

Esther Clark Goes to College

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ABSTRACT

Esther Clark's frequent letters home during the time she was a student at Acadia University (1912-1916) provide a unique insight into the college experience of young women of the period.

RÉSUMÉ

Pendant son séjour à l'université Acadia (1912-1916), Esther Clark a écrit de nombreuses lettres à sa famille. Celles-ci sont la source de renseignements inestimables sur ce que pouvait être la vie des jeunes femmes étudiantes à cette époque-là.

*College Girls' Residence,
Acadia University,
Wolfville, N.S.,
Oct. 4, 1912.*

Dear Father,

I told Dr. Cohoon's secretary to send the bill for tuition to you. That was Thursday. Then Friday I had my card changed so I could take Beginner's French. I don't know whether she sent both bills or not. Only one has to be paid, \$26.50 it was.

I felt very blue all day yesterday when I found myself alone without Mother. I was very glad that something was happening to take my mind off myself in the evening...¹

So began seventeen year old Esther Clark's first letter home from university. Already certain themes were apparent, issues that would recur time after time in the 280 letters which would follow, on successive Sundays, over the next four years. The request for money comes as no surprise: that at least

does not change over the centuries, nor, clearly, is it gender-related. The reference to Mother and the close ties that bound the two women together was a note that would be sounded throughout the letters of the following years. For the next four years the letters provide a remarkable insight into life at Acadia University, and specifically into a bright, observant and articulate young woman's perceptions of that college experience.

The university to which Esther Clark came so enthusiastically in the fall of 1912 was an institution in the process of significant change. Under the dynamic leadership of the president, Dr. George B. Cutten, Acadia was growing significantly, both in terms of student numbers and buildings. During the four short years that Clark attended, new residences were built for both men and women (Willett and Tully), a separate library building was constructed (Emmerson Hall) and new facilities for engineering were erected (Rhodes Hall). Student numbers climbed to an all-time high of 230 by 1910, although growth halted temporarily due to the outbreak of the war in 1914. Significantly for the university, the numbers of women attending also rose sharply. Clark was, in fact, part of a new generation of female students to make their presence felt on campus; by 1914 Women constituted nearly one third



Esther Clark, c. 1914.

Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University.

of the student population.² Their importance to the university was, of course, greatly enhanced by the rapid draining away of the male student population by the demands of war.³

At this time, Acadia was controlled by the United Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces, through an elected board of governors. The institution had been founded by the Baptists in 1838 to serve the general public, not merely prospective denominational ministers, and religious idealism and commitment still pervaded much of the atmosphere of the college.⁴ Faculty and students were predominantly, but by no means exclusively, Baptist. Women were first admitted to university courses in 1880, but it was not until the end of

the first decade of the next century that they began to attend in significant numbers.

Like many of her female university contemporaries, Esther Clark came from an upper middle-class family of substantial means. The oldest of three children, and the only daughter, she was the first member of her immediate family to attend university. Both of her parents were active members of the Baptist community, serving on committees at the local church and on missionary and educational organizations for the larger denomination. Her father, William G. Clark, a successful Fredericton businessman, was a member of the Board of Governors of Acadia University, and would later serve as lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick. Clark certainly did not come from an average early twentieth-century Maritime home. Going off to college was, however, clearly a major step for her and for her family.

One of the strongest themes to emerge through the letters is the role that other women played in the life of Esther Clark. The old ties bound her to home and family, and the new ties increasingly united her with the women of Wolfville and especially with her fellow female students at Acadia. In addition to her weekly (sometimes biweekly) letters home, there are frequent references to letters written to or received from other females—aunts and cousins and friends—keeping them in touch with her activities in this strange new world, and avidly maintaining contact with the intimate details of their lives: weddings and babies, new quilts and new dresses. Although she dutifully wrote occasionally to her grandfather, and carefully rotated family letters to mother, father, and brothers Alden and Thurston, all of the rest of her letters were to female friends and relatives, of which she seemed to possess an abundance. Maintaining these links, which could have been strained or broken by her attendance at university, seemed to be as important to them as to her.

Clark's ties with her mother were especially strong,

and the letters to Mrs. Clark, which extend from 1912 to her death in the late 1950s, are filled with a warmth and intimacy that is lacking in the letters to the rest of her family. Throughout her four years at Acadia, she frequently urged her mother to come over to Wolfville and stay with her in residence, a fairly common occurrence at the time. She was delighted when her mother did so, and enjoyed the visits immensely. This reinforced the bonds of home and female companionship and, not incidentally, got her sewing and darning done! "It has been great having Mother stay in my room," she reported home on one such occasion.⁵

Although life at university was foreign territory to Mrs. Clark and the other mothers who came to stay or visit, mother's influence was of great significance in the life of the typical female university student. Mrs. Clark's friends and contacts in Wolfville called on Esther and were called upon in return, providing the daughter with a ready-made network of females of the "right" sort, including the wives of professors and local ministers.⁶ Observations such as the following were fairly common in Clark's letters home: "By the way, I had a caller this afternoon. Mrs. Everett Eaton from Lower Canard. She says she was at our house seven years ago to a Convention. She has invited me over next Easter if I have no other invitation I care to accept."⁷ The disagreements and strained relationships as well as the friendships could be extended from one generation to the next as well, as Esther realized when Mrs. F.W. Manning, a friend of her mother's with whom she had had some disagreement, was not very cordial to her on the streets of Wolfville.⁸

Although university life in general, and the influence of her new friends in particular, would be of growing significance to Esther over the four years covered by these letters, Mother clearly remained a key figure in the development of her daughter's life. Although Esther Clark was never herself without an opinion or a will of her own, Mother's advice was frequently sought on all sorts of matters, from the trivial to the

important. For example, half way through Clark's university career the administration decided that women students must have permission from home to visit anywhere overnight. All of the female students were infuriated, and an obviously annoyed Esther Clark sputtered to her brother:

Dr. Cutten added a crazy rule — that we have to have permission from home to stay out over night. Please ask Mother to send in her next letter a statement that she is perfectly willing for me to visit any friends...I think and hope I've got sense enough not to go visiting anywhere Mother wouldn't approve of.⁹

It was Mother's standards that were appealed to, and Mother's permission that was sought, or rather assumed. There is a strong sense of confidence in her own upbringing expressed in this letter. She had, after all, been well-trained by her mother, and therefore had no need for instruction in such matters from any male, even a university president! Clark was appealing to the entire set of values provided by her mother over the past nineteen years. She neither sought nor needed a list of approved places, for Mother had provided the structure and framework within which Clark could confidently choose for herself. What comes across strongly here is that Mother was appealed to for confirmation of the views held by her daughter, not for real direction. Her upbringing was the solid rock upon which Clark could plan and direct much of her own life, with confidence and self-assurance.

James R. McGovern, an historian of this period in American history, has concluded that the new individualism and freedom of the age served to disrupt the confidence between the generations of the family, "if not to threaten parents with the role of anachronistic irrelevance."¹⁰ American columnist Dorothy Dix,

writing during Esther Clark's second year at Acadia, observed that there had been "so many changes in the conditions of life and point of view in the last twenty years that the parent of today is absolutely unfitted to decide the problems of life for the young man and woman of today. This is particularly the case with women because the whole economic and social position of women has been revolutionized since mother was a girl."¹¹ These are, one suspects, dangerous generalizations that cannot be applied too uniformly across the board to the youth of either the United States or Canada. In the case of Clark and her contemporaries, there does not appear to be such an abrupt break or disjuncture, between the generations. They were indeed moving in new directions, and thinking new thoughts, but their feet would appear to have been firmly planted in the training received from mother.

The ties that bound Clark to her home in general and her home community were very strong as well. Throughout the four years of her stay at Acadia she frequently expressed a real need to know what was going on at home, fearful that it was slipping away from her, as indeed it probably was. She became perturbed when letters from Fredericton did not arrive on time, or when they were not as newsy as she felt they ought to be, or when they failed to answer the numerous questions she had asked in a previous letter. On one occasion, in obvious exasperation, she wrote:

Please take the time to look up those letters [I wrote] & answer the questions I have asked. You have no idea how provoking it is when letter after letter doesn't answer questions. It makes me feel sometimes as if you must just read them & throw them aside. You seldom make any comments on any happenings that I write about. I hope you are more interested than your letters indicate.¹²

She was excited and immensely stimulated by the new life she led and the new family she had, but she was constantly pulled back to Fredericton as well, trying at times to hold her two worlds together.

She felt an urgent desire for her family to share her new life, as she wished to continue to share theirs. She wrote very detailed letters about her own activities and the life of the university, attempting to have them see through her eyes the world she now inhabited. This was why she was so anxious to have them visit, often begging her parents or her brothers to come over and stay for a while, to experience university life at first hand. If she knew that a speaker whom she had found particularly stimulating was to address an audience in Fredericton, she would urge her parents to go out and hear him or her. Ultimately, however, Fredericton and Acadia, home and college, remained two separate worlds, as indeed they must, with Clark moving uneasily at times between the two.

While the female bonds of the previous generation remained strong and encompassed the women of Clark's generation, there was also an immediate and important building of links with her contemporaries. As the letters reveal, Clark very much enjoyed the friendship of her male contemporaries, but she positively revelled in the new intimacy with girls of her own age, the sisters that she had not had at home. There were only a small number of females at Acadia, and most of them lived in the women's residence, the Crow's Nest, now Trotter House. Residence life clearly encouraged the building of close friendships. The sharing of confidences, long discussions on almost every topic, late night feeds and practical jokes, quiet Sunday afternoons in front of the living room fire, the sharing of life-saving care packages from home, helping with studies, and invitations to each others' homes all quickly built strong relationships which in some cases lasted for more than seventy years. Not that they always got along, or liked all of the girls equally. There

are disparaging comments by Clark about the actions of the "Silly Six," as she and her clique dubbed one group in the residence, and there were hurt feelings, jealousies and quarrels. But in spite of that, there were bonds being forged which were significant factors in the lives which they were creating at university and beyond, and these were relationships that were markedly different from those which would normally have occurred within the narrower confines of home and community.

The closeness of female students was reinforced by many of the social activities of the university. While classes and many of the clubs were integrated, some were exclusively female. The Propylaem Society and the YWCA figure prominently in Clark's letters home, and were important aspects of her enjoyment of university life. Each fall the 'old girls' would host a reception for the new girls, inviting the professors' wives as well.¹³ Thus the new arrivals were drawn into the web of relationships which bound women to women at the university. Yearly initiation was done by the older girls for the younger ones, completely separate from the somewhat rowdier rites carried out among the male elements on campus.¹⁴ At the first joint YM/YWCA reception of the year, a Sophette escorted a Freshette to the event, saw that each of the younger girl's program card was filled for the evening, and generally oversaw her introduction into the exciting world of male/female relationships at Acadia.¹⁵

In some respects residence life was an extension of the atmosphere of the homes from which the students had come, with the matron Mrs. Clara Marshall Raymond, Acadia's first female graduate,¹⁶ in the role of the mother. However, they experienced far more freedom of action, at least in certain areas, than most of them did in their own homes. Much attention was given to decorating their rooms, often with things from home, thus extending their past into their present. That they appreciated the homelike atmosphere, and considered themselves far superior to their male counter-

parts in this area, was made very clear in Clark's report of a visit (properly chaperoned by Mrs. Raymond, of course) to the men's residence, the old Chipman Hall. Esther recounted: "The boys seemed quite pleased to see us, and to have us see their rooms. Its a rather dingy looking place. We were all glad we lived here."¹⁷

This attachment to their intimate way of life provoked a revealing crisis during Clark's second year at university. Because of the growing number of females at Acadia, it was decided that the small residence would have to be reserved henceforth for first and second year students, while the rest of the women would have to find suitable accommodation scattered around the private homes of Wolfville. The thought of being separated, and forced to live off campus so appalled Clark and her colleagues that they began an immediate and ultimately successful campaign to have a new women's residence constructed to house them all. Since Clark's father was on the Board of Governors, considerable pressure was brought to bear on him to expedite the construction, and the reasons given were most revealing.

"It is not right to separate us. It will be very inconvenient if we are far from the college....," she wrote sternly to her father.¹⁸ On another occasion she argued that:

If we do get places [in town] we are going to be separated. Hettie, Grace, Lilian, Gertrude and I have been together two years. Mildred and Charlotte have been here this one year and we don't want to part with them. It will just mean that we will miss half the college life. It just makes me sick to think of it. The most of our good times and much of the good we get come from being here together comes from being able to get together for a

good long chat, able to discuss what is going on, able to share our joys, our experiences of all kinds. If we are scattered around town we will miss all this, and we will drift apart. Nothing can ever make up the loss. The girls who are out in town this year we hardly know. It is hard for them to keep up any college spirit or class spirit. That means a loss to the college. It is bad for the reputation of the college to have the students only lukewarm.¹⁹

The female students were delighted with the result of their agitations; they promptly and irreverently christened the building Tully Tavern, and moved in in the fall of 1914. With its own dining room, club room and reception rooms, and numerous, spacious bedrooms, the new residence provided all the female students with both adequate accommodation and a secure world of their own, as well as superior new facilities. Esther reported to her family excitedly that she had taken her first "shower bath." "It was great fun."²⁰ There was obvious resentment when, following the burning of the building which housed the men of the university and the boys of Horton Academy, males invaded their domain to have their meals. Both physically and emotionally they had created "a place of their own" on campus, and they appear to have been well aware of that fact.

Clark was perceptive enough to realize that the university experience was essentially different for males and females. While she could explain carefully the one to her family, she wished them also to realize that there was another, and quite different aspect to university life. She was especially concerned that her younger brothers get some insight into the activities and perceptions of the male side of the campus. If she knew that some of "the boys" were to be in Fredericton

for a hockey game or a debate, she would write urging her family to invite one or two of them home to dinner. This was certainly done as a kindness to her friends, but Clark always noted that she would "Like you folks to hear what the boys do."²¹

From the beginning of her years at Acadia, Clark had been drawn into the world of active sports, and clearly delighted in such involvement. She became an avid supporter of the team sports played at the university, both male and female, and was contemptuous of the athletic prowess of all other Maritime universities, even her home town University of New Brunswick.²² The mysteries of football were carefully explained to the female students, college yells were practiced and pep rallies held before important games. Bonfires, street parades and holidays from classes celebrated notable victories, and even some defeats.

Clark and many of her female contemporaries were not, however, mere passive observers. Long walks, with both male and female companions, moonlight snowshoeing expeditions to the Gaspereau Valley, field hockey and other physical activity greatly attracted Clark, and not incidentally provided her with a ravenous and insatiable hunger. The two sports to which she was most drawn were tennis and skating. She became addicted to both, and was soon begging her parents, now that they no longer kept a cow, to turn a part of the pasture in the backyard into a lawn tennis court. She loved skating, and the fact that one did it with young men, and to music, were certainly added bonuses. "Rink is ever so much nicer this year since I know more of the boys and more about skating," she noted frankly to her family.²³

The picture that emerges from the letters is that of a robust, healthy and active young woman, prepared to accept new physical challenges, and altering her dress and her activities to suit the new circumstances. She enjoyed a freer, more physically-active life style than did her mother's generation, and clearly revelled in it. The gap between the activities of women and



Roommates, Esther Clark (left) and Lillian Chase. Esther Clark Wright Archives, Acadia University

those of men was narrowing.²⁴ There certainly is no hint in the letters that these might be considered things that ran counter to mother's teachings, or be a betrayal of her upbringing, or be seen as unwomanly, however much they were departures from the norms of the previous generation.

In 1915, Dorothy Dix, in one of her famous newspaper columns, described "the type of girl that the modern young man falls for." She is a "husky young woman who can play golf all day and dance all night, and drive a motor car, and give first aid to the injured if anybody gets hurt, and who is in no more danger of swooning than he is." In short, the modern young woman has dispensed with "maidenly reserve."²⁵ If one substituted tennis for golf, and dropped dancing (which proper Baptists did not do), one has a fairly good picture of Esther I. Clark. For example, in the spring of 1916 Clark wrote home, demanding to know why her mother was learning to drive the new family car: "I was expecting the job of chauffeur this summer. I want to learn anyway."²⁶ Certainly, those who knew her well could picture no one less likely to swoon!

Robustly happy, excited by life, ready for almost any venture or adventure, Clark was a good example of the "New Girl" of the teens and twenties, Maritime version.

This passion for life is revealed in many ways in the letters, but perhaps no where as pithily as in an observation in the fall of 1913. She wrote with disgust: "A Freshman led prayer meeting to-night. His subject was 'preparing for death,' nice subject to present to young people. Why didn't he say something about preparing to live!"²⁷

Life at Acadia was not all sports, "feeds" and late-night discussions, but had many serious dimensions as well. Rather than causing a serious break with the beliefs and standards of home, or undermining her religious upbringing, university seems to have reinforced and sharpened Clark's social conscience. She was developing convictions which would stay with her for the rest of her life.

Campus prayer meetings, YWCA activities, special speakers, daily chapel and courses in such subjects as sociology and economics all reinforced the lessons of church and home. She read Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, and discussed his ideas at the dinner table: "Today noon we had a discussion on College women's responsibility toward social problems etc. and I gave quite a lecture."²⁸ Extra curricular activities often complemented classroom activities: "Sunday morning Prof. Balcolm gave us a splendid talk in Y.W. on the Significance of the Economic Teachings of Jesus."²⁹ Her attendance at the summer YWCA sessions at Muskoka, Ontario, clearly had a profound impact, while female missionaries home on furlough frequently lived in residence for weeks at a time, serving as role models for students who were at a very impressionable age. University,

then, did not serve as the extinguisher or diminisher of religious beliefs, but rather as the serviceable bridge between the values of home and the wider world.

One would be mistaken, however, if one were to conclude that this generation of young women were mere unthinking copies of their mothers in matters of religion. They themselves had thought and experienced their way to their convictions, which may very well have been several steps beyond those of their mothers, but were not in direct opposition to the stance taken by the previous generation. These young women had not only been raised on the social gospel at home; they had now come to understand it intellectually, which strengthened their commitment. The two generations of women did not always agree, but at least they were playing on the same field. When Clark's friend and fellow-student, Bessie Lockhart,³⁰ was encouraged by Dr. Cutten to apply to the United Baptist Women's Missionary Union for acceptance as a missionary for India, a worried Esther wrote her mother, who was on the executive: "Is there Executive this week and are you going? I do hope those old dames don't reject Bessie just because her Theology doesn't agree with theirs. They will probably find it difficult to get anyone whose Theology does."³¹

During the period 1912-1916, the university was also a place where female students learned much about being citizens and being women. The letters are full of descriptions of guest speakers and special lectures by the professors, which greatly stimulated the students of the university, male and female alike. Both formally and informally, the great topics of the day were discussed and debated, generating as much interest in the women's residence as one would expect to find in the men's. After a university debate on whether Canada should prohibit the immigration of Chinese, Japanese and Hindus, Clark reported, "we had an argument in Hettie's room ending in a discussion of sociology and Eugenics."³² Following a particularly good Sunday sermon, "We were discussing

it afterward and drifted into a hot argument on dancing and card playing."³³

That Clark was not an uncritical admirer of all that was done or said is made clear by her comments on the lectures on Canadian literature delivered by the well-known J.D. Logan: "Dr. Cutten had some critter here to lecture last week on Canadian Literature. The man was absolutely no good. I went the first night & he called Charles G.D. Roberts a Nova Scotian. That made all N. Bers mad."³⁴ This account differs somewhat from the university's official version, which stated: "A notable event of the year was the visit of Dr. J.D. Logan, to deliver a series of lectures on Canadian Literature, the first of their kind ever given in a Canadian College. Dr. Logan's addresses were very much appreciated by the students...." So much for the veracity of presidential reports!³⁵

The university experience was also important in raising Clark's awareness of her womanhood. The letters make frequent reference to debates, lectures and programs which dealt with women. During the winter of 1915-16, the Propylaeum Society held a debate on Woman's Suffrage,³⁶ while later in the year another meeting focused on a time machine, "which produced illustrious women of all the ages."³⁷ During the previous year a YWCA program had centred on "the College Woman's Character."³⁸ In early 1914 Clark reported to her mother that she had been to an entertainment in College Hall given by a reader.

She gave 'Everywoman'. Have you read about it? It is modeled on one of the old Morality plays. It was splendid....Everywoman goes to seek Love, and in her search finds Flattery, Passion the play actor, and Wealth. She loses her three companions Youth, Beauty & Modesty, however, and does not find Love until she lets Truth (in the form of a witch) lead

her. Love is Truth's son and
Everywoman finds him in her home.
The key to the whole is this saying of
Truth's, 'It is not given to
Everywoman until she has grey hairs
to know that Love is born of Truth,
that Truth is the mother of Love.'³⁹

However one interprets the message of the play, at least it was not about Everyman!

Before the end of her college years, Clark was to gain considerable confidence in the expression of her views on a wide range of subjects—social, political, economic, and moral. She never, by word or action, expressed any doubt that her views were not as valid and important as any male's. Her time at Acadia clearly heightened that sense of confidence, although one suspects that she was born with some of it. In 1915, two years before Canadian women received even a conditional franchise, Clark was writing confidently to her parents: "I am considering sending in an essay for the Sir Frederick Borden prize if I feel like writing it next week after I finish my four exams. 'What Canada needs most.' Political reform, I say."⁴⁰

Although young men abound in the letters, and in Esther's life at university, there is no reference in 280 remarkably frank letters that one might use to back the contention that marriage remained central to the thinking of the university women of this age.⁴¹ Clark enjoyed the company of her male friends immensely, and attended the university during a time when there were few restrictions and constraints governing male-female relations, but there is no preoccupation with permanent relationships. Her views on the subject were probably best summed up in the only reference to marriage in the letters:

In the evening we went to Dr. Spurgeon's lecture of 'Advice to married people & those who expect to marry.' He told a lot of slushy yarns & gave some advice about choosing the right kind of husband or wife, about women knowing how to cook & men bringing home flowers & candy to their wives. But it really was hardly worth going to.⁴²

For the university women of Clark's generation, such advice had no relevance and little interest.

The letters shed much light on Esther Clark and her friends, and the university which they attended during a significant period of the life of all concerned. In many respects, Clark was a transitional figure, constrained on the one hand to do what Mother would want and her Christian beliefs would dictate, and on the other, drawn to the individualism and freedom that permeated the age, reaching even into Acadia University. Clark's perception of herself and her world were firmly rooted in the Christianity she had imbibed in her home and found reinforced and given new dynamism at university. Her social thinking and her "feminism" were moulded by, and did not reject, her Christianity, and her college years were key elements in developing her own sense of worth, and her respect for the worth of others.

The university of Clark's day was not the implement to smash the values of home and community, but was rather the means by which those values were given new direction, and her life new meaning. Esther Clark's sojourn in Wolfville from 1912 to 1916 would clearly mark her in a significant way for the rest of her life. The loving letters home, written so patiently week after week, paint a remarkably vivid picture of a young woman in encounter not merely with an institution but with the ideas and values of a new century.

NOTES

1. The Esther Clark letters (ECL) are in the possession of the author, and were given to him by Dr. Esther Clark Wright shortly before her death in 1990. The nearly 300 letters cover the entire four years of Clark's attendance at Acadia University, from fall 1912 to spring 1916. ECL, Esther Clark to her father, 4 Oct. 1912.
2. Ronald Stewart Longley. Acadia University, 1838-1938 (Wolfville, N.S., 1939), pp. 114-120; "Report of the Board of Governors," in The United Baptist Year Book of the Maritime Provinces of Canada for the years 1912 to 1916 (St. John, N.B., 1912-14); Acadia University Archives (AUA), Minutes of the Board of Governors, Acadia University, 1912-1914.
3. See Barry Moody, "Acadia and the Great War," in Paul Axelrod and John Reid (eds.), Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education (Kingston and Montreal, 1989). Since the impact of World War One on Esther Clark and her university was examined extensively in this article, this important topic, about which so much is revealed in the letters, is not dealt with in this article.
4. Barry Moody, "Breadth of Vision, Breadth of Mind: The Baptists and Acadia College," in George Rawlyk (ed.), Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education (Kingston and Montreal, 1988), pp. 3-29.
5. ECL, EC to Alden, [nd fall 1912].
6. See for example ECL, EC to mother, 28 Feb. 1915.
7. ECL, EC to Thurston, 12 Nov. 1913.
8. ECL, EC to mother, 21 Oct. 1915.
9. ECL, EC to Thurston, 4 Dec. 1914. The connection of the new rule to the changed atmosphere associated with the outbreak of war is explored in Moody, "Acadia and the Great War," p. 155.
10. James R. McGovern, "The American Woman's Pre-World War I Freedom in Manners and Morals," in Jean E. Freedman, William G. Shade, Mary Jane Capozzoli (eds.), Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought (New York, 1987), p. 429.
11. Ibid.
12. ECL, EC to mother, [nd, Feb. 1914].
13. ECL, EC to father, 5 Sept. 1913.
14. ECL, EC to Thurston, 12 Oct. 1913.
15. ECL, EC to Alden, 26 Oct. 1913.
16. The Acadia Record, 1838-1953 (Wolfville, N.S., 1953), p. 27.
17. ECL, EC to mother [nd Feb. 1914]
18. ECL, EC to father, 18 March 1914.
19. ECL, EC to father [nd March 1914].
20. ECL, EC to father, 22 Nov. 1914.
21. ECL, EC to Thurston [nd Jan. 1914].
22. ECL, EC to family [nd, Oct. 1913].
23. ECL, EC to mother, 11 Jan. 1914.
24. McGovern, p. 431.
25. quoted in McGovern, p. 431.
26. ECL, EC to mother, 23 April 1916.
27. ECL, EC to mother, [nd, Nov. 1913].
28. ECL, EC to mother, 18 April 1915.
29. ECL, EC to mother, 30 Jan. 1916.
30. The Acadia Record 1838-1953, p. 125.
31. ECL, EC to mother, 3 April 1916.
32. ECL, EC to mother, 9 Nov. 1913; Alison Prentice et al, Canadian Women: A History (Toronto, 1988), p. 193.
33. ECL, EC to mother, 11 Nov. 1912.
34. ECL, EC to mother, 5 Dec. 1915.
35. The United Baptist Year Book of the Maritime Provinces of Canada 1916 (Truro, N.S., 1916), p. 51.
36. ECL, EC to mother, 21 Nov. 1915.
37. ECL, EC to father, 16 April 1916.
38. ECL, EC to mother 17 Jan. 1915.
39. ECL, EC to mother [nd, Feb. 1914].
40. ECL, EC to mother, 4 May 1914.
41. Prentice, Canadian Women, p. 154.
42. ECL, EC to mother, 10 May 1915.