsuperscript{105} Emma Scott Raff and Margaret Eaton were lifelong associates, and of her dramatic ability Scott Raff commented, "I have never heard any one read Shakespeare with greater simplicity, beauty of diction and rhythm."\textsuperscript{106} Raised in a Methodist environment, Margaret Eaton confessed to Jessie Alexander, "to having cherished in girlhood, secret but unexpressed longings 'to be an actress'--a vocation not to be talked of openly in those days."\textsuperscript{107} In the obituary written by Augustus Briddle, founder of the Arts and Letters Club, a little dry humour conveyed the magnitude of Margaret Eaton's accomplishment. Briddle wryly commented.

Reared in Methodism and founding a theatre was at least original. To persuade Timothy Eaton, all his life opposed to the stage that it was his privilege not only to pay $50,000 cash down for such a institution, but to have his wife's name advertised as its founder--the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression--must be set down as real diplomacy.\footnote{108}

Margaret Eaton not only convinced her husband to take on the cost of the building, because, in the words of Nathanael Burwash, "it afforded her a pleasing and worthy interest."\footnote{109} but she also personally underwrote all the expenses of the school. When the school was incorporated as a company in 1906, two hundred shares were issued. Of these two hundred shares, Margaret Eaton held all but eight, with Nathanael Burwash, Margaret Burwash, Timothy Eaton and Emma Scott Raff holding the rest. Margaret Eaton was the most critical member of the board, for according to the rules of the constitution, no shares could be transferred without her written consent.\footnote{110} Board meetings were generally held in her home. Most significant, however, was the fact that Margaret Eaton personally covered the debt of the school. Between 1906-1914 the debt increased an average of $1,000.00 per year and between 1914-1924 it increased an average of $2,000.00 per year. By 1925 the cumulative debt of the school reached $62,000.00. As the school incurred debts, Margaret Eaton paid them from the "Mrs. T. Eaton

\footnote{108}{"Mrs Timothy Eaton Passes at Oakville" \textit{The Toronto Daily Star} (March 20, 1933): 3.}
\footnote{109}{A0-EC, Box 22, File 6. "Correspondence from Nathanael Burwash to R.Y. Eaton," November 30, 1915. "Margaret Eaton School Minutes of Annual Meetings and Directors Correspondence Including Accounting Matters (1906-1924)."}
\footnote{110}{VUA, Box 9, File 135, "Bylaws, The Margaret Eaton School" Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash.}
Special Account.” As her obituary noted, the school represented more than a passing fancy. It was personal passion. In Margaret Eaton's obituary, Augustus Bridle further observed.

The school became to her a sort of church. There she was able to bring to focus something which all her life had been a dream. She took part in many of the productions under the principalship of Mrs. Nasmith and an active interest in all the school's activities, even to the designing of costumes. She found a fresh interest in Shakespeare from helping to act his plays; also in Greek drama, something which more deeply than Shakespeare helped to explain the riddle of existence.¹¹²

Margaret Eaton, therefore, was the critical connection which allowed Emma Scott Raff's dream of a teaching centre to become a reality. Scott Raff had long imagined the possibility of a such a centre, ever since her return from a trip to Greece in 1903. Inspired by the beauty of Athenian architecture she recalled.

The Library in Athens made such a strong appeal to my imagination that my one idea was to come back to Canada and have a place built on just simple, beautiful lines, a place in which I might do my work.¹¹³

According to her own account, Scott Raff reported that she confided her dream to "... one of my friends, Mrs. Timothy Eaton" and that Margaret Eaton responded. "I will ask father to build you a school."¹¹⁴ Margaret Eaton apparently forwarded this request to her husband. Four years later Timothy Eaton agreed to the plan and sent Emma Scott Raff and Nathanael Burwash to find a suitable building.

¹¹²Toronto Daily Star, March 20, 1933.
site. This elite circle of friends facilitated the next stage of Emma Scott Raff's career.

By 1907 Scott Raff's activities had outgrown the space of her small studio at Bloor and Yonge Streets. Since 1901 her talents had been directed in a number of diverse avenues. She had taught physical culture classes at Victoria, coached voice expression at Toronto College of Music, offered classes to the Women's Literary Society at University College, and toured the Toronto vicinity offering lectures on travel, art and dramatic readings. Her production of "She Stoops to Conquer." a play which qualified for the first Earl Grey competition of 1907, initiated the formation of the school's Dramatic Club. This club later formed the nucleus of The Associate Players, a theatrical troupe which specialized in Irish dramatic productions. Scott Raff was also one of the charter members of the women's art society, the Heliconian Club, which predated the men's Arts and Letters Club established in 1908. In January of 1907, the School of Expression moved to its new location, and Emma Scott Raff's

115 The Women's Literary Society formed the nucleus of the Women's Dramatic Club. See, Murray, "Making the Modern", p. 43. The Dramatic club used the Greek theatre at Maragret Eaton School and the Heliconian club used the principal's studio and recital hall.

116 Dora Mavor was in this production. Emma Scott Raff invited James Mavor to attend the dress rehearsal to see the talent of his young daughter. UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1B, File 12, "Early Education and the Margaret Eaton School, 1905-1912").

117 Murray, ("Making the Modern," p. 55) challenges the standard chronology which presents the Arts and Letters Club, and its affiliation with Hart House Theatre in 1919, as the origins of the little theatre movement in English Canada. Emma Scott Raff, in a correspondence to the Directors of the School, stated that the School of Expression provided student talent to the Hart House Theatre. She commented, "... in the new Hart House Movement we were able to give the manager two students to play the leading roles in 'The Queen's Enemies' and the Chester Mystery Plays." AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Margaret Eaton School Minutes, 1906-1924." "Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff," January 12, 1920.
second school--The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression--was officially opened.

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The School of Expression, established in 1901, began as a small independent school for women in Toronto. It was founded by Emma Scott Raff, a young widow, who rented a studio and offering classes in literary interpretation, voice production and the art of expressive movement.

The formative influences which shaped Emma Scott Raff’s vision of female education were rooted in her reaction against schools of elocution which, she believed, did not convey literature as a "living art." She believed dramatic movement was too often presented in an affected, superficial and artificial manner. Supportive of the newer systems of European bodyculture which constituted the "new kinesthetic" of the 20th century, she endorsed Delsartean methods of movement and voice training which emphasized attention to voice and gesture. She believed that "true expression" involved a knowledge of attitude, action and the spoken word.

Scott Raff’s artistic, aesthetic and curricular vision reproduced social values which were gendered, classed and rationalist. The school largely functioned as a finishing school for Toronto's wealthy families. Body training for women emphasized posture, poise and grace, and although somewhat progressive, her rationalist philosophy prioritized intellectual knowledge and relegated the body to be a mere "instrument" of expression. In the formative years of the School of Expression, Emma Scott Raff cultivated strong connections with the
Burwash, Massey and Eaton families, and supporters of the school became part of the larger debate which advocated separation of the sexes in higher education.

Despite these conservative affiliations, it must not be forgotten that Scott Raff successfully established a school, functioned as a single mother and advocated dramatic training for women at a time when the theatre was considered a morally unhealthy environment. Her involvement in the formation of the school's Dramatic Club, the School's Associate Players and the Heliconian Club were also significant contributions to the beginning of the little theatre movement in Canada. Further, her remarkable passion for literary expression not only attracted such dramatic talent as Dora Mavor Moore--who would eventually rise to prominence in the Canadian theatre--but also successfully drew the interest of Margaret Eaton, whose financial support would facilitate the next stage of the school's evolution.
CHAPTER II

"We Strive for the Good and the Beautiful:"
The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression
(1907-1925)

On January 7, 1907, Timothy Eaton handed Emma Scott Raff a small gold key to the Kalokagathon, or the "Greek Temple" as it came to be known. This was the new building which would house the second School of Expression, renamed The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression. The act of handing Scott Raff the key would later figure in a controversy between Scott Raff and Margaret Eaton concerning the future of the school. Scott Raff would argue that Timothy Eaton had given the school to her, and upon handing her the key had said, "Promise me that you will stay with this school until you die." This symbolic act meant, to Scott Raff at least, that the actions which Margaret Eaton subsequently took to close the school constituted a "breach of faith" and a violation of the sacred trust given to her by Timothy Eaton.

The architecture of the new building, located on North Street in Toronto, was designed to emulate the design of the Parthenon. The dignitaries present for the opening ceremonies included the Lieutenant Governor, the Dean of Toronto's Faculty of Art, Chancellor Burwash and other representatives from Trinity, the University of

Toronto. Victoria and University College. Professor Ramsay Wright. Dean of Arts. "welcomed the institution as another younger daughter of the university." His use of the "younger daughter" metaphor probably reflected the belief that women in higher education had not yet achieved academic equality with men. D. R. Keyes, a professor of English at University College, noted the architectural beauty of the building and observed that the Greek spiritual legacy would be furthered by the work of the school. He commented.

It has been said that if every memorial of the Greek race save the Parthenon had perished, it would be possible to gain from that relic of the past a clear and true impression of the spiritual condition and quality of the Greeks. Toronto now has a replica in the Kalokagathon or Greek Theatre, erected on North Street to be the home of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression.

The structure of the building was significant and reflected the philosophical tenor of Scott Raff's vision for education. In the News of the School, the interior of the new building was described in elegant detail.

From the pillared portico one enters on the tiled floor of a hall, on the right of which is a reception room and on the left an office. The hall leads on to the theatre or auditorium, the dimensions of which are 42 X 42 feet, including the platform. Over the reception and office rooms is a balcony, ordinarily to be used as a library for the students. This is 16 X 42 feet. Studios and class rooms are in the rear. The auditorium will accommodate about 500. The fittings are of quarter-cut oak, and all through the place the idea of simplicity and of antique shapes and finish had been followed.

3“Social Events,” Globe, January 8, 1907, p. 5.
4“Social Events,” Globe, January 8, 1907, p. 5.
The studio of the principal, Mrs. Scott Raff. The beautiful dark antique fittings are accompanied by splendid rugs from the Orient, curios from Athens and Constantinople, brass work, statuary, ancient medallions in copper, in all a perfect feast for the eyes of an antiquary: the only modern touch is furnished by the presence of a piano, and even that is in the unique dark grain of the woodwork throughout.5

The building was quintessentially Greek in design and educational purpose. The school's Calendar of 1909-1910 describes this intent with an air of reverence.

Even a passing glance at this building carries us in thought to another world---remote, yet more or less familiar---and upon the hurry and fret of our modern, western life falls a breath from the past, a touch of the calm and serenity of the age of the Parthenon, that the serenity which is not apathy, but the equanimity of mental and bodily health.6

Although the Calendar of 1909-10 may have described the building as one which conveyed a sense of calmness and serenity. Eric Arthur, an architectural historian, later noted with pragmatic realism, "Anything more unlike a school for young girls could hardly be imagined."7 His comments probably reflected the fact that the building seemed quite out of place according to modern architectural standards.

The architecture did, however, reflect the primary purpose of the school, which was to facilitate the Greek ideal of balance between body and spirit. The auditorium theatre was designed to accommodate dramatic productions. Although the stage size was

5"The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," News, January 8, 1907, p. 4.
relatively wide, it was also narrow, leaving little room for dramatic or modern dance group configurations which required depth. Students recalled that in order to facilitate activity in the physical culture classes, chairs needed to be cleared from the auditorium. It was not until 1918, when the Eaton family acquired the old Y.M.C.A. building at the corner of Yonge and McGill streets, that Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression students were allowed to use a space specifically designed for physical activity. Despite Scott Raff's alleged belief that the ideal school would be "gymnasium whose end and aim is rhythm," clearly, it was the theatric element of the school which the building accommodated.

In addition to classrooms and the theatre, Scott Raff's studio was located on the second floor. This space was amply suited for meetings with students and for monthly meetings of the Alumnae Association. The studio also provided space for Heliconian Club meetings, the annual recital and presentation of the school's expression awards.

8Heather Murray, ("Making the Modern: Twenty-Five Years of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, Essays in Theatre, Vol. 10, 1 (November, 1991)," p. 44) cites an unattributed clipping that commented, "The Greek stage is rather a handicap in the presentation of modern plays. Having so much width and so little depth, it seems made for silhouettes and patterns rather than grouping." This concern about limited stage space was a common complaint among the pioneers in modern dance such as Isadora Duncan and Rudolf Laban. Laban forwarded a design for a "theatre in the round" (See, Rudolf Laban, A Life for Dance (London: Macdonald and Evans, 1935), p. 77.
11In 1911, the Saturday afternoon competition for the Harry McGee award was conducted in Emma Scott Raff's studio. "The interpretative work throughout was distinguished by careful voice culture, restraint of expression and a sincerity that was most pleasing." UT-RBC, DMM-207 Box 1B, File 30, "Prizes for Elocution, 1911." "Early Education and the Margaret Eaton School (1905-1912)."
All aspects of the school reflected a Greek aesthetic. On the architrave of the building were inscribed the words, "We strive for the good and the beautiful." From the paneled halls, to the "clean-cut and subdued lines," to the "hard oak benches which were most uncomfortable to sit on"—all were Greek in spirit, even the caretaker was appropriately nick-named "Hermes." Ideas relating to the harmonious alliance of body, mind and spirit permeated the school's Calendar discourse. Emma Scott Raff's personal letters to Dora Mavor also constantly alluded to Platonic ideals of truth and beauty. Dorothy Jackson, reflecting on the early years of the school, also commented upon the significance of the Greek theme. She noted.

Dramatic ability in the revival of Greek plays demanded the balance of mental development and physical perfection which is the heart of the Greek philosophy. Ways and means were sought to vary the avenues of expression through dancing and gymnastics. Leadership in this connection was provided first by Miss Helen Ward Armington, a graduate of the Sargent School, Boston, and then by Miss Constance Wreyford from the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University.

Classes in physical training were, therefore, part of the "ways and means" of dramatic expression. A review of the curricular streams offered by the School of Literature and Expression indicates that there were several levels of study for both full and part time students. The 1908-1910 Calendar set out the course of study.

12Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author, April 22, 1994.
14In a letter to Dora Mavor in 1912, moved by the beauty of the northern English countryside, she commented, "At last I have found something that is absolute, Beauty." UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," August 13, 1912.
15Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 10.
The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression offers a professional and a practical education to women, and a finishing course for girls, outlined in the three following courses:

The Professional Course demands matriculation at entrance and covers our whole outline of study including twenty-five class lectures per week, and private tuition in voice culture.

The General Course, arranged for those interested in elocution and platform work as an art, embraces the University English topics, Voice Culture, Physical Culture, Deportment and Recitation, with Criticism.

The Special Course, arranged for students who want the University English Topics with Voice Culture and Physical Culture for three periods per week during the Collegiate year.  

Whether professional, general or special, these streams demonstrated the emphasis on voice culture, literature, and physical culture.

Gradually, the literature and dramatic study streams merged and became entirely distinct from the physical culture stream.

Between 1917 and 1919 full time students received a certificate after two years of study which qualified them to teach "English, Expression, and Physical Education." By 1920, the two year program led to diploma "qualifying the holder to teach English and Expression, and to give Elementary Physical Training." In 1923 and 1924, students were awarded a teacher's diploma in Literature and Dramatic Art or a teacher's diploma in Physical Education. By 1925, only those enrolled in physical education continued to

\[16\text{Calendar}\ 1908-1909, p. 10.\]
\[17\text{Calendar}\ 1916-1917, p. 11.\]
\[18\text{Calendar}\ 1920-1921, p. 13.\]
\[19\text{Calendar}\ 1923-1924, p. 11.\]
graduate with a teacher's diploma.\textsuperscript{20} and students who majored in literature and drama received a simple "graded certificate."\textsuperscript{21} As Jackson commented, "the work of the School progressed along two distinct lines: The Department of Dramatic Art and the Department of Physical Education.\textsuperscript{22}

Clearly, Emma Scott Raff's interests lay in the courses which fell within the Dramatic Art and Literature streams of the school. After relocation of the school in 1907, she taught classes in the art of expression which consisted of voice culture, reading and interpretation. She was assisted by Gertrude Philip, a former graduate of the earlier School of Expression and by N. Topley Thomas, an alumna of the Boston School of Expression. Florence Withrow taught historical and mythological topics and Charlotte Ross taught French and English rhetoric, literature and composition. V.M Sweetnam, who was at the school from 1907-1910, taught dramatic interpretation and deportment. Classes in public speaking were conducted by Lewis Dwight Fallis, a graduate of the University of Washington, and Charles M.D. Sparrow, from the Central School of Speech Training in London, England.\textsuperscript{23}

The educational objectives of the early dramatic and literary training appeared to be primarily designed for individual edification.

\textsuperscript{20}Calendar 1925-1926, "Physical Education," p. 6
\textsuperscript{21}Calendar 1925-1926, "Literature and Dramatic Art," p. 6.
\textsuperscript{22}Jackson, \textit{The Three Schools}, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{23}Charles Sparrow taught Elizabeth Pitt 'voice' in 1925. She recalled meeting him again in 1936 while at a performance of "The Girlfriend" in Los Angeles. His stage name was Monty U. Shaw. She recognized his "beady brown eyes" and particular body mannerisms. He told her that he was teaching voice in Hollywood, "because they were just beginning to talk properly and motion with their hands." Interview with the author, April 22, 1994.
in order to enhance "character development" and "banish timidity, affectation and self consciousness." This classed view of social refinement was reflected in some of the early texts used by the school, particularly those such as William Henry Phyfe's. *How Do I Pronounce?* which noted, "... as a man is known by his company, so a man's company may be known by his manner of expressing himself." By 1925, however, a more vocational emphasis was apparent, as students were said to receive an education which might prepare them for "active work in dramatic art, in the school and in public life."

In the field of physical training, Helen Ward Armington from the Sargent School and Constance Wreyford from Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard were the first two instructors who taught at the school between 1907-1910. In 1910, Mary Hamilton joined the faculty. Although the early philosophy of physical culture initially followed Scott Raff's view of exercise for personal improvement, by 1908, a more vocational emphasis was forwarded. Year I students were taught courses in anatomy, physiology, hygiene, anthropometry and Swedish theory and received practical instruction in Indian clubs, dumb bells, wands, elementary fencing, aesthetic gymnastics, relaxing exercises and dancing steps. In Year II, only theory courses were offered in applied anatomy, anthropometry and remedial gymnastics. Gradually, courses were added to the bank, including

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24 *Calendar* 1910-1911, p. 15.
26 *Calendar* 1925-1926, p. 5.
28 *Calendar* 1908-1909, p. 16.
folk dance, games, voice culture and elocution in 1910.\textsuperscript{29} German tactics in 1913.\textsuperscript{30} first aid and home nursing in 1914.\textsuperscript{31} and Chalif dancing in 1916.\textsuperscript{32} Texts for these early years included \textit{Essentials of Anatomy}.\textsuperscript{33} \textit{A Handbook of School Gymnastics}\textsuperscript{34} and \textit{Embryology: The Beginnings of Life}.\textsuperscript{35} In this last text, students were exposed to upper and middle class beliefs concerning heredity and moral improvement. The text noted,

In many directions the inherited tendencies ... are unalterably and strictly defined. In many other directions these inherited tendencies can be so modified, drawn out, or even partially suppressed, by suitable surroundings of a hygienic, educative, and moral nature, that if the process be taken in hand sufficiently early wonderful success may result.\textsuperscript{36}

Clearly, the discourse which surrounded the notion of unalterable hereditary factors reinforced upper class notions of class distinction. but the idea that certain factors could be "modified" through proper hygiene and moral education justified the call for middle class social reform. Gradually, the school responded to this social agenda, and within the physical education stream, began to focus on the vocational preparation of young women for placements in Y.W.C.A.'s, settlement houses, playgrounds and public schools.

\textsuperscript{29}\textit{Calendar} 1910-1911, p. 16-17.
\textsuperscript{30}\textit{Calendar} 1913-1914, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{31}\textit{Calendar} 1914-1915, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{32}\textit{Calendar} 1916-1917, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{33}Charles De Nancrede, \textit{Essentials of Anatomy} (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders, 1913).
\textsuperscript{34}Nils Posse, \textit{A Handbook of School Gymnastics} (Boston: Lothrop, Lee and Shephard, 1902).
\textsuperscript{36}Leighton, \textit{Embryology}, p. 88.
Life at School: Elegance and Expression

By 1920, the need to place out-of-town students who attended the school grew to the point that the purchase of a residence was required. With the financial assistance of Margaret Eaton, a house was secured on Dundonald Street, in downtown Toronto. The description of residence life in the school calendar carefully noted that young women were expected to balance their social activities with their academic responsibilities. In an unusual blend of advice which linked simplicity of dress to "true class-room elegance," the 1920-1921 Calendar noted.

No girl can lead the life of a society woman and of a serious student at the same time, and the attempt to do so may lead to permanent injurious nerve strain. The School also urges trimness and simplicity of dress, which is the foundation of true class-room elegance, be observed. A garment appropriate and harmonious in a drawing room may be tawdry and vulgar elsewhere. Moreover, the times are earnest and more than ever cry out for 'plain living and high thinking.'

Scott Raff's description of the school combined elements characteristic of both an upper and a middle class sensibility. Her references to society life and the drawing room called forth elements of upper class privilege, and her references to simplicity and plain living--particularly within the context of the "earnest" post war era--reflected middle class values of service and social responsibility. Probably sensitive to both these groups as potential students for her school, Scott Raff's descriptions of elegance and simplicity projected the image of the school as a cultured, safe environment for young

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37 Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 18.
38 Calendar 1920-1921, p. 10.
women. Here, she argued, they might prepare for both personal
refinement and social service.

Scott Raff's personal presentation personified these themes of
elegance and simplicity. A member of the Heliconian Club,
commenting on her appearance, noted.

Hers was a noble, classical type of beauty. She always gave
the effect of great simplicity of style. Yet, as I remember
her in the '20's, she favored flowing robes (usually of
peacock blue or moss green), metal girded, and festooned
with long ropes of amber, or carved wooden beads. In that
tripping, high-heeled period she often wore some simple
sort of suede sandal. We, who were privileged to know
her, recognized that she had been very unusually, and
variously, endowed: an artist, a fine teacher, and an astute
business woman.\textsuperscript{39}

Elizabeth Pitt, a student of the school during the 1920's, also recalled
Scott Raff's long gowns and exotic air. Pitt described her physical
presence, and paired this recollection with a recitation from Robert
Browning. Pitt noted that all Scott Raff's students were required to
recite poetry every morning for the school's roll call. Pitt recalled,

She was very exotic looking. Her hair always beautifully
waved; it was grey-black, you know. She wore hand painted
long gowns of velvet with Roman braid trimming. Every
morning, instead of saying 'present' we had to give a
quotation. 'I am the captain of my soul.' you know, and the
something or other of my fate. Or, 'Be good, sweet maiden, and
let who would be clever do noble things. not dream them all
day long.' Now, that's stayed with me for up to 70 or
80 years now. That quotation.\textsuperscript{40}

Scott Raff was particularly fond of Robert Browning's poetry. In
addition to regular course offerings which studied his work, she

\textsuperscript{39}AO-EC, Series 24, Box 2, "Heliconian Club Minutes," Nov. 8, 1970.
\textsuperscript{40}Elizabeth Pitt, interivew with the author, April 22, 1994.
organized a "Tuesday Evening Literary Class" for business women and teachers in 1910. By 1913, these evening classes were so large that she reported, "the business woman's class has had to be closed because the studio will not hold more than its present membership of one hundred and twenty-five." According to Jackson, by 1915, the group was reported to have grown to two hundred and eleven. Scott Raff's particular interest in the work of Robert Browning, who was noted for his poetic use of the dramatic monologue, followed her belief—and that of her mentor, Samuel Curry—that the dramatic monologue was an important link which connected the study of living voice to the appreciation of literature. As Curry had observed,

The monologue is a study of the effect of mind upon mind, of the adaptation of the ideas of one individual to another, and of the revelation this makes of the characters of speaker and listener.

In addition to an air of elegance and simplicity—and the recitation of Browning—Elizabeth Pitt also recalled the elaborate ceremonials which the students of the school were required to perform during high Christian festivals. She remembered,

And they had lots of strange traditions. Like at Christmas time, everybody would get dressed in a nightie or something very fancy. And you'd put a stocking on your head, or you could wear a Christmas corsage. And you carried a candle. I forget what we sang, something of a Christmas nature. It was a parade. That was a tradition.

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42Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 10.
And the other tradition was in the roll call business, quoting Browning instead of saying "present." And they would throw in a May Day on occasion, and you would go to the Eaton family home and you would dance around the May pole.44

Emma Scott Raff's aesthetic, artistic and educational vision reflected many elements of her social context. She exuded a sense of upper class refinement and carried middle class values of social service. She promoted literary appreciation and believed in the Greek ideal that mind, body and spirit should exist in harmony. Above all, she wished to provide what she believed to be a "balanced" education for women, one that integrated head, hand and heart.

Emma Scott Raff's Educational Vision: Head, Hand and Heart

The real purpose of our School is a threefold Education for Women. We believe that head, hand and heart should be trained at the same time, and so are working for mental moral and physical strength.45

"Head:" "We stimulate thought."46

Emma Scott Raff may have promoted a threefold vision of female education, but this view was rooted in the primacy of the mind. "A sound mind in a sound body" was the first motto for her School of Expression.47 She believed that young women must possess "knowledge of the best in literature."48 The course of study at the

44Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author, April 22, 1994.
46Calendar 1910-1911, p. 8.
47Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 7.
48Calendar 1910-1911, p. 8.
Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression was quite intensive, with a first year bank of courses including English literature, German, French, physical culture, voice culture and household science. The English curriculum consisted of composition, rhetoric and oratory with a particular emphasis on Shakespeare's plays and, of course, Browning's monologues. In the dramatic arts courses, students studied a wide range of plays and were given exposure to contemporary Canadian poetry. Plays by Ibsen, Strindberg, Yeats and Lady Gregory were read. As noted earlier, textual study was supplemented through the work of the school's Associate Players who specialized in the plays of the Irish Literary movement. As her obituary noted.

She was the first publicly to read the new plays being published in Ireland by Yeats, Synge, Gregory and others, and she went to Ireland to meet the authors and see the plays done at the Abbey theatre in Dublin. The first Irish plays produced in Canada were produced in the Margaret Eaton Theatre from the year 1908 onward.

She also introduced St. John Irvine, Masefield and many other new playwrights and poets to Toronto audiences. Many famous actors, lecturers and writers were guest speakers at the Margaret Eaton School. Among these were Yeats, Sir Johnstone Forbes Robertson, Mr. Willard, Earl Grey, Governor General of Canada, who

49 Ann Ardis (New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism (London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), p. 167) argues that Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), the Norwegian dramatist and poet, forwarded a critique of conventional morality and celebrated the image of the New Woman of the late nineteenth century. According to Ardis, Ibsen's doctrine that a woman, "even though she be a mother, belongs primarily to herself" stormed across Europe. (p. 167).
50 Isabella Augusta Gregory (1852-1932) was an Irish writer and playwright who was a part of the Irish literary renaissance. In 1898 she met W.B. Yeats and became his lifelong friend and patron, and was involved in the foundation of the Irish literary theatre.
initiated the Earl Grey Dramatic competitions. Sir Frank Benson, Ben Greet, Edith Wynne Matheson, Rann Kennedy, Lilian Braighwaite and many others.51

Attesting to the broad educational foundation reflected in the curriculum, Scott Raff noted that the merely "star-struck" were not welcome at the school. She intended that her students should possess a foundation of literary, dramatic and physical culture experiences before they focused, too narrowly, on vocational pursuits.

We were besieged by star-struck students and it was a discouraging experience to find students turning away from our doors when we outlined our courses of study, instruction which had to do first with the education of the individual before that individual would be in a position to give anything to the world from stage or platform.52

Although Scott Raff argued that physical training was an important aspect of this broadly based education, the head--the site of intellectual learning--was still the most important domain. Her Delsartean movement experience allowed her to recognize the connection between expression and movement, but an education which was designed to teach the body to reflect emotion was different from an education designed to facilitate physical competence in gymnastics, sport and games. In fact, at one point Scott Raff actually complained that too many students were attracted to her school because of the physical training component. She lamented, "for a time the world seemed to go mad about dancing."53

51 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1B, File 12, "Obituary, Emma Scott Raff," "Art and Literary Leader Mrs. George Nasmith Dies."
52 AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, File 1, "Report from Emma Scott Raff to the Board of Directors," 1907-1908. n.d.
53 AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, File 1, "Report from Emma Scott Raff to the Board of Directors," 1907-1908. n.d.
Many of Scott Raff's descriptions placed the education of the body in a secondary position, and described it as a mere vessel or instrument. The 1908-09 Calendar commented.

When the body is perfectly adjusted, perfectly supplied with force, perfectly free and works with the greatest economy of expenditure, it is fitted to be a perfect instrument, alike of impression and expression.54

Scott Raff's description of the body as an instrument, and her reference to the need for a balance of vital forces, not only suggested Platonic ideas of dualism, but they also reflected the 19th century medical view of the body as the site of a limited amount of vital energy. Scott Raff's references to vital force and "injurious nerve strain"55 indicts, as Lenskyj argues, that although references to vital energy had become relatively rare in medical literature by the 1900's, it was still a commonly held opinion in popular culture.56 Further, as Mitchinson notes, the idea that the body had a finite amount of energy not only contributed to the myth of female frailty, but it also rendered the "three mysteries" of puberty, menstruation and menopause--sources of energy loss--as particularly problematic for women.57

Consistent with this view, Scott Raff considered movement education as a means to regenerate the body's energy. In the expressive body work of the school, Delsartean movement techniques complemented stage and oratory presentation. In the functional

54Calendar, 1908-1909, p. 16
55See footnote 38.
movement work, remedial Swedish theory offered exercise prescription in order to "counteract and correct tendencies of abnormal development." As Nils Posse had argued in the school's text, *A Handbook of School Gymnastics.* "The body could be made a harmonious whole under the perfect control of the will."\(^{58}\) Scott Raff, sensitive to the ideals of elegance and expression, was not interested in the pursuit of physical training as an end in itself. As she reported to the Ladies Committee at Annesley Hall, "the primary function of physical training was to stress freedom of the body, not the development of muscle."\(^{59}\)

A different view of physical training did, however, slowly emerge at the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression. Despite Scott Raff's focus on expression and Margaret Eaton's devotion to dramatic training, the vocational applications of training in physical education gradually became apparent. Scott Raff was not oblivious to this imminent change. For in 1909 she observed:

1909-1910 ushered in a new class of students, girls from the colleges of our own city who wanted specialists' training, some with matriculation to take a teacher's course, and some needing individual training that could not be obtained in other colleges.\(^{60}\)

It was not until the year after Mary Hamilton joined the school in 1910, that the school *Calendar* described the specific career opportunities which were becoming more available for young women, "as teachers and supervisors of physical education in all of


\(^{59}\) VUA, 90.064, Volume 1, "Director of Physical Education, Report to Committee of Management of Annesley Hall," January, 1905.

\(^{60}\) AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, File 1, "Report from Emma Scott Raff to the Board of Directors," (1908-1910), n.d.
its phases."61 By 1918, even Scott Raff acknowledged that the graduates from the Physical Education Department were taking the highest academic standings and were being successfully placed as teachers. The link between higher education and financial independence was not only evident to the students of the school, it was also apparent to Scott Raff. In her report to the directors she observed,

Our graduates, in Miss Hamilton's department, who have noticeably made good, are the ones that have taken the highest standing in Miss Ross' and other departments of the school. They are all now teaching in Toronto or elsewhere. This year I did not have enough teachers to supply the demand.62

In fact, as early as 1915, sensitive to the financial difficulties of the school, Scott Raff had suggested, "it might be wise to expand the physical education program and merge the Drama program with Expression." This initiative was not realized, however, because Margaret Eaton was not ready to sacrifice any part of the drama component of the program. Scott Raff continued, "since Margaret Eaton was inclined to continue Drama, this was not done."63

Higher learning had enabled Scott Raff to earn a living. She ardently believed that "all culture should carry with it a bread-winning power."64 Until she remarried in 1916, Scott Raff was a sole support mother who relied on her wits and her will to survive. Although she exuded an air of upper class elegance and often used

61Calendar 1911-1912, p. 16.
her connections with wealthy patrons to further her school. She had successfully carved a place for herself through her own efforts. In her letters to Dora Mavor, her favourite student, Emma Scott Raff encouraged Dora to be resolute and determined, and to forge ahead with an independent spirit. For a number of years she faithfully followed Dora's career, encouraging her to persist in her theatre work and to be wary of predatory theatre directors. With reference to one notable theatre company she warned, "Don't you believe Ben Greet when he tells you, 'If you had been there you could have had a part'. He lies. I feel it in my soul!"65 She encouraged Dora to be strong and persistent. "If you can keep your head, dear, and make a good distance, then yours is the world."66 Further, she entreated.

Now Dora you must get all things ready for your voyage and make up your mind to get all you can out of it and of Life. More and more do I believe that we are all the result of our own will. So great is our power that no human being has the power to crush or weaken us in any way. We are the result of our own will!!67

Emma Scott Raff endorsed the power of the will. She insisted that her students receive an interdisciplinary education and acquire the skills of rote learning. Seventy years after graduating from the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, Elizabeth Pitt remembered her lines from Browning and could recite, "Be good, sweet maiden, and let those who would be clever do noble things, not dream them all day long."68

65UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," October 24, 1912.
66UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," May 27, 1912.
67UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor, May 27, 1912."
"Hand": "The Power for Social Good"\textsuperscript{69}

One of the most consistent themes which Scott Raff forwarded in her school was her belief in the power of individual self improvement and service to others. Scott Raff intended education to "develop the individual so that every person might realize her highest powers for service."\textsuperscript{70} Although her views concerning the vocational focus of the school gradually shifted over the years, the theme of self improvement and social service remained constant.

Although Scott Raff valued the principle of self improvement, she was careful that it was not to be confused with self-centredness. Her criticism of those who came to her school and asked, "Prepare us in the shortest possible time to earn our bread."\textsuperscript{71} was a criticism of students who she considered to be expedient and self-serving, and not a criticism of those who sought economic independence. She believed that each student, by attending to their own self improvement, would thereby attend to the larger social good. "If each before his own door swept," she argued, "the village would be clean."\textsuperscript{72}

Although the primary focus of the school was originally designed to service full time students, the part time and extension work of the school eventually grew well beyond full time student numbers. As Murray notes, the school was quite progressive in that

\textsuperscript{69} The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, News, (Jan. 8, 1907), p. 4.
\textsuperscript{70} Raff, in Hodgins, Schools and Colleges of Ontario, p. 251.
\textsuperscript{71} OA-EC, Series 22, Box 6, File 1, "Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff," Feb. 1909.
\textsuperscript{72} VUA, 90.064, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Regarding Women’s Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," March, 1911.
it offered the option of part time and extension study well before the University of Toronto experimented with extension education in 1917. Courses were offered at flexible times during days, evenings and weekends. Students from Annesley Hall took the school's Saturday morning classes in physiology, hygiene and pedagogy, and Scott Raff offered a number of classes and discussion groups in the evenings, when teachers and business women could attend. In addition, the liaison with the Anglican and Methodist Deaconess Training Programme meant that a large number of additional students attended the school also. The school offered instruction in physical and speech remediation for children and adults, classes in Dalcroze eurythmics and dramatic art courses for children. Extension and off campus work included instruction in area schools and visits to outlying areas such as Barrie and Brantford, where Scott Raff offered "recitals" and "drawing room" recitations. In 1920, the school staff gave instruction to over four hundred public school teachers across southern Ontario. Scott Raff also initiated a host of meeting and discussion clubs. These included the Shakespeare club which met every morning in the principal's studio, the Folk Lore Association, the literary and reading club, and the discussion club. As one student remembered, the discussion club often tackled

73Heather Murray, "'We Strive for the Good and the Beautiful': Literary Studies at The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," unpublished manuscript, p. 27.
74VUA, 90.064, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Regarding Women's Use of the Gymnasium, 1905-1913," Winter, 1910.
75UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," October 24, 1912.
77UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," October 24, 1912.
controversial issues. One of the more heated topics concerned the issue of marriage and career. Lois Howard explained, "Some days we are debating as to whether or not a professional woman should continue her career after marriage, and that is a real war."\(^{78}\)

Although exact enrollments are difficult to determine, between 1908 and 1925 the school averaged twenty-eight full time students per year. This figure reached a peak of over fifty students in 1920.\(^{79}\) Full time fees were comparable to those at the University of Toronto,\(^{80}\) and were established at $150.00 from 1908-1919. Although admission standards were not explicit, students intending to enter the teaching stream were expected to have passed their high school matriculation.\(^{81}\) Part time study at the school was an extremely popular option, and by 1924-25, part time enrollment had reached over one thousand. All full and part time courses, as well as private lessons and classes offered to the community were offered on a fee basis.

In addition to a flexible administrative structure which accommodated community access, international events and a growing middle class social reform consciousness further heightened the social outreach of the school. During the war years, the school's academic routine shifted in order to accommodate the war effort. The power for social good took on national proportions. As Jackson noted.

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\(^{78}\)Lois Howard, "What is the Discussion Club?" *Mesolae*, 1921, p. 16.

\(^{79}\)In 1920, Scott Raff reported to the directors that there were four hundred and thirty Extension members, and thirty-five students "taking the full two-hundred dollar course." AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff," January 12, 1920. "Margaret Eaton School Minutes," (1906-1924).

\(^{80}\)UTA-University of Toronto, *Calendar*, 1910-1911, p. 23.

\(^{81}\)OA-EC, Series 22, Box 6, File 1, "Emma Scott Raff to the Directors" letter, n.d.
An important part of the life of the School during the war years, 1914 to 1918, was the patriotic and social work undertaken by the Faculty and students. The tradition of Friday afternoon Readings while fellow-members knitted, brought all those taking part into close relationship.\(^{82}\)

In 1914, the *Calendar* noted, "We believe that we can give nothing to our fellow men but ourselves, and our best self can only be revealed through co-ordination of the physical and spiritual life."\(^{83}\) By 1916-1917, the *Calendar* commented.

In view of the seriousness of the crisis through which the world is passing, it has been deemed advisable to devote a portion of the School time and activity to patriotic work. Last year Friday afternoon was set apart for this purpose and as a consequence, the School was able to make liberal donations of hospital supplies and knitted articles. It is proposed to continue this work during the coming year.\(^{84}\)

The school initiated a number of war related service projects. School alumnae sponsored a French orphan during the war years and Mary Hamilton, in conjunction with the Bishop Strachan School and Branksome Hall, organized a "Patriotic Fete" with over four hundred and fifty students. This fundraiser contributed $4,000.00 to the war effort.\(^{85}\)

In addition to the national crisis which the war precipitated, a rising sense of middle class concern over the effects of industrialization and urbanization also figured into the school's vocational thrust, which gradually tipped in favour of the Physical Education Department at the expense of the Literature and Dramatic Arts Department. As Carolyn Strange documents, between 1880 and

\(^{82}\)Jackson, *The Three Schools*, p. 16.
\(^{83}\)Calendar 1914-1915, p. 9.
\(^{84}\)Calendar 1916-1917, p. 6.
\(^{85}\)Jackson, *The Three Schools*, p. 16.
1930. Toronto witnessed an influx of young, single women to the city who rapidly filled the city's lowest paid labour positions. Strange argues that these working girls presented a "problem" to middle class moral reformers, who believed that these young women were particularly susceptible to the vices which an urban environment presented. These middle class moral rescuers established a network of agencies in order to protect, manage, regulate and reform these single women. The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression figured prominently in this social agenda, for it not only provided trained middle class graduates who could supply these social service agencies, but the school's benefactor--Timothy Eaton--was none other than the single largest employer of single working women in Toronto.  

In some respects, 1915-1916 represented a watershed year for the school. In this year, Emma Scott Raff married Colonel George G. Nasmith. Despite popular sanctions against marriage and work, she continued on as principal of the school. This was also the year when the division between the Department of Dramatic Art and the Department of Physical Education was formalized. In the following year's school calendar, a list of employment opportunities for graduates was first published. A review of this list indicated that the majority of these jobs were largely found in the rapidly expanding social service sector of the city. The list included:

- Teachers of Physical Education
- Teachers of Expression
- Public Readers

Interpreters of the Drama on the Professional Stage
Supervisors of Playgrounds
Workers in Settlements
Workers in Young Women's Christian Associations

The school's graduates who found employment in settlement work, mission work, Y.W.C.A.'s, playgrounds and schools were largely students from the Physical Education Department. Familiar with the principles of health and hygiene, and trained to work with children, youth and adults in recreational and remedial forms of movement, these middle class graduates were exactly the type of service worker which social agencies sought. Education of the body, whether in the form of safe recreational activity in order to allieviate temptations for "the working girl." or the form of health, hygiene and proper nutrition, was a critical knowledge base which moral reformers could use in order to socialize working class and immigrant sectors of the population.

As social reform advocate Alice Chown noted as early as 1899, settlement houses were intended to be places where "all social classes could gain physical and mental culture." In reality, as Cathy James argues, settlement houses were not designed to service "all" classes, but rather, were focused to the working class in general, and non Anglo-Celtic immigrants in particular. Through recreational, educative and consultative services, they functioned as crucibles for middle class reform and social control. By 1913, there were five settlement houses in Toronto. As the Calendar of 1916-1917 noted.

87Calendar 1916-17 to Calendar 1922-23, p. 8-10.
88AV, Box 23, File 1, Acta Victoriana, October, 1899.
89Cathy James, "Widening the Circle of Enlightenment:‘ Toronto's Settlement House Movement and the Assimilation of Working Class Immigrants, 1900-1914.” Ph. D. Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1996).
graduates from the Margaret Eaton School held classes in physical training and story telling at settlement houses in order to gain teaching experience. The Calendar further noted, "This contact with the less fortunate members of the community should awaken in the rising generation a sense of sympathy, and of social responsibility."90

The connection between the school and the deaconess training programme was also important. The deaconess stream constituted a significant enrollment at the school and represented a direct link to missionary outreach. Emma Scott Raff was a member of the Board of Instruction for the Toronto Deaconess Home as early as 1901.91 Classes in voice culture and physical culture, taken at the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, were incorporated into the Anglican and Methodist Deaconess' Training School as part of their first, second and third year courses of study.92 Scott Raff explained that the training was designed so "Christian workers can learn to read the Bible intelligently."93 presumably, her focus was on oral reading. The Church of England Deaconess and Missionary Training House Calendar described co-operation with the Margaret Eaton School of Expression as well as the Lillian Massey School of Household Science. This Calendar also acknowledged the generosity of R. Y. Eaton, who established the Josephine Burnside Scholarship in order to assist students in the deaconess programme.

91 UCA, "Annual Report of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School of the Methodist Church, Canada," 1901.
92 Church of England Deaconess and Missionary Training House Calendar n.d., Calendar 1929-1931; Calendar 1932-1933.
93 OA-EC, E-Series 22, Box 6, File 1, "Emma Scott Nasmith to R.Y. Eaton." Nov. 29, 1915.
Through the generosity of the Josephine Burnside Scholarship, our students have the privilege of procuring first-class instruction in Voice and Physical Culture, at the Margaret Eaton School of Expression.94

In a letter to the directors of the school, Scott Raff described the history of this scholarship and made a special request that the funds be extended to incorporate more physical education content. In 1915 she reported.

The 200.00 scholarship was first given to the students of the Methodist Deaconess Training School but was divided afterwards with the Anglican school when they applied for the training. They really each get 200.00 worth of lectures because we have added a course in Physical Education.... This department of our work is very important and we want $600.00 in scholarship donation to carry it on.95

The link between the deaconess training programme and the work of the Fred Victor Mission also helps to illustrate the role which schools like the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression and the Lillian Massey School of Household Science played in the fabric of middle class relief agencies. In a letter to Dora Mavor, Emma Scott Raff commented on the work of one of the school's graduates, Miss de Long, who had returned to Toronto and "was starting her work at the Fred Victor Mission."96 The Fred Victor Mission was a centre for Methodist work in the slums of Toronto. It was here where Methodist church deaconesses, who had taken at least part of their

94Calendar, n.d., p. 4. The Calendar of 1929-1931 and 1932-1933 indicated courses in "voice culture" and "physical training" for years one, two and three.
96UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," October 24, 1912.
training at the Margaret Eaton School and the Lillian Massey School were hired to perform a host of social outreach activities. These activities included home visitations, health care advice, organizing mothers' meetings and teaching classes in elocution, sewing, cooking, and Bible study. Valverde notes that students from the Lillian Massey School of Household Science often assisted deaconesses, and that they taught classes in sewing and cooking in order to gain teaching experience.97 Similarly, students from the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression—like Miss de Long—also assisted in the work of the mission. They most likely assisted in the area of elocution, physical education and health education.

The connection between the school and the Y.W.C.A was also significant, as the Y.W.C.A. proved to be one of the most popular employers for the graduates of the school. In a letter to Dora Mavor, Emma Scott Raff described a visit to a former graduate who was then employed at the Brantford Y.W.C.A. She noted.

Last week I went to Brantford were Miss Gould is at the Y.W.C.A. and I gave an evening Recital and a Drawing Room on Saturday afternoon putting forth a plea for Drama and claiming that it had a legitimate place in the Y.W.C.A. training.98

In addition to graduate placement, there were also other links which connected the work of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression to the Y.W.C.A. This connection came in the form of shared building space. In January 1918, the school acquired the use of a building at the corner of Yonge and McGill street which had

98 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," November 30, 1912.
previously housed the Central Branch of Toronto's Y.M.C.A. This building became headquarters of the physical education program, and was known as the Margaret Eaton School Extension. It was originally purchased by the T. Eaton company to be a recreation facility for company employees, and in 1917, it had opened as The Eaton Girls' Club. This club, as Strange argues, was one of many public and private initiatives which were designed to keep working class girls off the street. Strange observes,

Working girls of all sorts eagerly availed themselves of the benefits offered them, whether it meant sitting down to tea and biscuits in a company restroom or going for a swim at the Y. 99

As the Eaton's Girls' Club facilities were only used during evening hours, the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression was granted permission to use the building during the day. According to Jackson, the facility had a "well equipped gymnasium" and a "sanitary swimming tank." 100 According to Elizabeth Pitt's recollection, however, the swimming tank was anything but "sanitary." Pitt recalled with some amusement, "the tank they used was no bigger than a bathtub and it was very slimy on the bottom." 101 A few years after her graduation from the school, Elizabeth Pitt was hired to be the recreational director of the Eaton's Girls' Club. She remained affiliated with the club and the work of the Eaton Company's Shadow Lake Camp for twenty-nine years. 102
At the time of her death, many recalled that one of the most significant legacies left by Emma Scott Raff Nasmith was her desire to serve others. Dorothy Raff Nasmith recalled her mother's credo. "All you have is what you give--and we must always help those who need us." A tribute to Scott Raff Nasmith, published in the school newsletter on the occasion of her death, noted.

As we came away from the beautiful service in Timothy Eaton Memorial Church one of her old pupils recalled with an appreciative smile: 'She used to tell us not to go about only with the people we liked, but to cultivate also the people we didn't like, for we would find that they, too, had something to teach us.'

Although social and moral reform advocates often extolled the virtues of social outreach as a way of learning from others, as Valverde and Strange assert, there was rarely any serious belief that working class and non Anglo-Celtic communities had "something to teach" the middle and upper classes. As Valverde notes, "One common feature of deaconesses' reports is their contempt for working class and immigrant mothers whom they take to be inadequate nurturers." For Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, however, working toward a middle class vision of "the social good" was not problematic. Her school was not only an agent of middle class moral and social reform which was firmly rooted in classist assumptions, it also furthered the image of women as maternal, service-driven, and the primary care givers of the nation.

103 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Letter from Dorothy Nasmith to Dora Mavor Moore," October 1940.
"Heart": Emma Scott Raff and Dora Mavor

Although the school offered outreach programs to the community, as Dorothy Jackson emphasized, it was essentially "a school for women." As such, there were many opportunities for women to network, whether they were involved in theatre work, social work, discussion clubs, or gathering around broader issues of female emancipation. It was a space where students and faculty worked closely together. The Alumnae Association, established in 1913, met once a month in Emma Scott Raff Nasmith's studio. As Jackson notes, "This provided a memorable link between the undergraduates and the graduates." As subsequent chapters will reveal, the Alumnae Association proved to be quite loyal to the school, and successfully lobbied that the school remain open in 1925, when the board threatened its closure.

One of the most interesting relationships which developed at the school was the lifelong association between Emma Scott Raff Nasmith and Dora Mavor Moore. In the spirit similar to that noted by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and other scholars regarding the bonds of affection which developed between women in the school environment, Emma and Dora exchanged letters of affection and

107 Dora Mavor was asked by Ellen Browne to function as an usher when Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, the noted English suffragette, spoke at Massey Hall on February 11, 1911. See, UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, File 37. "Ellen Browne to Dora Mavor," February 3, 1911. Four tickets to the Pankhurst speech were enclosed.
mutual support to one another. Archival material only catches a fragment of this relationship, in the letters sent by Emma to Dora from 1911 to 1913. Recalling her initial introduction to Scott Raff, Dora commented.

She sort of entered the picture and picked me out and gave me an opportunity that I might not otherwise have had since she realized perhaps that there was something underneath the extreme shyness and brought me out.\textsuperscript{110}

Dora, a talented student, did well at the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression. She was the recipient of the E.R. Wood Scholarship and the Gerhard Heintzman Prize for Shakespearean Interpretation. Perhaps aware of James Mavor’s disapproval of his daughter’s failed academic attempts in the years prior to her enrollment at the school, Scott Raff ensured that James Mavor was kept informed of his daughter’s progress. She sent him notices of Dora’s performances, and encouraged him to attend the dress rehearsal and final performance in "She Stoops to Conquer."\textsuperscript{111} the play which qualified for the Earl Grey competition of 1907.

After Dora Mavor’s graduation in 1912, she attended the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London. Against her father’s advice,\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{110}NA, ACC 1987-0416, Dora Mavor Moore, interview with Grace Lydiatt Shaw, March 6, 1963.

\textsuperscript{111}Emma Scott Raff wrote to James Mavor, "I am placing a seat in reserve for you on the evening of Friday April the 21st. Will you kindly feel free to wander about the theatre and so tell us if the voices carry well?" UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1B, File 24, "Emma Scott Raff to James Mavor, April 11, 1911."

\textsuperscript{112}Dora recalled her father’s desire that she attend court. "I suppose my father thought that every young girl of that period—you know, the Victorian period—looked forward to a social atmosphere and coming out, but it was nuts to me. So I pretended that I hadn’t got his telegram and got on the boat and came back." See, NA, Dora Mavor Moore, interview with Grace Lydiatt Shaw, March 6, 1963.
Dora left London shortly after and took a position with a stock company in Ottawa. Emma Scott Raff, who watched her career with great interest, was also opposed to this decision. In a letter to Dora, Emma commented.

Miss Thomas and I have discussed the situation thoroughly. She does not think Ottawa is the place for you because she says they are not of fine enough fiber for you to realize your work and also that you will not be able to do your best in that company. William Faversham has asked me for students to play the mob and other scenes in his great presentation of Julius Caesar in Toronto commencing Monday Oct. 7. If you are free come home for that and I will see that you are introduced to Tyrone Power and Faversham. Don't come unless you write first and tell us so that we can advise if things are not as they seem. I have faith in you and love you.

ESR.113

The letters, exchanged weekly during the years 1911-1913, indicate a strong connection. Not atypically for the period, they often began, "Dora Dear." "Dearest Dora," "Darling Dora" and closed, "Always yours." and "Faithfully yours." Scott Raff also ended her letters with, "Your Grandie Emmie" and "The Shepherd Emmie." Emma Scott Raff's daughter, Dorothy, also became a part of this close connection. Emma referred to Dorothy in these letters as "Your adopted sister and devoted little lover." Dorothy later closed her own letter to Dora as "Posy."

Emma's letters were sent to Dora when she apprenticed in the theatre in London, New York and Chicago. They were written from the principal's studio at the school in Toronto, from her mother's

113UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," Sept 30, 1912.
home in Owen Sound, from "Ravenscrag"--the family cottage in Muskoka--and from various locations in Europe while she was on vacation in the summer months. The letters often included encouragement and spiritual advice. Emma warned Dora, "Money is not for your soul work. That can never be paid for, but [it] must be for the physical part to nourish, so that the soul can have a chance." She further admonished, "If we choose to be governed by those who are concerned only with the self we cannot expect advance along spiritual lines." The spiritual tenor of Emma's letters was always quite apparent. She commented, "Know you never can be touched or hurt by these people about you. I am missing you but if you are getting hold of your soul, you will arrive."

At times the letters from Emma were forlorn. She urged Dora to write more frequently:

What have we done to be absolutely forgotten? Not one line has come to us of your welfare and you must know that I am anxious. I saw you last night in my dreams--but you smiled and kissed me but did not speak. Write me a line for I am faithfully yours. Waiting!!!

And again, invoking the highest metaphor of Divine Love itself, she implored.

Dora Dear. If you are on the heights, take me out of the depths. I have here my ninety and nine but they are not enough for one has wandered away from me. Where is that one?

Faithfully. The Shepherd Emmie.

114 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," Sept. 20, 1912.
115 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," May 27, 1912.
116 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," October 2, 1912.
117 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," Sept 9, 1912.
118 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," Feb. 11, 1913.
By 1913, Emma's letters to Dora asked her specifically to return home. She commented, "God must be lonely if he does not know anything about human love. Will you come back to us Dora?" Dora, in fact, did return, and briefly held a position at the school in the fall of 1913, until she left again to pursue theatrical work.

In 1916, Emma Scott Raff married Colonel George Nasmith. Colonel Nasmith, a friend of Timothy Eaton's, was decorated after the war as a result of his invention of the gas mask. In 1918, he was awarded a doctorate in public health by the University of Toronto and in 1920 began a career as a scientist involved with sanitation. Nasmith had occasionally lectured at the school, and it was his invocation at the 1918 commencement exercise of the school which had reminded the young graduates that they were living in a "new era" and that it was their "privilege to serve." Nasmith was mentioned only once in the correspondences which Emma and Dora exchanged.

Dr. Nasmith came up for a week-end and we had such a nice visit. He fits into the quite simple life of this home [Woodlawn, Owen Sound] and sort of satisfies one's soul. Now dear, we are off for a drive along the Lake to see Dorothy at camp. My love is always searching for and always finding you.

Emmie S.R.

The same year Emma Scott Raff became Mrs. Nasmith, Dora Mavor married an Anglican priest, Chaplain Francis Moore. Shortly after his posting overseas in 1918, Dora Mavor Moore returned home.

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\[119UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," July 7, 1913.
\[121 see footnote 1, introduction.
\[122UT-RBC, DMM-2-7, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," July 7, 1913.
to Toronto. Left with two sons to care for, she sought employment. "By this time," she recalled. "I had to earn some money to support the boys, so I got into teaching." She returned to the Margaret Eaton School and taught voice culture, phonetics and dramatic art from 1921 to 1925. She also was involved in dramatic work at Camp Tanamakoon—the camp which later became affiliated with the Margaret Eaton School under the direction of Mary Hamilton.

When Emma Scott Nasmith died on February 16, 1940, George Nasmith wrote to Dora Mavor Moore, commenting on their close friendship. "As you know she was very fond of you—perhaps more than any of her pupils." Emma's letters to Dora indicated that she did, indeed, care for her in a special way. An early letter expressed both her hopes for Dora and her love:

Let us pray that what we may claim is all that we wish to possess. May this Christmas bring you content—'Dreams that have had dreams for fathers live in us,' wishes Yeats—'Dreams lift us to the flowing changing world that the heart longs for'—You will yet reach that. 'Laugh not of dreams but of reality and find your own and your own shall know thy face. This, I believe. In fact it is more than belief with me. it is knowledge.

With much love I am thine.

Emma Scott Raff

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123 N.A., Dora Mavor Moore, interview with Grace Lydiant Shaw, March 6, 1963.
124 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "George Nasmith to Dora Mavor Moore," February 23, 1940.
125 UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor" December 22, 1911."
Female Embodiment: "The Physicals" and "The Expressions"

Elizabeth Pitt's recollection of life at the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression from 1923 to 1925 offers a fascinating student's eye view of the twilight years of Emma Scott Raff Nasmith's principalship. It was a period of critical transition. Pitt's graduation class was the last to be held in the glorious building provided by Timothy Eaton, as the city of Toronto expropriated a portion of the lot and the front of the building in order to accommodate the widening of Bay Street. In September, 1924, Emma Scott Raff Nasmith resigned as principal of the school. In the summer of 1925 the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression closed. After considerable re-organization, the school re-opened as The Margaret Eaton School at the Extension Building at the corner of Yonge Street and McGill. In the fall of 1925, Mr. Bertram Forsyth of Hart House Theatre, University of Toronto, assumed the principalship of the school. Two separate departments were established: The Department of Literature and Dramatic Art with Forsyth as director, and the Department of Physical Education with Mary Hamilton as director. The graduation class of 1925-26 consisted of thirty-nine graduates from the Department of Physical Education and nine from the Department of Literature and Dramatic Art. As a result of low student enrollment, the Department of Literature and Dramatic Art closed. In the early summer of 1926, Mary Hamilton assumed the duties of director. For the next sixteen years the Margaret Eaton School course of study would focus exclusively on physical education.
According to Dorothy Jackson, the students were "happily unaware of executive difficulties"\(^{126}\) as they unfolded during the years leading up to the renovation of the building and the reorganization of the school. An increasing debt, the decline in students studying dramatic art, and Margaret Eaton's disinterest in the pursuit of physical education figured in the final decision to close the school.

During the last two years of the school's operation an unusual blend of philosophies concerning the education of young women was in evidence. Elizabeth Pitt recalled the morning routine which began the school day:

Like most schools of the day you had prayers first. And then you have your roll call. And then she [Scott Raff Nasmith] would tell you about what you would be doing during the day. She would divide 'the expressions' from the so-called 'physicals.'\(^{127}\)

The distinction between students in the Dramatic Art Department and those in the Physical Education Department grew increasingly more apparent. The description of the Dramatic Art Department emphasized the benefits of character development in the areas of self confidence, self control and self knowledge. Regarding Dramatic Art, the Calendar stated:

Experience proves that nothing in all our work so quickly develops ease, naturalness, spontaneity, imagination, clear enunciation and interpretative power and so effectually banishes timidity, affectation, and self-consciousness as the training in Dramatic art. Therefore, while this department may be used as a preparation for the stage, that is not its primary purpose. The value of such education can scarcely be

\(^{126}\)Jackson, *The Three Schools*, p. 23.

\(^{127}\)Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author. April 22, 1994.
over-estimated in its fundamental service to character.\textsuperscript{128} 

The Physical Education Department, on the other hand, was quite career specific. The pragmatic tenor of this Calendar entry sounds as if it may have been written by Mary Hamilton.

A recognition of physical education as an essential part in the curriculum of every school and college, has created a demand for thoroughly qualified teachers. Through the rapidly increasing interest in the establishment of playgrounds and recreation centres throughout the country, the demand for trained instructors and workers exceeds the supply. The aim of this department is to provide young women with a thorough training which will enable them to take advantage of these opportunities for service as teachers and supervisors of physical education in all its phases.\textsuperscript{129}

As a student, Elizabeth Pitt recognized the difference.

Actually, 'the physicals' were taught to be teachers and 'the expressions' were taught to be actors, actresses--or, well, there were no boys in the class at that time--they had a teacher on speech and enunciation and all that sort of thing so that you'd make a good impression in a drawing room.\textsuperscript{130}

Elizabeth Pitt recalled some class experiences at the school which were separate and some which were integrated. Gymnastics, anatomy, dancing and activity classes were for 'the physicals.' She remembered classes of graceful free standing exercises in Danish gymnastics and Swedish gymnastic work on the box, horse, rings, and rope. Actions on the "balance bar" were described as intended for balance, co-ordination and poise. Activities included archery, field hockey and swimming--in the "slimy" tank-- with grey, cotton tanksuits that "covered you all over." She also remembered classes in

\textsuperscript{128}Calendar 1915-1916, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{129}Calendar 1915-1916, p. 15. See, also, Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 12-13.
\textsuperscript{130}Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author, April 22, 1994.
folk and interpretive dance and recalled with some amusement the visit of the Isadora Duncan dancers. She particularly recalls that their behaviour off stage earned them a rather notorious reputation with the students.

Oh yes. We had the Duncan dancers. I'm afraid at the residence they were known as the 'drunken dancers.' It was very difficult to follow their routine. It looked easy, but it was very graceful.131

Pitt also recalled taking some courses with the dramatic arts students, but even this experience appears to have been segregated.

You had a certain area and the expressions had a certain area and all areas had very hard oak benches which were most uncomfortable to sit on. I remember we studied Browning very extensively. I used to be able to quote him quite well. We had a lot of Longfellow, too. As well as Shakespearean plays by the dozen.132

Pitt also recalled the "beady brown eyes" of Charles Sparrow's literature and expression class, and classes in deportment with Emma Scott Raff Nasmith. She recalled.

Mrs. Nasmith—we always used to call her "Auntie Em"—when we weren't talking to her face—she used to teach you how to sit: whether your legs were crossed or not to cross. How you got up without losing your balance. What foot to put forward. You forgot it when the course was over, but it was interesting at the time.133

Education which involved the physical component, whether Delsartean movement training in the dramatic courses or Swedish work in the physical training courses, presented a carefully controlled sensibility around what was appropriate for young

131Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author, April 22, 1994.
132Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author, April 22, 1994.
133Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author, April 22, 1994.
women. Poise, control, grace and elegance were part of this upper class sensibility. Thus, despite the adoption of a practically minded career focus in the physical education stream, all students were encouraged to assume an appropriately female physicality. The concern, in the words of Scott Raff Nasmith, was for expression, not muscle.

In some ways, Emma Scott Raff Nasmith and Mary Hamilton--"Auntie Em" and "Ham" as the students nicknamed them--made an unlikely pair. "Auntie Em" wore "long velvet gowns, painted in Rome" and "Ham" wore "a brown tunic, brown leotards, and brown slipper shoes." In the years that followed, Mary Hamilton's vision of female education would gradually overshadow that of Scott Raff Nasmith's. She would, moreover, take the Margaret Eaton students from the polished oak benches of the Principal's studio to the rough-hewn cabins of the northern hinterland.

* * *

At the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, established in 1907, Emma Scott Raff Nasmith consolidated the work she had begun in the first School of Expression. Located in the magnificent "Greek Temple" financed by the Eaton family, the program emphasized a threefold education of "head, hand and heart." Platonic rationalism, Delsartean movement training and Methodist middle class social activism were present in a form which emphasized literary and dramatic expression. Although the physical training division of the program grew in popularity, Scott Raff Nasmith's classes in physical culture reflected her belief that the
body was a mere instrument of dramatic and spiritual expression. The prevailing sentiment about the body was still, as Vertinsky notes. "the attitude that physical education could be a useful aid in purifying the body as a house to the soul." As such, the body figured as an important site for a middle class agenda for moral and social reform. The major theme of the school reflected a body presentation of "elegance" in conjunction with the literary concern for "expression." As Dora Mavor Moore recalled, her education at the school had been "all a theme of wanting people and children to express themselves." Expression, was of course, designed to reflect the dominant experience of class, race and gender.

At the School of Expression, Dora Mavor realized the hopes that she had aspired to in 1907. She received an education that enabled her to "earn an honest living" and, in times of sorrow, to "pick up a book, perhaps of foreign poems, and be able to appreciate it!"

Perhaps more than any other student, Dora Mavor was personally touched by Emma's driving spirit to make literature a "living art."

Elizabeth Pitt was also shaped by her years at the School of Literature and Expression. After graduation, she worked in Y.W.C.A.'s, the Eaton Girls' Club and camps for all of her life. She chose to defer marriage until she was sixty-six. Although she claimed, "I didn't find the time to marry any earlier." as later accounts will reveal, she actively avoided it.

In her parting tribute to Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, Mary Hamilton, her friend and successor, summarized the unique legacy which she left.

When nearly 40 years ago she became, through the late Mrs. Timothy Eaton’s generosity, the founder and first principal of the school, she immediately put aesthetic and intellectual interests foremost. It would be difficult to overestimate the stimulus she created in these fields among Canadian young people of the tranquil first decade of the century."

In the next years of female education at the Margaret Eaton school, "aesthetic and intellectual interests" would not be foremost. Mary Hamilton's vision would lead the school in quite a different direction, in response to the "call of the Algonquin."

137UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1B, File 12, News, 7, 3, March, 1940.
CHAPTER III

Mary Hamilton and A New Vision
for the School

At camp I remember a beautiful outdoor chapel. The trees met and there were pine cones on the floor. That's where our church services were. But this has always stayed in my mind, because it was so lovely. We had a lovely poem that we would recite every time we went into that area:

Enter the temple beautiful,
The House not made with hands
Rain-washed and green, wind swept and clean
Beneath the blue it stands;

And no cathedral anywhere
Seems so Holy or so fair.

And all the golden glow of it
Holds no haunting fear.
For it is blest and giveth rest
To those who enter here.

Late in the evening, who should know?
But God Himself walks to and fro.¹

Frances McConnell Ziegler, a graduate of the Margaret Eaton School, recalled the prayer which she and her fellow students recited each Sunday while they attended the outside chapel at Camp Tanamakoon. In September, 1925, Mary Hamilton was appointed the

director of the Department of Physical Education at the school. This was also the month when camp counselor training was added to the diploma program, and Margaret Eaton students, for the first time, added a wilderness component to their academic preparation.

Mary Hamilton's vision for female education was both similar and dissimilar from that advocated by her friend and predecessor, Emma Scott Raff Nasmith. They both strongly endorsed tenets of Christian social reform. Although Emma Scott Nasmith held both a concern for "aesthetic and intellectual" education, as well as an eventual shift to a more vocational intent, Hamilton's approach was solidly practical and vocational. She intended young women to acquire physical skills and practical knowledge so that they might enter the field of physical education administration and teaching. In the next phase of the school's history, students would recall memories of tripping songs and Christian hymns under the green canopy of Algonquin's "temple beautiful."

The Transition Years at the School

The years between 1924 and 1927 were years of considerable transition for the school. During this period, the role of the board of directors changed. The original configuration of the board consisted of Timothy Eaton, Margaret Eaton, J. C. Eaton, R. Y. Eaton, Chancellor Burwash, Margaret Burwash, Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, and Harry McGee. Prior to 1924, the board assumed full financial and legal responsibility for the school. After 1924, when events led Margaret Eaton to withdraw her financial support, the board declared that the
school was to become self-governing and that they would no longer be considered financially liable.

The events which led to Margaret Eaton's withdrawal from the school began as a result of the City of Toronto's intent to expand Bay Street. In May of 1924, Margaret Eaton agreed to sell the school building and lot to the City of Toronto. The city expanded the street and then leased the renovated building back to the school. Three months after the renovation, J. J. Vaughan, director of the board, wrote to Margaret Eaton at her summer residence in Muskoka and recommended that the school be closed. He argued that the altered building, with the loss of its entrance way, constituted a sufficient reason to justify closure.

If you do not wish the School continued, considering the capital outlay and the yearly loss as mentioned, the School might be honorably discontinued at the end of the year. The reason might be that the city has expropriated the property, and the building left behind is entirely unsuitable for the purposes on account of the noise from the street cars and the poor entrance owing to the cutting off of the front of the building to widen the street.

After receiving this letter, Margaret Eaton responded to J. J. Vaughan, apparently indicating that her childhood dream had abruptly ended.

In answer to your letter of August 26th in which you state the school building is no longer suitable to carry on the work, I wish to say I would not under any consideration be responsible for a new school. So far as I am concerned

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4AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Eaton," August 26, 1924.
it may be discontinued at the end of the year.\(^5\)

Emma Scott Raff Nasmith did not agree that the expropriation and renovation of the school building justified closure. She did not believe that this was an "honorable" way for the school to end. On September 12, 1924, Emma Scott Raff tendered her resignation.

My agreement with the late Mr. Timothy has been faithfully honored during the past seventeen years by the Board of Directors. I consider the present attitude to be a breach of faith, and so, I have no alternative but to tender my resignation.\(^6\)

The events which precipitated this crisis, and her resignation, were primarily financial. Scott Raff Nasmith was angry with the board. Two weeks prior to her resignation, she had received a letter from R. Y. Eaton which criticized her financial management of the school. R. Y. Eaton had commented.

Under your management the School has shown a loss over a period of years and you offer no prospect of any other result. I tried to hint that to you before, concluding that if the School could not pay its way, its management might be tried in other hands.\(^7\)

In her letter of resignation, Scott Raff Nasmith referred to this criticism as a "breach of faith" and reminded the board that she had "faithfully honoured" her agreement with Timothy Eaton. She reminded them of the words Timothy Eaton had spoken to her upon handing her the keys to the new building in 1907. At that time, he had said, "Promise me that you will stay with this school until you

\(^5\)AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "Mrs. Eaton to J.J. Vaughan," August 28, 1924.
\(^6\)AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "Mrs Nasmith to J.J. Vaughan," September 12, 1924.
\(^7\)AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "R.Y. Eaton to Mrs. Nasmith," August 27, 1924.
die."8 In Scott Raff Nasmith's mind, she had remained faithful to the school and to her promise. Indicative of her anger, a telling clause was added to the Calendar of 1924-1925. It read, "Just what the school stands for, what it aims to do and what it is doing, only those who are associated with it as teachers and pupils can know."9 Clearly, Emma Scott Raff Nasmith's message was directed at Margaret Eaton and the members of the board.

Although the City of Toronto's decision to expand Bay Street initiated the crisis in the spring of 1924, the fundamental issue which lay at the root of the board's intent to close the school was financial. Although each year the school's debt had increased, the years 1920, 1922, 1925 and 1926 were the most critical, increasing by $7,000.00, $6,000.00, $8,000.00 and over $15,000.00.10 Scott Raff Nasmith and the directors were certainly aware of these difficulties. In her annual reports in earlier years, Emma Scott Raff had constantly applauded Margaret Eaton's "patronage and care"11 in paying the school's debt, and consistently petitioned her to continue to do so each year.12 Indeed, she probably tired of these annual pleadings. Once, in 1916, she had drafted a letter of resignation to the board. In this letter she expressed her own insecurity on matters of finance and stated that she believed a "new and more competent

8 See, footnote 1, Chapter II.
9 Calendar 1924-1925, p. 12.
12 AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff," November 4, 1918.
head"¹³ might manage the school more profitably. This letter however, remained undelivered. She probably reconsidered sending it after recalling her promise to Timothy Eaton.

These years of financial debt also had the effect of stimulating discussion around the issue of a possible amalgamation of the school with the University of Toronto. As early as 1908 the board of the school had raised this option, but no initiative was taken.¹⁴ Nathanael Burwash had tried to pursue the proposal again in 1915, arguing that the work of the school was too important to be exclusively tied to either Margaret Eaton or Emma Scott Raff. He believed that a long term plan was required to ensure the school's "maintenance in perpetuity."¹⁵ This suggestion, however, was also not pursued. In 1924 the idea of affiliation was taken up by R. Y. Eaton, who approached W. H. Greaves—Emma Scott Raff's replacement at Victoria—to propose a plan. Greaves envisioned the creation of three departments: Vocal Expression and Public Speaking; Dramatic Art; and Physical Education. The proposed cost of this plan, however, at an estimated $290,000.00, was beyond the realm of what R. Y. Eaton considered plausible. Further complications stemmed from the fact that the school did not require high school matriculation for all of its students, and that only one member of the faculty held a university degree. On one hand, the board worried that the University of Toronto might question the academic legitimacy of the school. Yet on

¹³Scott Raff wrote a letter which was not sent, tendering her resignation on February 23, 1916. AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Emma Nasmith to Mrs. Eaton, the President and Directors of the Margaret Eaton School," February 23, 1916.
¹⁴VUA-Box 9, File 135, "Minutes of the Director's Meeting," October 6, 1908, Personal Papers of Nathanael Burwash.
¹⁵AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Emma Scott Raff to Mr. Eaton," November 22, 1915.
the other, they did not wish to increase entrance requirements for fear that this might adversely influence the "popular appeal"\textsuperscript{16} of the school.

Just three months after Margaret Eaton responded from Muskoka that she would not, under any circumstances, form a new school, Sir Robert Falconer forwarded yet another affiliation proposal. Falconer suggested that a Department of Public Speech be created and affiliated with the University of Toronto along a similar model to that adopted by the Conservatory of Music. He proposed that a new building be constructed and that it be called the Margaret Eaton School of Expression. Although the Margaret Eaton Board agreed with the proposal, and was willing to offer financial assistance for the project, Falconer ultimately failed to convince the University of Toronto's Board. R. P. Bowles reported to R. Y. Eaton that the University of Toronto Board of Directors feared the "financial obligations" of such a project which might eventually "devolve upon them."\textsuperscript{17}

Yet another issue which influenced the history of the school between 1924 and 1926 was the recognition that physical culture was an area of increasing popularity. Although a proposal to increase student enrollment in this area had been discussed as early as 1915, Scott Raff reported to the board that Margaret Eaton did not approve of the idea.\textsuperscript{18} In the same year, Nathanael Burwash recognized the long term benefit of placing a "special emphasis on physical

\textsuperscript{16}AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "J.J. Vaughan to R.Y. Eaton," November 11, 1924.
\textsuperscript{17}AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "R.P. Bowles to R.Y. Eaton," March 17, 1925.
\textsuperscript{18}AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Emma Scott Raff to Mr. Eaton," November 22, 1915.
education." yet his suggestions were also not pursued. In 1925, a representative of the Alumnae Association met with J. J. Vaughan, and argued that the future of the school lay in the direction of an exclusive concentration in physical education. The board ultimately recognized this trend when they noted that student fees in the Department of Physical Education--unlike the Department of Dramatic Art--actually exceeded salary expenditure. By this time, however, Margaret Eaton had withdrawn from the affairs of the school, and it was clear that any reorganization for the future must entail an expansion of the Department of Physical Education.

Shortly after Scott Raff Nasmith resigned in September of 1924, Charles Sparrow, formerly in the Department of Dramatic Art, was appointed to replace her as principal. Despite the fact that Charlotte Ross had taught at the school for sixteen years and was the only female instructor who held a university degree, Ross was nevertheless passed over for Sparrow.

In December of 1924, the final dramatic play to be staged at the Greek Temple was performed in honour of Scott Raff Nasmith's departure. As Murray suggests, the theme of the play, "When Half Gods Go," could not have been more appropriate. It was a story

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19AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "N. Burwash to Mr. Eaton," November 30, 1915.
20AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "Frances Pearch, Corresponding Secretary of the Margaret Eaton Alumnae Association, to Mr. Vaughan," April 30, 1925.
21Faculty salaries totalled $13,009.00 and student fees were $13,271.00. See, AO-EC, Series 127, Volume 694, "1925-1941," p. 34.
22Charlotte Ross was a graduate of University College and the Sorbonne. She was the founder of the Women's University Club and the Women's Art Association. See, H. Murray, "Making the Modern: Twenty-Five Years of the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression," Essays in Theatre, Vol. 10, 1 (November, 1991), p. 55.
about the transition from one era to the next: a passage from the mythic era of Greek goddess Diana to the new age heralded in the Bethlehem manger. In light of the transition at the school, as the old building was soon to be vacated and Scott Raff Nasmith ended her term as principal, one wonders if Diana was cast after the likeness of Emma Scott Raff Nasmith—the "half God" of literature and dramatic art herself—who had walked the halls of the "Greek Temple" in her flowing gowns of velvet.

A month after this farewell performance for Scott Raff, Charles Sparrow resigned as director of the school.24 The board subsequently appointed Charlotte Ross as the "acting principal." but only until the end of the academic term.25 As the term drew to an end, Emma Scott Raff's anger erupted once again. In an effort to appease her, the board offered her the use of the school's furniture and a sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, in the event that she wanted to open another school and "do similar work under another name."26 Evidently, the board had already decided, by April of 1924, that the school would no longer continue. Infuriated, Scott Raff Nasmith rejected their offer. In her letter to the board, she clarified that her resignation had been an act of protest, and further underscored her belief that all the members of the board, especially Margaret Eaton, were guilty of betrayal.

According to my understanding no one of the name of Eaton, not even Mr. Timothy Eaton's wife, has the right to

25AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "J.J. Vaughan to Mr. R.Y. Eaton," December 13, 1924.
26AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8, "J.J. Vaughan to Mrs. Nasmith," April 20, 1925.
close the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression, the school that Timothy Eaton built. That is why I left my work until you, too, would see that what had been done was not right. His was the hand that signed the charter for a School of Art and Learning for women and children.

He had the vision of this School. He was the voice that asked me if I would give my life to the upbuilding of such a School. Timothy Eaton never started anything to let it die and he absolutely refused to believe in Divorce. I remember as if it were yesterday, when the name of the New School was being discussed I suggested that Margaret Eaton be added to the School of Expression. He said, 'Mother will like that.'

Ours is the tryst! We must all keep faith with Timothy Eaton the founder of all your fortunes. No other school makes any appeal to me.\textsuperscript{27}

Despite Scott Raff Nasmith's fury, in the early summer of 1925 the Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression was closed. Perhaps fearful of adverse public response, and sensitive to the efforts of the Alumnae Association, the board decided to re-open the school in the fall of 1925. The former building was vacated and all operations were moved to the Extension Building on the corner of Yonge and McGill. This site had been used since 1918 by the Physical Education Department of the school. These facilities were renovated and a new theatre, named the Margaret Eaton Hall, was added.\textsuperscript{28}

Although Margaret Eaton wished nothing more to do with a school devoted to physical education, the school's name changed from The Margaret Eaton School of Literature and Expression to The Margaret Eaton School. The former board was reorganized and included Margaret Eaton, Chancellor R. P. Bowles, J. Burnside, H. McGee, R. Y.

\textsuperscript{27}AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "Emma Scott Nasmith to Mr. J.J. Vaughan," April 23, 1925.
\textsuperscript{28}Jackson, \textit{The Three Schools} (Toronto: T. Eaton Company, 1953), p. 22.
Eaton, J. J. Vaughan, and Mrs. J. A. Roberts. In a most unusual and unclear arrangement, the board ceased to function as a financial or governing body. Their last recorded meeting was held on December 23, 1925.\textsuperscript{29} Despite this fact, the names of R. Y. Eaton and J. J. Vaughan continued to figure in the school’s history. It would appear that control of the school passed from the hands of Margaret Eaton into the hands of the Eaton Company executives.

In the structural reorganization of the school, two separate departments were established, with Bertram Forsyth as director of the Department of Literature and Dramatic Art, and Mary Hamilton as director of the Department of Physical Education. Charlotte Ross was once again passed over for the position of principal in favour of Bertram Forsyth. Perhaps Ross’s strong advocacy for co-educational access for women at the University of Toronto, together with the challenge she mounted to defeat the Wrong Committee’s recommendations, were actions which had invoked the Board’s disapproval. Emma Scott Raff Nasmith was no longer a member of the school that she had begun.

Ironically, the choice of Bertram Forsyth as the school’s principal also eventually proved to be problematic for the board. Forsyth came to the school from his former position as director of Hart House Theatre. In the early 1920’s, according to Scott, Hart House was at the center of a power struggle between three different theatrical interests: the Player’s Club, who represented amateur student interests; the Hart House Players, who constituted the former

\textsuperscript{29}AA-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8, “Margaret Eaton School—Surrender of Charter.”
"professional gentlemen" of the Arts and Letters Club: and the elite group of supporters who had financed the building of the theatre. When the board from The Margaret Eaton School offered Forsyth the position of school principal and director of the Department of Dramatic Art. Forsyth took the opportunity to extricate himself from an increasingly complicated political situation. He probably hoped to establish the Player's Club as an independent community theatre with its headquarters at the Margaret Eaton School.30 Evidently, however, the board of directors for the Margaret Eaton School did not share this vision for their school. After the release of the 1925 school Calendar, a note from R. Y. Eaton confirmed the board's concern that Forsyth was leading the school back into a dramatic arts direction. R. Y. Eaton disapproved of the curricular emphasis stated in the Calendar and commented,

The fact is there is so much prominence given to theatre in this syllabus that I begin to think that the theatre is an end of his work rather than a means to an end. If so, I'd rather not start.31

In May of 1926, with only nine first year students registered in the Department of Literature and Dramatic Art compared to thirty-nine in the Department of Physical Education, the Department of Literature and Dramatic Art was discontinued.32 The board released Bertram Forsyth from his position as director of this department and as principal of the school. Forsyth traveled to New York in search of employment, but after nearly a year without work, was found dead

31 AO-EC, Series 162, Box 24, "R.Y Eaton to Mr. Lewis, confidential," n.d.
32 Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 23.
of gas asphyxiation in his apartment. A suicide note to his wife and son indicated that he had taken his own life. With reference to this tragic incident, Dorothy Jackson commented. "The death of Mr. Bertram Forsyth, in the early summer of 1926, came as a shock to his many friends."34

Mary Hamilton, the director of the Department of Physical Education, was the candidate to whom the board ultimately turned. Ironically, she saw herself as one who was uncomfortable with leadership, public speaking and social visibility. As Elizabeth Wardley Raymer observed, "Miss Hamilton was not a person who expressed her thoughts in words. She spoke in public only when there was no way to avoid doing so."36 Nevertheless, by the time Hamilton was named the school's new principal in September of 1926, she had already taken significant steps to change the direction of the Department of Physical Education.

Mary Hamilton: Early Education

For over thirty-five years Mary Hamilton taught at the Margaret Eaton School, and for twenty-eight years she owned and operated a girls' camp in northern Ontario. These events connected her life to other women of similar interest, and especially to a circle of early pioneers who were committed to the development of

33 "Bertram Forsyth Takes Own Life," Mail and Empire, Sept. 17, 1927.
34 Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 223.
camping in Canada. It is here that important traces of her life may be found.

Mary Hamilton was born in Fergus, Ontario, and baptized in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in 1883. Her grandfather, George Colquhoun Hamilton, was one of the original settlers of Fergus who emigrated from Scotland in 1834. George Hamilton, a "strong Conservative" and ardent member of the Presbyterian Church, also served as a lieutenant colonel in the militia.37 Mary Hamilton's father, Thomas, was born on the family homestead in Fergus and following an education in Edinburgh, returned home to enter the field of business. He was also a Conservative and a long-serving member of the Presbyterian Church.38

Mary S. Edgar, a life-long friend of Mary Hamilton's and a colleague in the camping movement, commented on Hamilton's early childhood. She described her as a woman of tremendous humility and exacting standards. As Edgar observed, "No one with such an enviable record could possess a greater sense of humility. That characteristic is one which has never ceased to impress her co-workers and friends."39 Offering a glimpse into Mary Hamilton's childhood, she noted that there was a family tradition of sportsmanship. Edgar observed.

Her father was an expert curler and went to Scotland with the

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38 Thomas Hamilton was President and Secretary Treasurer of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church for sixteen years. See, County of Wellington, *Historical Atlas of Wellington County* (Historical Atlas Publishing Co., 1906), "George Hamilton Colquhoun."
first team of curlers to represent Canada. As a child and teenager, Mary loved horses and rode at the country fairs. Typical of her, however, was the remark: 'If there were three of us, I always came third!'\textsuperscript{40}

This sense of humility and the corresponding recognition of her own personal limitations became a philosophy which Hamilton applied as a strategy of personal improvement.

I always thought that it was through my own disabilities that I made my greatest contribution. I was inarticulate, so I saw to it that those who had similar inhibitions were drawn out and given a chance to express themselves. I was inferior, and knew how that thought might cripple a child, did we not help her to take herself in hand at an early age. I was not good at any activity, but I could teach, and had a vision of what could be done for children through camping; also, I had a terrific capacity for hard work. I was not keen on taking leadership, so, of necessity, many leaders were developed.\textsuperscript{41}

According to Don Burry, Mary Hamilton received a diploma in physical education.\textsuperscript{42} Mary Barker confirmed that she was a graduate of The Sargent School, in Boston.\textsuperscript{43} After graduation, Hamilton accepted a teaching position at the Y.W.C.A. in Kingston, and was hired by Scott Raff to assist in the teaching of physical training for the students of Victoria.\textsuperscript{44} During this period, she roomed at Annesley Hall with Emma Scott Raff. While at the School of Expression, she also taught physical education—presumably on a

\textsuperscript{40}Edgar, "Among Ourselves" p. 17.
\textsuperscript{41}Edgar, "Among Ourselves" p. 18.
\textsuperscript{42}Don Burry, "The Early Pioneers of the Camping Movement in Ontario" in Bruce W. Hodgins and Bernadine Dodge, eds., Using Wilderness: Essays on the Evolution of Youth Camping in Ontario (Peterborough: Trent University, 1992), p. 82.
\textsuperscript{43}Mary Barker, correspondence with the author, August 29, 1996.
\textsuperscript{44}VUA, 90.064, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Regarding Women's Use of the Gymnasium," Winter, 1909. Scott Raff reported that Mary Hamilton was hired, "last of the Y.W.C.A. in Kingston."
contract position—at the private girls' schools of Branksome Hall and Bishop Strachan in Toronto. In her book, *Call of the Algonquin*, which described the history of the camp she founded, Hamilton recalled that she, "had been living in school and college residences all [her] teaching days." After boarding at Annesley Hall, Hamilton moved to Dundonald House when it was purchased by Margaret Eaton as the school residence in 1920.

Emma Scott Raff described Mary Hamilton as "a most competent instructor" and "a gentlewoman who knew her work and how to teach it." Hamilton began her work at the school teaching gymnastics, games, and social dance. Personal correspondences from Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor during these early years indicate that they were all very close friends. On one occasion, Emma described the "tearful trio" of Mary Hamilton, Dora Mavor and her young daughter Dorothy standing at Parkdale Station bidding her farewell. In yet another letter, Emma referred to Mary and Dora as "My darling children," and advised them, "take care of yourselves and know that I love you both very very truly." Mary and Emma often spent time together, driving into the countryside on their free time. "far from the haunts of men." and Mary's friendship with Dora continued long after Emma's death. For twenty

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47VUA, 90.064, Box 3, File 19, "Director of Physical Education, Reports Regarding Women's Use of the Gymnasium," March 11, 1911.
49UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," n.d.
50UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," June 10, 1913.
51UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 60, "Emma Scott Raff to Dora Mavor," October 24, 1912.
years Mary corresponded with Dora, encouraging her to summer at Camp Tanamakoon and teach classes in drama and direct plays in the "little theatre in the wild woods."\textsuperscript{52}

Throughout her professional career Mary Hamilton tried to stay current with the latest trends in the field of physical education. She felt this burden of responsibility particularly acutely when she was appointed Director of the Physical Education Department of the School.

As Director of the Department, I had spent my vacations each year at summer schools in quest of the latest trends. If it was not Harvard, it was Chataqua or New York, or perhaps England at Stratford or Cheltenham, where I found Cecil Sharp and his work on the English Folk Dance particularly fascinating.\textsuperscript{53}

On one of these summer vacations, Hamilton attended the Sargent School's summer camp near Boston. It was here that she first recognized that camping was a rich and effective socializing experience for young girls.\textsuperscript{54} She also realized that the popularity of the camping movement would necessitate a need for counselor training. She noted,

It was becoming increasingly evident at the Physical Education Conferences in the United States that summer camps had come to stay and that schools of Physical Education would have their part to play in the training of counselors."\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{52}UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 29, "Mary Hamilton to Dora Mavor Moore," July 14, 1941; "Mary Hamilton to Dora Mavor Moore," July 9, 1948; "Mary Hamilton to Dora Mavor Moore," August 11, 1948; "Dora Mavor Moore to Mary Hamilton," December 29, 1952; "Mary Hamilton to Dora Mavor Moore," May 1, 1953.

\textsuperscript{53}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{54}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{55}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 6.
Mary Hamilton's educational vision, both within the parameters of the Margaret Eaton School and through her efforts to establish a camp for girls, was focused to train young women for responsible citizenship and service within the field of physical education. "Eager hands and sturdy hearts"\textsuperscript{56} characterized her educational vision.

Hamilton and the Oxford Group Movement

A particularly important aspect of Mary Hamilton's educational vision stemmed from her strong religious beliefs and her involvement in a Protestant evangelical movement known as the Oxford Group. In light of her staunch middle class Presbyterian heritage, it is perhaps not surprising that she adopted the moral discourse of Christian reform.

The Oxford Group was a Christian, Protestant and evangelical religious movement founded by F. N. C. Buchman (1878-1961) in the 1920's. The name of the movement was taken from Oxford University, where Buchman successfully convinced a number of undergraduates and seniors to first form an evangelical association.\textsuperscript{57}

Frank Buchman, himself an American Lutheran minister, dedicated his life to the promotion of what he considered to be a revitalized form of Christianity.\textsuperscript{58} He, in turn, had been influenced by

\textsuperscript{56}This line was part of a camp song composed by the campers of Tanamakoon. See, Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{57}The Oxford Group was first identified as "The Oxford Group" when Buchmann visited South Africa in 1929. This name, despite the protest of Oxford University, was formally incorporated in 1939. See, F. L. Cross, \textit{The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 1019.

\textsuperscript{58}In 1905 Buchmann established the first Lutheran hospice for young men in a poor parish in Philadelphia. In 1908, he left the parish due to a financial disagreement with the trustees. See, Walter Houston Clark, \textit{The Oxford Group: Its History and Significance} (New York: Bookman Associates, 1951), p. 38.
J. R. Mott whom he met at an evangelical conference in Keswick, England, in 1908. A Methodist minister who was involved in the work of the Y.M.C.A. Mott convinced the latter to take up the cause of evangelistic work among university students, and for most of his ministry Buchman focused on college campuses where he targeted male undergraduates. Buchman described the tenets of the Oxford Group:

The Oxford Group is a Christian revolution whose concern is vital Christianity. Its aim is a new social order under the dictatorship of the Spirit of God, making for better human relationships, for unselfish co-operation, for cleaner business, for cleaner politics, for the elimination of political, industrial and racial antagonisms.

Despite his own personal conversion through the words of a "woman preacher," Buchman's fundamentalist beliefs were patriarchal and autocratic. His primary objective was to convert "key men" to the faith through locally organized "house parties:" these men would subsequently convert others. As Clark observes, Buchman did not show any interest in the conversion of female students until the 1920's, and his early preaching reflected the principle of "men's work for men and women's work for women." Indeed, Buchman's

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59 J.R. Mott was the student secretary of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. (1888), Secretary General of the World Student Christian Federation, and in 1901 became the assistant general secretary of the Y.M.C.A. See, The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 945.
62 Clark, The Oxford Group, p. 57 and p. 106.
last words, at the hour of his death, were "I want to see the world
governed by men, governed by God."

Frank Buchman traveled widely. He visited India, China, South
Africa and toured Canada in 1932, 1933 and 1934. Muriel Nelles
Whyte, a graduate of the school and a camp counselor for Hamilton,
first recalled hearing Buchman's message in 1934 when she was a
teenager and he came to speak at the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa. In
1938, building on the fears of world military rearmament, he
popularized the term "moral rearmament" and called for a spiritual
revitalization among the Christian democracies of the world. Fanning
the fears of a world on the brink of war, Buchman promised peace.
He hoped that Christian pacifist nations would unite and form an
impenetrable alliance. In a 1938 speech in London, he described his
vision of moral rearmament:

The world's condition cannot but cause disquiet and anxiety.
Hostility piles up between nation and nation, labor and
capital, class and class. The cost of bitterness and fear mounts
daily. Friction and frustration are undermining our homes...
The remedy may lie in a return to those simple home truths
that some of us learned at our mother's knee—and which
many of us have forgotten and neglected—honesty, purity,
unselfishness and love. The crisis is fundamentally a moral
one. The nations must re-arm morally.

As a Christian fundamentalist and politically right wing
movement, the Oxford Group faced criticism from a number of areas.
Concerns ranged from allegations of inappropriate campus

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63Peter Howard, Frank Buchman's Secret (London: William Heinemann Ltd.,
65Buchman, Remaking the World, p. 85.
conversion techniques\textsuperscript{66} to accusations of pro-Fascism.\textsuperscript{67} The movement, as Clark asserts, was also "primarily for the upper classes."\textsuperscript{68}

The Oxford Group's social agenda appealed to those within the Protestant Christian tradition who valued evangelism, personal conversion and narrowly defined standards of moral behavior. For Mary Hamilton, the Oxford Group's emphasis on small group interaction, personal discipline and the "four absolutes" of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love were compatible with her Presbyterian heritage and her belief that young women needed an exacting ethical standard by which to live. As Muriel Nelles Whyte observed, "it gave some life direction."\textsuperscript{69}

Mary Hamilton was known for her clear religious beliefs. Patty Sterne Sanders, whose mother was born in Hamilton's home of Fergus, commented that she was allowed to attend the school because her mother knew of Mary Hamilton's strong church connection. She commented, "Certainly if it was Mary Hamilton's school, my mother would have said, 'that's the place to go.' She was a

\textsuperscript{66}In 1926 President Hibben of Princeton University initiated an investigation into the evangelical activities of the Philadelphian Society, Princeton's Christian student society, which was influenced by Buchmanism. Allegations were raised that his evangelical techniques were too aggressive, compromising student privacy. Buchmanites were noted for their conversion tactics of trying to achieve Christian conversion through the forced admission of sexual guilt. See, Clark, \textit{The Oxford Group}, pp. 67-74.

\textsuperscript{67}In 1936 Buchman commented, "I thank heaven for a man like Adolf Hitler, who built a front line defense against the Anti-Christ of Communism. Think what it would mean to the world if Hitler surrendered to the control of God. Or Moussolini. Or any dictator. Through such a man God could control a nation overnight and solve every last bewildering problem." See Clark, \textit{The Oxford Group}, p. 77.

\textsuperscript{68}Clark, \textit{The Oxford Group}, p. 84.

\textsuperscript{69}Muriel Nelles Whyte, interview with the author, May 26, 1994.
fine church going person." Elizabeth Wardly Raymer, a friend of many years and long serving member of the school's faculty, also recalled Hamilton's clear convictions.

From the Margaret Eaton School students she demanded perfection and excused no one from the attempt to achieve it. This was coupled with a very strong sense of right and wrong. Students, teachers, counselors and campers all remember encounters with these compelling elements of Miss Hamilton's personality.71

Muriel Nelles Whyte recalled her first encounter with Mary Hamilton at an Oxford Group meeting in Niagara Falls in 1935.

Mary Hamilton, the leader of Tanamakoon, was one very strong leader in the movement. She was at this Niagara Falls house party. And the nurse [from Camp Tanamakoon] and I went for a walk and I heard all about the camp. And so at dinnertime I was introduced to Mary Hamilton. The first thing she said--she was a very direct person--was, 'I hear you want to come to camp.'72

Mary Hamilton encouraged Muriel Nelles Whyte to attend Camp Tanamakoon, apply for a scholarship and to enrol in the Margaret Eaton School. She followed this advice and graduated from the school in 1938. Nelles Whyte recalled the influence of the Oxford Group philosophy on the camp:

It really was based on the Oxford Group Movement and she was very glad to have somebody who had experience with it on the staff. I remember giving sermons in the council ring where we held Sunday service every Sunday morning a couple of times during the year.73

70 Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, July 12, 1991.
73 Muriel Nelles Whyte, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
Despite Hamilton's participation in the Oxford Group movement, however, she was aware of the potential dangers of the approach. Certain conversion strategies could compromise privacy and divide a group into potentially divisive cliques. Nelles Whyte cautioned.

I think the weakness [of the Oxford Group] was that some people went too far in their witnessing and told too personal things and it was part of the reason why it may not have continued.74

At Camp Tanamakoon, Mary Hamilton lived the tenets of the Oxford Group's philosophy, but was careful not to endorse the movement too publicly. Students were aware that she spent time in private prayer and discussion with other counselors who shared these beliefs, but she did this as unobtrusively as possible.75 Mary Hamilton was known to be "a very private person"76 by her students and friends. According to Elizabeth Wardly Raymer, "It was not by words but by some kind of spiritual osmosis that Miss Hamilton's influence was so strongly felt and so widely communicated."77

"Spiritual osmosis" suggests that Hamilton tried to create an atmosphere of moral integrity in the camp and at the school. In her text, Call of The Algonquin. A Biography of a Summer Camp Hamilton did not refer to the Oxford Group at all. Commenting on this absence in the book, Muriel Nelles Whyte observed.

75Several Margaret Eaton graduates referred to their knowledge that Mary Hamilton met with other students and counselors for prayer and discussion. Interviews with Winn MacLennan Johnston, Joan Brown Hillary, Margaret Davison Lathrop and Frances McConnell Ziegler.
76Margaret Eaton School graduates used the term "shy" and "rather quiet and a very private person" to describe Mary Hamilton's personality. See Winn MacLennan Johnston, interview with the author, March 27, 1994 and Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
No. I think that she wouldn't want to influence any counselors or campers with too much of it. It was sort of a guide to a pattern for a good useful life. Largely based on helping other people.78

"An Idea Takes Root"79 The Establishment of Camp Tanamakoon and Counselor Training

In August of 1924--the same month that Margaret Eaton disavowed herself from the school and Emma Scott Nasmith resigned--Mary Hamilton and a student colleague set off into the wilderness north of Toronto, "to explore the possibilities of Algonquin."80 During the year of the school's administrative chaos and reorganization between August 1924 and September 1926, Mary Hamilton had quietly and persistently set her mind to the pursuit of an idea which she believed would better equip her students to meet the modern demands of the era.

Gradually I began to realize the advantage it would be to our students of Physical Education if a camp were made available to them for the month of September, for already they were taking their place as counselors in the existing organizational and private camps with insufficient background. To have a place where they could go for counselor training, learn the theory of camping skills and put it into practice on the spot, seemed not only right but necessary.81

Mary Hamilton's determination to establish a camp as a site for counselor training was ambitious, given her limited resources and expertise. The idea of counselor training was entirely novel and the

79 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 3.
80 Hamilton, Call of The Algonquin, p. 7.
81 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 6.
establishment of a girls' camp was part of the first pioneering efforts in the province to establish camping as a legitimate activity for girls.

In 1924 camps for girls were extremely rare. Camping for boys, on the other hand, had a long tradition within church outreach programs. Boys' camps were designed to build physical and moral character, prevent delinquency and socialize boys into the values of good citizenship. The earliest boys' camp in Canada was established in 1889, with the pioneer work of Fraser Marshall in Nova Scotia under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. In the years leading up to World War I, the number of interdenominational church camps for boys in Ontario increased. In 1920 the Boys' Work Board was established. This organization was a cooperative alliance which coordinated the efforts of a number of boys' work initiatives such as the Boys' Brigade. Scouts. Boys' Clubs. Big Brother. Y.M.C.A.. Tuxis Boys and Trail Rangers. Camping for girls, however, was an idea which took much longer to encourage. As one commentator noted.

To understand the camp situation in the first two decades of this century, one had only to recall the fact that camps were for boys not girls—that anyone under thirteen was considered too young—that co-ed camps were unheard of. One had to be a rugged individualist to direct a camp in those days, for there was little assistance from the outside.

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83According to Plewman, ("Church Camping in Ontario," p. 4) these church camps were short lived, lasting only two or three years.
84Plewman, "Church Camping in Ontario," p. 5.
Charles Plewman, who was involved in the formation of the Boys' Work Board, also noted that camping for girls in this period was considered extremely rare.

Camping in these early days was restricted to boys, and then only to boys over twelve years of age. As for girls, no one in their right senses would have thought of asking a girl to rough it in the out-of-doors; that would not have been becoming to a young lady in the Victorian era.  

Prior to the establishment of Mary Hamilton's camp in 1924, there appeared to be only a few other privately owned camps for girls in Ontario. One of them was begun by the "adventurous" Fannie L. Case of Rochester, New York, who founded Northway Lodge on Cache Lake. The other girls' camp, Glen Bernard, was established by Mary S. Edgar at Sundridge, Ontario. By the age of fourteen, Mary Edgar knew that she was not destined for conformity. She recalled, "One thing is for certain, I won't be a dressmaker."  

As Mary Hamilton paddled past Taylor Statten's Camp for boys on Canoe Lake during the summer of 1924, she noted that a new camp had just been completed on the west side of the lake--Camp Wapomeo. This new camp was to be the "sister camp" to the boys' camp (Ahmek) and was about to open for its first season. As Adele Statten Ebbs later recalled, her father had nearly sent her to Mary Edgar's camp, but reconsidered the idea and thought, "If Mary Edgar

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could start a girls' camp. why shouldn't we?" 89 Mary Hamilton proceeded from Canoe Lake via portage to Smoke Lake, Koochie Lake, Little Island Lake to White's Lake--later renamed Lake Tanamakoon. There they pitched her tent and staked out a site for the main lodge. She and Nora McClennan imagined buildings, a riding ring, a playing field and a waterfront area. 90 She returned to Toronto, applied for a lease for five acres of land, and with a mere $300.00 of her own funds formed a private company in order to raise funds for Tanamakoon.

As two of the first pioneers in field camping for girls in Ontario, Mary Hamilton and Mary Edgar became good friends. Ferna G. Halliday became a third member of their group.

In 1922 Ferna Halliday, a graduate of Queen's University, established a camp for girls with her associate, Mabel Jamieson, at Lac Ouareau in the Laurentian Mountains of Quebec. She co-directed this camp with Jamieson until 1925. and then set off to establish her own camp, Camp Oconto, near Kingston. 91 Halliday was also considered one of the early pioneers of camping for girls. A friend, recalling her independent spirit, noted how inappropriate it was for a woman to enter the field of camping during this time.

It wasn't right for a lady to start out on her own without a husband or some 'man' to help her make decisions.

89 Ebbs, "Carrying the Torch for Camping," p. 38. Adele Statten Ebbs later became the director of Camp Wapomeo, and took the early minutes of the meetings that were attended by Mary Hamilton, Mary Edgar, Ferna Halliday, A.L. Cochrane, Ernest Chapman and Taylor Statten. See, Palm, Legacy to a Camper, p. 38.

90 Hamilton referred to "the site of the old lumber camp which had been active thirty years before" as a comparatively level area for a riding ring and a play field. See, Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 9.

91 Burry, "Early Pioneers," p. 84.
like where to go, and so on. But not Miss Halliday: she seemed to know exactly what she wanted.\textsuperscript{92}

Mary Hamilton, Mary Edgar and Ferna Halliday joined with A. L. Cochrane, Earnest Chapman and Taylor Statten to form a small group of private camp directors interested in the promotion of camping in Ontario. Cochrane, Chapman and Statten were three of the early camp directors for boys in the province. A. L. Cochrane established Camp Temagami in 1900. This was the first private camp for boys in Ontario. His camp was followed by Ernest Chapman, who established Camp Kagawong in 1908. Taylor Statten, the first president of the Canadian Camping Association and noted for his work in Y.M.C.A. boys' work, established Camp Ahmek in 1921. Camp Ahmek originally started as a result of a training session offered for religious leaders and camp directors under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. in 1920. This session was so successful that the leaders returned the next summer with their sons. Although Statten's boys' camp grew out of the initiative for leadership training,\textsuperscript{93} years later he acknowledged that the trend toward formal counselor training was initially pioneered by a woman. Although he did not acknowledge Mary Hamilton specifically, he endorsed the importance of formal counselor preparation and observed, "Girls camps started it. Now college men are counselors and counselors are trained for two years."\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{92}J. Labbett, cited in Burry, "The Early Pioneers of the Camping Movement in Ontario," in Hodgins and Dodge (eds.), \textit{Using Wilderness}, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{93}TA-88-006-3/7, author unknown, "Interview with Adede Statten Ebbs," p. 7.
\textsuperscript{94}Taylor Statten, "Trends in Canadian Camping", p. 2. In files given to author by Muriel Nelles Whyte. Lecture given at the Ontario Camping Association Counsellor Training Course at the Margaret Eaton School, March 13, 1940.
Adele Statten Ebbs was present as a young girl when these six directors met to discuss camping issues. She recalled that they met informally at each other's homes and attributed the beginning of the Ontario Camping Association to the efforts of this group: "Edgar, Hamilton, Halliday, Chapman, Cochrane and Statten: those six."  

Mary Hamilton also recalled these early meetings and commented.

Those early gatherings at which we recounted our trials and errors were among the most hilarious evenings I have ever spent, and through the years a firm bond of friendship grew and still holds.  

Adele Statten Ebbs also noted, however, that this group of six were sometimes careful about what they discussed with one another. She observed, "Nobody ever knew what anybody paid their staff, for instance." Yet another description of these meetings, probably from a source who knew these individuals quite well, offered this character portrait of each of the members:

Cochrane the traditionalist. Statten the innovator. Edgar the conservator. Hamilton the educator. Halliday the colorful and Plewman the promoter. Put them together and you have some of the ingredients that went into the making of the first camping association in Canada.  

In 1933, this group formed the Ontario Camping Association.

Their first conference was held at the Margaret Eaton School in 1939. These founding members shared a common class, ethnic and religious cultural perspective. Their private camps were largely for

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96 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, 42.
98 TA-B-72/007/2 (11), Author unknown. "The days Leading Up To The Formation of The Ontario Camping Association."
middle and upper class children, and Christian moral education was clearly the central part of their social agenda.

Within this small circle of early pioneers, Hamilton, Edgar and Halliday formed a particularly close network. They shared resources, experiences and ideas on camping with one another. Edgar later commented that Mary Hamilton was "always ready to share her experiences and to help with any work that needed to be done." They were also friends who not only tried to avoid professional rivalry, but also traveled together socially. Edgar noted,

Our campers might boast, 'My camp is the best of all.' but a spirit of genuine friendship reigned on the 'summit' and the directors of Camp Oconto, Glen Bernard and Tanamakoon traveled happily together to American Conferences in Washington or California, or on a holiday cruise in the West Indies.

Mary Hamilton also acknowledged this close association. She particularly noted the common connections between her camp and Mary Edgar's:

The Counselors-in-Training of Glen Bernard and Tanamakoon exchanged visits in alternate summers for many years and sometimes we exchanged with Wapomeo and Inawendawin as well. The different programs, different methods of packing and tripping, the different ideas regarding council fires, were fascinating topics of discussion. Camp songs were exchanged. The visits were thoroughly enjoyed and wiped away all early feelings of childish rivalry between camps. The campers became staunch friends, as were already the Directors.

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102Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 54-55.
As Jocelyn Palm confirms in her biography of Mary Edgar, "The original group of camp directors from Toronto were good friends and one can easily see the influence they had over each other." ¹⁰³

There were a number of similarities in the structure and organization of these early camps for boys and girls. Camp songs, opening and closing rituals, Sunday worship, and particularly the appropriation of Native culture ceremonials were strikingly common features. Mary Hamilton acknowledged that the publication of Ernest Thompson Seton's book, *Birch Bark Roll*, provided the model which a number of camps followed. She noted, "In 1902 Ernest Thompson Seton wrote his *Birch Bark Roll* which outlined the Indian-type program adopted by so many camps in those early days." ¹⁰⁴

Seton (1860-1946) was an artist, author and naturalist. Born in England, he immigrated to Canada at the age of six, and eventually settled in the United States at the age of seventy. Seton published a number of fictional stories about nature and North American Native customs,¹⁰⁵ and founded the Woodcraft Indians, the first outdoor organization for boys in 1902.¹⁰⁶ He also was a significant figure in the history of camping in the United States, as he chaired the committee that established the Boy Scouts of America (1910). A number of the Native ceremonies which he described in his books were incorporated into camp programs for North American children. Seton visited Taylor Statten's Camp in Algonquin during the late

¹⁰³Palm, *Legacy to a Camper*, p. 38.
¹⁰⁴Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 179.
1920's, and encouraged Statten to introduce the "Indian ring" as a part of the camp program. Mary Hamilton also employed the "Indian council ring" as a part of the Tanamakoon camp experience. She also listed *Birch Bark Roll* as part of the bibliographic source materials used for Margaret Eaton camp counselor training.

Typical for the period, the use of the "Indian ring" as a camp activity was apparently "borrowed" from Native culture without any concern that this form of appropriation might not be welcomed by the culture from which it was taken. As late as the 1970's, Adele Statten Ebbs recalled an incident where a young Native counselor in training, came up to her after a Council ring session at Camp Wapomeo and complained, "I was so shocked to go to Council ring last night and find... your people making fun of my people." Ebbs responded, "And this was such a shock to me, we have never made fun of the Indians, at least we didn't think we were." Ebbs, as other camp leaders, failed to recognize that the appropriation of Native rituals was yet another form of colonization, which further contributed to the marginalization of an already oppressed minority.

In addition to the council ring ceremonial, Mary Edgar and Mary Hamilton also shared similar songs and camp themes. Texts written by Mary Edgar such as *Under Open Skies*, *The Wayside Piper* and *Woodfire and Candle-Light* list a collection of songs, poems

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108“Camp Education Notes.” File given to the author by Muriel Nelles Whyte.
and rituals which paralleled those described in Hamilton's text, *Call of the Algonquin*. The poem, "The Temple Beautiful," quoted in the opening lines of this chapter and spontaneously recalled by Frances McConnell Ziegler nearly fifty years after she left Tanamakoon, was also used by Mary Edgar's campers at Glen Bernard. The very strong Christian moral tenor of these camps reflected the common belief that young girls needed to be guided into a healthy, responsible citizenship. Many of the strategies which were used to accomplish this goal, such as opening prayers, closing prayers and Sunday worship services, were employed by these camp directors. Ironically, even non-Christian Native rituals were employed and recast to forward this strategy of Christian socialization.

Mary Hamilton's belief that camp could be a positive social experience for children required a supply of dependable and well trained camp counselors. In the fall of 1925, she was uniquely situated to train such a group. However, just as her camp was in a most important stage of preparation, events unfolded quickly in Toronto. She recalled, "but at this critical moment the affairs of Margaret Eaton School demanded my full attention. Now Mrs. Nasmith had resigned!" With characteristic understatement she next described perhaps one of the most significant decisions of her life. She also omitted any reference to the three other principals who preceeded her. She stated simply, "I carried on as principal."

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114 Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 15.
It was thus amid a backdrop of financial uncertainty and administrative confusion at the Margaret Eaton School, that Mary Hamilton set out in the summer of 1924 to establish a camp for girls in Algonquin. Her objective was to add a component of counselor training to the school's physical education training program as well as establish a camp where young girls would experience "healthy" living.

The formative influences which shaped her philosophy of female education stemmed from her professional middle class training and her strong Christian beliefs. Hamilton believed that the field of physical education required trained counselors who could teach physical and moral values. Born in Fergus of Presbyterian ancestry, she became acquainted with the evangelical Oxford Group movement and adopted the discourse of Christian moral rearmament. Introspective, shy, and a disciplinarian of exacting standards, Hamilton remained connected to the friendship network at the school which included Emma Scott Raff Nasmith and Dora Mavor Moore, and also forged new alliances with the first female camp directors in the province, Mary S. Edgar and Ferna Halliday.

Although she forwarded a conservative middle class social agenda, Hamilton was also an innovator: she was among the first to endorse camping as a valued experience for young girls. In an age when it was still unusual for single women to run a business, Hamilton was among the first pioneers to do so. One parent, referring to the physical challenges involved in just getting to the camp, commented, "I sent my child to Tanamakoon because I figured that
any woman who had the grit to take that trip, had the grit to run a camp.115

By 1925, Mary Hamilton was positioned to initiate changes to the academic program of the Margaret Eaton School. As director of the Department of Physical Education, she was able to expand the academic training program to include counselor training.

In September 1925 the first Tanamakoon Counselor Training was held for the Physical Education students of the Margaret Eaton School. It had been with this group in mind that the establishing of a camp had originally been contemplated.116

CHAPTER IV

"Beauty and Fitness"
The Margaret Eaton School
(1926-1934)

Mary Hamilton became principal of the Margaret Eaton School in September of 1926. After the closure of the Department of Literature and Dramatic Art, the school became exclusively focused to physical education. It offered a Normal Course in Physical Education which led to a teaching diploma. The school's motto changed from, "We strive for the good and the beautiful" to "Beauty and fitness." The former school crest, the lamp of learning, was replaced by the discobolus--the Greek symbol of student government.

The name of the school was retained, although Margaret Eaton stated that her name could only be associated with the school on a temporary basis. R. Y. Eaton clarified this issue.

Mrs. Eaton did not identify herself with women's activities but with the work done by the Margaret Eaton School as a School of Literature and Expression. The classes in Physical Training were taken over by Miss Hamilton on her own account. Mrs. Eaton has never shown interest in Physical Training but has permitted Miss Hamilton to use the name temporarily.¹

Although the board now assumed that the school had to pay its own way, this fact was not presented to Mary Hamilton at the time she became principal, and it did not become apparent to her until

¹AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File X8/4, "R.Y. Eaton to Dr. Cody," July 4, 1928.
much later when the expansion of the school required the acquisition of a larger residence space.

With Mary Hamilton as director, the curricular emphasis of the school changed. There were, however, several elements which were consistent with the previous school administration. Mary Hamilton admired the work of her predecessor and friend. She acknowledged that Emma Scott Nasmith had led a school that was "ahead of its time, with a curriculum of dramatic art, literature, voice production, physical education and dancing." Hamilton further noted, "Too under Mrs. Nasmith, the school became a cultural centre." There were elements of the Scott Raff Nasmith tradition which Mary Hamilton wished to carry over into the next phase of the school's history.

The Academic Program: Training Women to "Take Charge"

In 1926 Mary Hamilton restructured the academic program in physical education. Her intent was to ensure that the school's graduates were "competent to organize and take charge of every branch of physical training for girls." The two year program led to a teaching diploma. Although it was not an Ontario certificate which enabled their students to teach in the public system, it was recognized by private schools, private camps, settlement houses, and the Y.W.C.A. The Calendar of 1926-1927 indicated that there were

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3Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin,* p. 15.
4*Calendar* 1926-1927, p. 5.
three components to this training which included theoretical subjects, practical subjects and camp experience.

The Practical Subjects of the course include Gymnastics on Swedish and American principles, Remedial Gymnastics, Practice Teaching, Folk and Aesthetic Dancing, Fencing, Swimming, Life-Saving, Archery, Track and Field Athletics, Indoor and Outdoor Games, including Ground-hockey, Ice-hockey, Basketball, Baseball and Tennis; also Voice Training and Public Speaking.

The Theoretical Subjects of the course include Anatomy, Physiology, Hygiene, Anthropometry, Theory of Gymnastics, Theory of Games, Applied Anatomy, Physiology and Psychology of Exercise, Methods of Teaching, First Aid and Home-Nursing.

In September, at Camp Tanamakoon, in addition to the regular course of instruction, there will be special courses in Riding, Canoeing and Sailing. Week-end canoe trips are taken under the supervision of experienced guides.5

The two year diploma program at the Margaret Eaton School was academically and physically intensive. Classes began the first week of September with a month at Camp Tanamakoon, and proceeded over three terms ending the middle of April. Students received a two week break at Christmas and a one-week break at Easter, and they were expected to work in a job related field over the summer months. At Tanamakoon, students received instruction in canoeing, sailing, riding, tennis, and swimming. At the school and Toronto area facilities they received instruction in gymnastics, dance, games, organized sport and Royal Lifesaving certification. At the end of the year, these skills were presented in the form of class "demonstrations" for the commencement ceremony. These

5Calendar 1926-1927, p. 5.
demonstrations, held at the Central Y.M.C.A., Hart House and the Varsity Arenas,6 exhibited student skills in dance, gymnastics and games, and highlighted the months of physical training that these students received.

In addition to the bank of practical courses, students were required to take ten theory courses each term.7 With the exception of the anatomy course taught from the University of Toronto's Medical Department8 most of the theory courses covered content which was directly applied to the field of physical education. Courses such as applied anatomy, anthropometry and remedial gymnastics and massage involved the identification and assessment of physical conditions and the prescription and administration of remedial exercise. Courses in methods of physical education and the theory of games were related specifically to pedagogy. A course in hygiene covered the principles of "air, food, sleep and breathing" and was designed to prepare "the prospective teacher [to] give instruction in Public schools regarding health habits."9 All of these "theory" courses involved pedagogic application. In 1932, anthropometry was dropped from the course bank and the theory of Swedish gymnastics.

"Margaret Eaton Students Complete Skating Term," Globe and Mail, March 1, 1939.

7Between 1926 and 1931 the Calendar listed ten theory courses for the program. Presumably, these courses were also offered in year two. In 1931, the Calendar listed twenty-one courses, with a division of ten in year one and eleven in year two. See, Calendars 1926-1932.

8Florence Somers reported to the Board that Margaret Eaton Students received low marks in this medical school anatomy course in 1935. UTA-DPEA: A87-0027/034 "Report on Co-operation between the University of Toronto and The Margaret Eaton School for 1934-1935," April 31, 1935.

9Calendar 1926-1927, p. 7.
the theory of treatments, the theory of dancing and the science of education were added. In these cases, once again, content knowledge was applied within practical contexts. First aid and home nursing were offered from 1926 until 1932. This course was designed to offer instruction in the treatment of accident or illness, leading to a Certificate in First Aid and Home Nursing from the St. John's Ambulance Association. The home nursing aspect of the course was dropped in 1931-1932.

Mary Hamilton also carried forward some subject areas from the former Department of Literature and Dramatic Art Department. Public speaking and voice continued as a required subject for all Margaret Eaton graduates from 1926 until the school closed in 1941. Literature was re-introduced in 1932 and continued until the school closed. The work of Robert Browning remained among the list of 19th century Romantic poets who were studied at the school.

In addition to the academic course of study, the choice of the faculty for the school also reflected Hamilton's intent to bring together the best qualified instructors and the most current developments in the field of physical education. Full and part-time faculty were drawn from international sources and reflected specialty training. The gymnastics and games instructors generally came from Britain and the dance and educational theory instructors were drawn from the United States. Mona Langree, a graduate of the Bedford Physical Training College in Britain, taught corrective gymnastics, athletics and games from 1922-1926. She was replaced

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10 Calendar 1932-1933, p. 8-9.
11 See, Calendars from 1925-1926 to 1940-1941.
12 Calendar 1932-1933, p. 8.
by Charlotte Kaulbach, also a graduate of Bedford Physical College, who taught Swedish and remedial gymnastics from 1926-1933. Laura Culye Geddes, a graduate of the Sargent School of Physical Education in Massachusetts, taught games, folk dance and aesthetic dance from 1925-1931. With the arrival of Lilabel Sloat in 1929, a graduate of the Chicago Normal School of Physical Education, the school was introduced to the creative dance theory of Margaret H'Doubler.13 As Jackson commented, "Sloat combined drama and the dance, in its most modern form."14

Mary Hamilton also hired shorter term appointments when the instructor specialized in either new or internationally renowned areas of study. Madeleine Boss Lasserre, of the Dalcroze School of Eurhythmics in Geneva, Switzerland, offered classes in eurhythmics between 1924-1926. The Calendar of 1924-1925 noted, "This will be the first class of its kind to be held in Canada."15 Further, Mr. Leon Leonidoff of the Imperial Russian Ballet taught at the school from 1925-1926. Although Mary Hamilton's educational intent was designed to prepare her students for the field of teaching, she also intended that they have a "broadened" exposure to the arts and other fields of interest. The Calendar of 1932-1933 stated.

The course of study offered at the Margaret Eaton School is not alone intended to prepare young women for teaching, but to develop appreciation of other fields, and to broaden the interests of a prospective teacher for her own living. Students are urged to attend lectures, concerts, and art

15 Calendar 1925-1926, p. 9.
exhibitions that are in the city of Toronto. Through regularly scheduled lectures held at the school they may meet outstanding personalities in the religious, social, or educational fields.16

In addition to the strong practitioner emphasis in the curriculum, Mary Hamilton also took steps to advertise the school as one designed to meet a specific employment need. The 1932-1933 Calendar listed the specific employment opportunities which awaited Margaret Eaton graduates.

Graduates of this school are holding positions in Canada, the United States, and foreign countries in an ever-widening field. Adequately trained teachers are needed in schools and colleges, social centers or settlements, playgrounds, industrial and other organizations, such as the Young Women's Christian Associations and summer camps.17

The 1932-1933 Calendar was also the first to publish graduate employment statistics. Mary Hamilton wished to emphasize that a large percentage of Margaret Eaton graduates successfully found employment:

During the last ten years The Margaret Eaton School has granted its diploma in physical education to one hundred and fifty-three young women who have come from Newfoundland, the United States, and every province in Canada. In the fall of 1931 eighty-eight graduates were teaching, six were studying, three were in physiotherapy, three in social service, three in other occupations, and fifty in private life. Of those gainfully employed 74% were in Canada, 21% in the United States, and 5% in foreign countries.18

The Calendar of 1932 also specifically credited the camp experience as the unique feature which distinguished the Margaret

16Calendar 1932-1933, p. 5.
17Calendar 1932-1933, p. 4.
18Calendar 1932-1933, p. 11.
Eaton program from all the others. It noted, "this is the only course of its kind in Canada" and further observed.

The Margaret Eaton School is the only institution in Canada which offers camp leadership training combined with a regular physical education course. Experience over a period of years in placing our graduates has convinced the director that prospective employers appreciate the special training that our students receive during their two months spent at camp.

Yet another measure which Mary Hamilton initiated in order to enhance student employment was the establishment of a "placement bureau" at the school. As a camp director and a former physical education teacher at Branksome Hall and Bishop Strachan, Mary Hamilton shared a number of personal connections with potential employers in private schools and camps. Hamilton noted in the Calendar.

Responsibility for the selection and recommendation of candidates for specific positions which come directly to the school is carried by the secretary and the staff whether the position is for the summer or for the school year.

It was expected that all students would find employment in the field of physical education during the summer months. She commented, "very few students ever missed spending a summer or two as a counselor." She further observed.

Most of the students between 1925 and 1933 were spending at least a part of their summer in an organizational or private camp. It was not compulsory to be a counselor at camp.

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19 Calendar 1932-1933, p. 5.
20 Calendar 1932-1933, p. 6.
21 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 174.
22 Calendar 1932-1933, p. 10.
23 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 174.
it was strongly recommended by the School.24

Mary Hamilton was subsequently extremely pleased to report to the board the success rate of summer employment for the students of the school. In 1933 she noted.

Last summer alone, when our school was small, the 1932-33 students served five Canadian Girls in Training Camps, three Girl Guide, and three Y.M.C.A. Camps. In addition, five were counselors at Fresh Air Camps such as Bolton, two taught swimming and eight were counselors or sub-counselors at large private camps. To summarize, seventeen out of twenty-five students had summer positions and served seventeen different camps or pools.25

By 1936, Hamilton could report that the graduates were not only finding employment in Canada, but that the reputation of the school was internationally known.

In spite of immigration restrictions, schools in the States write to us for graduates to take charge of their physical departments. Only recently a request came for someone to go to Japan. We already have two graduates of the Class of '29 teaching in China.26

Another important component which Mary Hamilton incorporated into the academic program was a course on practice teaching. The 1926-27 Calendar stated, "In addition to the regular periods of practice teaching, the students of the Senior year take charge, under the supervision of the Department, of classes of Public school children."27 This experience was a mandatory part of the Margaret Eaton program until the school was subsumed by the University of Toronto in 1941. The schools where the students

24Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 172.
25A0-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto," "The Margaret Eaton School 1926-1933."
26A0-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Mary Hamilton, The School, 1926-1933."
27Calendar 1926-1927, p. 8.
practice taught included Brown, Duke of York and Jessie Ketchum. Students were expected to prepare a lesson, teach a class of students and be evaluated by a member of the Margaret Eaton faculty. The task of evaluation generally fell to Elizabeth Wardley. Graduates between 1938-1941 vividly recalled these teaching sessions. Muriel Nelles Whyte, Margaret Davison Lathrop, Winn MacLennan Johnston, Joan Brown Hillary and Ruth Scott Prophet particularly recalled teaching at Jessie Ketchum Public School in Toronto, which they all remembered as a special challenge. Muriel Nelles Whyte put it this way.

I had a very rough experience with practice teaching sessions, being observed by Elizabeth Wardley of the M.E.S. staff. And I remember a rather tough school in Toronto where the teen-aged girls I got were difficult. It was at Jessie Ketchum School. And I had come in as a brand new practice teacher, you see, so they had decided they were going to give me a hard time. And I wasn't used to that attitude. Everybody, you know, always wanted to learn when I was practice teaching, but these girls decided that folk dancing wasn't for them.

Ruth Scott Prophet also recounted a similar experience:

They sent you to Jessie Ketchum. And I walked in, you know: there I am with my navy blue tunic on and the black tights and the black running shoes, and I passed this kid with enough lipstick on for everybody, and the earrings dangling and her chewing gum and saying--"here comes another one!"

In addition to the development of a focused and rigorous academic course of study, Mary Hamilton also took measures to increase the school's legitimacy within the broader academic community. In 1932 student admission requirements for the school

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28 Winn MacLennan Johnston, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
were tightened. and high school matriculation became mandatory for all students. Mary Hamilton also entered an arrangement with the University of Toronto to share faculty resources. It was agreed that Margaret Eaton Students would take their literature, psychology\textsuperscript{31} and the non-applied anatomy course at the University of Toronto. In exchange, University of Toronto Physical Education and Occupational Therapy students would take remedial gymnastics and massage and the theory and practice of gymnastics at the Margaret Eaton School.\textsuperscript{32}

Life at the School:

Mary Hamilton believed "character, health, scholarship and capacity for growth"\textsuperscript{33} were qualities which were required for success in the field of physical education. Training for these values extended into academic and the non-academic hours of the day. Residence life was carefully monitored. As a number graduates in the late 1930's noted, life at the Margaret Eaton School was very similar to the private school model with respect to rigid codes of behavior and a carefully controlled social environment.\textsuperscript{34}

When Mary Hamilton became principal, the school residence was situated at 39 Dundonald Street. This residence was originally established "through the kind assistance" of Margaret Eaton in

\textsuperscript{31}Psychology was added to the course bank in 1932. See, \textit{Calendar 1932-1933}.
\textsuperscript{32}AO-EC. F 229-8-0166, "Mary Hamilton, "The School 1926-1933."
\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Calendar} 1932-1933, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{34}Margaret Davison Lathrop, a graduate of Branksome Hall School for girls, noted that the Margaret Eaton School was simply a continuation of this model. She experienced no difficulty adjusting to the cycle of school and residence life. Ruth Scott Prophet, on the other hand, graduated from a public high school. Scott Prophet felt the school environment was rigid and controlling. Both noted that the school felt like it was run like a private girls' school. Interviews with the author, August 17, 1994 and June 15, 1994.
According to the 1925 *Calendar*, all out-of-town students were required to live either in Dundonald House or with relatives in town. By 1932, however, this location was no longer large enough to accommodate all of the out-of-town students. The need for more student space, according to Jackson, was considered "imperative."

When Hamilton approached the board in 1932 to clarify the financial procedure for procuring a larger residence facility, she discovered that the school's financial re-organization in 1925 had left it self-supporting. According to J. A. Livingstone, a member of the board, Hamilton--as the school's principal--was financially liable. When Mary Hamilton met with J. A. Livingstone to discuss the residence issue, she was informed of this status. She then personally signed for the new residence which was secured for the school on 119 St. George Street. In a later correspondence with Livingston, Hamilton commented, "I have signed for it in my own name as you advised." She continued, "I am so glad to have had that talk with you and to know just where I stand. It's a good thing I did not realize the situation." Two years later, a correspondence from J. A. Livingstone to R. Y. Eaton described the details of his previous meeting with Hamilton. Livingston reported that he had then informed her that she was "working on her own" and that "any profits she made belonged to her." He continued, "Naturally, if she incurred any debts they were also hers." In light of the fact that Mary Hamilton felt

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36 Calendar 1926-1927, p. 9.
38 AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Mary Hamilton to J.A. Livingstone," June 17, 1932.
"frightened" about the financial responsibility of starting a camp in 1924, it is quite likely that the prospect of financial responsibility for a school would have been even greater. One wonders if she would have accepted the offer to stand as principal if she had known the full story.

Life at the school was carefully monitored. Mary Hamilton hired Mrs. F. Grant Marriott to act as the women's dean of the new residence. Students were expected to either live at home with their parents or in the school's residence. The Calendar of 1932 stated, "the school does not sanction the establishment of students in apartments or elsewhere unless a parent is presiding over such a household." The Calendar of 1934-1935 also noted.

Living of the students is carefully supervised. while at the same time the general rules of the house are under the control of student government. The house is under the direction of Mrs. F. G. Marriott.

Students who lived at St. George House with Mrs. Marriott generally recalled a strictly regimented daily routine. The residence was designed to emulate a home environment. although Mrs. Marriott was not remembered by the students for her maternal warmth. Joan Brown Hillary recalled the layout of the residence. She observed, "there were always lovely flowers. and everything was always clean. and the furniture was nice and there was a big music

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40 Hamilton, The Call of the Algonquin, p. 17.
41 Mrs. F. Marriott received an honoray doctorate from York University in 1973 for her work "in artistic and creative handcraft in Canada." She was a chief organizer of the Canadian Guild of Crafts. Obituary notice from the personal files of Patty Sterne Sanders, given to the author, July 12, 1991.
42 Calendar 1932-1933, p. 12.
43 Calendar 1934-1935, p. 5.
room with a grand piano." A number of students recalled that Mrs. Marriott was "a very severe disciplinarian." Dorothy Walker further noted. "If you were out five minutes late, you were called into her room." Patty Sterne Sanders summarized the atmosphere of the residence:

Proper dress and deportment. It was expected of us and we did it. It was part of our training. Mrs. Marriott was the dean of residence and she dressed very properly--her hair was in a French roll, gray hair, and we thought she was very ancient. But you ate properly. Knife and fork. Elbows off the table.

Breakfast and dinner were meals eaten with the faculty of the residence and particular attention was given to table manners. Joan Brown Hillary recalled. "Oh my, if you sat at Mrs. Marriott's table you watched your manners." There was also a general expectation that the young women in the residence would abide by rules of cooperation and learn to share public and private space. This was consistent with Mary Hamilton's credo that "people were more important than things." In residence, the values of cooperation and sharing were expected. Anyone who questioned either the authority of the faculty or the rules of the residence were subject to disciplinary action. An example was recalled by Ruth Scott Prophet, who remembered being reprimanded over an incident which occurred regarding a roommate who "borrowed" an item of clothing without first asking her. Prophet was furious, but when she told Mrs.

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46 Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, July 12, 1991.
48 Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 60.
Marriott, she was told not to complain. She was then sent home from the school for two weeks, "to think about her behaviour."⁴⁹

In addition to strict rules for residence life, there were additional rules which governed academic deportment. These rules varied from procedures for class absences to conditions concerning smoking, gum chewing, swimming, showering and library use. From a list of eighteen Margaret Eaton "rules" published for 1934-1935, five were related to proper dress. Activity attire was carefully regulated. By 1925, middies and skirts were replaced by the more practical tunic and blouse.⁵⁰ Attention to strict uniform adherence and feminine presentation was rigorously maintained. Students were not allowed to wear black stockings, running shoes or their teaching tunics on the street. School uniforms were to be kept "tidy." and the girls were not allowed to wear "colored" head bands. Further, hats were to be worn at all times.⁵¹ Dorothy Walker recalled the rigorous academic schedule and the requirements of the dress code. She commented.

It was a very heavy load. Physically and academically. You went full out from the time you took off in the morning to head down to 415 Yonge St. until you came back at night, just in time for supper. Often you were rushing off to different places. We went way up Yonge Street to play field hockey. We went to the arena on Bloor Street to skate. We went to the Y.M.C.A. for swimming. You were forever rushing somewhere else and having to change because you had to dress properly. We even had to wear hats.⁵²

Between 1924 and 1934 Mary Hamilton spent her winter months at the school in Toronto and her summer months at Camp Tanamakoon. This double assignment eventually taxed her resources to the point that she required additional help. Hamilton recalled:

I question whether I could have carried both the school and the camp had it not been at this critical point a friend came to my assistance. She was Freda Cole, a member of the French Department of the University of Toronto. She had come to lunch one day and had seen the piled-up confusion on my desk. From that moment she undertook to share with me the joys and burdens of establishing a camp in the wilderness. and her faith in the project and her loyal support helped me to carry through those most difficult years.\(^5\)

In addition to help with the camp, in 1931 Hamilton was aided in the administration of the school by Genevieve Barber. Barber was a former member of the Margaret Eaton faculty from 1921 to 1924, and returned to assist Hamilton from 1931-1932. When Barber resigned the following year, Florence Somers joined the faculty with the understanding that she would serve as associate director of the school in 1933, and take over as director in 1934. This enabled Mary Hamilton to turn her energy completely to the work of Camp Tanamakoon.

**Camp Tanamakoon and Counselor Training**

The counselor training experience at Camp Tanamakoon was consistently and vividly recalled by most of the Margaret Eaton graduates. Dorothy Walker recalled, "I remember the lodge steps—the lodge steps were in the sunshine."\(^5\) She further remembered:

Tanamakoon. Sleeping four in a cabin, with the heaviest

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\(^5\)Mary Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 15.

\(^5\)Dorothy Walker, interview with the author, June 28, 1981.
blankets I ever had. There was ice on the washbasins many of the mornings we were there—beautiful in the daytime, you know, the kind of September weather where it was cold at night and, as I say, we just piled on the clothes and shivered in our beds.55

Mary Hamilton recalled the first September training session with the Margaret Eaton students in 1925. She noted that there were thirty students in the first season and that the weather was so "bitterly cold" that they all slept with a hot brick at the foot of their beds.56 She described how the wilderness experience was "completely new"57 to all of the students. She commented, "surprised students had paddles thrust into their hands at the station dock, and received their first instruction during the two-and-one-half mile paddle to camp."58 Mary Hamilton believed that the training was designed to challenge the students physically and emotionally and to extend them in ways which fostered confidence and strength. She observed.

We exercised strenuously to keep warm. No wonder these students became counselors who were staunch and rugged and unwilling to acknowledge defeat by weather or circumstance.59

Students recalled that Mary Hamilton's approach was thorough and strict. Discipline and order were paramount. Hamilton argued that "clear-cut organization is essential for the smooth operation of a camp"60 and urged "vigilance" at all times. Margaret Davison Lathrop

55Dorothy Walker, interview with the author, June 28, 1981.
56Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 169.
57Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 169.
58Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 174.
59Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 174.
60Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 49.
recalled. "She ran a tight ship" and Frances McConnell Ziegler noted. "Mary was absolutely excellent. A wonderful person. She had a wonderful way with the campers. She was strict." Margaret Davison Lathrop vividly recalled an incident in which she experienced Hamilton's rigorous attention to protocol. She remembered.

Miss Hamilton told me to set up the archery targets. So I did. But before I mounted them on the straw target bales I cut off all the edges around them so they were round instead of square. She was furious. She told me to go to the infirmary and get a needle and thread and sew the square edges all back on again. She was strict. I was afraid of her.

The training at Tanamakoon was designed to equip the Margaret Eaton students with both physical and organization skills for camp instruction and administration. The courses included practical sessions in sailing, riding, canoeing, war canoeing, tennis, lacrosse, field hockey, archery and track events (including discus, javelin, relay, and the standing and running broad jump). Theory courses covered topics in social psychology, camp administration, recreational programming and camp craft. Camp craft included a wide array of topics which ranged from "weather signs" to "trip menus."

Students were also presented with the latest theories in social psychology and heard various speakers in the field of camping. Hamilton was aware of current trends and tried to ensure that her

61 Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
63 Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
64 Muriel Nelles Whyte, "Camp Education Notes." In personal file given to the author.
students were exposed to the latest developments in the field. She commented.

There were many new trends in camping at this time. For instance, much more consideration was being given to the needs of the individual child. She was no longer fitted into a regimented camp program, but the program was being built around her.65

In a course on camp education, notes taken by Muriel Nelles Whyte indicated that the behavioral and learning theories of Edward Thorndike and John Dewey were popular. Advice from social psychologists forwarded stereotypical assumptions that young girls were prone to "excessive emotionalism." These experts also argued that girls needed to be taught emotional self-control in order to "conceal their moods." Jealousy was referred to as a "pathological condition." Selfishness was considered "emotional and juvenile." The literature also urged counselors to watch for girls who were "overly sentimental" and warned of the dangers of emotional "crushes."66

This concern about excessive emotionalism was also echoed in counselor training sessions offered at the Margaret Eaton School during the winters of 1937 and 1938. In these presentations, crushes were described as "dangerous" because they "sometimes reached pathological proportions."67 Clearly, homophobic concerns within a same-sex educational environment were acute, and homosexuality was considered to be a pathological condition. In his presentation on

65Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 45.
66Muriel Nelles Whyte, "Camp Education Notes." In personal file given to the author.
67Dr. Brock Chisholm, "The Human Material With Which We Work." In files given to the author by Muriel Nelles Whyte. Lecture given at the Ontario Camping Association Counselor Training Course at the Margaret Eaton School, March 13, 1940.
"Social Psychology and the Camp." J. D. Ketchum explained to camp counselors that the purpose of a well designed camp program was "to establish heterosexual attitudes."68

Although camp theory was an important part of their training, the acquisition of practical skills was the major thrust of the Tanamakoon experience for the Margaret Eaton students. Wilderness canoe trips and the development of paddling and tripping skills were at the heart of the program. Mary Hamilton believed that one of the "unique features" of Tanamakoon was the fact that Native guides were employed to teach paddling techniques and direct the extended camping trips.69 Hamilton recalled, "the demonstrations of their techniques in a canoe we never forgot."70 Elizabeth Pitt also recalled these memories from the earliest years of the camp and commented.

They used local guides and, I'm happy to say, they taught some very good paddling. And to know what to do under certain circumstances. A canoe trip certainly shows up your friends' standards and capabilities in working with others and making friendships which last a lifetime.71

In her camp biography, Hamilton did not elaborate on agreement which she had with these Native guides. Davison Lathrop, both as a Margaret Eaton student and as a camp counselor, recalled that these guides lived in the surrounding district of Algonquin. They came into the camp to guide counselors and campers on the three-day canoe trips and to do occasional work like chopping wood. She

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68 J. D. Ketchum, "Social Psychology and the Camp." In files given to the author by Muriel Nelles Whyte. Lecture given at the Ontario Camping Association Counselor Training Course at the Margaret Eaton School, March 13, 1940.

69 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 20.

70 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 24.

71 Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author, April 22, 1994.
recalls that students, counselors and campers were kept quite separate from them.

We never saw the guides until we went on the canoe trips. They generally kept to themselves. They were separate from us most of the time—eating together, and certainly they pitched their tents well away from us.72

The notable exception to this rule seems to have arisen when camp counselors from Tanamakoon either canoed or rode over by horseback to the Highland Inn for the occasional Saturday night square dance. Native guides attended these dances.73 One wonders whether Mary Hamilton knew of these social gatherings and if she did, whether she would have approved.

Trip-songs were a tradition at Tanamakoon, and often celebrated the physicality of wilderness challenges. These songs captured the spirit of hard paddling, difficult portages, and challenging wilderness trips. Songs such as "The Paddling Song" spoke of the "eager hands and sturdy hearts:" "Welcome Trippers" described "sturdy portagers, strong and hale" and "Typical Trippers" recalled the physical rigors of "arms sore, knees aching, backs breaking."74

Mary Hamilton believed that the camping experience at Tanamakoon was beneficial to the students at the school for more reasons than simply as an academic exercise. She believed that it fostered mutual responsibility, leadership, and loyalty to one another and to the school. She commented.

72 Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
73 Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
The students worked: they suffered together: they had fun: they emerged triumphant as counselors. Septembers at Tanamakoon played a great part in producing a lasting loyalty to the Margaret Eaton School.75

This belief was also reflected in the memories of the students. Patty Sterne Sanders recalled memories of Tanamakoon and commented on what she valued the most:

The camaraderie of the girls. And even though I thought they were very strict disciplinarians. I think I later on appreciated that. We were taught something to make us, I don't know, a better person--a more honest person--I think the reunions that we've kept up with have been very helpful in many ways. They have bonded those friendships that we made then. We're a special group. If you look at this list, there's not one that I couldn't phone and say that I'm in trouble. Or, how are you? Any one of them--after 51 years.76

Muriel Nelles Whyte also recalled that it was the camp experience at Tanamakoon which was critical to her developing sense of a professional future. She noted. "Tanamakoon was a turning-point in my life. There I found inspiration and tangible encouragement in realizing my dream to train in the field of physical education."77

"Community Living and Unselfish Leadership:" The Socialization of Young Girls at Camp Tanamakoon

Mary Hamilton established Tanamakoon not only as a site for counselor training, but also as a camp where young girls could spend time in the Algonquin wilderness and experience "community living and unselfish leadership."78 Recognizing the effective socializing influence that a camp environment afforded. Hamilton observed.

75Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 174.
76Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, July 12, 1991.
77Muriel Nelles Whyte, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
78Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 77.
A camp is one of the few organizations which has the total environment of the child under supervision, and in consequence, has an unusual opportunity to contribute to the camper's experience of healthful living and helps her establish health habits and attitudes.  

Beyond the establishment of individual health habits, however, Hamilton also believed the camp environment could help to initiate a new social order--"a pattern for the right kind of world." Echoing the agenda of Buchman's Oxford Group, she believed that the key to this revolution lay in a Christian spiritual revival. She argued that it was no longer enough for camps to provide a safe and healthy environment, but that they should take an active role in shaping national character. She commented.

It was no longer enough for us to provide a safe, healthy, happy summer. We had to do that, but at the same time, we needed to give them a purpose beyond personal enjoyment and satisfaction which would make them responsible members of society.

Mary Hamilton was influenced both by the growing fears of a second world war and by the evangelical message offered by Frank Buchman. These were the "other forces at work" which "revolutionized" her thinking and led her to believe that it was her God-given opportunity to present a Christian moral environment at the camp. She commented.

There were other forces at work, too, which revolutionized my thinking. opened new vistas, and sent me in search of the whole truth. I saw that my responsibility toward the camper was much greater than I had ever realized, and that the spiritual element was an integral part of camp life. I began

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79 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 48.
80 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 167.
81 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 45.
to look at the world in a new light and face the realities of our society of the twentieth century—realities such as declining standards, the emphasis on material things, and the lack of concern for the needs and aspirations of the other person and the other nation. I saw how important it was to live our lives in relation to these needs. It required vision, insight and a wisdom beyond human wisdom.  

In order to help young girls to "recognize the need of God and to turn to Him." Hamilton incorporated Christian rituals and prayers into the structure of camp life. Following the 7:15 a.m. morning bugle, the singing of "O Canada" and the recitation of the Sanskrit Salutation to the Dawn, a Biblical passage was read and a meditation offered. "Here," Hamilton noted, "a word or two relevant to it and life at camp was offered." Next, the Lord's prayer was recited and breakfast followed. In addition to this daily routine, on Saturday night, campers would gather in the "Council ring" ceremony and listen to inspirational meditations which were often offered by the "tribal head" of each group of campers. As previously noted, the incongruity of employing elements of Native spirituality in order to convey Christian moral teaching did not appear to be problematic.

In addition to these activities, a Sunday worship service was also held in the outside chapel once a week. As student recollections attest, the outdoor chapel was a critical part of camp life. Hamilton invited Protestant clergy from Toronto to take services "at least once a month." She also tried to choose counselors who were committed and active in their own Protestant Christian churches.

82Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 45.
83Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 84.
84Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 143.
85See, footnote 1, Chapter III.
86Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 147.
Replicating a patriarchal structure, Mary Hamilton reinforced the traditional model which presented God, nation, and the family, in descending order. Camp was designed to socialize young girls into responsible citizenship and family membership. Echoing the points which a visiting Bishop had offered in his homily at the camp one summer, Hamilton reiterated the points of "good" citizenship:

- A good citizen votes.
- A good citizen keeps the law.
- A good citizen backs up his [sic] representatives.
- A good citizen criticizes constructively.
- A good citizen is a Christian.87

Although Hamilton stated that no particular denominational affiliation was followed at the camp, the clergy that she invited were all from an evangelical Protestant Christian tradition. This was also consistent with the graduation speakers that she selected for the commencement exercises at the Margaret Eaton school. Between 1929 and 1933 all the speakers she invited to the school's commencement ceremonies were Protestant clergy. These clergy were largely evangelical and fundamentalist, including individuals such as the Rev. Frank Langford, Director of Religious Education for the United Church,88 and the Rev. McElheran, principal of Wycliffe College.89

In addition to socializing young girls into a Christian code of conduct, Hamilton clearly associated Christian responsibility with the privileges and obligations of citizenship, and echoed the Oxford Group's eschatological vision for a world community united under the

87Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 147.
89*Globe*, May 28, 1932, "Margaret Eaton School Graduation Ceremonies" p. 16
authorship of God. She believed "camp was a miniature world" and
tried to draw the connection between individual responsibility and
national responsibility.\textsuperscript{90} She also tried to bring to the camp as much
exposure to different national traditions as possible. According to
Mary Edgar, the theme of internationalism was an awareness which
Hamilton tried to foster. Edgar commented.

In her relationships, there was a true international breadth
of outlook. It was a tradition at Camp Tanamakoon to invite
young women of different nationalities as counselors and
guests so that the campers might catch something of this
spirit of goodwill.\textsuperscript{91}

In keeping with this spirit of goodwill, just prior to the war,
Tanamakoon was host to over twenty-five English schoolgirls who
came to Canada one summer under the auspices of The Society of
Overseas Settlement of British Women. They stayed for half the
summer with Hamilton and the other half with Mary Edgar.\textsuperscript{92} During
the war, a number of British guests also came to the camp.\textsuperscript{93} In
addition, Tanamakoon also had a number of international campers
from places such as China, Lebanon, France, New Zealand, and
Trinidad.\textsuperscript{94}

Mary Hamilton also kept in touch with Dora Mavor Moore, and
sought to foster an appreciation for drama and the arts in the
campers at Tanamakoon. In the early years of the school, Dora and
Mary had worked together on private ventures with children in

\textsuperscript{90}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 81.
\textsuperscript{91}Mary Edgar. "Among Ourselves." p. 18
\textsuperscript{92}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{93}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{94}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 156.
drama. Dora Mavor Moore had also taught courses in dramatics during the Scott Raff Nasmith years of the school and later offered a counselor training session there. She continued her work with children at a number of private children's camps. Correspondence, dramatic scripts and sketches suggest that she was involved in dramatic work with the Tanamakoon campers in the summer months between the 1930's and the 1950's. One of the most important developments was the construction of a theatre in the woods which she herself designed. The theatre at Tanamakoon was heralded in a Toronto newspaper as the "The Little Theatre in the Wild Woods." Emma Scott Raff Nasmith was present to lay the corner post of the building and Dora Mavor Moore directed the first play, entitled, "The Poetmasters of Ispahan" on August 13, 1931. In 1932, a marionette theatre was built. Dora commented on the success of both the "little theatre" and the "new little theatre," describing her hope that children exposed to dramatic art in their youth would carry this into their adulthood.

Our theatre has flourished this season. We have given six

95 On one occasion, Dora Mavor Moore, Mary Hamilton and Emma Scott Raff worked with the youth group of St. George's Anglican Church and produced a dramatic play. Hamilton danced the lead role of "Mistress of the Revels." See, UT-RBC, DMM-207, Box 1B, File 27. 1905-1912, "Early Education and The Margaret Eaton School."

96 Dora Mavor Moore taught dramatics at the School of Literature and Expression in 1913-1914, 1917-1925 and briefly for the Margaret Eaton School in 1940-1941.

97 Dora Mavor Moore offered a session on "The Place of Dramatics in Camp" at a camp counselor training session held at the Margaret Eaton School and sponsored by the Canadian Camping Association, April 9, 1938. "Camp Counsellor Training." In files given to the author by Muriel Nelles Whyte.

98 UT-RBC, DMM, Box 29, File 207, "Miscellaneous" and "Tanamakoon."


100 UT-RBC, DMM, File 207, Box 29, "Tanamakoon."
evening entertainment's during July and August. We produced several playlets and sketches. August was our counselors' evening. We put on 'Pierre' by Bruce Campbell Scott and a dramatization of the Greek legend of Pandora called 'Pandora's Box.' All the counselors took part including Miss Hamilton whose playing the north organ was a feature of the evening.

For August 19th we reached a climax to the season when we opened our new 'little theatre' with four original plays of Camp Life. I hope that the creative powers set into motion will not stop with the closing of Camp Life--that they may continue on with our city life and that they 'retain' with their attitude towards the still larger Theatre the same high standard of ideals and judgment and thus create a nucleus for the larger Canadian Drama.\footnote{101}

Mary Hamilton believed that an appreciation for the wilderness was an important part of education of girls and young women. She acknowledged, "we were living in Indian country"\footnote{102} and argued, "the love of Indian adventure led us to adopt some Indian customs as well as names in those early days."\footnote{103} She used the names of First Nation's tribes such as the Chickasaw, Ojibway, and Cree to designate camp groups, and elected "tribal heads" for each of these groups. "Tanamakoon"--the name selected for the camp--was adopted from the native greeting. "Hail fellow, well met."\footnote{104}

Mary Hamilton argued that the honoring of Native customs was not meant to demean or appropriate Native culture. In her description of a special event day, known as "Indian Day," she described festivities of campfires, dances and songs, that she believed "in no way caricatured the Indian, but rather, proved quite

\footnote{101}{UT-RBC, DMM, File 207, Box 29, "Tanamakoon"}
\footnote{102}{Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 34.}
\footnote{103}{Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 21.}
\footnote{104}{Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 14.}
educational in showing the greatness of these early inhabitants of our country.\textsuperscript{105} Despite her sensitivity, however, Hamilton occupied a position of white privilege which her analysis never questioned. She tried to foster a spirit of ethnic tolerance, yet her camp largely remained an experience for girls of Anglo-Celtic ancestry. Although Native culture was acknowledged, it was both valorized and trivialized, and treated as something belonging to the past. Despite the fact that the presence of Native guides were a common occurrence at the camp, these guides only figured as liminal characters in Hamilton's biography of camp life. Although she remarked that these guides were extremely knowledgeable, she also noted that they were generally silent. In one of the few references to the Native guides in \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, Mary Hamilton described a guide by the name of "Mat" who rarely spoke. She commented, "He never used two words when one would do." When two wolves were spotted by campers one summer, Hamilton remarked that for the first time in many years she heard him say more than one word. She described the incident: "'Are they wolves?' I asked. 'Wolves' affirmed Mat. and the great occasion moved the silent guide to add, 'Second time I see a wolf in nine years in Park.'\textsuperscript{106} At one level, Hamilton's interaction with the Native guides appeared to be both limited and superficial. At another level, given the context of other white, middle class private camps of the period, the fact that Native guides were a part of the Camp Tanamakoon experience was both atypical and noteworthy.

\textsuperscript{105}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{106}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 25.
The traditional family structure was also an ideal which Mary Hamilton reinforced. She told her counselors that they were to consider the campers as "family." Health, safety, cleanliness and tidiness were key physical concerns within each cabin. Counselors were also taught to care for the emotional health of their campers, and to help them "face the issues that arise through living together." The credo Hamilton coined, "No cabin quarrels this generation, no world wars next generation." was the philosophy which she believed would solve both domestic and international tensions.

Finally, at the personal level, Hamilton argued that the "four absolutes" of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love were critical values to be instilled in developing young girls. She also invested a great deal of time with the counselors in order to monitor potential relationship problems among the campers. Hamilton met with her counselors after morning breakfast each day, and for extended periods of several days before and after each of the camp sessions. These counselor meetings eventually extended into a year round pattern. Hamilton described that she met with counselors, "during the winter and all through the war years till 1951." She also noted, We met the first Saturday of each month at the home of one or other of the counselors or the home of the director. No refreshments were served as a precaution against having the evening turn into a social function.

107 Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 58.
109 Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 60.
The minutes from one of these counselor meetings revealed that interpersonal issues were the most common topic of conversation. The counselors were reported to observe, "We found that we could trace practically every difficulty we had encountered during the summer back to relationships." At yet another counselor meeting, the values which were considered to be characteristics of a "spiritually disciplined" camper were listed. These characteristics included:

1. Honorable
2. Unselfish—not just for her own advancement
3. Willing to take responsibility
4. Able to control her emotions
5. Loyal
6. Trustworthy
7. Self-reliant
8. Possessing a source for the settlement of her own problems which others will want

In the area of interpersonal relationships, once again, the dominant concern which surfaced in these counselor meetings focused around the problem of emotional "crushes." In her book, *Call of the Algonquin*, Hamilton warned about same sex emotional attachments and commented, "above all, do not allow it to develop into an exclusive friendship." At one counselor meeting, the issue of crushes was discussed and "thrashed out pretty thoroughly." Hypothetical cases were discussed. In the first case of an exaggerated admiration of a younger for an older person, counselors were told that the two could potentially "drown together in a sea of sentiment."

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111 Minutes of a meeting of Tanamakoon counsellors, n.d. In files given to the author by Muriel Nelles Whyte.
112 Minutes of a meeting of Tanamakoon counselors, January 29th, 1939.
113 Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 90.
This problem, it was suggested, could be remedied by "diverting" the emotional attachment of the younger camper onto a different source. The second case was presented as the most serious. In this case, the "extreme liking" between two of the same age--particularly a counselor and a counselor--would eventually "hinder the efficient co-operation of the camp." An exclusive friendship between counselors fostered an "unnatural" atmosphere. It was also argued, "this sort of thing also leads to dishonorable action since the desire to be together is so great that they break rules in order to accomplish it."\(^\text{114}\)

In yet another example, minutes from a counselor meeting at Mary Hamilton's apartment in 1939 again raised the issue of "exclusive friendships and crushes." In these minutes, the group was told that such behavior constituted selfishness. "In exclusive friendships, it becomes clear whether or not the girl is selfish."\(^\text{115}\)

Once again, these concerns reflected homophobic fears. Although the term "lesbian" was never mentioned in the discourse, the underlying fear concerning strong female friendships was that these emotional attachments might eventually develop into sexual activity. These fears made any close friendships between women suspect, and open to the allegations of exclusivity, irresponsibility and selfishness.

"Welcome Trippers, Hale and Strong"

Although Mary Hamilton followed an extremely conservative middle class social agenda for young girls with regard to the traditional values of church and state, in the area of physical

\(^{114}\)Minutes of a meeting of Tanamakoon counselors, n.d. In files given to the author by Muriel Nelles Whyte.

\(^{115}\)Minutes of a meeting of Tanamakoon counselors, January 29th, 1939. In files given to the author by Muriel Nelles Whyte.
competency, the camp experience offered a considerable departure from gender appropriate expectations. Hamilton expected all the campers to follow a program which she described as "Spartan regimentation" and which began with exercises and a morning swim at 7:00 am. In addition to the usual array of camp activities such as swimming, sailing, riding, archery, tennis and field sports, girls were encouraged to learn how to wield an axe, and handle a hammer and saw. The campers built Adirondack shelters, the outdoor chapel, and the outdoor theatre. Hamilton observed, "the hatchet, saw and hammer became creative in their hands." After the completion of the outdoor chapel, one newspaper reporter commented:

This homemade theatre was set up this summer at Camp Tanamakoon, in Algonquin. There are all sorts of snapshots showing campers astride the peak of a roof, industriously shingling, or working away with might and main at other occupations that her grandmother might have stigmatized as not quite ladylike, forgetting that her own pioneer mothers and grandmothers did all these things and more.

In addition to construction projects, the task of Ranger Patrol was given to the camp during the war. This entailed checking on fishing licenses and the building of fires, as well as fire protection, the maintenance of portages, and the construction of docks, fireplaces, shelters and new campsites.

The most significant physical challenge was the wilderness canoe trip. Once again, the songs of the camp celebrated this

117 Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 35.
118 Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 37.
119 The Tanamakoon area consisted of the canoe route and surrounding area from the mouth of the Madawaska River to Smoke Lake, a distance of about four miles, including four portages. See, Hamilton, *Call of the Algonquin*, p. 68.
experience and described it in ways which suggested that both the Margaret Eaton young women and the campers became strong, competent and able to celebrate their bodies. Their songs reflected the joy of swinging an axe, the strain of a challenging portage and the exhilaration of a successful wilderness trek. One song admonished.

Wooded shores lure us on to explore still more Wonders of the great out-of-doors, Blazing trails all day long, amid laughter and song Or chopping a cedar log through, through, through: Strap a compass and knife and an axe to your belt; There's a thrill in the woods to be felt When you chop and you swing, you can hear your axe ring! Oh, the call comes to hearts that are true!\textsuperscript{120}

In addition to the development of these non-traditional skills for young women and girls, Mary Hamilton also tried to stimulate an appreciation for independent thought and public speaking. She believed that women had a right to express their opinion on matters of international importance. On one occasion, this training led to a direct confrontation with the patriarchal assumptions of a Toronto lawyer who had visited the camp one summer. After listening to one of the camp groups discuss international issues which focused on class and racial prejudice, he challenged them to get out and do more in public. He commented.

I've never heard people of your age talk this way before. It all sounds very fine but you will not do anything about it; women don't! They fight for what they want; then when they get it, they do not use it. They just let it drop. as they did the vote.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{120}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{121}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 63-64.
Hamilton reported that in response to these remarks the campers' hair "fairly stood on end" in anger. They responded by forming a Constructive Canadian Citizens Club which was designed to "befriend" people foreign to their culture. Two months later, as a group, they again visited this lawyer in his home in Toronto and again challenged his patronizing remarks. Although Hamilton did not expand on the details of this meeting, she observed, "it proved to be an occasion long to be remembered."\textsuperscript{122}

Yet another result of the discussion groups which Hamilton encouraged was the fact that counselors took on increasingly more camp responsibility. Changes were made to camp procedure, sometimes despite the preferences of the director. These changes varied from small issues, such as adjustments to the seating arrangements in the dining hall, to large issues, such as the inclusion of the camp staff in decisions concerning administration. Hamilton was forced to re-configure her desire for "firm control" over all camp decisions. She noted.

The first step had to be taken by the director herself. We decided that the cabin group would represent the family unit. The cabin counselor would work out the problems and difficulties involved in living together. Since formerly it was through working directly with the cabin group that I had gained my greatest satisfaction, it was not easy to give up that contact. But now I must step aside. I was beginning now to see that the first step in this new plan was to relinquish some of my control and delegate it to the counselors.\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{122}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{123}Hamilton, \textit{Call of the Algonquin}, p. 76.
These discussion groups—both at the camper level and the counselor level—initiated a more collective approach to power. All members of the camp staff were gradually included in camp discussions. A "camp administration" day was initiated and run entirely by the campers, and topics of discussion expanded to include issues of equity and social justice. As Hamilton noted, "Council fires grew to be one of the most important events of the week." In addition to these changes at camp, Hamilton also recognized the need for more opportunity for student responsibility at the Margaret Eaton School. She observed.

It had been a valuable experience for them and for me, too, for their need of learning how to carry responsibility became evident. As a result, student government was established in the School the following year and it added greatly to their qualities of leadership.

The "following" year was 1926, when Hamilton introduced student government at the school. Although she described this as an opportunity to "add greatly" to their responsibility, the initial responsibility of student government only extended to the co-ordination of club activities. In 1934, additional class representatives, a staff advisor and a residence representative were added to the student council. It appears that Hamilton was more willing to move toward student autonomy within the context of the camp, as compared to the context of the school. A copy of the school's student government constitution, probably dated between 1938-1939, indicated that at a later date, under the principalship of

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124 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 64.
125 Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 172.
Florence Somers, the objectives of student government were expanded to include some degree of autonomy, although largely limited to a disciplinary function. Article II of the constitution listed the following objectives.

Promote the welfare of the student body; to offer suggestions for constructive policies of the School; to effect student-controlled discipline of the student body; to suggest penalties for disobedience of student-imposed rules (to be decided by the Council).  

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During her term as principal, Mary Hamilton extended the vocational appeal of the Margaret Eaton School. Perhaps partly due to the fact that the school was now to be entirely self-supporting, Hamilton emphasized the marketability of the diploma program. Theoretical and practical courses concentrated on the acquisition of practical skills and the school advertised that it was successful in the placement of increasingly higher percentages of graduates in the field of physical education.

Although Mary Hamilton sought to train women "to take charge," many aspects of her educational vision for young women were quite conservative. The camp clearly reflected the moral teachings of Protestant Christianity, and Native customs were employed to further this view. Theory presented in the camp counseling courses were patriarchal and heterosexist. Although students were exposed to the rigors of camping in the wilderness, they were also expected to be attentive to gender appropriate

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127"Constitution for Student Government of the Margaret Eaton School." In files given to the author by Muriel Nelles Whyte, n.d.
physical deportment at the school. In one context, students were encouraged to wield an axe—in yet another, to wear a hat. As Patty Sterne Sanders summarized, "Sweat and hard work, refinement and expression. I'd say we had all four."128

Despite the conservative elements of her vision for young women, Hamilton also forwarded ideals which challenged gender restrictive norms. She created a program which allowed girls and women to feel strong and competent in their bodies, and she also made an effort to share power through co-operative strategies with her counselors. In discussion circles at the camp, she encouraged girls to examine issues of difference and to voice their opinion. She was proud of her graduates and her campers. She commented.

They weren't 'plaster saints' by any means. But they were a most responsible, reliable group of teen-age campers who were beginning to do real thinking on this world's problems.129

And, as Elizabeth Pitt noted.

I think her philosophy was to have a girl gain in self-improvement; I mean, whether it was in the morning exercises, and they blew a bugle, or whether it be a study of flowers, or a knowledge of riding or things like that. Be the best of whatever they could be. Or, to find and develop your own capacity.130

As a single woman, Hamilton established and ran a camp for girls for twenty-seven years. For twenty-five years she was affiliated with the work of the Margaret Eaton School. To many of her students, she was an independent thinker who accomplished much.

128Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, July 12, 1991.
129Hamilton, Call of the Algonquin, p. 64.
130Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author, April 22, 1994.
As Patty Sterne Sanders commented. "She was terribly keen for young women to get ahead--sort of a free thinker, that women could do things.\textsuperscript{131} And, as Margaret Davison Lathrop recalled. "I always got the feeling that Miss Somers was glad to see you married, and Miss Hamilton was glad to see you get a job."\textsuperscript{132}

Recalling the legacy of Mary Hamilton, Florence Somers observed.

Generous, unselfish, just, open-minded, progressive, you and I are richer for having known her. She has made the Margaret Eaton School known throughout the length and breadth of Canada for its high standard.\textsuperscript{133}

In 1935 Florence Somers replaced Hamilton as the principal of the Margaret Eaton School. Unlike Mary Hamilton, Somers brought to the school her experience within an American physical education tradition, largely shaped by medical and psychological discourse which warned of the adverse effects of physical activity for women. In the next phase of the school's history, the question of what constituted the "right" physical activities for girls and young women generally left the context of the Algonquin wilderness, and shifted to issues which were focused on women and athletics.\textsuperscript{134}

\textsuperscript{131}Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with author, July 12, 1991.
\textsuperscript{132}Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with author, August 17, 1994.
\textsuperscript{133}"Miss Mary Hamilton Honored by Alumnae," May 21, \textit{Globe}, p. 8
\textsuperscript{134}Florence Somers, \textit{The Principles of Women's Athletics} (New York: Barnes Press, 1930).
When Florence Somers became the next principal of the Margaret Eaton School, she brought with her the American model of girls' athletics and physical education. As the former Associate Director of the Sargent School of Physical Education in Boston, her vision of women's leadership in physical education changed the philosophical tenor of the school, and heightened its maternal and conservative emphasis. It was during her term as director that the school was ultimately closed and the faculty and students were assimilated into the University of Toronto's co-educational physical education and health degree program.

Many of the issues concerning physical education and women which permeated the Canadian educational scene during the 1930's were issues that had their roots in the history of schooling, teacher preparation and women's sport from the previous century. Certainly, the lingering influence of a vitalist medical discourse, the development of sex-specific curricula, persistent myths of female frailty and the militarist philosophies which dominated the field of physical education were by no means new. In addition, European and American systems of physical education continued to exert a major influence on the history of physical activity for young girls and
women in Canada, as centres for professional preparation outside Canada influenced Canadian physical educators.

Physical education for girls in Ontario

Physical education for girls in Ontario was initially stimulated by the growth of public schooling, and evolved in quite a different fashion than it did for boys. Girls' physical education languished in the shadow of physical education for boys, receiving far less financial support.¹ and a particularly detrimental "different" philosophical rationale. As Helen Lenskyj suggests, the twin beliefs in "women's unique anatomy" and their "special moral obligations"² disqualified girls from the same treatment which boys received, and instead prescribed for them a different physical education.

As early as the mid 1840's, the Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, Egerton Ryerson, had put forward a vision of education which included physical activity as part of the schooling experience. In 1844. Ryerson toured schools in Europe and examined their instructional methods. He was impressed with systems of European gymnastics and British sports that advocated physical training for health and national defence purposes.³ As Mary Keyes

¹Mary Keyes ("Sport and Physical Education in Schools and Universities," in Don Morrow, Mary Keyes, Wayne Simpson, Frank Costentino and Ron Lappage (eds.), A Concise History of Sport in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 79) notes that Ontario grants for educating girls in high schools during the period of Egerton Ryerson, were "exactly half that for boys." H. Lenskyj, in "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls in Ontario, 1890-1930" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983) p. 214, also confirms this material inequity.


³Egerton Ryerson was influenced by the work of educators such as Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827), Friedrich Jahn (1778-1852), Per Henrik Ling (1776-1839), Johann Guts Muths (1759-1839) and Archibald Maclaren (1820-1884).
suggests. Ryerson was influenced by the British "cult of athleticism." later dubbed the philosophy of "muscular Christianity." which viewed physical training as an important means to inculcate the virtues of physical courage, self-reliance, sportsmanship, and school loyalty.4 These values, however, were clearly designed for the education of young boys, not girls. In the mid 1840's, Ryerson founded the first teacher-training institution in the province--The Toronto Normal and Model School--and eventually appointed Henry Goodwin, a military officer who had fought at the Battle of Waterloo, as the school's gymnastics instructor. During the 1850's and 1860's at the Normal School, male teachers received instruction in gymnastics and military drill and female teachers received instruction in light calisthenics.5 From the beginning, as Lenskyj suggests, the history of physical education schooling for girls in Ontario was embedded in a system which was patriarchal. She notes, "a school system which equated sports with manly sports and physical training with military training was a system which perpetuated the values of patriarchy."6

By the middle of the 19th century, calisthenics had emerged as the most common and appropriate form of physical activity for women in North America. This exercise system had been popularized


4Mary Keyes notes that Egerton Ryerson particularly admired the work of the English Educator, Dr. Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby boy's school (1828-42). Tom Brown's School Days was written by one of Arnold's pupils, Thomas Hughes, who advocated the philosophy of physical training which later became known as "Muscular Christianity." See, M. Keyes, "Sport and Physical Education in Schools and Universities," p. 72.


by American educators Catherine Beecher (1800-1878) and Dio Lewis (1823-1866). Beecher extended the work of the Swedish educator Per Henrick Ling who had originally pioneered gymnastics for men in order to instill "health and strength." She modified his system and devised a series of light stretching exercises designed to foster "beauty and strength" for women. Although calisthenics was a term which came to be associated with activities specific to women alone, Beecher originally intended calisthenics to be an activity suitable for both sexes. She commented, "This method is adapted to mixed schools, so that both sexes can perform them together."

Catherine Beecher incorporated calisthenics as part of the training young women received at her teacher-training school, the Hartford Female Seminary, as early as 1823.

Dio Lewis advocated a similar system of calisthenics which included activities such as marching and swinging such things as dumb-bells, wands, rings, bean bags, and clubs. He referred to his system as "the new gymnastics." These activities were performed with music and were designed to enhance flexibility and agility rather than simply strength. In 1861 Lewis opened a Normal Institute for Physical Education in Boston, and a girls' school in

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7 Catherine Beecher, in Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1856) p. iv, described "calisthenics" as a word formed by the two Greek words, kalos, signifying beautiful, and sthenos, signifying strength. She distinguished calisthenics from gymnastics, based on the fact that gymnastics fostered health and strength, and required gymnastic apparatus in a room set apart specifically for this purpose. She described her approach as a system which was easily adaptable for use in schools, nurseries, hospitals and in the home.

8 Beecher, Physiology and Calisthenics, p. iv.

9 Lewis' "new gymnastics" was a system designed to replace both the German (Jahn) and the Swedish (Ling) systems. Lewis argued that the old systems were not conducive to development of physical ability in the non-athlete. See, Dio Lewis, "The New Gymnastics," Atlantic Monthly, August 1862, p. 129-148.
Lexington, Massachusetts (1864-1867)--where Catherine Beecher also lectured for a brief period.\textsuperscript{10} Although Lewis' system was also originally designed for men and women of all ages, two-thirds of the graduates from his Normal Institute for Physical Education were women.\textsuperscript{11}

In Canada, the emphasis on military drill for boys--or, "military gymnastics" as Ryerson called it--continued throughout the 1860's in many elementary and secondary schools in Ontario. The result, Keyes suggests, was an emphasis on educating boys and a neglect of girls.\textsuperscript{12} Between 1875 and 1890 the province passed legislation which reinforced the militarist objectives of physical training and offered incentives to stimulate the building of high school gymnasia in the province. In 1876, Toronto introduced a mandatory system of military training into the public schools.\textsuperscript{13} Between 1876 and 1895 new secondary schools were built with large assembly rooms which were used for calisthenics classes. By 1885, the Ontario Department of Education required that all collegiate institutes provide facilities for physical training.\textsuperscript{14} In a telling Department of Education circular distributed in 1885, from an equipment list of twenty pieces of gymnastics apparatus recommended for use in high school gymnasia, only one item related to physical activity for girls. The last item on


\textsuperscript{11}Leonard and Affleck, \textit{A Guide To The History of Physical Education}, p. 266.

\textsuperscript{12}Keyes, "Sport and Physical Education in Schools and Universities," p. 75.


the list of twenty simply read. "For girls. a suitable supply of Indian Clubs should be provided."15

In 1886, with the publication of E. B. Houghton's text. Physical Culture, physical activity for girls and women was slightly extended to include dumb-bell exercises, postural positions and dance in addition to Indian club work and calisthenics.16 Houghton was a retired physical training instructor from Chatham, Ontario, and by 1887 his text was recommended for use in Toronto and Ottawa Normal Schools. Although Physical Culture was the first text in Canada to devote nearly half of its content to the issue of physical training for girls, once again. calisthenics and Indian club work were the primary forms of physical activity encouraged for girls. Although Houghton included drill as a form of exercise suitable for both boys and girls, the option of drill for girls was probably more indicative of the influence of the health and hygiene movement (which believed that. "Children who drill. seldom are ill")17 than it was a step in the direction of equal treatment for both sexes. Houghton described Indian club work as "artistic swinging." which, when accompanied by music, yielded "exceeding grace and beauty... poetry and rhythm."18 This text, evident from its title, also marked a transition in the name of what systems of physical activities were called. Gymnastics and

15OA-DE, Record Group 2, Series P, P-2, Coole No., LV, Box 50. See Keyes, "Sport and Physical Education in Schools and Universities," p. 77.
16Indian club work entailed swinging wooden clubs, resembling bowling pins, in circle and elliptical patterns around the upper body. These clubs weighed approximately one to one and one-half pounds. See, M. Keyes, "Sport and Physical Education in Schools and Universities," p. 77.
exercises of a functional nature had previously been referred to as systems of "physical training." but with the addition of aesthetic and expressive components—exclusively for girls and women—the popular term shifted to "physical culture."

In the new century, the militarist flavour of physical education in Ontario received a boost with the province's endorsement of the Strathcona Trust. This Trust, originally established in 1909 by Sir Frederick Borden, the Federal Minister of Militia, was a trust fund of $500,000.00 donated by Lord Strathcona for the purpose of the encouragement of physical and military training in the elementary and secondary schools of Canada. The funds from this trust merely extended the connection which had already been in effect since 1890, when the federal Department of Militia first provided the Ontario Department of Education with monetary grants for secondary schools for holding classes in drill.\(^{19}\) By 1911, funds from the Strathcona Trust extended this financial support for military training and allocated funds to schools for the purchase of physical training syllabuses,\(^{20}\) and to pay for drill instructors and drill competitions.

Few historians underestimate the influence of the "Strathcona System" on the teaching philosophy of physical education in Ontario. Desmond Morton suggests that it was the most widely taught

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\(^{19}\) As early as 1898 a High School Cadet Instructor's Certification Program had been initiated, with the Department of Militia supplying cadets with rifles and ammunition for rifle shooting. See, M. Keyes, "Sport and Physical Education in Schools and Universities," p. 82 and H. Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls," p. 212.

\(^{20}\) Syllabuses purchased for use in Canada included the British Board of Education's Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools published in 1909, 1919 and 1933.
Both Keyes and Lenskyj challenge the educative value of the system, noting both its militarist and patriarchal bias. Keyes comments, "It represented a giant step backward for child-centered education and for the incorporation of sport and games into the curriculum." and Lenskyj notes that it not only deprived girls physical education of material resources, but it also consigned them to a system of "joyless, formal calisthenics." Even Helen Gurney, despite her caution that the Trust must not be unilaterally "condemned" as a negative influence on physical education, nevertheless acknowledges the pervasive military cast that the Strathcona Trust shed over the province.

Unfortunately, since the military-oriented philosophy had become deeply rooted over the years in many jurisdictions, it was never wholly eradicated until graduates of the new schools of Physical Education became predominant in the schools, and supervisory personnel conducted workshops in modern methods and philosophy.

The Professional Preparation of Physical Educators

The history of physical education for girls in Ontario must also be examined within the larger context of the history of professional preparation. As we have seen by the educational history of Emma Scott Raff Nasmith and Mary Hamilton, the professional preparation of physical educators in Canada was largely shaped by American and

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22Keyes, "Sport and Physical Education in Schools and Universities," p. 86.


European influences. The education which they received had a direct influence on the type of movement education which they, in turn, offered. However, during the directorship of Florence Somers, more than simply curriculum was changed. It was during her tenure that the Margaret Eaton School shifted its status from a small, specialized training centre to become part of the University of Toronto. This change, from separate status to university absorption, was symptomatic of a larger trend toward the professionalization of the discipline. It is therefore important to revisit the history of professional preparation in Canadian physical education, not only to trace the changing content of the discipline, but also to understand the historical context from which Florence Somers operated.

As Helen Gurney notes, in the absence of centres for professional preparation in Canada, many Canadians sought professional training through summer courses and diploma certification programmes offered in the United States. These American schools were themselves influenced by European systems of physical education and body culture. Although many of these European influences promoted the educative value of physical education as opposed to the military purpose of physical training, they also served to further reinforce a two-tier system of gender appropriate physical education.

During the 1880's and 1890's, a number of American educators had begun to question the value of drill, and fought for the inclusion of play and creative movement in physical activity programs. Part of

\[25\text{See, Gurney, }\textit{The CAHPER Story, p. 3 and H. Gurney, Girls' Sports, A Century of Progress, p. 14.}\]
this influence came from the recognition, particularly by
Kindergarten advocates of the 1890's.\textsuperscript{26} that free, unspecialized
movement in the form of play was an important component of
childhood development. Such ideas were also to be found in some
European systems of body culture, which, by the late nineteenth
century, had begun to influence American systems of physical
education. As we have seen, these European systems, represented in
the work of Francois Delsarte, Emile Jaques Dalcroze and Rudolf
Laban, advocated natural, spontaneous and rhythmic movement
through the promotion of modern dance, eurhythmy and expressive
gymnastics. Although these techniques were designed to enrich the
movement repertoire of both women and men, they were largely
assimilated into American schools of physical education as
exclusively female activities.\textsuperscript{27}

In 1886, the Chautauqua Institute in New York state sponsored
the first North American programme designed to prepare graduates
for the field of physical "education," as opposed to physical "training."
The shift from "training" to "education" was significant, for it denoted
a step toward a more broadly defined area of study. Emily Bishop, a
teacher of expression and author on the subjects of health and

\textsuperscript{26}The kindergarten movement began with the work of the German educator,
Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852). John Dewey (1859-1952), the American
philosopher and educator, adopted Froebel's principles in his experimental
school at the University of Chicago, which he directed from 1896-1904.

\textsuperscript{27}For a parallel development on the assimilation of the Rudolf Laban's
movement theory and work in modern dance on the history of physical
education in England see, Sheila Fletcher, "The Making and Breaking of a
Female Tradition: Women's Physical Education in England 1880-1980" in J.A.
Mangan and Roberta J. Park (eds.), \textit{From Fair Sex To Feminism: Sport and the
Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras} (London:
perspectives in Dance Education" in Peter Abbs, ed., \textit{Living Powers},(London:
beauty.28 taught in the Delsarte Department of the School of Physical Education at the Chautauqua Institute. She applied Francois Delsarte's movement approach to gymnastics, and argued that there was a distinction between gymnastics for exercise, and gymnastics for expression.29 In 1892, at the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education conference, Bishop called for the national endorsement of an Americanized form of Delsarte Culture in order to "lead man back to nature's ways. to make him healthy. free. strong. simple and natural."30 Although she employed the term "man." Bishop's system of expressive gymnastics was taught as the appropriate form of gymnastics for women, whereas, gymnastics for exercise was presented as the appropriate form for men.

Genevieve Stebbins was also an early American advocate of expressive gymnastics for women. Stebbins had studied with Steele MacKaye, a pupil of Francois Delsarte, and devised a system of "aesthetic gymnastics" which she believed would train the body for grace of motion. Stebbins introduced this form of gymnastics in the schools in New York City.31 She combined the aesthetic components


of the Delsarte system with Swedish (Ling) gymnastics, and added exercises for breathing and relaxation. The result was a system designed to enhance fluidity of motion and the physical attractiveness of women, who, she lamented, were all "either round-shouldered, flat chested or almost ruined around the waist."^{32}

In 1894, Melvin Ballou Gilbert devised a "substitute" system of gymnastics for women at Harvard University. Also influenced by the work of Delsarte, Gilbert adding an "aesthetic" and expressive component to Catherine Beecher's purely functional system of calisthenics. This new approach, which he called "aesthetic calisthenics,"^{33} was warmly received by the program's director, Dudley Allen Sargent. Although an advocate of a broadly based program for women including games and sport, Sargent also believed that rigorous activity must be specially modified for women. "Aesthetic calisthenics." therefore, constituted an excellent addition to the Harvard program, because, in the words of Dudley Sargent, "physical education for a woman should reflect her gentler nature."^{34}

In addition to expressive forms of gymnastics and calisthenics, educational dance was also an area which had begun to influence women's physical education. Like expressive and aesthetic gymnastics, dance also entered American colleges and universities. The popularity of Isadora Duncan (1878-1927) and the new free

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dance of American pioneers such as Ruth St Denis (1880-1968) and Ted Shawn (1891-1972) stimulated interest in modern dance in the United States. These pioneers inspired others, such as Martha Graham (1894-1991), Doris Humphrey (1895-1958) and Charles Weidman (1901-1975). During this period, dance educators such as Gertrude Kline Colby and Margaret H'Doubler took natural and creative forms of dance into their university context. Colby (1880-1960), a graduate of the Sargent School, experimented with creative dance at Columbia. She developed a variety of programs of natural movement and rhythmic activity which were used in schools and colleges during the 1920's and 1930's. Margaret H'Doubler, a physical education instructor at the University of Wisconsin, left Wisconsin to attend Columbia University and study with Colby between 1916 and 1918. After this period of study she returned to the University of Wisconsin and introduced a program of "creative dance." By 1926, students were able to pursue an academic major in dance.35 H'Doubler's analysis of dance as a creative art became a firmly established method of movement and dance education in America.36

According to Helen Bryans, physical education for girls in Ontario was influenced by a number of these expressive systems.37 As we have seen, at the Margaret Eaton School, for example, courses

36Margaret H'Doubler's text, Dance, A Creative Art Experience (New York, F.S. Crofts and Company, 1940) was influential text in American dance education during the 1940's and 1950's.
offered in Dalcroze eurhythmics, rhythmic gymnastics, aesthetic dance, and creative dance had their roots in systems of physical education which were directly linked to American programs of professional preparation and European systems of expressive movement. Although at one level these influences served to entrench a sex-differentiated model of physical education, they were also influences which stimulated diversity in movement content and innovative ideas in teaching pedagogy.\(^{38}\)

By the turn of the century, the first Ontario centers of professional preparation in physical education had begun to take root—but these early efforts were sporadic and attracted relatively few students. The Hamilton School of Physical Culture, opened to men only, was established in 1889 and followed the model established by the Y.M.C.A. training school in Springfield, Massachusetts. The school closed in 1913.\(^{39}\) In 1900, the University of Toronto initiated a diploma course in physical training for men, which was to be taken in conjunction with a Bachelor of Arts degree. A year later, a women's diploma program was added. These programs, however, attracted few students. As Gurney notes, "these programs were not successful in attracting many students: in the first five years only

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\(^{38}\)One example of transformation in the content and pedagogy of physical education was the development of 'movement education' as a elementary school philosophy which influenced Ontario curriculum in the 1940's. See, Anna H. Lathrup, "Movement Education: From New Era to New Age" Proceedings from the International Conference of Movement Education For a New Age (St. Catharines, Brock University, October 20-22, 1989), p. 58-66.

\(^{39}\)The Springfield College Y.M.C.A. Training School was established in 1881 in Springfield, Massachusetts. H. Gurney (The CAHPER Story, p. 3) notes that "many prospective male physical education teachers attended Springfield in the fifty years prior to the establishment of degree programs in Canada."
four men and one woman received the Diploma."\(^{40}\) After 1908, there were no male graduates from this diploma program.

In 1912, efforts were made at the normal school level to prepare teachers in physical education. The Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto offered courses for secondary school teachers, which included some sport and games in addition to marching drill and calisthenics.\(^{41}\) By 1913, secondary school teachers were able to earn a specialist teaching certificate in physical education by taking summer courses from the Ontario Department of Education.

Also in 1912, Miss Ivy Coventry, a graduate of the Sargent School, was appointed the Director of Athletics for Women at the University of Toronto in an effort to revitalize the women's diploma program. Although the program for women was discontinued during the war years, it was again reinstated in 1924. Jean Forster, a graduate from this diploma program in 1928, recalled the training she received in these early years.\(^{42}\) She noted that the academic theory, practice and swimming requirements for the diploma entailed six hours per week.\(^{43}\) This University of Toronto diploma

\(^{40}\)Gurney, *The CAHPER Story*, p. 4. Gurney graduated from the University of Toronto with a Bachelor of Arts and a diploma in physical education in 1940. Interview with the author, August 22, 1988.


\(^{42}\)Jean Forster would later join Florence Somers and Dorothy Jackson as female members of the first combined physical education and health faculty in the University of Toronto degree program after amalgamation with the Margaret Eaton School in 1942. Interview with the author, June 19, 1991.

\(^{43}\)Jean Forster, interview with the author, June 19, 1991. Also, see *University of Toronto, Miscellaneous Curricula (Physical Training), 1924-1925*, p. 12-13 which lists Year One requirements as including 20 lecture hours in elementary physiology, ten lecture hours of personal hygiene, three hours of
program graduates were recognized by the Department of Education as fulfilling the "non-professional" requirement for Specialist standing in Physical Education. When these University of Toronto students completed the Ontario College of Education course in physical education, they received an Interim Specialist Certificate.\textsuperscript{44} As Forster recalled, this was a distinct advantage for the University of Toronto diploma students. She noted,

We didn't have too many [students in the University of Toronto BA/diploma program], but we could go to the Ontario College of Education and get a Specialist certificate and teach in the high schools. That's one thing that the Margaret Eaton students could not do, unless they took the time to get the degree.\textsuperscript{45}

Despite this fact, throughout its history, the Margaret Eaton School consistently attracted more students. Indeed, between 1901 and 1942, the Margaret Eaton School graduated over two hundred and fifty students, with an average of eighteen graduates per year.\textsuperscript{46}

Mary Barker, a Margaret Eaton graduate of 1925, recalled considerable rivalry between students in the Margaret Eaton program and those in the University of Toronto diploma program. She noted that the Margaret Eaton graduates used to refer to the University of Toronto diploma students as "the peters." because there were so few of them, and because the program was so irregular that

\textsuperscript{44}University of Toronto Calendar, Miscellaneous Curricula (Physical Training), 1924-1925, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{45}Jean Forster, interview with the author, June 19, 1991.
\textsuperscript{46}Between 1939 and 1942 the school averaged 28 graduates per year. See, Calendar, 1940-1941, p. 19-26.
it was generally expected that it would eventually just "peter out."\textsuperscript{47} Nearly fifteen years later, yet another generation of Margaret Eaton graduates held a similar opinion. Dorothy Walker, graduate of 1940, recalled the few University of Toronto diploma students who attended some classes with Margaret Eaton graduates. She noted.

The program at University of Toronto was very minimal. I think it was running concurrent with ours but as I recall, there were only four or five people in the course and it was not well publicized. It certainly was not well publicized, whereas Margaret Eaton was.\textsuperscript{48}

Muriel Nelles, a graduate of 1939, also confirmed this view. In her year, the Margaret Eaton residence was filled beyond capacity, and students had to be accommodated in rented rooms on Huron Street.\textsuperscript{49} She noted the comparable year at the University of Toronto had far fewer students.

But the residence only held so many, and in our year we had thirty-three students. The equivalent year in the University of Toronto was only four in physical education and the same maybe at McGill--maybe they had ten. But ours was a world renowned School for the training of women in physical education. And students came from all over Canada.\textsuperscript{50}

Doctors and Women's Athletics

Another factor which shaped the history of physical education and athletic activity for girls and women in Ontario during the nineteenth century was the fact that many of the early academic and administrative positions in North American universities in the

\textsuperscript{47}Mary Barker, correspondence with the author, August 28, 1996.
\textsuperscript{48}Dorothy Walker, interview with the author, June 28, 1991.
\textsuperscript{49}Muriel Nelles Whyte and Margaret Davison Lathrop boarded in these rooms.
\textsuperscript{50}Muriel Nelles Whyte, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
developing profession were held by men with medical degrees. These doctors brought their discourse of physiological difference into the arena of physical education, and led a wave of concern which cast a conservative pall over vigorous and competitive athletic activities for women. As Lenskyj argues, "The doctors who were in a unique position to influence public opinion on these topics were the men who had taken up university positions in physical education administration."  

And, as Ann Hall further suggests, just at the time when female sporting participation was on the rise in Canada during the 1920's--often referred to as the "Golden Age of Sport"--it seemed as if "many influential voices of alarm were being heard."

These "voices of alarm" came from individuals in both the United States and Canada. Dudley Alan Sargent, Robert Tait McKenzie and Arthur Stanley Lamb were three prominent examples of influential leaders who cautioned that excessive physical activity might prove damaging to women. Indeed, self-proclaimed by one of Tait McKenzie's American colleagues, Dr. William Anderson, as "iron men in wooden boats." these early medically trained gymnasium

51Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls" p. 93-94.
directors formed the first alliances which would eventually establish the foundation of the new academic discipline. The opinions of these early medical physical educators profoundly influenced the history of physical education in Canada and Canadian thinking about what constituted appropriate activities for girls and women.

The American Dudley Allen Sargent was perhaps one of the most prominent individuals to influence Canadian physical education as a result of the tremendous popularity of his two teacher training centers in the Boston area. Sargent graduated from Yale medical school in 1878, and a year later was appointed to the position of Assistant Professor of Physical Training and Director of the Hemenway gymnasium at Harvard University in Boston. In addition to his work with men at the Hemenway gymnasium, in 1881 Sargent began to train young female teachers at the Harvard Annex (Radcliffe College) in a nearby gymnasium in Cambridge. By 1883, a normal course was formally established, and by 1904, this program expanded to three years and was opened to men in addition to women. Meanwhile, in 1887, summer courses in physical training and professional preparation—lasting five weeks—began to be offered at the Hemenway Gymnasium under the auspices of Harvard University. Constance Wreyford, for example, who taught at the Margaret Eaton School from 1907-1910, was a graduate of this

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summer program. According to Emmett Rice and John Hutchinson, Sargent's physical education school in Boston "became a model for the universities of the midwest."56 This school also attracted a large number of Canadians.57 Mary Hamilton and Florence Somers were graduates of the Sargent School, as were a number of other Margaret Eaton instructors, including Margaret MacGregor, Genevieve Barber, Bernice Taylor, Laura Geddes and Marion Hobday Allen.58

Although Dudley Sargent endorsed the view that women needed the opportunity to develop concentration, self-control, and strength in physical activities--values he erroneously believed to be "masculine"--on the issue of vigorous and competitive activity he maintained the view that rules for team sports needed to be modified for women. In his text, Health, Strength and Power, Sargent noted that after puberty, "girls' physical training should be very different from the boys" and further argued, "they must all be entered into with certain mental and physical reservations."59

Sargent's rationale for special treatment for girls and women in physical activity also appeared to reflect eugenic arguments and fears of 'race suicide.'

56Rice and Hutchinson, A Brief History of Physical Education, p. 211.
57Jean McGill (The Joy of Effort, p. 25) notes that Canadian physical educator Tait McKenzie, not only frequently attended Sargent's summer school at Yale, but that as the Instructor of Physical Culture at McGill from 1894-1904, he "often took McGill students with him." See, also, H. Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls," p. 95.
58Margaret MacGregor taught at the Margaret Eaton School between 1920-1921; Genevieve Barber between 1921-1924 and 1931-1932; Bernice Taylor between 1925-1926; Laura Geddes between 1926-1933 and Marion Hobday Allen between 1934-1941. See, Dorothy Jackson, A Brief History of Three Schools (Toronto: T. Eaton Company Limited, 1953), p. 34-35.
To insist upon girls playing violent athletic games under the same rules and regulations that govern the contests of boys, and to put them through the same vigorous method of training, is not only cruel to the girl, but it is suicidal to the race.60

Tait McKenzie (1867-1938), a prominent Canadian educator, was another medically trained professional who was a recognized leader in the field of physical education in both the United States and Canada.61 McKenzie graduated from McGill University with a degree in medicine and in 1891 attended Dudley Sargent's summer school at Harvard.62 In 1894 he returned to McGill in the capacity of medical examiner and gymnastics instructor. In 1904 McKenzie accepted the position of Director of Physical Training at the University of Pennsylvania, a position which he held until 1931. During World War I, he served in the British Royal Army Medical Corps. A respected author, sculptor and leader in the area of rehabilitative therapy, McKenzie was director of the American Association of Health Physical Education and Recreation from 1912-1915, and was a "friend and advisor" to Baron de Coubertin.63

60 Sargent, Health, Strength and Power, p. 65.
61 The Tait R. McKenzie Awards of Honour were introduced in 1948 by the Canadian Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation in order to recognize outstanding contributions in the field of Canadian physical education. Florence A. Somers was chair of the committee which determined the original criteria. Through the efforts of a CAHPER committee established in early 1960's, the Mill of Kintail, an old mill in Almonte, Ontario, which was formerly owned by Tait McKenzie, was purchased in 1972 and transformed into a museum by the government of Canada. (See, H. Gurney, The CAHPER Story, p. 174). According to Elizabeth Pitt, after McKenzie's death, his wife, Ethel, wrote to her and offered her ownership of the Mill. Pitt had hoped to open a school at the Mill similar to the Margaret Eaton School, but was dissuaded by friends and family who said that the project was too ambitious for a single woman to achieve. Pitt declined the offer, but eventually inherited all of the Mill's contents from Ethyl's estate. Pitt, in turn, donated the contents back to the Mill museum. Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author, March 29, 1994.
Although McKenzie avidly defended the principles of amateur sport in the wake of professionalism and commercialism, his views concerning women in physical education were considerably more conservative. In his text, *Exercise in Education and Medicine*, published in 1909, McKenzie commented.

Girls retain their individualism, and do not come under the domination of the "gang" instinct to the same extent as boys. The fighting reflex is not so dominant. They do not inherit the ability to throw straight and strike hard, and thus are put at a disadvantage in games requiring these activities. Their periods of temporary disability make them take less interest in active and competitive games, and they have much less endurance.\(^64\)

McKenzie also argued that girls and women should adopt separate activity programs from those of men, and that "bodily training of the two sexes must differ radically in order to fit each for its own future life and environment."\(^65\) He noted.

A woman's training should develop those characteristics of growth, poise, speech, carriage, and dress peculiar to her, and cannot with impunity ignore the psychologic and physiologic differences between the boy and the girl and between man and woman.\(^66\)

With respect to appropriate activities for women, McKenzie identified football, boxing, pole vaulting and heavy gymnastics as "obviously unsuited for their temperament and build" and recommended eurhythmic gymnastics, calisthenics, dancing, archery.

Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympics in 1896, was outspoken in his condemnation of women's sport, believing that vigorous and competitive sport activities were "against the laws of nature." See, M. Keyes, "Women and Sport," p. 234.


swimming, skating and fencing instead. He particularly discouraged track and field activities such as the shot put, high jump, broad jump and the 100 yard dash.

Elizabeth Pitt, a Margaret Eaton graduate of 1925, lived with Tait McKenzie and his wife Ethel for two years while McKenzie was physical training director in Philadelphia. Although she was grateful for his encouragement and support which eventually gained her a position at Bryn Mawr as a physical education instructor, she described his philosophy toward women and physical education as one which "maintained a distinct difference between men's capabilities and achievements, and those of women." She also recalled that Tait and Ethel were most insistent, while she boarded with them, that she attend to social convention and "find" a boyfriend. Apparently, Pitt did not reflect the kind of interest in romance which McKenzie believed was the "norm" for all women.

As a general rule, girls are not naturally fond of sports and games. They have much less of the spirit of adventure or combat than boys, although they have more of the spirit of romance.

Arthur Lamb was another medically trained figure in the field of physical education who influenced the history of women and athletics in Canada. Also a graduate of McGill in medicine, he succeeded Tait McKenzie and returned there as director of Physical Training in 1919. Lamb organized the Quebec Physical Education

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69McKenzie, Exercise in Education and Medicine, p. 277.
70The McGill diploma program in physical education was established in 1919 and was originally initiated by Mary Ethel Cartwright in 1912. It began as a
Association in 1923 and served as the secretary of the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union in 1924. Together with Mary Hamilton and Mary Barker71 Lamb was instrumental in organizing the first assembly of the Canadian Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation at the Margaret Eaton School in 1933, and he served as the association's first director from 1933-1939.

Lamb's position regarding women and vigorous competitive activity was most clearly reflected in his decision to vote against the continuation of women's Olympic track and field events at the 1928 meeting of the International Amateur Athletic Federation. Ironically, Lamb was the manager of the women's Canadian Olympic team sent to Amsterdam in 1928 when the Canadian women's team distinguished themselves in three track and two field events. Despite the outstanding performances of Ethel Catherwood, Jane Bell, Myrtle Cook, Ethel Smith, and Fannie (Bobbie) Rosenfeld in these Olympics,72 Lamb echoed medical concerns of the period, and claimed that "strenuous sport was physiologically and psychologically unsuitable for women."73 As a result of these concerns, the 800 metre race was withdrawn as a viable Olympic event for women after the 1928

winter session to train teachers and grant extra qualification. See, F. Cosentino and M. Howell, A History of Physical Education in Canada, p. 36. Cartwright was appointed in 1906, and, according to B. Kidd in The Struggle for Canadian Sport, p. 117, was "arbitrarily fired from McGill by A.S. Lamb during a period of illness" in 1928.

71Mary Hamilton was then principal of the Margaret Eaton School and Mary Barker was the chairman of the Toronto Physical Education Association. See, H. Gurney, The CAHPER Story, p. 14. Also, Mary Barker, correspondence with the author, August 28, 1996.

72The 1928 Canadian women's Olympic relay team of Bell, Cook, Smith and Rosenfeld placed first in the 4x100 meter relay; Rosenfeld placed second and Smith third in the 100 metre race and Catherwood placed second in the high jump.

73Lamb, cited in David McDonald and Lauren Drewry, For the Record, Canada's Greatest Women Athletes (Rexdale: John Wiley and Sons, 1981), p. 5
Olympics. and not reintroduced until the 1960 Olympics in Rome. As Lenskyj argues.

Elimination of the so-called grueling events signified a victory for critics like Lamb and McKenzie, who, with many of their American colleagues, provided medical rationales for their opposition to this kind of activity.74

Lamb's philosophy with regard to appropriate physical activities for women also extended to his years as Director of the physical training program at McGill. As one student recalled, the McGill program emphasized little more than "skiing and social tennis" for women, given the belief that "ladies just don't compete aggressively."75 Once again, Lamb invoked the discourse of physiological difference and warned of the harmful effects should gender roles deviate from the norm.

The nature and characteristics of boys and girls differ very widely... The tendency for girls to ape the activities of boys is regrettable. In most cases, it is physiologically and psychologically unsound and may be definitely harmful. ... There are numerous activities suitable for girls and women without the necessity of using those types of competition which call for such intensive concentration as many which are now being promoted.76

**Girls’ Rules**

Given the prominent roles which medically trained leaders such as McKenzie, Lamb and Sargent had, and their concerns regarding the potential hazards of vigorous physical activity for women, it is not surprising that considerable controversy emerged

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from the debate surrounding competition and "girls' rules." The "girls' rules" movement was a strategy adopted by concerned educators in the field who believed that excessively vigorous and competitive team games could be modified for women to make them less potentially hazardous. Perhaps no other sport so clearly dramatized the debate concerning women and competitive activity than basketball—a sport which had become, by the 1920's, one of the most popular team games in most secondary schools and universities across Canada.77

The year after James Naismith78 invented the game of basketball at Springfield College in 1891, Senda Berenson, director of Physical Education for women at Smith College in Massachusetts, modified the rules in order to protect women from rough, aggressive play. These rules, referred to as "Spalding Rules"—named after A. D. Spalding, the American sport manufacturer—restricted both the type of play and the playing area for the women's game. Berenson proposed that each team play with six instead of five players and that the court be divided into three zones. Each girl was allowed to play only two-thirds of the full court and players were limited to two bounces before the ball had to be passed. Personal contact was, of course, prohibited.79 Despite the tremendous success and popularity of the Edmonton Grads—the Canadian university team of amateur

77Gurney (Girls' Sports, A Century of Progress, p. 35) claims, "basketball literally swept through the schools from coast to coast."
78James Naismith, (1861-1936) born in Almonte, Ontario, was an orphan. He was taken in by the parents of Tait McKenzie. The two boys became good friends. Naismith earned a medical degree from Colorado University and for forty years was associated with the University of Kansas as Director of Physical Education. He introduced the game of basketball in 1891 while a student at Springfield College, Massachusetts.
basketball players who popularized the sport during the 1920's and who played according to the five-player men's rules\textsuperscript{80}--advocates who feared excessive competition might harm women nevertheless fought to enforce the six-player Spalding rules for women in order to protect Canadian schools from the competitive and commercial taint of aggressive sport.

The issue of "girls' rules" divided physical education opinion in Canada--but not exclusively along gender lines. As Keyes notes, it was an issue which divided women and was "the bane of four generations of collegiate physical educators."\textsuperscript{81} At issue was not only the fears of potentially hazardous physiological stress, but also the larger agenda of compulsory heterosexuality, marriage and reproductive fertility which were socially inscribed onto the bodies of women. Some of the most outspoken advocates of the girls' rules movement were female physical educators who wished to control women's sport and who challenged the male model. As Bruce Kidd suggests, in a "curious blend of protective and progressive impulses."\textsuperscript{82} they used arguments of difference to justify women's control of women's sport. The issue of girls' rules and the search for a uniform code for basketball divided members of the Canadian Women's Amateur Athletic Federation, an association formed in 1926 in affiliation with the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union. At the time that the federation was established, both the six-player "Spalding

\textsuperscript{80}Canada's most famous basketball team, the Commercial Graduates Basketball Club, began in 1915 at the John MacDougall Commercial High School in Edmonton. Out of a total of 522 games played during their 25 year history--some of which were against male teams--they lost only 20.

\textsuperscript{81}Keyes, "Women and Sport," p. 232.

\textsuperscript{82}Kidd, The Struggle for Canadian Sport, p. 123.
rules" and the five-player men's rules were used for women's basketball across Canada. Although the federation attempted to find agreement on a uniform code for basketball, these efforts proved to be fruitless. As late as 1941 two sets of rules were still in effect across Canada.84

One of the major influences which shaped the girls' rules debate in Canada came from the United States. In 1923, in response to "the general conditions surrounding the playing of basketball and other sports for women."85 the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation in the United States called a conference to examine the issue of competition in women's sport. This conference was convened by Mrs. Herbert Hoover, then Vice President of the association. The conference condemned the emphasis on competition in women's sport and athletics and called for the adoption of a platform which advocated "trained women leaders." "controlled publicity." "health supervision." a system of "awards, not prizes." "approved rules" and a philosophy of "play for play's sake."86 Endorsed by eastern, mid-west, and western association directors of physical education for women in colleges and universities across the United States, the philosophy of "a team for every girl and every girl on the team"87 was pervasive, and effectively ended all organized

83According to Kidd, (The Struggle for Canadian Sport, p. 121) in the Maritimes and central Canada most high schools played Spalding rules, whereas in the west, most women's teams played according to the men's rules.
84See Kidd, The Struggle for Canadian Sport, p. 122.
league competition for girls in favour of recreational programs from 1924 to 1970. According to Keyes, this non-competitive philosophy "guided girls sport for over 50 years."88

The American influence was felt in Canada through American professionals teaching in Canada, and Canadians educated in the United States. As Kidd suggests, "The most fervent supporters were middle-class U.S. physical educators, who had considerable influence in Canada."89 Gurney notes that educators such as Helen Bryans, who had taken summer courses at Columbia University in New York and became the director of physical education at the Ontario College of Education in Toronto, "was a very strong advocate of the American philosophy."90 Bryans was part of a movement to persuade Canadian school boards to drop interscholastic competition for girls in favour of play days. Jessie Herriott of the McGill School of Physical Training and Florence Somers of the Margaret Eaton School were two examples of Americans who directed professional programs in Canada. As Kidd further notes, "Half of the Margaret Eaton School had had U.S. graduate training."91 And, of course, both Canadian and American medical experts shared the view--expressed by Tait McKenzie--that competitive basketball was potentially hazardous for women.

Public competition in a game like basketball tends frequently to run riot, and the nervous excitement caused by intercollegiate or interscholastic competition, together with

89Kidd, The Struggle for Canadian Sport, p. 122.
90Kidd, The Struggle for Canadian Sport, p. 122.
91Kidd, The Struggle for Canadian Sport, p. 122.
the publicity of them. is a distinctly bad influence.92

Within this social context which was characterized by half a century of separate activity programs for boys and girls, the debate over girls' rules and fears of excessive competition. Florence Somers entered the Margaret Eaton context. Somers' educational vision was a reflection of the "separate and equal" ideal which many believed could be achieved in women's athletics.

Florence Somers and Principles of Women's Athletics

Florence A. Somers was remembered by her students as a very kind, yet firm, principal. Winn MacLennan noted, "Oh, I loved her. She was a great big woman. she looked even a little ungainly, but she was so light on her feet."93 and Muriel Nelles Whyte recalled, "Tall and angular. A very strong face. but kindly. She was definitely director and always present."94 Ruth Scott Prophet also remembered.

I think she was soft at heart but she tried to be very, very firm. And she was. She was a big woman. when she stood up. I mean. you realized that she was. She teetered back and forth on her heels all the time. I found her very kind and gentle.95

And Patty Sterne Sanders also recalled.

Florence Somers was very understanding, but distant. She demanded proper attitude. You had to be awfully good to get praise from Miss Somers. You'd know that it was there. but she wasn't going to tell you. You were there to really work. And that's what she expected.96

Somers expected her students to physically work hard, yet maintain an appropriate feminine presentation. Margaret Davison

92McKenzie, Exercise in Education and Medicine, p. 285-286.
93Winn MacLeannan Johnston, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
96Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, July 12, 1991.
Lathrop recalled that Somers encouraged her graduates "not to look muscle-bound" and Frances McConnell Ziegler noted, "She would pat you on the back and encourage you to sit and stand up straight. Deportment was terribly important. She carried herself so beautifully, and she was perfection." In an address to the graduation class of 1936, Somers stated, "May you give to the girls with whom you come in contact femininity and charm and a zest for action."

Dorothy Jackson, Somers' friend and later colleague both at the Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto, noted the transition in the style of leadership and the direction of the school when the principalship passed from Mary Hamilton to Florence Somers. Jackson commented,

Miss Somers now became Director of the School and under her leadership it grew and prospered. Sound in her thinking and essentially tolerant in her attitude, Miss Somers quietly guided the life of the School into new paths.

The "new paths" into which Somers guided the school represented both an escalation of the separate philosophy of girls' non-competitive physical education training, and a renewed emphasis toward the school's assimilation into the University of Toronto. Mary Barker, a graduate of 1925 and later friend to both Mary Hamilton and Florence Somers, believed that Somers was specifically solicited to take over the directorship of the school in order to achieve this purpose. Baker commented,

97 Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
98 Frances McConnell Ziegler, interview with the author, June 20, 1991.
100 Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 25.
R. Y. Eaton and Mary Hamilton were good friends, and they most likely planned that Florence Somers would come to the School in order to guide it toward a merger with the University of Toronto.\textsuperscript{101}

Florence Somers (1888-1977) came to the Margaret Eaton School in 1932 after a distinguished career as an educator in elementary, secondary and post-secondary institutions in the United States. She received a B.A. from Boston University, an M.A. from New York University and held a diploma from the Sargent School of Physical Training in Boston.\textsuperscript{102} She had taught in Baltimore elementary schools and Cleveland normal and high schools.\textsuperscript{103} at Oberlin College and Boston University. had been an Assistant Director in the Massachusetts Department of Education and the Associate Director of the Sargent School. By the time she accepted the position as principal of the Margaret Eaton School, her text, \textit{Principles of Women's Athletics}, was recognized and "widely used"\textsuperscript{104} within the physical education profession.

The philosophical vision which Florence Somers held with regard to women's participation in sport and athleticism was careful, conservative and essentially maternal. It was also a position that was fraught with contradiction. Although she was critical of the male model of sport and advocated women's control over the planning and administration of girls and women's athletics, her vision was rooted

\textsuperscript{101}Mary Barker, correspondence with the author, August 28, 1996.
\textsuperscript{103}Jackson, \textit{The Three Schools}, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{104}Kidd, \textit{The Struggle for Canadian Sport}, p. 123.
in a scientific discourse which argued that physiological difference between men and women justified different social treatment. Although she questioned aspects of women's lives, such as "excessive childbearing."\(^{105}\) she did not question the original assumption that marriage and child rearing were to be the primary goals of womanhood. In her text, *Principles of Women's Athletics*, Somers defended the separate and non-competitive model for women's sport and athletics, and based this argument upon a philosophy of physiological difference. She commented.

Whether woman's nature is the result of inheritance or social pressure, does not alter the indisputable fact that from an early age of girlhood and throughout the span of life, her reactions to situations and many of her activities are different from those of the male.\(^{106}\)

Difference, as Somers continued to argue, was primarily tied to a woman's unique reproductive ability. Although she acknowledged that the debate surrounding the potentially adverse effects of vigorous activity on childbearing was still unresolved, her comments reflect a "biology is destiny" view:

The fundamental scientific truths influencing the participation of girls and women in athletic activities are in a state to-day of experimentation and non-agreement. The only positive fact seems to be that the biological function of women is that of child-bearing, and that the female structure is adapted for this particular function. Whether the function affects the woman's "nature," mentally and emotionally, or her place in society, are not known. It is impossible, therefore, to conclude that her child-bearing function will affect her participation and competition in athletic activities, or that such participation will itself affect her efficiency in bearing


\(^{106}\) Somers, *Principles of Women's Athletics*, p. 73.
and rearing children, or in occupying her rightful place in society.\textsuperscript{107}

Despite the inconclusive evidence, Somers chose to err on the side of caution. Her "reasoned" approach was founded on medical opinion of the era. Like most physical educators trained in the age of scientific structuralism, she sought legitimacy for the cause of women and athletics by moving beyond "emotional" arguments and endorsing a "scientific" model that might guide responsible policy. "Unfortunately, much of the discussion of the question is still governed by feeling, and no balanced scientific settlement has been reached yet."\textsuperscript{108} In the search for scientific support, she quoted a number of experts in the fields of medicine and social psychology. Quoting Charles A. Ellwood, a noted psychologist of the period, she reiterated her fundamental belief that to ignore the physiological difference between the two sexes was to risk social maladjustment. Somers quoted Ellwood’s warning.

To ignore the differences in original endowment, whether physical or mental, of the two sexes is bound to result in social maladjustment; on the other hand, to discover and use these differences properly is necessary for a scientific organization of human relationships.\textsuperscript{109}

Somers also echoed the conservative views forwarded by American physical education colleagues such as Agnes R. Wayman and Elizabeth Burchenal, quoting their publications which warned

\textsuperscript{107}Somers, \textit{Principles of Women’s Athletics}, p. 132.
\textsuperscript{108}Somers, \textit{Principles of Women’s Athletics}, p. 11.
that athletic participation for women was a double-edged sword. Somers cited Wayman, then chairman of the executive committee of the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation, as follows:

Participation in sports and games is increasing by leaps and bounds and we know that we are handling a two-edged knife which can and does cut both ways. We must know more about this tool before we use it unspARINGLY.

Like Wayman and Burchenal, Somers believed that "women, and only women, should be put in immediate charge of athletics and other physical activities for girls." This view, however, was tied to the argument of physiological difference, since, she argued, "men fail to appreciate the limitations [italics mine] of a girls' anatomical, physiological, emotional and functional nature." Echoing Wayman's belief that personal conduct, morale, form, collective participation and enthusiasm were more important than competition and winning, Somers endorsed the non-competitive philosophy of the American National Amateur Athletic Federation. As a former member of the National Section of Women's Athletics of the American Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, Somers argued, "moderate exercises and games are beneficial, but not organized


competition: exercises of jumping or tumbling are hazardous."^115
With regard to a woman's disposition toward emotional excess,
Somers agreed with Dudley Sargent. She affirmed his assertion that
women possessed "an emotional nature which renders her more
likely to carry the exercises she enjoys to excess."^116

The fundamental "problem" with women's athletics, as Somers
viewed it, was that it followed a male sport model which had the
potential to exploit women. She observed.

These problems are concerned with the remarkably rapid
growth of participation of girls and women in sports, the
increasing variety of athletic activities open to her, the
interest of the public in exploiting the girl athlete, and the
uncertainty of any accurate knowledge of the effect of
such participation on the future efficiency of the woman.^117

The solution to these "problems," in her view, was to design a
women's program--one that might "minimize the danger of injury."
"avoid specialization and over-training." reflect "a lack of emphasis
on champions and championship teams." "avoid sensational publicity"
and substitute "satisfactory women's standards for those of men."^118
She recognized that a patriarchal sport system dominated by
commercialism objectified and sexualized women. Somers criticized
the media's glorification of victorious football and baseball teams.
condemned the exploitation of female athletes by Chambers of
Commerce.^119 and attacked journalistic reporting which stated that
the female athlete was, "as pretty as she is athletic, and as athletic as

^115Somers, Principles of Women's Athletics, p. 28.
^116Dudley A. Sargent, Health, Strength and Power, p. 60, cited in F. Somers,
Principles of Women's Athletics, p. 39.
^117Somers, Principles of Women's Athletics, p. 94.
^118Somers, Principles of Women's Athletics, p. 94-95.
^119Somers, Principles of Women's Athletics, p. 65.
she is pretty." In an article in the *Canadian Physical Education Association Bulletin*, she attacked the "slangy" language of sport writers, and encouraged them to report "the playing rather than the beautiful girl in the abbreviated costume." She also condemned male coaches who used female athletes to further their own career. She observed.

Nine times out of ten, a man is interested in skill rather than in the girl. He sees athletic ability; he wants to win championships with it. The girl is merely a means to the end for him.

On the issue of female participation at the Olympics, Somers supported the position adopted by the American Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation, the American Physical Education Association, and the Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities who voted, in 1928, to bar women from future participation at the Olympics. Somers addressed this issue in her text, written in 1930, two years after the controversial decision taken by the International Amateur Athletic Federation to allow women to participate, once again, at the Olympics in Los Angeles. Somers defended those who sought to bar women from Olympic participation and argued that they wished to "make educators and parents realize the much greater benefit of a home program of sports for ALL girls." Challenging the principle

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that men should have the right to direct the affairs of women. she noted.

It seems reasonable to place some of the blame for this difference of opinion on the fact that an organization primarily interested in the athletics of men has assumed the privilege and the right to conduct athletic competitions for girls and women.124

In her text, The Principles of Women's Athletics, Somers forwarded the view that only women knew what the "right activities" were which might "meet the needs and interests of girls and women."125 She believed that the solution lay with appropriate education. In her view, this entailed.

Proper teaching and organization of athletic activities during the early school years: with the selection of the right activities to meet the needs and interests of girls and women: and the development of attitudes and ideals in the school girl which shall lead to her enthusiastic self-direction and leadership of activities in the future."126

Somers drew support for her educational vision for girls and women from individuals such as Havelock Ellis. Dudley Sargent. Robert Ellis. and J. F. Williams who, she claimed, were "experts" and "deserved attention."127 She quoted Havelock Ellis--the British sexologist--who, in a moment of supreme humility admitted. "not all the activities of men are worthy of imitation."128 Building upon these androcentric physiological and psychological models. Somers argued that female athletes had "natural limitations"--implying that they

were women first and athletes second—and that the general public needed to be educated with regard to what these limitations were.\textsuperscript{129} She commented. "There is more need of improving the attitude of people in general, in realizing the natural limitations of girls, than that of the girl herself."\textsuperscript{130}

These arguments led Somers to endorse a model which held out the hope of a "separate and equal" model for women's athletics, yet one which endorsed a restricted program of activities. She argued that a women's program should emphasize activities which involved control, rather than strength, speed or endurance. She believed that a girl should never be subjected to conditions of extreme fatigue or strain, either physical or emotional, and that competition needed to be strictly "controlled."\textsuperscript{131} Once again, the discourse of eugenics and fears of race suicide lay at the root of this view. Somers observed.

The care of the physical mechanism of the girl is so essential to the welfare of the girl herself and to the race, that risks which involve the possibility of strain are very unwise and altogether unnecessary."\textsuperscript{132}

Thus, echoing the arguments of moral physiologists, Somers argued that women had a particular responsibility to develop unique "health and character traits."\textsuperscript{133} She believed that it was the duty of women in physical education leadership to encourage "the development of attitudes and ideals in the school girl which shall lead to her enthusiastic self-direction and leadership of the activities of the

\textsuperscript{129}Somers, \textit{Principles of Women's Athletics}, p. 76.  
\textsuperscript{130}Somers, \textit{Principles of Women's Athletics}, p. 76.  
\textsuperscript{131}Somers, \textit{Principles of Women's Athletics}, p. 78-86.  
\textsuperscript{132}Somers, \textit{Principles of Women's Athletics}, p. 80.  
\textsuperscript{133}Somers, \textit{Principles of Women's Athletics}, p. 110.
future. This was an ideal which was paramount, even in a time of world war. In an address to the Margaret Eaton graduates of 1942 she commented:

While I am not minimizing at all the service which a girl can give her country in one of the armed forces, what I am trying to say is that you belong to a very small group of professional people who are trained to give special service of a very much needed kind. You are prepared to develop physical fitness and stamina and morale in the children and girls with whom you come in contact. What can be more important? In 1939 Florence Somers became the first female president of the Canadian Physical Education Association. At this time, the association was still young and struggled with the challenges of national diversity and geographical distance. When her term of office ended in 1941—the same year the Margaret Eaton School ended as an independent women's school—she passed the directorship of the association over to Jack G. Lang. In her farewell address, Somers evoked images of maternal care and patriarchal discipline in order to describe the next phase of the association's history. She commented.

For the last three years the child has had a little mothering. Now that he approaches adolescence and must stand on his own feet among the big boys of the neighborhood, it seems wise and desirable that he should be turned over to the male member of the family for more severe training.

In a rather ironic twist, Florence Somers—the defender of women's athletics run for and by women—subsequently choreographed the next series of developments which ended the

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134 Somers, Principles of Women’s Athletics, p. 133.
135 Florence Somers, MES Amies, May 1, 1942.
136 "Miss Somers Passes the Baton," Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association, 9, no. 4. (April, 1942), p. 3.
separate status of a school which had been run for and by women. Like the presidency of Canadian Physical Education Association, the Margaret Eaton School would also be turned over to the male members of the academic family—for "more severe training."

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During the 1930's, when Florence Somers began her term as the new principal of the school, the character of physical education in Canada still reflected a number of themes from the previous century. Sex-specific activities for girls and women and the lingering influence of the Strathcona Trust were still apparent. The success of female athletes during Canada's Golden Age of Sport, in the 1920's, had triggered a new round of fears regarding the potentially damaging effects of vigorous activity on women's reproductive fertility. Within a context of increased professionalization, as physical educators in the United States organized into specialized training schools and became affiliated with universities, a caste of medically trained physical educators rose to prominence. These physical educators resurrected old concerns regarding women and vigorous activity, and were supported by a number of female professional physical educators who advocated a philosophy of separate women's athleticism under the banner of "girls' rules."

Influenced by the philosophy of girls' rules, and within a context of growing professionalization within the discipline, Florence Somers took over the directorship of the school and put forth a vision of women and athletics which was maternal and conservative. Despite her belief that women should control women's athletics.
Somers would eventually move the school toward union with the University of Toronto. Despite her advocacy for marriage, childbearing and domesticity, she chose to remain single and have a career. Like other women before her--and after--the public sphere and the private sphere were often hard to reconcile.
CHAPTER VI

The Final Years at the Margaret Eaton School
(1934-1941)

Under the directorship of Florence Somers, academic and social life at the school changed. Proper feminine deportment and an emphasis on maternal values deepened. In addition, Somers made efforts to extend the academic legitimacy of the school through changes to the course bank and by formalizing facility and personnel links with the University of Toronto. Somers also felt pressure from the board to increase student enrollment and ensure that the school did not fall into a deficit. Ultimately, she believed that the best course to ensure the future of training for women in physical education was to work toward union with the University of Toronto.

One of the first changes which Somers initiated came in the form of an expansion of camp education. Somers believed that students would benefit from more than simply an experience devoted to wilderness training. Camp Tanamakoon, therefore, no longer functioned as the only site for developing camp skills. In 1936, 1938 and 1940, junior and senior year students attended the Ontario Athletic Commission Camp at Lake Couchiching. For the alternate years of 1935, 1937 and 1939, they attended Tanamakoon. In this fashion, students were given additional training in track and field and athletic activities. Patty Sterne Sanders recalled.

'Couch' was a camping experience that was very different from the wilds of Algonquin. It was an open place. The activities
were different--archery and track and field. whereas, at Tanamakoon you had canoeing expeditions and portages and outdoor living. It was a totally different camping experience.

The 1936-37 *Calendar* also described this change.

The Ontario Athletic Commission Camp, which was used in September 1935, offers well equipped fields for athletic games and sports, such as track and field, archery, ground hockey, baseball, tennis and lacrosse.

In addition to this one month of athletic training in September, students were also exposed to a number of games and sport skills during the regular academic term in Toronto. Students recalled activities in various locations in the city during the term. Ramsden Park, for example, was the site for lacrosse, field hockey, tennis, and golf. As Margaret Davison Lathrop recalled.

You got just enough of the basics to know what the game was. To understand the rules of the game and learn a few of the basic skills. We never played competitively, however, with any other teams. Maybe the seniors against the juniors, sometimes, but never any really competitive play.

Joan Brown Hillary also remembered.

We just practised and played ourselves. We played the juniors against the seniors. And the thing about so many of these games is that we didn't play them for the entire year. We would play for a period of two or three months. at the most. just to get the basics.

Consistent with Somers' view of women's athletics, students were encouraged to understand the basics of all games and sports so that they might referee and teach the rudiments of game play in various community settings. The emphasis was clearly directed

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1Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, July 12, 1991.
2*Calendar* 1935-1936, p. 4.
3Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
toward a knowledge of organization, and a focus away from competition. In keeping with Somers' philosophy of girls' rules and the importance of play day activities, the *Calendar* of 1934-1935 stated.

The school encourages a programme of intra-mural games and play days with other schools in the city, although no regularly scheduled matches are held with other schools or organizations. The graduates of this school are expected to foster in the communities where they may locate a programme of rational participation in sports or athletic activities for all members of the group or school.5

Students also recalled being solicited, at the end of a long academic day, to do volunteer work in the schools and to referee using the "Spalding" rule books. Frances McConnell Ziegler noted, "After a long day, Miss Somers would line you up and say, 'All right, I need volunteers to referee a game tonight at one of the schools.'"6 Margaret Davison Lathrop also recalled.

I remember the Spalding rule books. They were a horror to me. And you had to know them completely. We had badminton, field hockey, and basketball. We had to be able to referee.7

Excessive competition for personal glory was, of course, discouraged. As Ruth Scott Prophet remembered, if a student demonstrated a spirit that was too competitive, they were informed that this was an inappropriate attitude.

The other thing was--they [Somers and Jackson] told me not to be competitive. It was at the stage when you were not supposed to care about winning; it was how you played the game that mattered. But that was hard on me. My philosophy

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5*Calendar* 1934-1935, p. 6.
6Frances McConnell Ziegler, interview with the author, June 20, 1991.
7Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
with my Dad was that you practised--and hard--and you practised to win. And hopefully you would win. And if you didn't, you'd be a good loser. But they did not want me to win. And in track, they gave me a handicap, and there was no way I could win. All of a sudden we were going to be ladies and we weren't going to win.  

In addition to a change in the configuration of the camp experience, the academic bank of courses between 1934 and 1941 were also altered and expanded. In 1934, "skating (hockey)" changed to "plain and figure skating." Scott Prophet recalled the novelty of using women's figure skates for the first time, as she was used to skating with men's tube skates for hockey.

You see, I had never figure skated before. So I had to go out and buy figure skates. I was used to tube skates--regular hockey skates. I had boys' skates because we played hockey on the rink. Nobody had figure skates. With picks. And the first time I went out, I went smack--flat down.

Also in 1934, the first year Somers became director of the school, tap dancing, children's rhythms, and modern dance were added to the curriculum. Although some diversity in different forms of dance had begun under Hamilton's administration, the most significant expansion occurred under Somers' directorship. As the Calendar confirmed, "Dancing is emphasized as one of the major activities for girls, and all types of dancing which are considered of educational value are taught." Between 1926 and 1930 there were only two forms of dance offered at the school: aesthetic and folk. By

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9Calendar 1934-1935, p. 7. Although ice hockey was still included as an activity, after 1934, it was listed in the calendar in conjunction with ground hockey. See, Calendar 1934-1935, p. 7.
1936, however, there were eight. These included character, children, creative, folk, tap, social, natural and national.  

Modern dance, taught by Marion Hobday, was an experience well remembered by Margaret Eaton students. Hobday, a graduate of Boston University and the Sargent School, had also trained at The Mary Wigman School in Germany and the Bennington School of Dance in Vermont. Students generally recalled that modern dance classes with Hobday were challenging and enjoyable. Joan Brown Hillary recalled, "it was inspiring.... it was wonderful." and Ruth Scott Prophet observed, "I loved it. It made you feel like you were leaving your body and just floating. It was you, you weren't just doing all the same thing." All the students recalled the long, flowing dresses which they were required to wear, particularly for final performances at the end of the term. Muriel Nelles Whyte recalled,  

We always had to come to class dressed in our modern dance gowns which were red silk jersey with long sleeves, just a scoop neck, fitted and flared. The skirt came down to mid calf. And everyone was barefoot.

Hobday observed that the modern dance attire was designed to emulate the dance costume worn by Mary Wigman. "At Margaret Eaton," she noted, "we had costumes like Wigman. A small top and a long skirt." In the early years at the school, the dance costumes

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12 Calendar 1935-1936, p. 11.  
13 Interview with Marion Hobday Allen and Jean Forster, June 19, 1991. Jean Forster and Marion Hobday attended Havergal School together, and also a six-week summer course in Bennington, Vermont, in order to study dance. At the Bennington School of the Dance their instructors included Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey and Charles Weidman.  
16 Muriel Nelles Whyte, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.  
17 Marion Hobday Allen, interview with the author, June 19, 1991.
consisted of two separate pieces. As Hobday recalled, this design meant that there was always the problem of "the gap"—when skirt and top might separate. In May, 1936, the students performed a modern dance recital at Hart House. Hobday recalled this particular recital, and remarked, to her surprise, that for the final performance the school managed to find a seamstress who could solve "the gap" problem.

To my great surprise, when the recital came off at the end they appeared [the dresses] with no gap! They had made sure that they had enough turned under, that when you were shown in public, they would be joined together. Originally, they were separate. They must have had someone to sew them together.

Although students generally found the expressive work in modern dance to be a profoundly different experience than their functional work in games and gymnastics, some recalled that this form of dance felt empowering. Muriel Nelles Whyte observed.

That’s one of the main courses that helped me come out of the shyness. Because in modern dance techniques there is a certain giving of body awareness. And when you use the connected techniques in creating a dance you are all sort of on a creative venture. which sheds the feelings of inhibitions and shyness.

Under Somers' directorship, there was also an expansion in other areas of the academic program. The most significant shift occurred between 1938 and 1941, when more "scientific" courses were added to the course bank. Sociology was added in 1938 and

21 *Calendar 1938-1939*, p. 8.
kinesiology and physiology of exercise were added in 1940. With the addition of ninety hours of instruction in kinesiology and physiology of exercise over Year I and Year II, activity hours in gymnastics were reduced. Although there had been five forms of gymnastics offered in 1939-40 (fundamental, German expression, remedial, Swedish, and stunts and tumbling) by 1940-41 there were only two (apparatus gymnastics and stunts and tumbling). In addition, as the 1940-41 Calendar indicated, practical hours for dance now exceeded those for gymnastics. Thus, as the bank of "scientific" theory courses gradually expanded, activity hours were consequently reduced. Dance, however, remained a priority in Somers' vision of physical education for women.

Concurrent with the expansion of theory courses in the programme was a consequential shift toward a greater reliance on instructional personnel from the University of Toronto. In 1934, Somers took "the first steps toward amalgamation" and formalized the faculty links which Mary Hamilton had initially explored in 1932. This agreement was summarized in a letter to President Cody:

The Margaret Eaton School gives the use of their facilities to the University for instruction of students in the Diploma Course in Physiotherapy in return for which the University gives the students in the Margaret Eaton School the anatomy courses given by the Department of Anatomy in their building, and

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22 Calendar 1940-1941, p. 10.
23 Calendar 1940-1941, p. 10-11.
24 Calendar 1938-39, p. 9 and Calendar 1940-41 p. 11.
25 In Year I and Year II, students received a total of two-hundred and seventy-one hours in dance instruction, and two-hundred and ten hours of gymnastics. See, Calendar 1940-1941, p. 10-11.
the medical examinations by the Medical Advisor for Women.27

In addition to the anatomy instructor and medical advisor, there was also a further expansion of University of Toronto faculty who taught for the school during the later years of Somers' principalship. Under Hamilton's directorship, the number of full-time Margaret Eaton faculty had always exceeded the number of academic personnel from the University of Toronto. In 1932, for example, the Margaret Eaton staff included five full-time faculty and two part-time instructors, with three part-time lecturers from the University of Toronto.28 By 1934, however, this balance shifted, as the school lost two full-time and one part-time Margaret Eaton position, despite the fact that the three University of Toronto positions at the school remained.29 In 1936-37, three additional University of Toronto lecturers were added, to bring the total to three full-time and one part-time Margaret Eaton position, with six part-time lecturers from the University of Toronto.30 By 1940-41, the school's calendar listed five University of Toronto "faculty" and four Margaret Eaton "faculty."31 Clearly, as a result of Somers' directorship, academic ties to the University of Toronto increased significantly. In the final years of the school, these University of Toronto faculty taught Margaret Eaton students psychology, anatomy, kinesiology, remedials, physiotherapy and English.

28Calendar 1931-1932, p. 3.
29Calendar 1934-1935, p. 3.
30Calendar 1936-1937, p. 2.
31Calendar 1940-1941, p. 3.
This move toward a closer alliance with the University of Toronto was also felt by the students of the school. Ruth Scott Prophet, a graduate of 1941, observed.

We had always been part of the university. we felt, because of where we lived. We were right along with all the other university students because we took our labs--anatomy--with the first, second and third year medical students.32

The courses in anatomy were remembered by the Margaret Eaton students with particular clarity. With reference to Dr. Ball's anatomy course. Winn MacLennan noted, "It was a tough course. For two years. With the med students." And, as she further recalled.

The first day we went into the lab Dr. Ball came in with a human leg. smelling of formaldehyde, and slapped it down on the counter, and off the first row went--fainted dead away.33

The academic pace of the school continued to be steady and rigorous under Florence Somers. Margaret Davison Lathrop recalled. "You never stopped. We'd get home for a late 6:00 p.m. dinner. absolutely exhausted. And we went to bed early."34 This view was confirmed in the M.E.S. Amies magazine of 1939. In a light-hearted spoof of a potential list of examination questions, one question asked, "State the fundamental principles underlying the use of the 'spare minute' (We suggest the use of a microscope in locating said 'minute')."35

Despite the increased reliance on University of Toronto personnel, it was nevertheless the Margaret Eaton faculty who had

33 Winn MacLennan Johnston, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
34 Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
35 M.E.S. Amies, 1939-40, p. 11.
the greatest impact on the students of the school. These faculty members served as important role models. Two of the Margaret Eaton faculty who were remembered with particular affection were Elizabeth Wardley Raymer and Dorothy Jackson.

Elizabeth Wardley Raymer was recalled with great fondness. Joan Brown Hillary noted.

Oh she was wonderful. Everybody loved her. She was for me, really, the only mentor that I can think of. In any of my school or college life. And she was very definitely someone to emulate."36

Winn MacLennan also agreed, recalling a particular experience in a teaching methods course which left a lasting impression.

She was integrity plus. I remember going into one of her demonstration classes that she did in one of the schools of little children, I think—probably grade one. And we were all there to observe. And this was as loud as she spoke [speaking in a whisper]—and those children were right with her. I’ll never forget it. I just couldn’t believe it.37

Elizabeth Wardley Raymer edited the school magazine. M.E.S. Amies. and, as Dorothy Jackson commented.

In addition to her lectures and classes in physical education Mrs. Raymer was responsible for much of the fine school spirit. She wrote many humorous skits as well as treasured Camp and School songs.38

On the occasion of the last graduation of the Margaret Eaton School. Raymer composed a final tribute to the school and to the graduates, summarizing the ideals of service and moral fortitude which characterized much of the history of the three faces of "the Margaret Eaton girl." The familiar elements of grace, strength, and service; and

37Winn MacLennan Johnston, interview the author, March 27, 1994.
38Jackson, The Three Schools, p. 27.
the image of strong bodies, eager hands and questioning hearts were all present—a classed portrait of the quintessential Margaret Eaton girl, well prepared to serve the needs of the nation and the race.

Life we were given and precious we hold
We must strengthen that gift a hundred-fold—
Strengthen that gift that we may live
Fearlessly, surely, with something to give.
Eagerly groping for her task
These are the questions that youth must ask:

Show us a need we can fulfill
Show us a sorrow we may distill
Show us a weakness we can mend
Show us the cause we must defend!

Show us the meaning and all of life
Show us the way and point us a path
Show us the things that are worthy and true
Show us the things that we must do!

Questioning, querying, begging, beseeching
Into the future with eager hands reaching
Tell us oh life, what can we do.
These are the things we bring to you.

These are the gifts we have to bring
To humbly place as offering—
Arms that are strong and long to endure
Feet that are steady and light and sure
Ears that are tuned to life's voiceless cries
Eyes that scan keenly life's worried skies
Thoughts that are searching the mysterious blue
Straining and yearning for life's greatest truths
Love which compels us, holds us, and binds
Us to our country, our people, our kind.39

Perhaps as one of the most important tributes. Elizabeth Wardley Raymer was selected by Mary Hamilton to take over Camp

Tanamakoon after Hamilton's retirement. In a personal letter written to all Tanamakoon alumnae, Hamilton explained her choice of Wardley as the person who she believed could forward the "ideals and standards on which Tanamakoon has been built."\footnote{Mary Hamilton, letter to Tanamakoon alumnae, December 29, 1952. In files given to the author by Muriel Nelles Whyte.}

Dorothy Jackson was also a major influence in the later years of the school. A graduate of the Margaret Eaton School in 1927, she worked for five years at the Winnipeg Y.W.C.A., and then joined the faculty of the school in 1933. Jackson taught gymnastics, sociology, team and individual games, track and field and supervised most all of the camp activities. She completed her B.Sc. from New York University and an M.A. from New York University.\footnote{News of the School, VII, No. 4. June 1940, p. 3.} Joan Brown Hillary remembered, "She was very strong with her rules"\footnote{Joan Brown Hillary, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.} and Winn MacLennan observed, "We admired Dot Jackson because she was a real 'phys ed'. Good at everything."\footnote{Winn MacLennan, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.} Muriel Nelles Whyte also commented,

She was my ideal teacher. I thought the world of her. She was, I would say, not severe, but strict. And in her expectations. She let us know when things weren't up to par. She was a product of the school herself, I believe. And she was a very good looking woman and could do the things that she taught.\footnote{Muriel Nelles Whyte, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.}

In the years after the school's assimilation into the University of Toronto, Jackson and Somers served together on the faculty in the Department of Physical and Health Education. Her career at the Margaret Eaton school and the University of Toronto lasted between
1933 and 1969. She authored what would remain the only history of the Margaret Eaton school written by someone who personally experienced it. In addition, in a closeted way, she probably chose an alternative life to the kind that was idealized by the school itself. With reference to Dorothy Jackson, John Byl, in his examination the Margaret Eaton school observed, "Most students remember her as a little masculine, and very slender, and some wondered if her sexual orientation was lesbian."45 Certainly, if true, this possibility was not allowed to be visible to the students of the school. Those who recall Dorothy Jackson's personal life note that it was "quiet" and "extremely private."46 One student recalled, "One certainly associated Dorothy Jackson and Zerada Slack, they saw each other socially and were quite close."47 Innumerable times the names of Jackson and Slack occurred casually together in the News of the School bulletin. Entries such as "Miss Slack and Miss Jackson have left for Magog, Quebec, where they will spend a few weeks"48 were common. Although alternative choices are problematic to verify, what was evident--particularly in the same sex environment of a women's school devoted to physical education--was the homophobic discourse around the danger of "crushes" and same-sex friendships, together with a clear heterosexual agenda which was designed to influence the students' social lives at the school. Certainly, if Jackson, or any other member of the staff were lesbian, living this choice openly

46 Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
47 Frances McConnell Ziegler, interview with the author, June 20, 1991.
48 News of the School, Summer, 1950, vol. XVII, no. 4, p. 4
would not have been possible. The social life and values which were presented at the school clearly mandated heterosexual attractiveness, marriage and motherhood as the only acceptable life choices which were possible for women.

Residence life, under Somers' years as principal, continued under the watchful eye of Mrs. Marriott. In 1936 and 1938 the school residence was relocated, first to 186 St. George St. and ultimately to 99 St. George St. Students recalled that they were actively encouraged to attend cultural events. Art exhibitions, lectures and concerts were encouraged in order to foster an "appreciation of other fields." The 1937-38 *M.E.S. Amies* magazine described musical events at Massey Hall, Hart House and the Eaton Auditorium as events which the students attended. In 1938, Ted Shawn and his entourage of male dancers performed "O. Libertad" in the Eaton Auditorium. Muriel Nelles Whyte recalled.

A variety program that the Eaton auditorium ran was part of our training, really. We were to be aware of what was going on in the concert world. We had special student rates for the School. It exposed you to singers, dancers, pianists, orchestras, etc.

Students generally recalled that the emphasis on social presentation and etiquette was also apparent in school training. Margaret Davison recalled.

Our manners were important. And how to accept an invitation to a dance. We had to write them all out. We did that at Branksome too, but they were fussy about it at Margaret

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49 *Calendar* 1934-1935, p. 6.
50 *M.E.S. Amies*, 1937-38, p. 24
52 Muriel Nelles Whyte, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
Eaton as well. They wanted 'well turned out' women, which goes with the earlier aspects of Margaret Eaton, really.

Miss Somers was absolutely strict about that. She said that you are not supposed to look like a bunch of muscle bound females. You are to look feminine, that's what you are. And her other stress point was you have to present to your students the way you want them to look, which meant proper posture. She was always correcting us on posture, and her posture was fabulous. She was a very angular woman but she carried herself very well.53

Patty Sterne Sanders also recalled.

We were exposed to extra curricular things. We went to the theatre, and we had to dress properly. At formal dances, we had to wear long white gloves about the elbow and not take them off all night. We were taught these things.54

Like Hamilton, Somers also took an active role in the attempt to find employment for her graduates. As Patty Sterne Sanders noted, students were expected to graduate and use their teaching skills. She remarked, "Oh yes. Definitely. And I don't know anyone who said, "I don't want a job."55 Sanders recalled that she was called in by Somers at the end of the term. "She called me in, said that there's a position at St. Thomas, and I think you should take it."56 Florence McConnell Ziegler also recalled a similar meeting with Somers. "She called me in and said that there was a Y job in the Brantford Y.W.C.A., and, would I be interested?"57 Winn MacLennan, recalling the sense of duty she felt toward the school, said that she actually telephoned Florence Somers at the school in order to ask for her permission to

53Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
54Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, July 12, 1991.
55Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, July 12, 1991.
56Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, July 12, 1991.
57Frances McConnell Ziegler, interview with the author, June 20, 1991.
leave her job at the Y.W.C.A. in Kingston order to marry.58 Muriel Nelles Whyte also recalled her end of term interview.

She interviewed me first about where my interests would lie. I think everybody had that interview. The job opportunities were pretty limited to Y's and private schools. My interview was with a private school, and I declined. And the staff was quite put out with me because it was considered a prime job.59

Margaret Davison Lathrop also noted that she was called in by Somers and informed that positions were available at both the Whitby Ladies College and at Branksome Hall. Davison Lathrop noted. "I think these different schools--when they needed a physical education teacher--simply came to Margaret Eaton." Davison Lathrop chose to return to Branksome Hall, her former school, to teach.60

Although the students received a clear message regarding school loyalty and service in the field of physical education, they were also made aware of another--often conflicting--expectation. Margaret Davison Lathrop noted. "You got the feeling marriage was important, too."61 For the faculty of the school and the generation of female academics who taught at the university level during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the decision to marry generally meant the end of a teaching career. As Alison Prentice notes, Mossie May Kirkwood, who taught courses in English for Margaret Eaton students between 1938-1941, originally expected that she would have to resign her position at the University of Toronto when she married in 1923. Only after considerable

58Winn MacLennan Johnston, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
60Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
61Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.
deliberation did the University decide that she might stay. Despite, as her daughter recalled, "considerable opposition."62 When Jean Forster was hired by the University of Toronto to teach physical education in 1928, she recalled that her decision was relatively easy, since she had already determined that she did not wish to marry. She noted, however, that this was not the case for most women.

In those days, you didn't do that--both marry and teach. Anyway, at the University, they had a ruling. I don't know if it was after the war or during the war. Women were taken off the staff. Our pianist was supporting her mother and her son, so she could stay. But some of them had to go. There may have been a few exceptions, but not in our line at all.63

For Marion Hobday, hired in 1936 to teach modern dance for the school, the decision to leave teaching when she decided to marry was clear. "I left teaching after I married. I married in 1939. You left teaching after you were married. That was it."64

For the students of the school a generation later, the decision to marry still carried with it expectations of career sacrifice. Muriel Nelles Whyte commented upon her own engagement.

So I terminated my position at Christmas with the Eaton's Girls Club, which, again, I felt badly about. I loved the work and I loved the camp; but when I married, we moved to Montreal. And for the first few years I didn't teach. I felt being a housewife was the thing to do--then.65

63 Jean Forster, interview with the author, June 19, 1991.
64 Marion Hobday Allen, interview with the author, June 19, 1991.
65 Muriel Nelles Whyte recalls that Elizabeth Pitt called her, some years later, and encouraged her to begin teaching again. Interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
Ruth Scott Prophet left her employment in community work when she married in 1945 to follow her husband's naval posting in Halifax.\footnote{Ruth Scott Prophet, interview with the author, June 15, 1994.} Frances McConnell Ziegler worked at the Y.W.C.A. in Brantford and then Montreal before she left to be married.\footnote{Winn MacLennan Johnston and Florence McConnell Ziegler, interviews with the author, March 27, 1994 and June 20, 1991.} Patty Sterne Sanders described that she first taught at the Y.W.C.A. in Brantford, and then was called by Somers and encouraged to take a Y.W.C.A. position in Tokyo, Japan. After consultation with her fiancé, she turned down the position and subsequently married.\footnote{Patty Sterne Sanders, interview with the author, June 12, 1991.} Margaret Davison Lathrop taught for a year at Branksome Hall after graduation, and then in 1939 also left teaching in order to marry.\footnote{Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author, August 17, 1994.}

An examination of the school's student alumnae list indicates that marriage was an option which most graduates eventually chose.\footnote{Student Alumnae List, in files given to the author by Patty Sterne Sanders.} A comparison of this list with the Calendar of 1940-1941 yields the marriage statistics for each year.\footnote{Calendar 1940-1941, p. 19-26.} During the years of Mary Hamilton's directorship, between 1926 and 1934, seventy-five percent of the graduates married and twenty-five percent remained single. During the years of Somers' directorship, between 1934 and 1941, eighty percent eventually married and twenty percent remained single. Over this fifteen year period, the graduating class of 1928 had the lowest incidence of marriage, with only fifty-four percent opting to marry and forty-six percent choosing to remain single. The two years which yielded the highest marriage
percentages were in 1926 and 1934; the year when Emma Scott Raff Nasmith transferred her directorship to Mary Hamilton, and when Mary Hamilton transferred her directorship to Florence Somers.\textsuperscript{72}

In a rather unusual promotional strategy, under Somers' directorship, the school began to publish marriage statistics alongside of employment statistics in the school calendar. In the Calendar of 1935-36, for example, a category entitled "% married" appeared at the end of a list of "placement" descriptions. It should be noted that the apparently low figure in the "% married" category increased over time, as students graduated, worked for a period of time, and then eventually married. The Calendar noted.

In the ten years since 1926, the Margaret Eaton School has granted its diploma in physical education to 162 young women who have come from Newfoundland, the United States, and almost every province in Canada. In May of 1936, 50\% of these were teaching, 1.8\% were studying, 3\% were teaching and studying, 7.4\% were in other occupations, 37.6\% were in private life, including 21.6\% married.\textsuperscript{73}

By 1940-1941, the publication of marriage statistics was the second highest priority on the list; second only to teaching.

Since its reorganization in 1926, The Margaret Eaton School has granted its diploma to 236 young women. In May, 1940, 42.7\% of these were teaching, 41.1\% were married, 8.4\% were in other occupations and 5.5\% were unemployed.\textsuperscript{74}

Clearly, although Margaret Eaton students were expected to graduate with a marketable skill, they were also expected to be "marketable" in the most traditional form of social service. Despite this pressure, a remarkable twenty to twenty-five percent of the

\textsuperscript{72}DPEA, Alumnae List for the Margaret Eaton School, and Calendar, 1940-1941.
\textsuperscript{73}Calendar 1935-1936, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{74}Calendar 1940-1941, p. 14.
graduates during the last fifteen years of the school remained unmarried.

Transition and Denouement

By the late 1930's, at least three different interest groups were anxious to see the school merge with the University of Toronto. With the death of Margaret Eaton and Emma Scott Raff Nasmith in 1933 and 1940 respectively, both the original visionary and the original patron of the school were gone. The school's board of directors, still fearful of the specter of an increasing financial deficit, believed that the time was right to close the school with the least amount of public controversy. In addition, Florence Somers--near to retirement herself--believed that union with the University of Toronto offered the only hope of securing the long-term future of physical education training for women. She also believed that a university degree would finally enable graduates to gain rightful access to teaching positions in the public school sector. Finally, Stanley Ryerson, the Assistant Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, also supported the idea of union. Dorothy Jackson, in her history of the school, referred to Ryerson in the closing pages. She noted that he endorsed a plan for the creation of a new department, but that his vision was for a health, and not a physical education emphasis:

At the same time, Dr. Stanley Ryerson, Assistant Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, enthusiastically endorsed the idea of a Department of Health Assessment and Promotion, in conjunction with Physical Education.75

It was the University of Toronto who made the first move toward a potential merger. In 1927, President Cody approached members of the Margaret Eaton board and stated that the University was "very anxious" to take over the school in order to establish a Department of Physical and Health Education. President Cody's proposal extended the university's hope, somewhat wishful, that Eaton foundation money might be used to contribute to the plan. The Margaret Eaton board reported.

Dr. Cody called to say that the Board of Governors of the University are considering favorably the advisability of establishing a school for physical training. There is the sum of $150,000.00 from the Massey Foundation which was earmarked for this purpose. The kind of building and equipment which they had in mind would cost about $400,000.00. It had occurred to them that if those interested in the perpetuation of the Margaret Eaton School would see their way to putting up the building, the Governors could set aside the Massey money as an Endowment Fund to be applied to helping along the work of the school.

The University argued that the merger would be beneficial to the school, for it would allow Margaret Eaton graduates to gain employment access to the public schooling sector. The University, of course, would benefit both through the loss of a competitor and by the addition of much needed physical education facilities. In addition, there was the somewhat embarrassing matter of the $125,000.00 donation by the Massey family, gifted in 1919, which was not yet spent. These funds were originally intended to finance a new women's physical education facility. Throughout the 1920's and

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76AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development," W.G. Mills to Mr. RY. Eaton.
77AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4 "Margaret Eaton School Future Development," Board report, June 8, 1927.
1930's. Clara Cynthia Benson and Mossie May Kirkwood had continued to remind the University of their accountability in this matter. As Ann Ford notes, the forty year battle to direct this money towards a women's facility was "one of the saddest of the untold stories of women's history at the University."\(^7\)

The major problem with the University's initiative in 1927 was the fact that it required a substantial financial expenditure by the Eaton Company. The board, however, preferred to offer a philosophical rationale for not endorsing the plan. They argued, "Mrs. Eaton did not identify herself with women's activities, but with the work done by the Margaret Eaton School as a School of Literature and Expression."\(^7\)

Not to be dissuaded, Robert Falconer continued to pursue the matter, and in 1930 proposed yet another plan that entailed an Eaton financial expenditure of between $600,000.00 and $700,000.00.\(^8\) Once again, the board was not interested, despite arguments by W.G. Mills--the Eaton company treasurer--that the company's public image might benefit from such a initiative.\(^8\)

In 1931, the board was again approached by the University of Toronto, and again, they refused.\(^8\)


\(^{79}\)A0-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4 "Margaret Eaton School, Future Development," R.Y. Eaton to Dr. Cody, July 4, 1928.

\(^{80}\)A0-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4 "Margaret Eaton School, Future Development," R.Y. Eaton, January 27, 1930.


\(^{82}\)A0-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4 "Margaret Eaton School, Future Development," R.Y Eaton, March 20, 1931.
By the time Mary Hamilton retired in 1934, the school's financial status had begun to deteriorate. Although the school registered a profit in 1931, by 1932 and 1933 a growing deficit necessitated a reduction in the number of faculty and a cut in faculty salaries. By 1933, the board's treasurer warned. "If the present rate of depletion continues, it seems inevitable that the Company will be called upon for assistance next year." Probably aware of this growing financial concern, Hamilton was relieved to turn the school over to someone who she believed was "well suited to assume the headship of the school." In all likelihood, Hamilton knew that the school's future lay with affiliation, and that Somers had the academic legitimacy to be able to lead the school in this direction. This was certainly the belief which Jean Forster held.

I think that's why she [Florence Somers] was brought up from the States in the beginning. I'm sure. She had the requirements. you see. Mary Hamilton did not have a degree. Miss Coventry did not have a degree. That's it. I think they wanted people with degrees.

Although R.Y. Eaton toyed with the idea of closing the school after Hamilton's resignation, he also feared a potentially adverse public reaction from the alumnae of the school. In a most revealing comment, recalling memories of the formidable Emma Scott Raff Nasmith who was not pleased with the circumstances surrounding her own resignation, R. Y. Eaton noted,

\[\text{References:}\]

83 AO-EC. Series 22, Box 6, "Balance Sheets with Records (1920-1940)."
84 AO-EC. Series 22, Box 6, "Balance Sheets and Annual Statements (1921-1941)." Memorandum from A.S. Ackerman, July 12, 1933.
85 AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto," Mary Hamilton to R.Y. Eaton, January 5, 1934.
Miss Hamilton's acknowledged business supervisor is Bob Fennell, a right decent chap, but a son-in-law of the Nasmiths who might not mind seeing the Margaret Eaton name dragged in the mud in a law court over a trifling sum of bad debts.\textsuperscript{88}

Apparently R. Y. Eaton feared that the public might see the action to close the school as "shabby treatment" of a former employee of the company. At a time when the Stevens Committee was investigating the mass buying practices and price spreads of large chain stores, R. Y. Eaton sensed that this was not the time to risk any adverse publicity. He noted,

If the company let the school go, we would have to be prepared to take adverse criticism. Mr. Stevens is going to gather together all the stuff he can get, about the company having shabbily treated old managers and old employees... then whatever Miss Hamilton wants to say about the Eatons will be believed. Ought we to have the nerve to accept no responsibility now, or, should we use discretion and sympathize now, and trust to luck that there would be some way found during the year to perpetuate the School?\textsuperscript{89}

Clearly, the Eaton board did not wish to continue the school, yet they were uncertain about what strategy would be the best way out. When Somers assumed the directorship, she quickly became aware of the school's tenuous status and the board's desire to divest their interest in the school. In June of 1934, the board announced that they intended to discontinue the name of the school in one year's time, and unless Somers could find "other financial backing," the school would be closed in two years.\textsuperscript{90} Somers responded to this plan by observing that the divestiture of the Eaton name from the school

\textsuperscript{88}\textsuperscript{\textit{EFA}, "Margaret Eaton School" R.Y. Eaton to Ivor, Feb. 3, 1934.}
\textsuperscript{89}\textsuperscript{\textit{EFA}, R. Y. Eaton. n.d. "Margaret Eaton School."}
\textsuperscript{90}\textsuperscript{\textit{AO-EC}, F2290-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto," H.F. Mullen to Secretarial Offices, June 20, 1934.}
would be detrimental to the long standing reputation which the school had built over the years. She argued that should the Eaton name be lost, "there would be no chance of it being a success and no chance of affiliation with the university." She further argued that she needed at least two more years, "in the Margaret Eaton School name," and by that time she would know if the school could be a success. Somers successfully convinced the board to let the school's name stand. She was also granted two more years to show an improvement in financial status. By 1936, she was able to present her case again, and claim that she had "succeeded in the past year in putting the school on a stronger basis and is showing a small surplus." The board granted another two years of life to the school. By the end of the 1936-37 term, Somers had achieved a surplus of $1,500.00. In 1937 the board noted, "in view of the success achieved by the school since Miss Somers assumed control, there would be no risk in her continuing the use of the name for the coming year." It would seem that as long as the school demonstrated a profit, that they were content to let the Eaton name continue to be affiliated with it.

Florence Somers was not the only person to believe that the best future for the school lay in consolidation with the University of Toronto. Students, also, generally felt that a merger with the University would be beneficial, because the province did not recognize the Margaret Eaton diploma as it did the University of Toronto physical education diploma. Ruth Scott Prophet recalled,

91AO-EC, F2290-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto," Memorandum of Conversation with Miss Somers, June 20, 1934.
92AO-EC, F2290-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto," Interview with Miss Somers, June 22, 1936.
I think the thing that bothered us, each one of us, was that we realized then that there was no way that we would be able to teach in a high school without going on to teacher's college. And I couldn't believe that that would be, because we were geared to be teachers. We taught each other. We knew how to organize. We were taught all of this. And it seemed tough. And I thought, well, the only place I can go is a private school or the Y. And these other people [those in the University of Toronto Diploma course] could go through with a B. A. and take a couple of summer courses and become phys-ed's. And it wasn't right.94

Somers opened negotiations with members of the University of Toronto community. In November of 1940, she reported to the Eaton Board that she had met with Stanley Ryerson and W. J. Dunlop, the Director of the Extension Department of the University. She asked approval from the Eaton board to proceed with a proposal for union,95 and later in November sent a proposal to the senate of the University of Toronto.96

Ironically, it was J. J. Vaughan, then chairman of the school's board, who summarized the potential shadow side of the deal for the Margaret Eaton School. He warned that although The University of Toronto would have "everything to gain," the Margaret Eaton School would have "everything to lose." The University of Toronto would benefit from the demand for training in the field of physical education which the school had fostered, they would lose a competitor for this market, and they would gain $10,000.00 in addition to the use of the facilities in the Eaton Girls' Club building.

95EFA, "Margaret Eaton School," F.A. Somers to Mr. Lewis, November 19, 1940.
96EFA, "Margaret Eaton School," F.A. Somers to Mr. A.B. Fennell, November 24, 1940.
The Margaret Eaton school, on the other hand, would receive nothing--and he foreshadowed, "the School which did the best work in Canada will be soon entirely forgotten."97 He might also have added to his prophetic list the loss of a uniquely women-centered space for physical education training.

In the conditions which Somers presented to the University of Toronto, she requested that herself, Dorothy Jackson and Shirley Naylor be "given appointments" in the University, and that the services of the school secretary, Charlotte Layton, be retained. She requested that any students from the past four graduating classes be allowed to enter year two of the new program, and that "favourable consideration" be given to "certain" first year students who held a high academic standard for admission into year two. She requested that the school residence at 99 St. George St. be continued, and that the "the services of Mrs. Marriott" be retained. In addition, the name of the school was to be continued on all literature and stationary of the Department of Physical and Health education for three years. Finally, Somers added the condition that current Margaret Eaton students be allowed to "spend three or four weeks at Camp Tanamakoon in September" and that this "privilege be made available to women students in the University Course in Physical Education." In a bid to appeal to the University of Toronto's desire to find academic space, she prefaced her conditions with a summary of the school's facilities. She outlined that the school had functioned in the Eaton building, on the corner of Yonge and McGill, during the day

97 AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto," J. Vaughan, personal note, March 15, 1941.
and that it was equipped with lecture rooms, a dance studio, a swimming tank, administrative offices, a library, and a fully equipped gymnasium with apparatus and sport equipment. She noted that these facilities only required an annual maintenance fee of $1,000.00 per year. Finally, in the letter which was sent by Stanley Ryerson to President Cody outlining these requests, Ryerson added that Somers had added an additional bonus to the deal:

Miss Florence A. Somers, Director of the School, has generously offered to turn over to the University, as a personal gift, a sum sum of money ($8,000.00 to $10,000.00) with the request that this be used for the establishment of a memorial to Margaret Eaton. She has suggested that this memorial should take the form of a Margaret Eaton Library of Physical and Health Education in the new "Women's Building and Gymnasium" which is contemplated by the University in the immediate future.98

In fact, the women's building which Ryerson expected in the "immediate future" did not materialize until 1959.

Stanley Ryerson occupied an interesting position in the negotiations to close the school. It was he who was asked by Toronto's Board of Governors to "prepare a report on the taking over of the Margaret Eaton School and on the whole situation regarding Physical education."99 Ryerson's report summarized the offer forwarded by Florence Somers, and provided a favourable assessment regarding the financial feasibility of such a union. Ryerson recognized that the Margaret Eaton School offered both a guaranteed student market and additional facilities which would benefit the University.

98UTA, A68-007, Box 37, "Stanley Ryerson to H.J. Cody," March 21, 1941, p. 4.  
In May, the University of Toronto's Board of Governors responded to Somers' request. Apparently receptive to Stanley Ryerson's report, they particularly noted, "The facilities ... are urgently needed if the work of the new department is to be satisfactorily promoted." In a response to the Eaton board, the University of Toronto's Board specifically thanked the Eaton Company for their generosity. They next invoked a disquietingly patriarchal and sexual metaphor to describe the forthcoming fate of the Margaret Eaton School.

These conditions the Board of Governors gladly accepts... The Board also thanks you for your generosity in agreeing with Miss Somers to devote the present cash surplus, I think about $10,000.00, to the establishment of a library.

I would like to add that we all at the University are gratified at the consummation of this union between the Margaret Eaton School and the University Department of Physical Education. I am sure the result will be to the great advantage of physical education throughout the province.

In the June edition of the News of the School bulletin, Florence Somers announced to the student body that on September 1st, the school would become a part of the University of Toronto.

The Margaret Eaton School wishes to announce that on September 1st it will become a part of the University of Toronto. Students who enter this Fall, will take the new 3-year course in Physical and Health Education which was inaugurated in the University last year. This course leads to the degree of Bachelor of Physical and Health Education (B.P.H.E.).

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100 UTA, A70-0024, Box 14, "Board of Governor Minutes," May 22, 1941.
102 News of the School, VIII, No. 4, June 1941, p. 1.
In a letter to the alumnae of the school, Somers identified the reason for the merger as one of marketability. She noted, "We are finding that a degree is essential for many positions which are referred to our office, and I believe that this demand will increase in the future." She also confirmed that this union was the final stage of a plan which had begun much earlier. She concluded, "The cooperation begun in 1934 was the first step toward this final amalgamation."103

The New School of Physical and Health Education

In the years which followed the merger, the distinctive characteristics of the Margaret Eaton School gradually disappeared. The camp experience ended, the teaching components of the program were dropped, the curriculum shifted to a higher concentration in science and health theory at the expense of practical activity work, and Somers and Jackson struggled to maintain the integrity of the women's program in the face of their diminished visibility and power.

The first meeting of the new Physical and Health Education Department was held September 12, 1941. Florence Somers and Dorothy Jackson were joined by Jean Forster, the last remaining faculty member from the University of Toronto women's diploma program.104 Somers, Jackson and Forster were responsible for women's physical education, and were joined by nine male faculty

104Jean Forster noted that Ivy Coventry resigned in 1941. Interview with the author, June 19, 1991.
members who were responsible for the men's division. Faculty meetings were held in the medical building, where Stanley Ryerson—the new director of the department—maintained his own office. Offices for the male faculty members were located at Hart House, and the offices for Somers, Jackson and Forster were in the former Margaret Eaton building at 415 Yonge St.

At the first faculty meeting, a plan for the men's and women's curriculum was discussed. For Year I, twenty-seven hours of class per week were divided into thirteen hours of activity and fourteen hours of theory. Activities were taught separately, with women receiving instruction in games, gymnastics, swimming and dance, and men receiving instruction in games, gymnastics and swimming. In order to offset the extra activity component of dance for women, the male students received more hours of swimming and games.\textsuperscript{105} Forster recalled that the women's classes were held in the "modest" facilities at the building at 415 Yonge St. and the "small gymnasium" at the Household Science building, whereas, the men used the "new" facilities at Hart House. She also recalled that although all the classes were taught separately, on one ill-fated occasion she attempted to teach square dance to both male and female students. She recalled, "I never walked out on a class in my life, but I walked out on that one. The men didn't take it seriously."\textsuperscript{106}

With regard to the theory courses in the new program, Year I classes were taken in chemistry, psychology, physics and zoology. In Year II, theory courses included physiology, anatomy, health,

\textsuperscript{105}DPHE, Department of Physical and Health Education, faculty minutes, September 12, 1941.
\textsuperscript{106}Jean Forster, interview with the author, June 19, 1991.
histology, and organic chemistry. Clearly, the former Margaret Eaton emphasis on the applied nature of the discipline was gone. Courses in practice teaching, educational theory, camp theory, dance theory, gymnastics theory and remedial gymnastic theory were dropped from the bank. These theory courses were replaced by courses which reflected a medical rather than a pedagogic model of physical education.

Reflecting on the personal dynamics of the early faculty meetings, Forster recalled that there was intended to be a "balance" between the three "senior" female faculty members and the three "senior" male members--but that this balance never really materialized. She noted, "There were three of us and three of them--and never the twain shall meet." She further noted, "I never spoke up. I was younger than most of them." Forster also recalled that it was Stanley Ryerson, as director, who decided the configuration of the degree program, and that "the women followed." She noted,

The men--with Ryerson, recommended the courses, and so they asked if the women wanted to join in. So we joined in right at the first; of course we joined in. Dr. Ryerson was on the medical staff. He believed in preventative measures for health, so that was stressed very much in the theory. I don't think the men knew anything at all about the Margaret Eaton program.

Winn MacLennan, a graduate of the school who later saw Dorothy Jackson and Florence Somers socially, also offered a glimpse into the power structure of the faculty. She noted,

I remember Miss Jackson telling me, after our school was absorbed by the University, that Miss Somers had to step down

a peg because Dr. Ryerson was the senior one and she was the next. But Miss Jackson did tell me that he was always very considerate of Miss Somers and any decisions that they were making. They would always turn to Miss Somers and say, you know, what is your feeling about this? And Dorothy Jackson said that I had to sit next to her at Board meetings because she would fall asleep,\textsuperscript{109} and I'd have to nudge her when Dr. Ryerson was asking her a question so that she could answer.\textsuperscript{110}

At the second departmental meeting, on January 21, 1942, the rationale for the shift in the composition of the course curriculum was clearly elucidated. Dr. Stanley Ryerson outlined his vision for the new physical and health education degree program. He stated,

The purpose is to give a sound knowledge of health from a scientific point of view. The person who is to teach health needs just as scientific a background as the one who is treating disease. He [sic] requires also the point of view of the humanities and of his social environment.\textsuperscript{111}

Clearly, at least from the director's point of view, the new degree was designed to endorse the medical model of disease treatment. There appeared to be little room for the physical education practitioner. At this meeting, Ryerson moved to restructure the curriculum. He remarked, "Arts and Sciences, Physical Education and Health Education; these three are needed but must be merged into one unit, a big undertaking."\textsuperscript{112} To achieve this end, he suggested the creation of three sub-divisions within the "curriculum and examinations" committee. These divisions were "arts

\textsuperscript{109} Florence Somers suffered from the sleeping disorder, Trypanosomiasis. Interview with Winn MacLennan Johnston, March 27, 1994.
\textsuperscript{110} Whin MacLennan, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
\textsuperscript{111} UTA-DPHE, Department of Physical and Health Education, faculty minutes, January 21, 1942.
\textsuperscript{112} UTA-DPHE, Department of Physical and Health Education, faculty minutes, January 21, 1942.
and sciences," "health education" and "physical education." Jackson. Somers and Forster, along with two other male colleagues, served on the Physical Education sub-committee. The other committees were filled by male faculty within their areas of expertise. As successive meetings revealed, this strategy resulted in a polarization between the "theory" and "activity" areas of the curriculum. Not surprisingly, the "theory" components of the program came to be exclusively associated with the "health" and "arts and sciences" divisions of the program, and the "activity" component became exclusively affiliated with physical education. Somers, Jackson and Forster had little influence in any decisions other than those which were directly related to the type and number of activity hours for the female students--which, by this time, was relegated to one-third of the degree experience.

At the March 18th meeting, faculty discussed the configuration of the third year of the program. By this stage, all the "theory" courses were listed under the rubric of health, and included functional anatomy, applied physiology, health assessment, health promotion, hygiene and preventative medicine. The physical education part of the program was simply listed as twelve hours of "activity." Students were also required to select additional theory from a selection of economics, English, geography, history, psychology, sociology and zoology.

As the last item of discussion at this meeting, a letter was read from Mary Hamilton to President Cody. In this letter, it was reported

113 UTA-DPHE, Department of Physical and Health Education, faculty minutes, March 18, 1942.
that Mary Hamilton donated $2,000.00 to the university and requested that the money be "used in launching the camp counselor course for women students of the School of Physical and Health education."114 Probably fearing the loss of the camp experience, Hamilton tried to ensure its existence by providing a source of funding which might cover some of the costs involved. Dorothy Jackson proposed a motion to ensure that the camp experience would become a mandatory part of the women's curriculum. The motion read.

It is recommended that a camp counselor course for women students be conducted by the school of physical and health education at Camp Tanamakoon in Algonquin Park, during the first 3 weeks of September in 1942. The purpose of the camp course is to provide experience and preparation for students wishing to qualify for positions as camp counselors. The course is open to women of all faculties of this and other universities.115

The camp was to be offered at no cost to the student, except for the payment of their railway fare and living expenses of $12.00 per week. Hamilton and Jackson tried to keep elements of the old school alive.

In June 9, 1942, Stanley Ryerson proposed yet another change to the degree program. He introduced a system of "weighting" courses. For Year I, he proposed a total of 1200 units, with arts (English) allocated 200 units, the sciences (chemistry, physics, psychology, and zoology) allocated 600 units, health theory allocated 100 units, and physical "activity" allocated 300 units. For the women,

114 UTA-DPHE, Department of Physical and Health Education faculty minutes, March 18, 1942.
115 UTA-DPHE, Department of Physical and Health Education, faculty minutes, March 18, 1942.
once again, additional dance hours were added with a consequent reduction in the number of hours for games and sport. Female students, consequently, received exactly half the activity units for games and sport as did the male students. In Year II the same pattern was proposed, with 400 units devoted to the sciences, 200 for psychology, 200 for health, 150 hours of practical instruction for men and 200 hours for women.

This inequity in the number of hours between the men and women's program was eventually raised as a point of controversy in a subsequent curriculum meeting on January 11, 1955. By this time, Zerada Slack, a graduate of McGill University, had replaced the retired Florence Somers, and joined Jackson on the faculty. Slack and Jackson served as the only two women on a curriculum committee of ten members. Minutes from this meeting indicated that the male students not only received a different configuration of activities than the female students, but that they also received more hours of theory. The rationale for this discrepancy was justified in terms of the "natural" difference between the sexes.

The discrepancy between the number of hours of instruction in the men and women's divisions was noted by the committee. It was pointed out that the coverage of subjects for the men and women has always been different. For example, synchronized swimming and the various forms of the dance are essential for women teachers of physical and health education. The men, quite naturally, have a greater emphasis on games than the women. This explains why in certain courses in physical education the men have more lecture hours than the women.116

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116 UTA-DPHE, Department of Physical and Health Education, curriculum committee minutes, January 11, 1955.
In the subsequent years after union with the University of Toronto, all the distinctive characteristics of the Margaret Eaton School gradually disappeared. Despite efforts by Hamilton and Jackson, the camp experience ended. The camp course continued until 1948, but by that time, efforts to keep it as a compulsory part of the program were defeated. In 1948, the News of the School bulletin commented,

As the camp is not compulsory this year for anyone but our seniors, and as the new students do not have to register until September 10th, there are only three first year students taking it.\textsuperscript{117}

By 1950, in an attempt to offset this loss, Dorothy Jackson and Zerada Slack initiated a "camp counselor course," which consisted of a six day workshop offered at the University from May 8-13.\textsuperscript{118} Although they tried to incorporate many of the skills which were previously learned at the camp, the wilderness experiences were gone forever.

The Margaret Eaton Memorial Library, originally endowed by the $10,000.00 gift by Somers and later augmented by a second financial endowment by the Eaton's in 1942,\textsuperscript{119} did not find an official home until November of 1952. Although Somers had originally intended for the $10,000 not to be transferred "until such time as the University provides a building suitable for the purpose,"\textsuperscript{120} the money was transferred to the University on

\textsuperscript{117}News of the School, IX, No. 1, September, 1941, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{118}News of the School, XVIII, No. 4, June, 1950, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{119}AO-EC, F229-8-0-166, "Margaret Eaton School and the University of Toronto," June 2, 1942.
\textsuperscript{120}EFA, "Margaret Eaton School," July 30, 1941.
December 9, 1942. Ten years later, a library was finally established at Wymilwood—the former residence of the Wymilwood family—which was purchased by the University and renamed Falconer Hall in 1952. The library remained at Falconer Hall until 1959, when it was moved to the new women's physical education facility on the corner of Harbord and Huron Streets. The Margaret Eaton Library is now located in one of the upper level rooms, largely used as a lounge area for faculty and students, in the Benson Building. In this library, currently in disarray, may be found personal texts from the estates of Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, Mary Hamilton, Florence Somers, Dorothy Jackson, and Zerada Slack.

Florence Somers taught at the University of Toronto until she retired in 1949. She retired to the Boston area and died in 1977. Dorothy Jackson remained in the department and became Director of the Department of Athletics and Physical Education for Women, until her death on April 9, 1967. Mary Barker recalled the occasion when she dropped in on Dorothy Jackson and Zerada Slack one day, as they were preparing their wills. Together, they spoke of gifts to be given to a number of disadvantaged people—including the faithful janitorial staff of the Benson building. Apparently, they also bequeathed their own personal texts to the Margaret Eaton Library, where they currently reside with the other books in the collection.

121AO-EC, Series 127, Box 694, "Margaret Eaton School-General Account."
122Ford, A Path Not Strewn With Roses, p. 71.
123Zerada Slack reinstated the women's building advisory committee after the war, and was chair of the committee which successfully lobbied for the construction of a new women's physical education facility in 1959. See, Ford, A Path Not Strewn With Roses, p. 72.
124Mary Barker, correspondence with the author, August 28, 1996.
Charlotte Layton, the school's secretary, retired in 1950. She was editor of the alumnae newsletter, the *News of the School*, for twenty-four years. In her final farewell to the alumnae, she noted, "Thanks a million to the Margaret Eaton graduates and staff from 1942 right back to the early days, for your continued interest in the school—even though it is now so different."  

This "difference" was also felt by a number of the school's graduates. Ruth Scott Prophet noted,

> The next thing that bothered us was that it [the new degree] was going to be more bookwork and very little practical. It didn't matter if you had skills in the activities or not, as long as your marks were good. I was worried about what was going to happen to what Margaret Eaton really meant—because if it was going to be run by the University there wasn't going to be participation, and skills and organization. It seemed that all they could be able to do was to teach health, and physiology—but, they weren't going to have camp, they weren't going to have canoeing, or sailing, or riding, or dancing.

The charter of the school was surrendered on December 30, 1948. 127 Scholarships bearing the name of the Emma Scott Raff Nasmith and the Margaret Eaton ended in 1982, "in order to serve the changes in society." 128 The only remnants of the school which remain are the scattered books in the library, a portrait of Margaret Eaton, and the memories of the surviving graduates who have passed on this oral tradition to their daughters and sons. As Prophet predicted, in the new physical and health education degree program

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127 AO-EC, Series 8, Box 11, File x8/4 "Margaret Eaton School--Surrender of Charter" December 30, 1948.
scientific theory eclipsed an activity based curriculum. Coeducational access may have won, for the former Margaret Eaton graduates, the right to access the public schooling sector. But the question remains--were they as well prepared to teach as they had been in the past?
CONCLUSION

There it is then, before our eyes, the procession of the sons of educated men, ascending those pulpits, mounting those steps, passing in and out of those doors, preaching, teaching, administering justice, practicing medicine, making money. And it is obvious that if you are going to make the same incomes from the same professions that those men make you will have to accept the same conditions that they accept.¹

Although women eventually won the right to "follow the procession" into male universities during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as Virginia Woolf warned in *The Three Guineas*, simply following the procession did not ensure that women would be accepted as equal partners in the academic enterprise. Augusta Stowe, the first woman to enter and graduate from a Canadian medical college in 1883, recalled her own struggle in the co-educational university environment. With wry understatement she recalled, "the path ... [was] not one strewn with roses."²

To a certain extent, the history of the Margaret Eaton Schools tried to fulfill Virginia Woolf's idyllic call for an alternative educational space for women. Woolf envisioned an adventurous curriculum which might "teach the arts of human intercourse, the art of understanding other peoples' lives and minds... [and] the ways and

means by which mind and body can be made to co-operate."³
Although much smaller than any of the separate women's colleges such as a Vassar or a Girton, the three Margaret Eaton schools of dramatic art, literature and physical education offered a single sex alternative for women in higher education for over forty years.

Like the Lillian Massey School of Home Economics, the three Margaret Eaton schools offered a specific area of academic concentration. As Margaret Rossiter argues in her study of women and science in the United States, both home economics and hygiene were considered to be "womanly" areas of study.⁴ Male academics, therefore, were quite pleased to leave these areas to women. In 1941, however, this disinterest was dissolving. This study ends at the point when the Margaret Eaton School was closed and absorbed into the University of Toronto. At this point, hygiene lost its "womanly" stigma. Stanley Ryerson, the Associate Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Toronto, conceived of a plan to expand the Medical Faculty at the University by creating a new Department in Health Assessment and Promotion. Hygiene, in his view, was a legitimate area of medical (and masculine) concern. Drawing on Laurence Veysey's analysis, we might see Ryerson's actions as characteristic of the pattern of "empire building" that occurred in American universities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Veysey's examination of university growth and organizational restructuring during this period identified the influence of ambitious university administrators, driven by "the

³Woolf, Three Guineas, p. 34.
competitive search for prestige." and "the love of power." as one of the driving forces behind institutional expansion. The absorption of the Margaret Eaton School, therefore, must be examined within the context of the University's expansion, as well as the political agenda of the T. Eaton Company and Florence Somers' belief that co-education would further the status of graduates. Although the new programme was not called Health Assessment and Promotion as Stanley Ryerson had originally intended, he did become the new Director. It was called the Department of Physical and Health Education, but in Ryerson's mind, health was intended to be the major area of academic study.

The history of the three Margaret Eaton schools is not, however, a simple story of either success or failure. It was not an idyllic example of forty years of splendid female autonomy, nor was it simply a case of middle class women "selling out" to a larger masculinist and classist agenda. The history of the three schools was a history of agency and compliance, of autonomy and co-optation. It was an example of a woman-centred educational space which both forwarded emancipatory possibilities and reinforced hegemonic notions of class, race and gender. It was an example of a transitional phase in the history of women in higher education, as female academies began to extend their educative intent into areas of vocational preparation in addition to personal accomplishment.

The last phase of the school's history also marked the beginning of physical education as an academic discipline. In the

transition, however, from a separate school for women to a co-
educational university degree. The emphasis of physical education
preparation shifted toward a model which was masculinist, elitist
and rooted in scientific structuralism. The Margaret Eaton
curriculum, with its heavy investment in activity courses, teaching
practicums, and the camping experience, was replaced by a health-
based medical model which emphasized a strong theoretical and
science-based core. Moreover, the co-educational programme did not
facilitate integration of the sexes. Female students in the new
Department of Physical and Health education not only continued to
be segregated into different activity classes, but they also were
taught different skills in these courses. These different activities
"naturally" included extra hours in synchronized swimming and
dance, at the expense of games and sport. The co-educational forum
not only resulted in the loss of certain experiential parts of the
school's program, but also, further served to reinforce the division
between appropriate activities for men, and those for women.

In addition, within the larger Canadian context of middle class
social and moral reform, the Margaret Eaton school had played a
significant role in the preparation of young women to fill service
positions in Y.W.C.A.'s, schools, settlements and missions. As Strange,
Valverde and Burke argue, the objectives of these social outreach
programmes were to educate working class and immigrant
populations according to "appropriate" moral, health and physical

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6 Activity courses were not taken together until 1968. See, Ford, *A Path Not Strewn With Roses*, p. 55.
ideals. Reformers believed that health and morality were inextricably linked. With reference to the work of the Eaton's Girls' Club, a primary example of this type of outreach, Emma Scott Raff Nasmith noted, "this club is of incalculable value from the standpoint of morals, which maketh for health." Like other agencies of the state, the three schools functioned as an effective crucible for hegemonic values of citizenship and democratic capitalism. These values were often sexist, classist, heterosexist, and steeped in Christian discourse. Nevertheless, as much as these middle class students were in one sense purveyors of this ideology, they also demonstrated agency, and challenged certain aspects of this socialization.

In her closing valedictory address, Patty Sterne Sanders warned observers not to assume homogeneity among the graduates. She argued, "life, HERE, has had a different significance for each one of us." Margaret Eaton graduates, she continued, were not all what the institution believed them to be—sitting there in their uniform white dresses. Although marriage and domesticity were firmly reinforced, some faculty and students opted for other choices. Also, although the patriarchal board exercised control over administrative issues, each of the three female principals exerted a very powerful influence. They determined the school's curriculum, taught courses,


8AO-EC, Series 22, Box 6, "Report to the Directors from Emma Scott Raff" November 4, 1918. "Margaret Eaton School Minutes" (1906-1924).

9Patty Sterne Sanders, Valedictory address, p. 2. In files given to the author.
and directly interacted daily with students. Graduates were left with the feeling that they had a personal responsibility to the faculty. Winn MacLennan Johnston noted, "You were made very aware that the school would suffer if you let them down." Over seventy years later, Elizabeth Pitt still fondly recalled her allegiance to "Auntie Em" and "Ham."

Each of the three principals left their unique mark on the school. Emma Scott Raff Nasmith's vision for education was exemplified by her devotion to the classical ideals of beauty, expression and art through an integrated and experiential curriculum. Although she associated with the Burwash, Eaton and Massey families, her personal life was also described as "mildly bohemian." For nineteen years she tenaciously survived as a single mother, and created employment for herself in higher education. She believed that a cultural education must carry with it a breadwinning power for women. In a way not dissimilar to American feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who married twice, gave her daughter up to the care of her first husband and his second wife, traveled extensively and was thereby accused of being an "unnatural" mother. Emma Scott Raff Nasmith also lived a single and enterprising life, maintaining her career and raising her daughter. Those who knew her, often employed the adjective "remarkable." Perhaps, like Josephine Barrington, they believed that she took risks in her life.

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10Winn MacLennan Johnston, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.
and was thereby able to extend the horizon of possibilities for other women.

She was a remarkable woman. She was a world traveler at a time when people didn't travel. She spent years in Greece and picked up ideas of balance of the mind, body and spirit. She founded the school [The School of Literature and Expression] with the Eaton money. Dora [Mavor Moore] was there earlier than myself. She taught me, through her. They took me in when I was just fifteen.12

Emma Scott Raff Nasmith's School of Expression also created the opportunity for women to speak publicly and share common initiatives. She was personally involved in the developments of community drama, local literature, and settlement work, as well as with groups such as the Y.W.C.A. The Deaconess Training House and The Associate Players. She toured the Toronto area, offering recitals, dramatic readings and theatrical performances. Scott Raff Nasmith's contribution to amateur theatre in Canada was also significant. Although strongly criticized for advocating dramatic instruction for young women--to the point of being held responsible for the unruly behavior of female students at Annesley Hall.13--she still persisted. As Heather Murray notes, Scott Raff Nasmith's work with amateur theatre, through the work of The School's Associate Players, has hitherto been unacknowledged in the history of amateur theatre in Canada. Dora Mavor Moore, one of the school's most noted graduates, recalled that Hart House often "absorbed" talent from The Associate Players, and yet, never took The Players seriously. She noted. "[The

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Players] were taken as a 'social accomplishment.' rather than as a group whose main interest was the theatre." Dora also reflected back on her early education, recalling that it was a training that had helped her overcome her own shyness and insecurity. She commented that it had given her a sense of personal expression, and she subsequently felt the need to give this gift to others. She described expression in terms of dramatic presentation, individualized expression and personal communication.

This was my objective, to eventually come to social work and give particularly children this outlet in their lives. It has been a mission for me all through life—that they have to have something that they can believe in themselves. It takes the human mind from this little world of imagination that they have wrapped themselves in, and takes them over the bridge to reality. And it helps them to contend with the realities of life which are often pretty stiff.

My concept is of a teacher, fundamentally, not as a performer. And it is an extremely important part of the expression of all young people because they have to have expression before others in order to have communication, and it is the communication we are driving for.

Emma Scott Raff Nasmith was both opportunistic and self-giving, an artist and a educator. She believed passionately that literature should be a living art. In addition, through bonds of friendship with students such as Dora Mavor and colleagues such as Mary Hamilton, she forged deep connections of love and loyalty with her students and colleagues within the school community.

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Mary Hamilton did not possess either the dramatic flair of Emma Scott Raff Nasmith, or the academic degrees which Florence Somers held. She dressed simply, avoided society engagements, and was affiliated with the school for over twenty-four years. After the difficult year of transition in 1925, Mary Hamilton took over as director and shaped the school into a nationally respected centre for physical education training for women.

Influenced by her Presbyterian heritage and her Oxford Group affiliations, Hamilton was a strong advocate of Christian social reform. Although she supported the maternal role of women in their Christian service to the nation, she chose not to marry, and instead, lived all her life in the company of other women. Hamilton wanted her graduates to find employment, and she held to the belief that the simple values of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love could forge a new vision for the home, the community and the nation.

At the heart of Hamilton's vision for female education was the camp experience. She believed the wilderness environment was the most powerful forum for the socialization of young women and girls. She was one of the first women to establish a camp for girls in Ontario, and believed that camp counselor training was a critical component of physical education training. Perhaps more than any other experience at the school, the Tanamakoon experience was the unique legacy which she left in the education of the Margaret Eaton girl.

Florence Somers came to the school at the end of a successful career in schools and colleges in the United States. Strongly invested
in the separate but equal vision of women's athletics, she was trained within a medical discourse which argued that women were naturally different, and that physical activity presented a particular challenge for girls and women. Like the nineteenth century American educator, Catherine Beecher. Florence Somers argued from a position which reflected the conservative agenda of true womanhood. Also like Beecher, her own life choices did not include either marriage or children.

Somers was the last principal of the Margaret Eaton School. She advocated union with the University of Toronto because she believed that this would ensure the future of physical education training for women, and address the inequity which had left Margaret Eaton students in a disadvantaged position with respect to teaching accreditation. Unfortunately, once assimilated by the University of Toronto, Somers and Jackson lost their control over curriculum and could no longer maintain the kind of program which had previously prepared their students so well for the teaching profession.

At the heart of Somers' view of women and athletics was her belief that women must determine their own model for sport and activity. She challenged masculinist notions of commercialism, professionalism, and excessive competition. She forwarded a non-elitist vision of physical education for everyone. Muriel Nelles Whyte used this principle of "mass instruction"--a principle which she attributed to her training at the school--when she later taught figure skating for the Canadian Figure Skating Association. Nelles generated a method whereby large numbers of students could be given instruction by using small groups with individual "counselors" for
each group. Nelles. like her mentor. Florence Somers. forwarded the principle of maximal participation and accessibility for all: an extension of the credo. "a girl for every game. and a game for every girl."

Despite these arguments in support of female autonomy in the realm of sport and athletics. the rationale which informed Somers' philosophy of women's athletics was grounded in androcentric medical and psychological discourse. She argued that a woman's reproductive nature made her different. with unique limitations and constraints. Although she acknowledged that scientific evidence had not proven that a woman's reproductive nature was at risk during vigorous activity. she nevertheless proceeded as if it was proven. Although she advocated a maternal and conservative view of athletics for women. historians such as Mary Keyes argue that her position should not be judged too harshly.

It would have been difficult. and perhaps even irresponsible. for these dedicated women in Canadian physical education to propose innovations in girls' and women's programs at this time. when all the professional. educational and medical leadership in both countries advocated a conservative example in educational sports for women and girls.16

Similar to the women's communities in educational settings described by Patricia Palmieri.17 the forty year history of the Margaret Eaton School was characterized by strong faculty and

student loyalties and friendships. As Patty Sterne Sanders noted, "Association with friends, the camaraderie of school life, experiences in social activities: these and other influences make a contribution, perhaps unrecognized, to the graduate."\(^{18}\) Shared academic experiences, social activities and residence life contributed to this sense of community, and led to lasting alumnae and friendship networks after graduation. Graduates expressed their loyalty to the school and to the faculty who inspired them. Muriel Nelles Whyte noted.

> It was almost like a missionary feeling. I felt that I owed something: that I do something with the training that I received. And it sort of kept me going. I felt always that I had something to give back. More training. Fifty years of it. I enjoyed every bit of it.\(^{19}\)

As Alison Mackinnon notes in her study of women in higher education, the effect of experiences on individual subjectivities is a critical indicator of emancipatory transformation.\(^{20}\) Student memories reflected a collage of sometimes contradictory images, from the stories of white gloves, formal dances and theatre outings to those set in the wilds of the Algonquin on Ranger patrols, on canoe portages or wielding an axe: impressions ranged from the tyrannical surveillance of Mrs. Marriott to the warm accessibility of Elizabeth Wardley Raymer. Frances McConnell Ziegler's tearful recitation of the "Temple Beautiful," Margaret Davison Lathrop's surreptitious trips to the Highland Inn for the Saturday night square dance. Dorothy

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\(^{18}\)Patty Sterne Sanders. Valedictory address, p. 2. In files given to the author.

\(^{19}\)Muriel Nelles Whyte, interview with the author, March 27, 1994.

Walker's fond memory of the camp steps in the sunshine. and Elizabeth Pitt's recollection of smoking on the residence roof. are just a few of these memories. These recollections established friendships which lasted a lifetime. Reflecting back on these years. students summarized their Margaret Eaton experience in various ways. Davison Lathrop recalled. "It was based on sweat and hard work and everyday living:"\(^{21}\) Pitt recalled. "Its the friends that last all your life:"\(^{22}\) and Scott Prophet remarked. "Fun. We had fun."\(^{23}\) These graduates felt a sense of affirmation through their body training which was strong and lasting.

**Physicality and Embodiment**

Education "of" the body may have been appropriated and used by moral physiologists and middle class reformers of the day. but education "in" the body. offered the possibility at least. of radical transformation. Here. at the phenomenological level. the bodily felt sense of power. strength. confidence and self-possession might be experienced. Beyond a liberatory act of the will. body education could convey an emancipatory sensibility. As Nancy Theberge observes.

The liberatory possibility of sport lies in the opportunity for women to experience the creativity and energy of their bodily power and to develop this power in the community of women.\(^{24}\)

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\(^{21}\) Margaret Davison Lathrop, interview with the author. August 17, 1994.
\(^{22}\) Elizabeth Pitt, interview with the author. April 22, 1994.
Thus, although Emma Scott Raff taught Delsartean movement, with a primary emphasis on dramatic expression, and Florence Somers and Mary Hamilton advocated functional work with a view to developing teaching competency. In each case, these body experiences were potentially emancipatory. Students felt the empowerment which came from stronger, healthier and more fully functioning bodies. Students also emerged physically changed. Elizabeth Pitt, who was sent to the school by her mother in order to recuperate from a car accident recalled.

I owe a lot to them. You felt better because you'd been doing so many exercises: you couldn't help but feel better. And it gave you courage to go on and try other things. So all these little things turned into big things.25

Ruth Scott Prophet, recalling her movement training, commented that it left her changed. She remarked, "It gave me a sense of confidence. For sure. I think they gave it to you if you didn't have it when you went."26 Muriel Nelles Whyte also noted, "It gave me confidence to begin with. And the knowledge that I had something to give other people through the teaching of the various skills. And it just grew with more experience."27

Although at one level, the Delsartean movement training used during the early history of the school reinforced stereotypical gender qualities such as grace, poise, beauty, and elegance: the deeper historical connections which linked Delsartean theory to the work of modern dance was a significant emancipatory connection. At the very least, aesthetic gymnastics and harmonic gymnastics presented

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a challenge to the dominant military model which the Strathcona Trust presented. The credo, "children who drill, seldom are ill" was challenged by the entrance of expressive movement, in the form of dance and eurhythmics, and the belief that the emotional and expressive side of human behavior needed to be addressed within the educational setting. As Helen Lenskyj has noted, this was a different kind of physical training:

It seems likely, however, that the school's instructors and graduates had a more highly specialized knowledge of girls' and women's gymnastics than the average normal school graduate, who, as late as 1931, was instructed in physical training by district cadet officers under the Strathcona system. Although Swedish gymnastics of the Strathcona type were taught at the Margaret Eaton School in the 1920's, the inclusion of dance, eurhythmics, athletics, games and swimming gave graduates competence in a wider range of physical activities.

Although traditional forms of dance such as ballet and folk were considered to be gender appropriate, modern dance represented a radical departure in this part of the curriculum. When Isadora Duncan performed at Toronto's Massey Hall in 1909, the Globe warned the public beforehand that her dancing was considered to be "very fleshy and suggestive." For her performance that evening, she danced to three operas by Christoph Gluck in her characteristic style; barefoot and lightly veiled in a Greek styled tunic. After her performance, the trustees at Massey Hall were so

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appalled by her performance that they canceled negotiations with the next modern dance troupe wanting to perform there.31 Francois Delsarte. Isadora Duncan. Emile Jaques Dalcroze and Rudolf Laban put forward ideas of emancipatory bodyculture. These ideas eventually led to the evolution of modern dance and other forms of movement education.

Despite warnings not to look muscle-bound, however. young women at the Margaret Eaton schools did develop strength. agility. and coordination as a result of their training. They also felt the social cost of these body attributes. In an article entitled. "Are We Amazons?" one student described her "humiliating experiences" with regard to explaining to others her vocation of physical education. Elizabeth Seccombe described what it felt like to tell others that this was her chosen field.

On numerous other occasions--and I swear it's not my imagination--my answer has been met with amused tolerance. as though I were some unusual freak of womanhood. This annoys me no end. for though I may be a freak. full stop--there is no need to drag womanhood into it! Some of these occasions have been at gatherings or parties. No sooner do I mention those two mystic words than I am stopped dead with a "NOT......... .......... !!!!!!" and the person starts to flail their arms at me with an odd "bend and stretch" thrown in---ending with the well-known test for the bicep.

Such situations cause a hot rush of anger to sear my cheeks. or an almost overwhelming feeling of disdain... mingled with pity for such ignorance. But the last straw is that feeling of shame which engulfs me. and hitting my head in despair I sigh. "Oh to be one of those clinging vine fluffy duffs... instead of being thought of as a muscle-bound Amazon."

What's to be done? Assuredly something drastic must happen

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to change the false conception of Physical Education. Or must it?\textsuperscript{32}

Beneath Seccombe's anger and shame lay the root of the problem, and the foundation of the grand narrative itself: the perceived incompatibility between femininity and physical competence. Yet another entry in the school's magazine clarified this issue still further. In a fictional account entitled, "The Awful Truth," Helen Plaunt described a scene where a young Margaret Eaton graduate was interviewed for a prospective job at the Y.W.C.A. Plaunt's commentary glibly concluded that perhaps the Margaret Eaton training was too good.

She strode up to me and with a baleful glare and roared--We expect you to be able to teaching riding, golfing, swimming, diving, tennis, canoeing, handcraft and nature lore. You must be able to cook and also groom horses and at any time be able to take over the job of director if the present one die or be poisoned--Can you do it?

Bravely I stood up to her and with a sticky accent gave the saccharine reply. "Margaret Eaton Girls can and do, do everything--they never get their man!

You have to live!\textsuperscript{33}

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This study has examined the complicated ways in which the faculty and students of the three Margaret Eaton schools organized and experienced higher education in Ontario between 1901 and 1941. Education "of" and "in" the body was central to their training. Through an expressive and functional movement education, they

\textsuperscript{32}Elizabeth Seccombe. "Are We Amazons?" \textit{M.E.S. Amies}, 1940-1941, p. 57.
experienced their bodies as both elegant and expressive, strong and skilled. Despite generations of sociological inscription, this movement education afforded for some the possibility of being in the world in a strong, skilled, co-ordinated and confident way.

Feminist analysis points out that our social existence begins and ends with our body. To this, I would add that our moving bodies present a tremendous transformative potential for empowerment and self-knowledge. The academic discipline of physical education, now so deeply submerged in masculinist discourse which valorizes sport elitism and the medicalization of the body, must return to embodied movement as a lived experience which has a transformative potential. Rather than simply viewing the body as a theoretically disembodied, "body of knowledge," the body—and a myriad of opportunities for all forms of expressive and functional movement—must be returned to a central place in our educational enterprise. These are the creative possibilities which the three Margaret Eaton schools attempted to investigate. Its devolution into the University of Toronto's Physical Education Department was one of the unfortunate turns in both the history of women in higher education and the history of physical education when, following the procession of educated men, "movement" not only became less valued, it also became far more deeply gender specific.

For the last graduates of the school, who still meet regularly and reminisce about their early education, body memories of strength, skill and physical competence remain vivid. Like Nellie
McClung, their body memories are also. "fresh, clean and thrilling." Empowering movement experiences give shape to our sense of self. For many of the graduates of the Margaret Eaton School, and for many of their daughters and sons who have heard their story, these body memories are ones which they will, and we should, always remember.

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