

REPORT AT REQUEST  
OF  
MINISTER OF EDUCATION  
OF WOMEN  
IN  
OTTAWA, CANADA

ELIZABETH SMITH

SECRETARY

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY  
1914

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**Historical Sketch**  
OF  
**Medical Education**  
of **Women**  
IN  
**KINGSTON, CANADA**



\*Read before the Osler Club, Queen's University, Sept. 14, 1916.

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## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF MEDICAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN KINGSTON.

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*Foreword.* The following sketch is compiled from letters and diary written at the time of the occurrences recorded and from newspaper articles and calendars of the same period. Pardon is asked for any personal note that occurs since to a limited extent it is autobiographical.

In the Toronto newspapers of 28th May, 1879, a paragraph stated that "three ladies presented themselves before the Council of Physicians and Surgeons for matriculation examination. Two of them, Misses Augusta Stowe and Elizabeth Smith, were successful."

This was a pioneer occasion in the way of regular medical matriculation for women who were to enter on a full course of medical lectures in Canada. Previously to this, two ladies, Dr. Emily Stowe and Dr. Jennie K. Trout, practised medicine in Toronto. Both were graduates of American Colleges and were allowed to practise in Canada by virtue of having attended one session in a Canadian School of Medicine. They were given permission to attend these lectures in Toronto on condition that whatever happened they would make no fuss. From the lips of one of these ladies I heard the most staggering accounts of their experiences. Little incidents, such as having to observe their seats from a conventional loophole before entering the classroom, lest, as occurred on more than one occasion, they had to be cleared and cleaned before being occupied. Other playful activities of some members of the school were in the way of obnoxious sketches on the wall. There were so many artists, or at least sketches, that the walls of a classroom had to be whitewashed four times during that session. But more trying and more frequent were the needless objectionable stories told by 'enemy' lecturers to the class to instigate its worst element to make noisy and vulgar demonstration. It was so unbearable on one occasion that one of the ladies went to the lecturer afterwards and asked him

to desist from that sort of persecution or she would go and tell his wife exactly what he had said. His lectures were more bearable after that. This same lady doctor (although wishing me to have a Canadian degree) advised me to go to Ann Arbor until such time as there should be a course open to women in Canada.

On Easter Tuesday of 1879 when the three aforementioned young ladies went up for Medical Matriculation at Toronto the examiners were the heads of Toronto and Kingston High Schools, viz., Mr. MacMurchy and Mr. A. P. Knight. They were both presiding and oral examiners and were most kind and considerate. Mr. Knight, later Dr. Knight, inquired where I meant to study, and on my explaining my reason for going to Ann Arbor, he intimated that since Queen's had that year (session '78-'79) announced that "the advantages of the University Course would henceforth be thrown open to women" (see Doomsday Book) that the Medical Faculty might be willing to have classes for women students.

The Dean of the College, Dr. Michael Lavell, was written to and he thought some arrangements might be made. This soon became an offer that if a class could be gathered the Faculty of the Royal Medical College would arrange for a summer session for women students. I then advertised in the Toronto paper and asked those women who wished to take up the study of Medicine to communicate with me. When eleven letters from would-be students had accumulated they were sent on to Dr. Lavell. The Faculty then took the matter in hand and issued the following circular:—

#### ROYAL COLLEGE OF PRYSCIANNS AND SURGEONS

In affiliation with Queen's University.

"The Faculty have decided to establish a course of Lectures for women exclusively. The Session will commence on the second Monday in April, 1880, and continue until the September following.

In entering upon this work, the Faculty beg to state that it is at the urgent request of many ladies desirous of pursuing

the study of Medicine, and qualifying for the degree of M.D., and who prefer, for obvious reasons, that it should be exclusively for women.

The course of Lectures will be equivalent in all respects to the ordinary winter course of Lectures, and as such will be accepted in proceeding to the Degree of M.D.

The requisites for Graduation will in no sense differ from what is required for the other sex, and the facilities for study will be also the same. There will be no separate examination for the Degree; both sexes being required to undergo the same examination together, at the one time and place.

By the regulations of the University, the Matriculation Examination of the College may be passed at any time before undergoing examination for the Degree.

The Medical Council Examination will be accepted by the University."

This was followed by a statement of the class fees, and the names of the Faculty of Instruction.

"Signed. Fife Fowler, M.D., Registrar, Brock Street, Kingston.

"Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Kingston, September 4, 1879."

From the time of our matriculation in April there began to be various sorts of evidence that higher education of women and medical education of women appealed to many. Newspapers and magazines asked for information and wrote up what had been, and what ought to be, done along this line. My mother and various others added their contributions and kept the information spreading. Among others there was a series of articles by "Agnodice" in the Educational Monthly which attracted considerable attention. Although there were a good many young women wanting to attend this first session in Medicine, many unfortunately fell out of the race for want of funds. Parents were willing to make sacrifices to send a son to college, but had not yet become convinced of any equal claim of a daughter. Also, young men were much more in the way

of earning money and, having had the open door to any and all professions, went in, as years went by, whenever they were ready.

Naturally when the first chance of a separate class for women occurred comparatively suddenly, the women were not financially ready. As it came near the spring of 1880 letter after letter of despair came to announce the fact that they could not manage the financial end of it. So when the second Monday of April, 1880, came round there were only four who actually presented themselves for the course. The Professors who were to lecture to us this year were Prof. N. F. Dupuis of Queen's, and Drs. Fowler, Oliver and T. R. Dupuis of the Royal Medical College. They were all most kind and encouraging as was also Mr. Knight, through whose kind interest it had all come about and who remained our constant friend and adviser. At times we had as proxy for our ideal lecturer, Prof. N. F. Dupuis, the star pupil of his class, Mr. Gibson, also Mr. McGurn on some occasions in place of the Professor of Anatomy. Our able demonstrator was Mr. Oldham, to whose kindness and indefatigable labors we owed much.

Dr. T. R. Dupuis, who always abetted our efforts in a most generous way, gave us our very first lecture, and, as it introduced us to the human skeleton and the Medical College at the foot of Princess street, we felt we had indeed crossed the Rubicon, had cut our cables and launched on the study of Medicine.

Dr. Dupuis lectured on the scapula, and sent us home with a specimen to study. It is recorded "We are now at work on a scapula, otherwise known as a shoulder blade. This particular scapula is attributed to one Betsy Kerr who died in jail in the early seventies. Peace to her ashes! Perhaps I should not say that, who am now using a part of her for educational purposes. There was also a Medical College fiction, as to the epitaph of said Betsy which runs in this inelegant way:—

"Poor Betsy Kerr has gone away,  
She would if she could, but she couldn't, stay;  
She had two sore legs and a baddish cough,  
But her legs it was as carried her off."

"The days were crammed with work as we were zealous students and had literally no counter attractions. Up at six, down to the Royal at eight, practical work 1½ hours, and to Anatomy at ten. Then Physiology, Histology and Therapeutics, dinner, and back at two for *Materia Medica*. Then up to Queen's University for Chemistry 3.30 to 4.30, and again for a time in the early evening to the Royal for practical work and back to study till late bedtime."

An extract which might be called 'before taking' reads: "I am thinking a great deal of the coming battle . . . with everything. You may imagine that at times I feel a secret dread of what may happen and whether my nerves are equal to what it may all mean. However, I solace myself with the idea that what some not wonderful men have done perhaps I may achieve." 'After taking' the diary reads: "The reality as we find it is for the most part intensely interesting. To try to understand the huge wonder of our own bodies, our nervous systems, our functions, is to lose ourselves in wonder. Nothing has ever thrilled me into such excitement of wonder as the physiology of hearing and sight. I walk the floor with excitement and wonder." The impression was lasting and I still keep the 'incus malleus et stapes' as of the wonders of the world.

"We hear indirectly that we are much discussed as 'rara aves' and we feel directly that we are stared at. Have even noticed bareheaded men by twos and threes in shop doors staring at us as we pass up and down on our way to and from College. As Miss Dickson is a Kingstonian and lives at home, we three who are strangers and board together bear the brunt of it. It is seldom pleasant to be a pioneer. It does not worry us overmuch for we are absorbed in our work and our daily round." Still we must have felt it in some degree for about this time we christened ourselves with some sense of humor and prophecy, 'Shadrack, Mesheck and Abednego' and retained these names among ourselves to the end of the chapter.

We worked so hard that the Professors sent us off for some midsummer holidays and we returned August 1st and

remained till the end of the session, just before the College opened for the winter. Since there were only four of us, with an occasional fifth, there was some talk at the end of this session of making some arrangements for a winter course. The Registrar was opposed, as he said it would crowd us too much to go straight on for the year and that it would be too difficult for the doctors to duplicate lectures in winter, but he assured us that they would keep faith with us and see us through. If a large class appeared in the spring we would probably go on as we were.

It is odd, in the light of later evolution of higher education for women in Canada, to recall some of the objections made at this time. One kind and considerate reason against a winter session was that we could never breast the snow banks going up to Queen's! (This was the first year of Queen's in the new building and of the Royal in its present quarters). And in the discussion in November, 1880, in the Senate of Toronto University one member in opposing the entrance of women into the sacred precincts of the Arts College there said, "it would be as reasonable for men to ask admission to attend a Ladies' College," etc., and evidently the majority were of like mind for they did firmly refuse the doors to women at that time.

After this summer session several ladies attended chemistry at Queen's, among them Mrs. Macgillivray, who with Miss Beatty, Miss Dickson and Miss Smith were the students of the summer session.

When April of '81 came round we returned to begin the second year's work. However, as only two new students appeared, it was mutually agreed by Faculty and students that a winter session could be arranged. We were not dissatisfied at this except that we would have saved a year had this been arranged the previous Fall. When we arrived, at the beginning of the session '82-'83, to take up the work under the new conditions, we found the Faculty had arranged a great many things to our liking: separate dissecting room, separate cloak and waiting room, and a classroom adjacent to a general class-



room where we might take jurisprudence, obstetrics, anatomy, and part of physiology separately. Practical and theoretical chemistry and botany we had at Queen's University in the ordinary classes and these classes were always to our satisfaction and profit. There were six of us present in the flesh to begin this second session, backed by the goodwill of many whom we called spiritual sisters—who could only be there in thought and desire. On the opening day some of the Professors made wonderful speeches and the partly co-educational, partly separate, course was auspiciously begun. An October letter states that "the students at College are remarkably quiet and well-conducted." Later on some small outbursts of youthful spirits and energy occurred. We concluded from our daily experience that the classes were composed of a number of first class young men who were generally good students, of others who 'in their stars and in themselves were underlings,' and some who were just human animals. These last did not seem much in evidence till a certain Falstaff from some American school came among them and became their inspiration.

The better element seemed much in preponderance and, as straws show which way the wind blows, an incident is given as an indication. "One day some hilarious youth threw a stick across the class-room and it alighted, whether by design or accident, on the lap of one of the ladies. At once cries of 'Shame, Shame! Coward!' arose from the senior and better students."

Our demonstrators were always kind and capable, and, being good students themselves, they no doubt appreciated earnest work in others. Even the janitor, Tom, sometimes 'Tom Coffee,' more often 'Coffee,' seldom 'Mr. Coffee,' was our kind confederate. As we desired to be always in class and seated before the men students came in, the janitor would come to our waiting room and say, "Yez can be goin' in now, leddies." and he gave us a good start before the peals of his heavy bell rang out to call the 'bhoys' to class.

Meeting some of the students out of college bounds we were always pretty well in touch with their interests. We

knew of their 'Courts' at times and their peculiar pledge of 'the truth and nothing but the truth' Holy Al Oliver. "We heard a great deal about some fiascos, such as the burning of the College sheds, etc., etc. There was an assembly room on the ground floor at the College called 'the den' and here the Medicals held what they called 're-unions.' Never in my waking or sleeping hours have I heard anything similar to the appalling sounds that disturbed the quiet of the early morning hours of that part of the city when they were dispersing." Another letter states, "You have no idea of the horrors possible in the Jurisprudence class, not jurisprudence but the by-stories of the lecturer and the noisy applause of some of the class. It all depends on the lecturer. In obstetrics, which you would think had great possibilities of embarrassment, the students are quiet and attentive; the Professor (also Dean of the College) is a Christian gentleman, most kind, efficient and reliable. We take both of these classes in separate rooms."

We went regularly and quietly about our work and were after all well considered by the best of the College. We received invitations to the Annual Medical Dinner, which we of course declined in the same good feeling in which they were sent. At this era of the Royal there was a holiday after the dinner *which we enjoyed more than they did*. As we were there for a purpose, under effort of will and strain of feeling, we were naturally not fooling away our time and were generally able to answer questions when they were asked. This was brought to our attention one day, as perhaps not desirable, by a flattering but inelegant writing on the blackboard which said, "Bully for the women, they take the cake in answering." The lecturer in Anatomy further flattered us by asking one of us to be prosector for the class, which honor was too prominent for acceptance.

After the close of the session of '81-'82, not a word of complaint against the presence of ladies, or against any conditions in the College, was received.

One paper said, "The ladies' Medical class of the Royal College which is in affiliation with Queen's University, Kingston, has, during its first session at least proved a success," etc. Another paper stated that "The problem of co-education is being solved to all appearances successfully, in Queen's University, Kingston. A separate waiting room and some separate lectures are given the ladies in attendance and the unanimous testimony of the Faculty is that their presence in the institution tends to improve the discipline rather than injure it."

At the beginning of the session '82-'83 there was a larger class of freshmen than usual, there being some twenty-five or thirty and three new lady students. We began under much the same conditions as when we left off. there were the usual varieties in a new class at College, perhaps more accentuated in a Medical College. As instance of a type that is not unknown, appeared one Mr. B. noticeable at first sight as being quite youthful and unsophisticated, and as having a shirt front of bright homespun plaid, topped with a white collar and black tie. His eyes were undimmed, his cheeks rosy, and he had what the Medical Professors would call an 'everted' lower lip. He goes about the first few days with several large books under his arm. He has an idea based on some possible experience that to lay them down is to lose them. There being a rooted objection by a number of the class against too much bookwork, he is not seen with said books after his initiation. It is said that he came to College one day with a cane and kid gloves and he is asking anxiously now if one thinks "they will give them back soon?" One day in full class the handle of the closed door was heard to turn. nothing happened; another twist and dead silence. Every Soph. knew that that door did not open like normal doors. A ripple of "Freshie" went over the class and one kind-hearted Soph. with an air of comedy went down and threw open the door. Presto! There stood revealed Mr. B. looking innocent and inquiring, but paralysed in the face of the cheering, laughing, stamping mass of students! "Three months from now that youth will be a stranger

to himself. If he has individuality enough to stand by his inherent and youthful best he will have become a man, if not, he will have embraced the opposite cult and become a 'pig.' "

Before October had waned we felt there was a change in attitude in some of the classes. Two things contributed to produce this. (1) A class of seniors such as Garrett, Denike, Anglin, Jarvis and others had graduated and gone out and a not desirable element in one of the years had come nearer the lead in student ranks. (2) More menacing was the fact that the lecturer in Physiology, who had been so debonair and capable the previous year, had openly voiced his objections to women studying medicine. We found that this was due to the fact that he had come into opposition with the senior members of the Faculty because they would not agree with and approve of some plans of his. . .

"He has not so far given us any personal evidence of his disaffection and we hope he will not for we love peace."

One of the events in November of this year was the return of Principal Grant from his trip around the world. At a Convocation to welcome him and install a new Professor, the galleries were crowded as well as the hall. In the midst of a sentence when the Principal began to speak, rose loud and clear a prolonged 'squack' of a goosequill. It was so sorrowful and sonorous that everyone laughed, even the speaker, but with that quick wit of his the Principal turned to the source of the sound and said, "I hope that gentleman was not speaking in his own vernacular." This settled his gooseship for a time, anyway.

In the classes with the Queen's Professors, in the senior classes with Drs. Lavell, Fowler and Sullivan, and others with Drs. Oliver and Dupuis, we were treated with much kindness and sympathy, but there were two classes where we were at times chilled and hurt by evidences of worse than levity. There was, however, much goodwill from the better class of students, such as was evidenced in Anatomy one day after one of the ladies had answered all the questions asked her. The lecturer turned to the students and said, "I will see if some of

the men can answer," ending with some remark that he was proud of Miss . . . . "A murmur from the rear said, "So are we, so are we all." However the disaffection grew by encouragement, and when a first and second time the lecturer in Physiology by unnecessary stories, and a smiling appeal to the back benches, brought forth the appreciation invited, it became very hard to bear. Nov. 22nd: "No one knows or can know what a furnace we are passing through these days at College. We suffer torment, we shrink inwardly, we are hurt cruelly. Not by anything in the whole range of Medicine, the awe-inspiring wonders of the human being are of deepest interest—it is not that, it is the environment. It is that encouraged current through the class of whispers, inuendo, of derisive treading, the turning of what was never meant as unseemly into horrible meaning and the thousand and one ways that can be devised by evil minds to bring responsive smiles from their own kind. Day by day it seems harder to bear for we have borne so much.

Do we desire to be here? Do we like to live this way? God forbid! We are earnestly seeking to acquire the knowledge necessary to equip us to practice medicine, and separate classes in this men's College is the best available to that end. We wish with all our hearts, with all the power of wishing, for a separate College, but there is none. If 'because right is right, to follow right is wisdom, in the scorn of consequences,' then surely we deserve praise, not blame.'

One day after one of these bad hours we consulted, and agreed that we could not, and would not, sit in the class and hear these objectionable stories. On December 9th the impending crisis came. The lecturer was on 'human speech and voice', and he took occasion to enlarge the subject by unnecessary side-issues and with a direct appeal by smile and inflection to call forth applause from the back benches. Not content with this he repeated, and added some possible social aspects of his statements which made such direct appeal to the worst elements of the class that the applause was uproarious. When he could be again heard he began, "This

reminds me of an anecdote . . ." but with one accord we were on our feet and walked quietly from the class-room. We went to the Registrar and told him exactly what had occurred. He was indignant and said, "If mild measures did not mend the matter, severe measures would be resorted to." This was the natural attitude of the Registrar who had a chivalrous and kindly respect for women, but circumstances were more powerful than personal inclination; mild measures did not settle it and a meeting of the Faculty was called.

Our written statement of facts was sent in and it is recorded, "glad were we that every Professor was staunch to our position, except the rebellious lecturer concerned, and they assure us that we shall have our rights and all our lectures in separate class-rooms." Then some ill-advised person wrote a gross misstatement of facts to the papers and the trouble became public. We were informed by a leading Kingstonian that this lecturer had told him he meant to do the very thing he did, and could not be dissuaded from his purpose.

The ground taken by the lecturer as reason for his objection to women in the College, was that he was under the necessity of garbling his lectures when giving them to mixed classes, though all the other Professors stated to the contrary. The students took this cue and made it the ground of their objection, stating they were therefore not getting a full 'quid pro quo' for their fees. That this argument was not necessarily true was evidenced by such outstanding men as Professor Simpson of Edinburgh, who, it was said, in lecturing on Obstetrics, never uttered anything in his teaching that a gentleman could not say or a lady listen to. As evidenced by the famous Dr. McLean of Ann Arbor, who wrote his testimony to the papers at that time: "Permit me to draw attention to the fact that at the Medical College of Michigan, Ann Arbor, the clinical lectures are attended by some sixty ladies along with two or three hundred gentlemen, and that, as the Faculty has repeatedly testified, there has never been the slightest difficulty or unpleasantness, or any injurious consequences to the students or the institution." Also Dec. 13th, Dean Lavell

added his testimony to his view of it. In part he said: "I have been lecturing on midwifery and diseases of women for twenty-two years, the past two years to the mixed classes. That is, the ladies occupy a room adjoining the large lecture-room, in a position to hear the lecturer and see all appliances and diagrams used. Several of the male members of the present class have attended my lectures previous to the attendance of the ladies and they frankly state that the lectures are as full and complete in detail, omitting nothing, as when lecturing to them alone. The ladies as frankly state that nothing has been said or done by me in the lecture rooms to which they could take exception. I can state further that the male students while in my class-room have not by act or word given the least cause for complaint to the ladies, themselves so stating. Also, at the close of last session the class, male and female, congratulated all parties on the pleasant result of the experiment."

The men students sent a letter to the Faculty stating that they were not getting full lectures for causes stated, and asking them to close the doors of the College to the ladies. The tenor of this letter can be judged by the reply from the Registrar: "I have been instructed by the Medical Faculty to return to you the enclosed document as not being respectful. The Faculty also desire it to be distinctly understood that the government of the College belongs exclusively to the Professors, not to the students." The students sent another letter and a reply was sent asking for a clearer statement of what it meant. Then came the 'ultimatum' from the students to the Faculty, stating they ought to have a share in the management of the College to which they paid their fees, and if the ladies were to continue at College they would go in a body to Trinity.

The Faculty were much harassed. They had spent much labor for years on building up the College and their only salaries were derived from the fees paid by the students. Trinity, too, consented to take in the strikers. When things were at this deadlock a body of prominent citizens, Mayor Gaskin, Ex-Mayors McIntyre, Gildersleeves, and Pense offered

their services as mediators, and after much talk and discussion succeeded in bringing about a compromise. The Faculty promised that they would give separate classes to the ladies in attendance and keep faith with them to their graduation, but they promised not to admit any new women students in future.

Some phases of the disturbance were interesting and instructive. The most objectionable type of medical men who apparently hated the idea of women practising medicine were eager for them to be nurses. They all knew that doctors in practice have few obnoxious things to do, and nurses have many, also that the income of practitioners exceeds that of nurses, and that nurses' fees do not in any sense affect theirs. Also, as some of the men students observed, it was generally and absurdly the man without fine feelings who expressed such concern at the imminent danger to a woman's fine feelings if she studied medicine. Another phase was the selfishness or want of view of those opposing the attendance of women in the Medical College for the purpose of acquiring the right to practice. For the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario only admitted the right to registration (which empowered those registered to practice) to those who passed the examination of Medical Colleges of Ontario and Quebec. But to admit to examinations the law required attendance in some Ontario or Quebec Medical College, and how were women to do these things if no college would permit attendance?

Another striking phase was the unexpected endorsement and support of the ladies' cause, and of higher education of women generally, by the public and the press. The leading papers of Toronto and Montreal and others, wrote vivid editorials and published many letters. Possibly it was public opinion so freely expressed that encouraged the Ontario Legislature to lend kindly ears to the petition to open the doors of Toronto University to women, for it was at this time that their fiat went forth that pried open the doors of the Provincial University to women students.



Fortunately, the Christmas holidays gave time for repentance and better thoughts and when classes reassembled we began much as usual. Speaking generally, the classes went on satisfactorily in the separate room. It was no doubt hard for the objecting Professor to have to give us lectures without his supporting class of men. The first occasion was an event. He strangled, he raced, fell headlong over phrases, splashed, struggled, and away again, and was just sixteen minutes delivering this burst of science. We made futile attempts to put down notes, but our main energies were occupied in trying to maintain a dignified decorum under such ludicrous circumstances.

He endured his trial as little as possible for his lectures seldom exceeded twenty minutes and occurred sometimes only twice a week. His lectures of previous years and our textbooks were our sources of information.

There was still much opposition, some bitterness, and much talking. There were meetings in the 'den' and not a few resolutions made, discussed and passed at various times. Results of second thoughts by some of the students,—“If the Professors have left nothing out of their lectures then we have been working without grounds and have been made fools of before the public,” and again. “What’s the difference, if they won’t allow women here they will only go somewhere else and we might as well have them here,” and such like reached our ears. On only one further occasion that session, because of protest at our attending clinics, did they need to be pacified by the Faculty.

The seven or eight medicals who were really responsible for most of the trouble, apart from the would-be popular lecturer, had queer methods of reasoning. “They say that women attending here keep men away, but oddly enough there is the largest class of Freshmen this year in the history of the College.” They say in their wisdom that women will lower the standard, “and yet the public and not a few of the Professors think that the fear of the ladies excelling them in the spring

is one motive actuating some of the agitators. There was a funny incident indicative of this. At the most acute stage of the trouble, the list of students having passed the Botany exams, appeared on the bulletin board with Miss R. next to the top. A youth looking for his own name and seeing this, flung himself away from the board, stamped and raged, went up and looked again, and went off muttering malevolent things at them for 'putting *her* there.' "

A paradox of reasoning was when the youngest of the lady students, after three months of this trouble, altercation and depression, fell ill for a short time, a yell of 'I told you so, women can't stand a college course,' reached the public ear! When one of the women students went home by way of Toronto, Stratford and St. Marys she was quite lionized and she heard in Toronto on her return that there was some talk of a possible future College for women students. We heard more of this from time to time, but on February 13th in a letter from Dr. Trout we were told it had fallen through. However, there was talk both in Toronto and Kingston of the desirability and possibility of a Women's Medical College. The *Canadian Practitioner*, Toronto, in April said, "The organization of a Medical School for women in Toronto is under consideration. Many of both sexes who have strong convictions on the question will give substantial assistance to form an endowment fund on a permanent basis and it is thought a commencement will be made in October. The *Toronto World* says "a number of the best doctors have expressed their willingness to lecture to the girl medicals." Dr. Jennie K. Trout offered, it was said, \$10,000 toward such a College but with the stipulation that the 'chairs' should be open to women when, and if, fully qualified and competent, and that the Governing Board of Directors should include women.

"A letter from Dr. Trout dated May 12, 1883, informs me that Dr. Barrett called his prospective Faculty together and they concluded that they could not work under a Board composed partly of women nor were they willing to admit ladies to fill

any of the chairs. (They had previously considered the demonstratorship). So those holding out against Dr. Trout's conditions in Toronto concluded to go on alone. In the meantime Mr. A. P. Knight was trying to get together the interested friends in Kingston, in promoting a separate Medical College there for the women. This resulted in a great meeting on the evening of June 8th in the City Council Chamber. Mr. Knight opened the meeting by a good statement of the need of such an institution and moved "That in the opinion of this meeting facilities should be given to females for obtaining a thorough medical education similar to those provided for men, that Canadian women should not be obliged to go to Britain or the United States to obtain such education." Mr. Henry Folger seconded this in a very eloquent speech. Mr. C. F. Gildersleeve next moved a resolution, "Whereas Kingston offers special advantages for successful working of a women's School of Medicine, that in the opinion of this meeting it is right and fitting to establish such a College in Kingston." Mr. R. M. Horsey spoke and the motion was carried. Sir Richard Cartwright spoke ably and at length and moved that immediate action be taken. Principal Grant seconded the motion with his usual vivid contribution to the subject in hand. He reported during his speech a donation of \$200 a year for five years from Dr. Trout of Toronto, with goodwill and interest. He also stated that "he was assured that there was no hope of a united College being established in Toronto or he would not advocate starting one here." The Hon. G. A. Kirkpatrick, after a suitable speech, moved that as such a College as that contemplated could not be carried on for less than \$2,000 a year, that a subscription list extending over five years be opened, etc. Mr. J. B. Carruthers was the eloquent seconder of this motion, which also carried. Mr. W. Harty also favored the motion. Mr. E. Chown moved that these speakers, with Messrs. B. Robertson, R. V. Rogers, J. McKelvey, Geo. Macdonnell, J. M. Machar and Jas. Swift be a committee to prosecute this matter with diligence, and Mr. Pense seconded this as an ardent supporter of such a Medical College, etc. It carried unanimous-

ly. The list being opened, the names of Dr. Trout, Toronto, Mr. Carruthers, Principal Grant, Mr. Gunn, M.P., Mr. Wm. Harty, Folger Bros., Hon. G. A. Kirkpatrick and James Swift were entered at once for liberal five year subscriptions. It was pointed out that as the fees would help to support the College, the amount aimed at was \$1,500 a year, and this was raised in a few weeks.

There were no restrictive regulations debarring women from filling lectureships, if desirable and qualified; nor against a Directorate of both ladies and gentlemen. On June 11th the Toronto papers stated that Dr. Barrett and his coadjutors would withdraw their objections and accept Dr. Trout's conditions; and on June 13th there was an interesting meeting held in Toronto to further the establishment of a Medical School for women in Toronto. At this meeting Mr. Trout of the *Monetary Times* stated that he thought that "the calling of a meeting at this late date was an act of discourtesy toward the Kingston people. They had waited patiently until there seemed no prospect of the school in Toronto succeeding. Then they worked vigorously and established their College on a liberal basis," etc. Dr. Barrett then explained the liberal basis on which they were now willing to work, and Dr. Carlyle moved that this meeting recommend that steps be taken to give the project substantial aid. This was carried and a committee appointed to raise funds.

Although there were personal inclinations and disinclinations, little wheels within wheels, that complicated matters, still the fact that Dr. Trout's liberal view of women on the Directorate, and as possible occupants of professorial chairs, was *not* acceptable to the Toronto promoters of a Women's Medical College, *was the rock* that divided the forces which led to there being two such Colleges available in October, 1883.

The necessary subscriptions for the Kingston College having been promised, within a month after the meeting of June 8th, a Board of Trustees was appointed and an announcement issued as follows:—

### EDUCATIONAL LIBERALITY.

"Though Colleges for the instruction and graduation of Women in Medicine have long been in successful operation in Great Britain and the United States, this Fall will witness the opening of the first Women's Medical College in the Dominion. Already, however, the study of medicine has been successfully undertaken in Kingston, which can fairly lay claim to being the cradle of this branch of education in this country. In 1880 the Faculty of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Kingston, threw open its doors to lady students and a number availed themselves of an entirely new privilege as far as Canada was concerned. Co-education became a source of irritation among the students, however, during the last session, and the Faculty was obliged to decline to receive any more women students. As there were no openings for these students elsewhere in the province, and as a great many people of both sexes were strongly in sympathy with this branch of education, a public appeal was made to the citizens of Kingston not one month ago, and already the Kingston Women's Medical College has been founded with liberal cash endowment for five years, and every prospect of permanency. The City Corporation has very generously donated a lease of the handsome Ontario Hall and several convenient ante-rooms, affording bright, neat and well-ventilated lecture and class-rooms. Altogether this half of the splendid City Buildings will make the finest lecture hall in the province. The spirited enterprise and generosity shown by the whole city towards the initiatory movements for Woman's Education will ensure a constant interest in the growth of the College and the welfare of its students.

#### *Opening Session.*

The Session will be opened Tuesday, Oct. 2nd, 1883, and continue for six months.

The course of Lectures will be equivalent in all respects to the ordinary winter course delivered in other Medical Colleges, and as such will be accepted in proceeding to the degree of M.D. in Queen's University.

The requisites for graduation will in no sense differ from what is required for the other sex, and the facilities for study will also be the same.

By the regulations of the University, the Matriculation examination of the College may be passed at any time before undergoing examination for the degree. The Medical Council Matriculation, which is the intermediate examination of the High Schools with Latin, will be accepted by the University.

The ladies lately in attendance upon the Medical Classes in the Royal College have signified their intention of continuing their studies in the Women's College, thus forming a nucleus for the various classes. Judging by the many letters received, the number of entrants will be by no means small.

The success of the lady students in the Royal College, in Queen's University (where a lady won first place in a class of 250 in Chemistry) and at the primary examinations of the Medical Council (where some of them attained the highest percentages), is the best endorsement the city can offer of the value of its College instruction.

The examinations will be held immediately before the examinations of the Medical Council, to commence in Kingston on the first Tuesday in April, 1884.

#### *Local Advantages.*

The city possesses boarding houses in plenty and asking reasonable rates; it is also a most orderly city. A lady can walk the streets at all hours without receiving any offence.

The Faculty have apparatus and appliances required for imparting a sound medical education. Through the abundant supply of dissecting material furnished by the Penitentiary, Gaol, Hospital, and other public institutions in the neighborhood the school will afford exceptional advantages for the study of Practical Anatomy, while it will not be second to any other Medical School in advantages for the prosecution of all other branches of medical knowledge. The Kingston General Hospital and Hotel Dieu are open to the students for Clinical Instruction. The General Hospital alone has accommodation for 150 beds, and contains in the "Watkins Wing" an operating amphitheatre, enabling all the students to witness opera-

tions; the other institutions referred to have a large number of patients constantly under treatment.

*Scholarships.*

Trout. \$50, contributed by Mrs. Dr. Jenny K. Trout, of Toronto, in addition to her donation of \$1,000.

Macnee. \$45, given by Mrs. Macnee, of Kingston.

Cataraqui. \$60, given by the Ladies of Kingston.

These are available annually. Further announcements will be made at the opening of the Session, when it is expected other scholarships will be bestowed on the College.

For further information address the Registrar, A. P. Knight, M.A.

Later a calendar was issued giving the names of the Board of Trustees.

*Board of Trustees.*

Chairman, Sir R. J. Cartwright; Vice-Chairman, Mr. Wm. Harty; Registrar, Mr. A. P. Knight; Hon. G. A. Kirkpatrick, Speaker of the House of Commons; John Carruthers, Alex. Gunn, M.P.; R. V. Rogers, Henry Folger, E. J. B. Pense, Mrs. Dr. Jenny K. Trout (Toronto), Mrs. Dickson, Mrs. Harty, Mrs. Britton, Miss Gildersleeve.

*Faculty.*

Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children, M. Lavell, M.D.

Principles and Practice of Surgery, M. Sullivan, M.D., F.R.C.P. & S.K.

Materia Medica and Therapeutics, A. S. Oliver, M.D., F.R.C.P. & S.K.

Medical Jurisprudence and Sanitary Science, Thos. M. Fenwick, M.D.

Theory and Practice of Medicine, H. J. Saunders, M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

Institutes of Medicine and Histology, D. Phelan, M.A., M.D.

Anatomy, Descriptive and Surgical, R. W. Garrett, M.D.

Chemistry, The Professor of Chemistry, Queen's College.

Botany, The Professor of Botany, Queen's College.

Practical Anatomy, Under the direction of the Professor of Anatomy.

Clinical Surgery, The Professor of Surgery.

Clinical Medicine, The Professor of Medicine."

Miss Beatty and Miss Smith were later appointed demonstrators for the remainder of the session. With the above good staff of lecturers and nine students, the session went on to the end of a first successful year. The scholarship given to the best graduating student was by wish of the three first graduates, not competed for, but given to the Trustees toward buying further equipment.

It was this spring of '84 that the first class of ladies graduated from Queen's University. Miss Fitzgerald and Miss Fowler became B.A.s and Mrs. Macgillivray, Miss Beatty and Miss Smith, M.D.s. It was a notable occasion. It was the first class of women to graduate from a Canadian University, having received all their previous education in Canadian schools and colleges. They were capped and hooded 'midst much applause and under the flattering aegis of kind speeches. Principal Grant said, among other things, "May the kind Heavens send down upon all students the earnest, conscientious spirit with which these five women have prosecuted their studies for the last four years." Besides the grand day of Convocation, there was on the Monday, April 28th, a formal closing at the City Hall of the first session of the Kingston Women's Medical College. There were many fine speeches, a good attendance and much enthusiasm over this youngest educational institution in the Limestone City.

The Calendar issued the following summer for the coming session of '84-'85 was quite as pretentious as if the institution had been of long standing. It was unique in that the list of lecturers included a woman, Dr. Alice Macgillivray, as lecturer in Practical Anatomy. At this opening of the College Dr. Macgillivray gave a fine inaugural address and another milestone was passed. Later she became lecturer on Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and remained a careful, patient and capable occupant of that post until a few years later she left Kingston. In '87-'88, after Miss Smith had become Mrs.



Adam Shortt and returned to Kingston to live, she was appointed lecturer on Jurisprudence and Sanitary Science.

Still later, as women doctors became more numerous in Kingston, Dr. Marion Livingston became lecturer on Materia Medica, and Dr. Isobel McConville, demonstrator in Anatomy. The session '90-'91 opened with a fresh impetus in that a home had been purchased for the Women's Medical College. This had been the residence of Mr. H. L. Wilson and was most suitable in every way, being roomy enough, isolated enough, and near the Hospital and University. Thus the College was at last housed under its own roof-tree.

From this time till '94-'95 the College went on its way with faithful work and general success. There were some changes in the Directorate and Staff during the years, but always there were friends of the College willing to give their professional and financial help. In '90-'91 Hon. Dr. Sullivan succeeded Dr. Lavell as President of the Faculty. Some of the lecturers gave lectures at both Colleges and a number who came on the staff of the Women's Medical College later became Professors in the Royal; but throughout there was a good staff. There were sometimes as many as twenty-five students in the College at one time, and a graduating class every year. The Board of Trustees changed in personnel slightly after the first seven years, but they always spoke of the indebtedness of the College to the efforts and generosity of Miss Gildersleeve in Kingston, and the goodwill and generosity of Dr. Jenny K. Trout, of Toronto.

The College continued throughout on that liberal policy of ladies on the Board of Trustees, and ladies when qualified, and as required, on the staff. In addition to the ladies first on the Board of Trustees, the names of Mrs. Macnee, Mrs. Jas. Hendry, Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. H. Calvin, and Mrs. B. W. Folger replaced some of the others, but there were always five women on the Board.

The Toronto Women's Medical College had also gone on successfully, and, having a larger local constituency, had more students as time went on, so that after ten years of success the Board of Trustees of the Kingston Women's Medical Col-

lege, feeling there was really no need of two Women's Medical Colleges in Ontario and that the other was assured and on liberal lines, concluded to close the Kingston College. It was all amicably arranged with the students and most of them went to Toronto to finish their course.

In the British Medical Journal of July 21st, 1906, Dr. Duncan, of Toronto, after sketching the career of the Toronto School, concludes in these words:—

“During the twenty-three years of its existence many changes occurred. *Now* in 1906, when the College is about to close its doors, only three members of its original Faculty remain upon its Staff, viz., Dr. Nevill, Dr. Duncan and Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen.” . . . . “If at the present time, the strong feeling against co-education which was present in 1881, 1882, and 1883 still remained, the College would still be in existence. But it has accomplished its mission. Many ladies do not now object to co-education in medicine. It is also believed that the ladies will be treated with perfect fairness by the other students, and separate instruction can be arranged for in classes if necessary. For these and other reasons the University Commission has recommended that lady students in future shall take their instructions in the University Medical College. This has been agreed to, and the Ontario Medical College for Women has closed its doors.”

It has been said that the position which any group of individuals hold in society at any time depends upon two factors, the quality which actually belongs to the group and the ideas concerning the group, which are current at the time. These two factors seemed in this special field to have approached something of equilibrium and thus friction was in the main removed. And so after a cycle of twenty-five years we came round to the point at which we began, but with a difference; the jaundiced eye which had regarded women was greatly cured, and women students were seen to be just individuals with an individual's desire and right of self-realization.

ELIZABETH SMITH SHORTT, M.D.

Ottawa, September, 1916.