

THE LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF WINNIPEG 1894 - 1920
TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION

BY

WENDY HEADS

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Dorothy Annie, to my daughter, Melanie Elizabeth and to my great friend, Muriel Paterson McMurtrie of Winnipeg. Between them, Dorothy and Muriel worked throughout the greater part of the twentieth century to enhance the quality of life for both the women and men in the communities in which they lived. In their own special ways, Melanie and her peers are carrying this tradition into the twenty-first century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My special thanks go to my Advisor, Dr. Mary Kinnear of the History Department of the University of Manitoba, for her invaluable assistance and guidance throughout the production of this thesis. She was most generous in sharing her vast knowledge and the richness of her insights in my research area. Her patience, good humour and capacity for encouragement seemed to be inexhaustible.

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Finally, I should like to express my appreciation to my husband and family for the forbearance they showed during periods when I became immersed in this thesis.

ABSTRACT**THE LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF WINNIPEG 1894 - 1920
TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION**

This thesis is a study of the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW) from its establishment in 1894 to 1920. The LCWW is an umbrella organization encompassing a wide variety of associations and still exists today. The study investigates the goals and activities of the Council and the women who participated in its work as well as the LCWW's member organizations. The LCWW is considered in the context of both the evolving historical situation in Winnipeg and the international woman movement of the late nineteenth century. The concept of feminism is explored and the question of whether or not the women of the Council were feminists is examined.

The thesis covers a transitional period for women's organizations. It begins when women's groups were chiefly concerned with improving the condition of disadvantaged sections of the community and it ends when the goals of an increasing number of women's groups were primarily concerned with advancing the interests of their own members. The study shows the Council and the women who participated in its work emerging into the first two decades of the twentieth century with a widening vision of women's capabilities and responsibilities in the public sphere.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CWPC	Canadian Women's Press Club
EFA	Equal Franchise Association
GGG	Grain Growers' Guide
HES	Home Economics Society
ICW	International Council of Women
IODE	Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire
IWSA	International Woman Suffrage Alliance
LA	Ladies' Aid
LCWW	Local Council of Women of Winnipeg
MFP	Manitoba Free Press
MHEA	Manitoba Home Economics Association
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NAWSA	National American Women's Suffrage Association
NCWC	National Council of Women of Canada
NWSA	National Women's Suffrage Association
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
PEL	Political Equality League (Political Education League after 1916)
SAB	Saskatchewan Archives Board
SSSC	Social Science Study Club
UWC	University Women's Club
VON	Victoria Order of Nurses
WCC	Women's Canadian Club
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union
WCU	Women's Christian Union
WHAS	Women's Hospital Aid Society
WLL	Women's Labour League
WPP	Women's Peace Party
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
YWCTU	Young Women's Christian Temperance Union

PREFACE

My interest in the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW) was initially aroused by a passage in The Stream Runs East, a part of the autobiography of Manitoba suffragist and best-selling author Nellie McClung. She complained that the Political Equality League (PEL), established in 1912 to obtain the vote for the women of Manitoba, had not been able to rely on the LCWW for assistance in this endeavour.¹ Who were these women, obviously organized to achieve goals important to women, but apparently feeling no compulsion to stand beside their sisters in the PEL to fight for the vote? The goals of the Council clearly indicated an intention to unite women to enable them to work for common goals and to speak with one voice on issues affecting women and the family.² Had McClung revealed the whole story? Were the members of the LCWW simply interested in piecemeal social reform, or were they motivated with a desire to improve the overall condition of women in society? Could they be considered feminists?

The Minutes of the LCWW from its inception in 1894 to 1916, the date when the PEL's fight for the vote for women concluded with success,³ reveal that the Council was not altogether unconnected with the struggle for woman suffrage. By January 1916, when Manitoba became the first province in Canada to grant women the vote, the PEL was a member of the LCWW. Further, a number of other LCWW member organizations had been actively working for woman suffrage.⁴

The Local Council of Women of Winnipeg is an umbrella organization encompassing a wide variety of associations and still exists to the present day. This thesis is a study of the LCWW in the period 1894 - 1920 and includes an investigation into its member

organizations, the activities of the Council and the women who participated in its work. An assessment is made of the extent of the LCWW's impact on the social and political life of Winnipeg in this period, identifying areas in which it made a distinctive contribution and others where its influence was negligible. The evolving historical situation in Winnipeg is examined both as the background from which the Council grew and as the provider of targets for the Council's activities.

The thesis deals with a transitional period in women's organizations. It begins at a time when women's groups were chiefly concerned with improving the condition of sections of the community they perceived as being in some way disadvantaged and it ends at a time when the goals of an increasing number of women's groups were primarily concerned with advancing the interests of their own members. This trend is documented in Chapter 2.

Covering the period 1894-1920, the first six presidencies of the Council, it begins with that of the founding president, Agnes Schultz, volunteer community work leader, philanthropist and wife of Sir John Schultz, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba⁵. Schultz' links with Manitoba stretched back to the momentous days of the birth of the province, during which she played a courageous part in the political events of the time.⁶ It ends with the presidency of Margaret McWilliams, political economy graduate, a leader in both local and national women's organizations, and, at various times in her life, professional journalist, author, lecturer and alderman. She was the wife of Roland McWilliams, a member of the law firm of Sir James Aikins, who became Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba in 1940.⁷

Life on the early frontier of Western Canada, its conditions and its challenges brought women like Agnes Schultz, the founding president, married to men who played a

prominent part in their communities, into the public sphere to alleviate the social ills of rapid urbanization. Later, women like Margaret McWilliams, the sixth president, were highly educated women who had had professional careers; on marriage, they also turned to volunteerism in public life. Such women brought new and wider visions of women's place in the world to the organizations in which they worked. Mary Kinnear's book, Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist, documents the evolution to "full-fledged" feminism of the Council's sixth president.⁸

The study shows that the Council, like its presidents, emerged from the nineteenth century into the first two decades of the twentieth century with a widening vision of women's capabilities and responsibilities in the public sphere. Since it was composed of a large variety of groups with widely differing goals, and each of these groups was a collection of individuals, it is not to be expected that a stereotype profile for a Council member can be developed. Changes in overall priorities and attitudes can, however, be discerned. In addition, the increasingly diversified character of many of the Council's affiliates and the expanding scope of its own activities indicate a broadening perspective on women's rights, responsibilities and position in society.⁹

From an initial nine affiliates in 1894, sixty-four groups were members of the Council in 1920 representing an estimated 10,000 women.¹⁰ In 1916, journalist Marjorie MacMurchie estimated that one in eight women in Canada belonged to the "network of women's societies."¹¹ The number of Winnipeg's clubwomen appears to have exceeded the national average, since the census figures indicate that the female population of Greater Winnipeg of twenty years and over was about 54,000 in 1916. From these figures, perhaps one in six of the city's women belonged to the network of LCWW organizations¹², a situation indicating that the Council occupied an influential position in the city at this time.

Since the impetus for the birth of the LCWW was provided by the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), and for most of the period it was affiliated to the National Council¹³ the Local Council's relationship to the NCWC is discussed. The Council is also considered as part of the international woman movement. In the context of the early LCWW, the concept of feminism is explored and the question of whether or not the women of the Council were feminists is considered. The answer to this question hinges to a large extent upon the definition of the term "feminist" and this term is defined in section 4 of Chapter 1.

ENDNOTES: PREFACE

1. McClung, Nellie. The Stream Runs Fast. (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1945), 106.
2. Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), P. 3586, Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW), # 1, Constitution; Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929. (Ottawa: National Museum of Manitoba, 1976), 81, quoting Constitution in the NCWC Annual Report 1894, 22.
3. Manitoba Journals, 1916, Manitoba Legislative Library, Winnipeg; PAM, LCWW, Minutes 1894-1916
4. See Appendix A and Chapter 2
5. Scrapbook, B.8. Manitoba Legislative Library, Winnipeg; Free Press, October 8, 1929; Tribune, October 8, 1929
6. Healy, William J. Women of Red River. (Winnipeg: The Women's Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1977, First published by the Women's Canadian Club of Winnipeg in 1923), 231-235; Free Press, October 8, 1929; and Tribune, October 8, 1929.
7. Mary Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist. (Montreal and Kingston, London, Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 3, 32, 41, 134-5.
8. Ibid., 67-70, 165-5. However, the whole book is relevant.
9. Appendix A; LCWW, Minutes 1894-1920.
10. Appendix A; LCWW Minutes 1894, 1915, 1916, 1920; National Archives of Canada (NAC), Ottawa, National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) Annual Report 1917-18, 162. It is possible that the estimated figure of 10,000 women could be high as some women were members of more than one affiliate.
11. Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson and Naomi Black, Canadian Women: A History. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 210, quoting Marjorie MacMurchy, The Woman Bless Her. (Toronto: S. B. Grundy, 1916).
12. From the 1916 Census [Census of Prairie Provinces: Population and Agriculture, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, 1916. (Ottawa: J. de Labroquerie, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1918)], there were 48,039 women of twenty years and over in the City of Winnipeg. See also Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914. (Montreal and London: Mc-Gill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 146-7. The 1916 Census shows the corresponding figure for St. Boniface at 3,050 and I estimate from the Census that the corresponding figure for other suburban areas is 2,915. The total female population aged 20+ of Greater Winnipeg in 1916 was, therefore, about 54,000.
13. LCWW, Minutes 1894-1920.

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

This chapter outlines the events surrounding the initial founding of the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW) and the economic and social conditions prevailing at that time in Winnipeg. The position of women in a changing world is described. The 'woman movement' and the concept of feminism in the context of the LCWW are then reviewed.

1.1: THE LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF WINNIPEG

As Agnes Schultz presided over the inaugural meeting of the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW) on a late March afternoon in 1894, for the second time in her life she was to be closely bound up in events which were to have a far-reaching impact on Manitoba.¹ In 1894, however, her role was central, whereas in the winter of 1869-1870 it had been peripheral. Long-festering anxieties over the survival of their culture and identity were consuming the French-speaking metis as they challenged the right of the Canadian survey party in October 1869 to conduct surveys in the Red River Valley and its surrounding lands. Louis Riel was the leader of the metis resistance, which was ranged against the Canadian annexationists associated with John Christian Schultz, the husband of Agnes Schultz, and against recent Ontario settlers on the Assiniboine River. On December 7, Riel and his men surrounded the store owned by John Schutz, taking Schultz and 48 Canadians prisoner. Smuggling a knife and gimlets into Upper Fort Garry, the Hudson's Bay post which Riel had captured and in which he was holding his prisoners, Agnes Schultz had assisted in her husband's escape. With a rope made of the buffalo robe which had shielded him from the winter's cold, he had climbed out of a window and rejoined his comrades.² Later, Schultz made his way to eastern Canada and told the Canadian loyalist version of the stirring events at Red River.

In 1894, John Christian Schultz was Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and his wife, Lady Schultz, was leader of a group of some two dozen middle-class women, determined and eager to tackle social ills and inequities of gender in the bustling prairie city. The small band of volunteers who planned and inaugurated the LCWW were seasoned workers in the women's organizations they represented and which they had agreed to affiliate to the Local Council. Henceforth, the Council's character would be formed by its affiliated organizations, the individual members who represented these groups, the officers elected to guide its affairs and the dynamics created by these three elements.

In her person, Agnes Schultz provided a link between the Winnipeg of the new Women's Council and the Winnipeg of its early, adventurous days, when it was a small village at the forks of the Red and the Assiniboine Rivers with not many more than 200 residents.³ In 1894, Lady Schultz and her enthusiastic helpers were bringing together women volunteer workers from many different backgrounds and organizations, an exercise that was part of a pioneering venture designed to achieve a woman's lobby powerful enough to attain goals important to women across the nation. Winnipeg's City Assessment records showed a population of 34,954, a slightly inflated figure, since transients and others who "from night to night sleep in the city" were included.⁴ The city was shortly to be inundated by an enormous wave of immigrants.

The LCWW was, therefore, born into an era of tremendous excitement and vast need in Winnipeg. It quickly became a respected local institution with a growing impact on the lives of the citizens. Offspring of the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), which had been founded only four months before its own establishment,

LCWW women joined with other women in recently formed local councils in the National Council's pledge:

We, Women of Canada, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the greatest good of the Family and the State, do hereby band ourselves together to further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.⁵

This proclamation gave notice of the intention of women throughout Canada to achieve agreed goals through the strength of unity. By "unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose" they would work for the "best good" of home and nation. The pledge contains a clear assumption that women have a special role as guardian of the family and nurturers of the citizens of the nation; and, at least in their own eyes, this special role legitimized the enlargement of women's activities from the private to the public sphere.

It was concern for women and the family that had prompted May Wright Sewall, Francis Willard and other American women reformers to found the International Council of Women (ICW) in 1888 in Washington. Wright Sewell was the leading spirit in the committee which drew up the ICW Constitution, containing the Council's philosophy and goals, later incorporated in the constitutions of all the affiliated national and local councils.⁶ By 1893, at its first quinquennial meetings, held during the Chicago World Fair, only American women's organizations had affiliated with the IWC. The World Fair meetings, however, were attended by hundreds of women from all over the world, who returned home pledged to form national councils in their own countries. Among these women, Emily Willoughby-Cummings and other Canadian women were determined to start a national organization.⁷

Lady Ishbel Aberdeen, who was to become the first President of the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), had attended the World Fair in Chicago primarily to oversee the organization of the Irish Village. She had initiated the idea for this exhibit to promote the products of the girls and women in the Irish Industries Association, a scheme she had established while her husband was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.⁸ She also attended some of the meetings of the IWC. On her return to Scotland, she received a telegram from Rachel Foster Avery of the ICW inviting her to become its President,⁹ an invitation which she accepted. Well-connected, an experienced social worker and an accomplished public speaker, Aberdeen seemed an appropriate choice, especially fitting since the ICW planned to hold its next quinquennial meetings in England, where she had extensive contacts.¹⁰ On the arrival of the Aberdeens in Canada later in the year, when Lord Aberdeen took up his appointment as Governor-General, Lady Aberdeen also accepted the invitation of Willoughby-Cummings and other Canadian women to become the first President of the NCWC.¹¹

Lady Aberdeen's experience of social work stretched back to her teens, when she had distributed clothes, food and medicines to cottagers at Guisachan, her parents' estate in the Highlands of Scotland. The estate was 23 miles from Tomich, the nearest village and railway station. It included 20,000 acres of deer forest and land suitable for sheep grazing in addition to low-lying cultivated areas where Ishbel's father had built "tidy, slate-roofed cottages" so that every family on the estate could live in comfort.¹² Privately educated, she had been an excellent student and her tutor had suggested that she go to Girton, a women's college recently established in connection with Cambridge University. Her father, however, considered that too much education might deflect her from her proper "destiny" and, at twenty, she married Lord Aberdeen, who proved to be a most supportive spouse in all her social work.¹³ In their formative years, the NCWC and the Local Councils owed much to Lady

Aberdeen, who brought her experience in education and health projects, employment bureaux, industrial schemes and settlement societies to bear on the new organization. Doris French Shackleton's biography, Isobel and the Empire: a biography of Lady Aberdeen, describes a strong-willed, attractive, talented woman, whose energetic forays into Canadian affairs captivated her admirers while sometimes creating opponents.¹⁴

Nevertheless, Aberdeen's experience in dealing with people from widely divergent backgrounds was particularly useful to the National Council, an umbrella organization to which a number of nationally organized groups and Local Councils from the different regions of Canada were affiliated.¹⁵ Lady Aberdeen travelled extensively and was personally involved in the work of many of the Local Councils, themselves umbrella organizations containing a wide variety of local women's groups. LCWW Minutes show that both Lord and Lady Aberdeen took part in some of the Winnipeg meetings in the early days.¹⁶ Lady Aberdeen's emphasis on "maternal, evangelical and liberal" womanhood had a considerable influence on early Council philosophy,¹⁷ particularly on that of the NCWC. In the case of Local Councils, local influences, the organizations which joined the Councils and the environment in which they existed, also exerted considerable influence on Council philosophy. The Winnipeg of the 1890s was not a replica of the older eastern cities.

1.2: THE CITY OF WINNIPEG

At the time the Local Council was established in 1894, it was just twenty years since the first mayor, F. E. Cornish, had been elected. Only the ambitions and energy of its early businessmen won the city its incorporation in 1873, at a time when the settlement had barely emerged from the muddy village of its Red River Colony days.¹⁸

In its first few decades, it underwent prodigious growth. By 1916, the City of Winnipeg had 163,000 permanent residents, more than six times as many people as had lived there twenty-five years earlier.¹⁹ Most of the increase was, of course, due to immigration.²⁰ Gross overcrowding and inadequate housing in the North End, where the majority of immigrants settled, produced great health problems.

In the first four decades of the city's existence, Alan F. J. Artibise in Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914 states that "Winnipeg's public resources were directed almost exclusively towards growth-producing programs" designed to attract immigrants and investment to the city rather than to the development of a growing city with a healthy environment for all its citizens. The city's recorded death rate in 1891 compared unfavourably at 17 per thousand of the population to those of other Canadian cities. Early in 1905, the Winnipeg Telegram noted that the city's death rate exceeded the average of 18.6 for all the cities in the United States. It was in that year, after a particularly severe outbreak of typhoid, action was finally taken to provide Winnipeg with an active health department. Although the death rate was at a record high of 23.2 per thousand in 1906, the situation improved and a figure of 9.6 was documented in 1914.²¹

At the time of the establishment of the LCWW in 1894, industrialization was progressing rapidly in the new city. In 1909, Winnipeg became the greatest grain centre in the North American continent, handling more bushels of wheat than any other city. By 1911, Winnipeg was Canada's third largest city; it ranked fourth among Canadian cities in terms of industrial output and accounted for one-half of the prairie provinces' manufacturing output.²² Inevitably, social conditions in this era of rampant growth posed problems of exceptional magnitude in the city. This situation

challenged the women of the new LCWW, as it had challenged other philanthropists before them.

Marion Bryce, who became the Council's third president in 1899, addressing a meeting of the Historical Society in that year, spoke of the dilapidated state of the settlement in the seventies and its need for social services:

Anyone who remembers Winnipeg in those early years as a mere village, with its new population, mostly young men, constantly being added to from the East, its crowded boarding houses, its imperfect buildings, hastily erected to accommodate new arrivals, the absence of sanitary arrangements and the prevalence of typhoid fever, can speak of the necessity for an hospital even at that stage of the city's existence.²³

Bryce remembered A. G. B. Bannatyne, one of Winnipeg's wealthiest businessmen, as the chief benefactor whose means and energies established the Winnipeg General Hospital in 1872. The following year, Anne Bannatyne, his wife,²⁴ was involved in the organization of a bazaar for the benefit of the hospital, the first of many efforts to assist that institution. The Women's Hospital Aid Society, one of the charter organizations of the LCWW, eventually formalized and consolidated the somewhat sporadic, though obviously invaluable, charitable efforts of Anne Bannatyne and other concerned women.²⁵ Individual women and men, philanthropic organizations and religious groups had sought to alleviate the social miseries of rapid urbanization for two decades before the Local Council was formed. The women who had worked individually and in small groups were often the same women who became leaders in the new Council. The LCWW hoped to unify and expand existing charitable efforts and to provide an arena in which women could work together for common goals.

Winnipeg provided the LWCC with an environment that differed in three important ways from that of growing cities in eastern Canada. First, Winnipeg was a new city,

situated in a new province, whose settlement was just beginning to gather momentum. The city had few established traditions other than those handed down from the small Red River Colony. The practices of a small community in which the inhabitants knew each other and gave neighbourly assistance in time of trouble were insufficient for the task of coping with a large community in which people no longer knew all their fellow citizens. Cities in eastern Canada had longer experience than Winnipeg in dealing with urban problems.

Secondly, Winnipeg differed from the rest of Canada in that it had to come to terms with a very rapidly growing population. Winnipeg's average decennial growth rate was over 135% for the period 1881-1921, while that of Canada as a whole was 20%. Artibise suggests that "Winnipeg grew so fast that consciousness of community lagged far behind the erection of the urban physical structure, and community services accordingly rested on no solid basis of collective sentiment."²⁶ In Chapter 3, the LCWW response to some of the period's problems is examined. By its presence and its endeavours, it is argued that the LCWW did much to restore a "consciousness of community" and a "collective sentiment" in the city.

A third distinctive characteristic of Winnipeg in the period of this study was the growing ethnic diversification of the enlarged community. After 1891, Winnipeg's population became increasingly less homogenous than that of cities in the East. Up to 1891, the largest single group in Winnipeg, 28.3%, had been born in Ontario and 57.3% of its population was Canadian born.²⁷ Unfortunately, the nature and complexity of the new society was not fully understood by the older, established residents of the city, some of whom were women of the Council. In 1916, only 48% of the city's population was Canadian born. Of the 52% who were foreign-born, 18.6% came from countries other than Britain or the United States.²⁸ Over half the

community was having to contend with life in a new country and almost one in five of the population brought with them a different language and a markedly different culture.

Many of the LCWW members whose places of birth have been traced came from Ontario, providing a fairly homogenous social group, women whose value system owed much to their early upbringing in Ontario. They also shared the common experience of immigration to a frontier city and the necessity for adaptation to a somewhat different lifestyle. Such experiences inevitably would have affected their world view and brought them some way towards the perspective of women who had been part of the former Red River Colony.

Immigrants tended to settle in the North End of Winnipeg, an area where they had access to cheap housing and to work. Although working-class Anglo-Saxon immigrants settled in this area, its character was substantially formed by the large foreign-born population. The foreign immigrants were usually poor and illiterate, often ignorant of the local language and customs. Neglected by the civic authorities, intent on developing Winnipeg's business opportunities, the newcomers lacked schools, day-nurseries, medical facilities, adequate housing, a good water supply, sanitation and street lighting. It is hardly surprising that the area was plagued with disease, widespread drunkenness and easy access to gambling places and brothels.²⁹

Into this situation, in 1892, came the All Peoples' Mission, an agency of the Methodist General Board of Missions, established to help solve the problems of adjustment to a new way of life that faced the immigrant population of the North End. With the acceptance in 1907 by J. S. Woodsworth of the superintendency of the struggling charitable institution, Alan F. J. Artibise claims that All Peoples' Mission

grew to become one of Canada's foremost social welfare agencies. Its many and diverse programs were designed to facilitate the assimilation of Winnipeg's foreigners and provide them with a healthier and more humane lifestyle.³⁰

The LCWW and its member organizations also made an attempt to tackle some of these pressing problems in the North End, often working on similar projects to those being tackled by All Peoples' Mission, and some of its women were Mission volunteers. The Local Council focused chiefly on providing services to alleviate the suffering of women and children or by working for better conditions for women. Part of the impetus to remedy the appalling situation of immigrant women was undoubtedly provided by the ideology of the social gospel, a sizeable movement of reform in Canada from the 1890s and closely associated with Woodsworth and his band of workers at All Peoples' Mission. A socially oriented approach to Christianity, it found fertile ground in Canada's strongly Protestant society, dominated by Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Its philosophy attempted to extend the goal of personal perfection into the wider goal of a perfect society, making secular social action into a "religious rite."³¹ Concurrently with its zeal for reform of the social and working conditions of the newcomers, the Council, at times, appears to have pursued the goal of their cultural assimilation into established Winnipeg society.

1.3: WOMEN IN A CHANGING WORLD

In the early days of Winnipeg, prior to the foundation of the LCWW in 1894, individual philanthropic efforts on the part of the financially successful provided some help for the needy citizens in the community. Such assistance was an extension of the neighbourly help given in a small community to those of its members who fell

on bad times. While in most cases the men provided the charitable funds in the growing metropolis, it was the women who provided the time and energy to use the money to improve the social conditions of many families in unfortunate circumstances. Generally, it was women who perceived the plight of the disadvantaged, who evolved creative solutions, although often of a somewhat bandaid or piecemeal character, and who undertook with considerable efficiency the organization of a multiplicity of projects.

Initially, the activities women performed outside their homes were often very similar to the work they undertook within their homes and families.³² However, significantly, the scale of their operations was expanding and the setting had become the public sphere rather than the private sphere. Such experience widened women's horizons and their perception of their role in society.

Many factors contributed to the increasing number of women who were spending more time working outside their homes by the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The growing affluence of the expanding middle-class, urbanization, the increasing tendency towards the separation of workplace and home, technological advances in transportation, a decreasing birthrate and the availability of domestic servants gave middle-class women the means and the leisure to move in increasing numbers outside the traditional woman's sphere of the home to work together for common goals.³³

The motivation for this exodus from the home may have included the need to undertake meaningful work to fill in idle hours and the need for female companionship. Many women had left their wider families behind in eastern Canada, Great Britain and the United States when they made their homes in the frontier city

of Winnipeg. These women would miss the support of a close, female network provided by the extended Victorian family. A key motivation, however, seems to have been their Christian ideology, which imposed on them a strong sense of duty to work for religious aims:

[Women] showed great enthusiasm for personal and family religion, as opposed to the purely church-based ritual from which they were excluded. Being so much outside a male-dominated institution, they were perhaps better placed than men to see its deficiencies, and their religious enthusiasm made them anxious to assist on repairing them.³⁴

Without the strength of their Christian ideology, women could have used their leisure and obtained companionship in many other ways. For example, they could have channelled their energies exclusively into increased social, cultural and educational activities.

The fact that many women's motivation to leave their homes in the last decades of the nineteenth century was a spiritual one to advance religious goals sanctioned woman's entry into the public sphere. In the nineteenth century, in Great Britain and the countries which had derived their culture from it, woman was considered to be the guardian of moral and spiritual values with the home as her natural sphere. Man's sphere, on the other hand, was in the world outside the home, the world of business and politics. Home was a retreat for man from "an external material environment to an internal spiritual one."³⁵ Yet, somewhat anomalously, woman was considered subservient and inferior to man. It was one thing, apparently, to acknowledge the need for the union of the sacred and the secular within the home to preserve a moral society and even to sanction the emergence of woman from the home in the interests of maintaining essential spiritual and moral values in the world, but it was quite another thing to envision any equality in the value of the sexes in society.

Nancy Cott in The Bonds of Womanhood explores the implications of the home as woman's sphere in early nineteenth century New England, concluding that the ideology of woman's sphere was "a necessary stage in the process of shattering the hierarchy of sex, and, more directly, in softening the hierarchical relationship of marriage."³⁶ When, in fact, women left their homes with the blessing of the church and society to further the spiritual goals they had been taught to regard as their special province, the dichotomy between the roles of the sexes did become blurred. Once women realized they were needed in the public sphere as well as the private sphere of home and family, it was a short step further to comprehension of their special value in society as well as in the home. The seed of feminism was firmly planted. Working together, women discovered common problems, aspirations, values and priorities that differed from those of men.

These changes were undermining the convenient male Victorian assumption of woman's inferiority to man, so smugly captured by the words of Tennyson's hero in "Locksley Hall":

Nature made them blinder motions bounded in shallower a brain:
 Woman is the lesser man, and all [her] passions, matched with mine,
 Are as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine--³⁷

This notion bears little relation to the ingenuity and competence of Winnipeg's army of women volunteers, busy in their homes, churches and other organizations, whose services kept the fabric of society together.

The pioneer women who helped to settle the prairies at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century did not resemble Tennyson's "lesser man". In 1882, Alice Criddle was entrusted by her husband, Percy, to follow him across the empty prairie with the family and its possessions to their newly claimed half-section,

while he went ahead to dig a well, light a fire and clear a site for the tents. Four months previously, Alice had been living comfortably in a good-sized home in Surrey, England, her husband commuting to work in a London office. She had been bringing up her children in a stable environment and enjoying occasional musical evenings with friends. Criddle-de-Diddle-Ensis, written by her granddaughter, is the story of the Criddle family's settlement in the district of Aweme, Manitoba. Heading for her new home in the dusk of a hot, August evening, her arrival at the campsite is documented in her husband's diary: "Horses drawing wagon . . . Alice leading oxen . . . dragging them, I believe, behind . . . everyone deadbeat." Amid swarms of mosquitoes, the unfamiliar tasks of making supper on a campfire, putting up the tents and watering the cattle still had to be faced before the family could collapse at midnight on blankets on the hard ground.³⁸

Strong-Boag's article "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load" chronicles the general situation.³⁹ Prairie pioneer women may have partnered their husbands in tackling the work of the farm but it was an unequal partnership. The woman was the junior partner in authority and she needed strength of body and spirit "to haul a double load." To Winnipeg, from the farms of Manitoba, came women like Lillian Beynon Thomas, feminist journalist, first president of the Political Equality League in Winnipeg, a member of the LCWW for some years and its Provincial Vice-President in 1915.⁴⁰ With their city-bred sisters, such women were far removed from Tennyson's stereotype.

Evidence is presented in Chapter 2 regarding the perceptions of individual members of the Council concerning their value in society vis-à-vis that of men. The question is considered as to whether they saw themselves as separate from their husbands, pursuing their own priorities, and able to make their own distinctive and valuable

contribution to society, in spite of the doctrine of marital unity, the principle of unity of person in husband and wife. This doctrine was part of the framework of English common law, the system of law operating in Manitoba at the end of the nineteenth century, a doctrine expounded by eighteenth-century English jurist, Sir William Blackstone in Commentaries on the Laws of England. Leo Kanowitz, a twentieth century American jurist, declared in Women and the Law: The Unfinished Revolution that "the old common law fiction that the husband and wife are one . . . has worked out in reality to mean . . . the one is the husband." In Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and the Law in Nineteenth Century Canada, Constance Backhouse emphasizes that the wife's "very existence" was "legally absorbed by her husband."⁴¹

Chapter 2 contains examples of women who do not appear to subscribe to this "doctrine of marital unity". In early philanthropic organizations, women managed and incorporated charitable institutions, collected and disbursed money, engaged, paid and supervised employees and endeavoured to propagate their own gender values. Particularly after the turn of the century, there were groups seeking to change the position of women in society. Sometimes change was sought through the law, at other times through the application of new technology and nearly always through education and consciousness-raising of women's situation and women's special value, the latter usually linked to women's reproductive role in society. However, both equity arguments and those based on women's distinctive gender role were employed in the struggle for a changed position for women.

1.4: THE WOMAN MOVEMENT AND FEMINISM

Canadian women in the late nineteenth century, who took part in the struggle for an improved position in society for women, were part of the movement of women in

many parts of the world responding to the challenge of changing conditions in the world. Veronica Strong-Boag in The Parliament of Women suggests that in Canada

The Council's founders believed that the state, under the impact of industrialization and urbanization, was being weakened at its most crucial point--the family. Modern civilization took the father out of the home into the corrupting world of business; it removed traditional feminine tasks from the same home. The woman was left isolated and unable to determine either the food her family consumed or the clothes it wore. Under the influence of an increasingly male management, the outside world was contaminating family life itself.⁴²

Alison Prentice and her five co-authors in Canadian Women: A History describe the tensions faced by women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by what they term "an intensification of the role of motherhood" at the very moment when children were spending more time in school, an institution outside the private sphere of the home. Since the public world influenced their children and would be the arena their sons would inhabit in their working lives, it became credible for them to insist "that as mothers and the managers of families they had both the need and the right to play a role in influencing what went on in the world outside the home."⁴³

Initially, women operated in the public sphere in Canada by banding together in small groups connected with their churches or agencies created for a specific philanthropic purpose. However, by the end of the nineteenth century women were working in large nationally-organized institutions such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the National Council of Women of Canada, both of which had a political agenda. The impetus for the formation of both these organizations came from the United States, where women already had a rich history of association for a wide variety of objects.⁴⁴

The "woman movement", as women's efforts to bring about social and political reform were called in the nineteenth century, manifested itself in a variety of forms in many countries with cultures of the Western European type. Prentice and her co-authors, referring to an article by Deborah Gorham, suggest that there was considerable cross-fertilization of ideas in the woman movement, since "leading feminists toured each other's countries and read each other's publications."⁴⁵ Newspaper reports and minutes of the Political Equality League and other women's organizations in Winnipeg confirm that this was true for Manitoba.⁴⁶

However, the Canadian woman movement had its own distinctive features and the minutes of the women's organizations quoted in this study bear out the statement made by Prentice et al in Canadian Women: A History that there were three noteworthy national characteristics. Canadian women did not deliberately employ tactics which involved flouting the law and most leaders did not approve of the British militants' attacks on property and politicians. They preferred the weapons of "petitions, lobbying, publicity, and private efforts at influence" to achieve their goals. Secondly, the Canadian woman movement's success was attributable to "the diversity and strength of many organizations rather than from a single unified or national force," although the NCWC, itself an umbrella organization, did maintain a significant role. Finally, for Canadian women activists, generally, the struggle for the vote never became the obsessive goal that it was in some other countries.⁴⁷ Chapters 2 and 3 document the truth of these assertions for Winnipeg.

Women in Winnipeg, as in other parts of Canada, the United States and elsewhere, used maternalist arguments and strategies, with a focus on maternal and child welfare and, more broadly, on the traditional concerns of motherhood in general, to transform "motherhood from women's primary *private* responsibility into *public* policy."

Maternalism, for women of the LCWW, as for many other women, was one of their “chief avenues into the public sphere.”⁴⁸

Mollie Ladd-Taylor in Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930 examines the “politicization of women’s traditional work of child care and the establishment of child welfare services” in the first few decades of the twentieth century in the United States. She identifies two components of “mother-work”: women’s traditional work of child-rearing within the home and women’s work outside the home, the maternalist reform activism Ladd-Taylor characterizes as ‘social motherhood’. Within this framework, she explores the close connection and interdependence of women’s private and public mother-work, women’s work inside and outside the home.⁴⁹ The politicization of women’s traditional work of child care in the United States, for example, the establishment in 1912 of the U.S. Children’s Bureau, staffed almost entirely by women, was mirrored elsewhere. Chapter 3 of this study documents a similar trend in Canada with the appointment of Dr. Helen MacMurchy as chief of the Child Welfare Division of the federal Department of Health in 1919 and Harriet Dick and Mrs. Thomas R. Deacon of the LCWW as members of the Mothers’ Allowance Commission, the body set up to administer the Manitoba Mothers’ Allowance Act of 1916.

In Manitoba, as in other parts of Canada, women’s efforts to improve their gender’s situation in society were multifaceted. Even though Canadian women did not become obsessed by campaigns to win the franchise, by the time the LCWW was established in 1894, there were a number of individuals and organizations who were working steadily to achieve this goal. The year before the LCWW was formed, Margaret Benedictsson, a recent Icelandic immigrant, lectured on women’s rights to Manitoba Icelanders. In 1898, with her husband, Sigfus, she commenced publication of Freyja,

a periodical devoted to women's suffrage.⁵⁰ A number of Icelandic woman suffrage societies were formed in the 1890s and two petitions were presented from these groups to the Manitoba Legislature in 1910.⁵¹ However, the Icelander and the mainstream woman suffrage movement in Manitoba rarely managed to work cooperatively.⁵²

In the same year, 1893, that Benedictsson lectured on women's rights, the WCTU presented a petition to the Legislature with some 5000 signatures asking for woman suffrage, a petition that was rejected.⁵³ After another rejected petition, the Equal Franchise Club was formed in Winnipeg in 1894, eight months after the official inauguration of the LCWW in March of that year.⁵⁴ The former functioned for a few years chiefly as an educational and consciousness-raising group.⁵⁵ While some Winnipeg women were displaying strong feminist convictions, others, for example, those in the church women's auxiliaries who joined the new Council, manifested at least an interest in united action in a national organization with avowed feminist goals.

While the Canadian woman movement developed its own distinctive characteristics, it was undoubtedly influenced by women's activities in other countries, particularly in the United States and in England. In spite of the close political ties with Britain and the fact that the majority of Canadians up to the end of the nineteenth century came of British stock, the strongest influence on the woman movement in Canada was from the United States. There are various explanations: the geographical proximity and ease of travel to the United States; the frequency of American news reported in Canadian newspapers; family members or friends in the United States with a consequent exchange of letters and visits; and cross border business connections and trade. For example, Margaret McWilliams, the sixth president of the LCWW, worked

as a journalist in the States, at first on the Minneapolis Journal and then on the Detroit Journal.⁵⁶

There must have been a similar mindset between Canada and the United States, which facilitated the transfer of ideas. Both countries were engaged in nation-building and, particularly in the western regions, much of the population was familiar in its own or recent generations with the experience of immigration, with its opportunities for change and advancement and with the necessity for adopting a new outlook on life.

In the United States, there is early evidence of a woman applying the principles of liberty on which the new country was founded to the situation of women. In 1776, Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John, that new laws should "curb" the "unlimited power" of husbands over wives and threatened that "if particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice, or representations." The time had not come for her ideas. Her husband was amused, telling a male acquaintance that women and children, like men without property, lacked independent judgment and considered that women's "delicacy renders them unfit for practice and experience in the great businesses of life."⁵⁷ More than a century and a quarter later, in 1914, the PEL in Winnipeg encountered similar sentiments from Premier Roblin, who claimed that politics would sully virtuous women,⁵⁸ but an amused dismissal was no longer viable.

Between 1776 and 1914, American women had set up vast networks of organizations. Some of the early ones were women's voluntary associations within the churches with charitable or evangelical goals.⁵⁹ By the 1820s and 1830s, female academies were

established by such women as Emma Willard and Catherine Beecher, who trained women to become enlightened teachers to educate citizens of the new communities. Women's public activities were thus enlarged in the name of their domestic and moral responsibilities.⁶⁰

In Karen Blair's The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914, she describes the growth of another stage of the woman movement. Still mindful of their special role as mothers and housekeepers, women in vast numbers formed literary clubs for self-education, which could be justified as enhancing their value in the home. Men felt less threatened by the literary clubwomen, with their moderate approach to social change and strategy of "domestic feminism", than by the suffragists. Nevertheless, they were somewhat wary of activities which tended to escalate from self-education and research of community ills to the tackling of municipal reform. On the whole, however, there was considerable male toleration for "Municipal Housekeeping" if wives were "home in time to prepare supper."⁶¹ Chapter 3 reveals similarities between some of the activities, methods and goals of the LCWW and those of American clubwomen.

Canadian women also learned much from two other great American women's movements: the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the specifically suffragist organizations. The former had been founded in 1873 by Francis Willard, teacher, reformer and suffragist. With hundreds of other professional women, practical philanthropists and clubwomen, she attended the first Women's Congress in 1873. Ideas from the Congress of women banding together to achieve feminist goals and social change were built into the WCTU.⁶² The Canadian WCTU duplicated the pattern of a strong central organization with a wide network of local groups, its departmental division of work, and many of its programs, strategies and goals.

Stemming from its distinctive experience of setting up a new nation with republican and egalitarian principles enshrined in its Declaration of Independence, some women of the United States came to place a high priority on equality of the sexes. Nearly three-quarters of a century after Abigail Adams noted the consequences to women of their lack of political representation, the first Woman's Rights Convention met at Seneca Falls, New York in 1848. It adopted the "Declaration of Sentiments" that demanded for women "immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States."⁶³ The gauntlet had now been thrown.

The pursuit of equality between the sexes under the law led American women to place a high priority on woman suffrage, leading to the formation of national and state associations to achieve this specific goal. Nancy Cott in The Grounding of Modern Feminism points out that, in spite of a common goal, within these groups there were changes in composition, shifting priorities and "fateful alliances."⁶⁴ After the Civil War, for instance, there was a major rift in the suffrage movement over the relative priority of black male suffrage and woman suffrage.⁶⁵ Further, there was no consensus within the movement as to whether efforts should be concentrated solely on the vote or whether attention should be given also to other goals important to women.⁶⁶

Although most American suffrage groups adopted non-violent tactics to gain the vote, in 1913 the Congressional Union, in an effort to conclude the lengthy struggle for the vote, decided to "stage grand parades and perpetrate flamboyant incidents in front of lawmakers . . . to 'punish the party in power' . . .", a strategy learned from the British suffragettes.⁶⁷

In Britain, the woman's movement dates from the 1860s and, as in the United States, the vote was only one of a number of fields of interest for women: they reformed property laws, extended women's educational opportunities and widened access to careers.⁶⁸ By 1888, there was a superabundance of women's organizations in Britain, some of which had been formed specifically to promote woman suffrage and some of which became involved in the issue to a lesser extent. In 1887, women's suffrage societies were joined in a loose federation headed by a Central Committee.⁶⁹ Not all these societies were militant. Women active in church work and philanthropy were organized in the National Union of Women Workers in 1895. It was this organization which, under Lady Aberdeen's direction, affiliated to the International Women's Council and, in 1899, changed its name to the British National Council of Women.⁷⁰

On the other side of the world, in another part of the British Empire, Australian women's enfranchisement had proceeded more rapidly than in North America, possibly a result of an ideology of equality of opportunity extolled in its literature glorifying the individual achievements of the country's rugged, male citizens. As early as 1894, the year of the establishment of the Winnipeg Council, the Liberals of South Australia gave women the vote and made them eligible to sit in either of the Houses of Parliament.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the following year, John Madden, Chief Justice of Victoria, was voicing male fears that women might abolish soldiers, racing, cricket and "all manly sports".⁷² The federal franchise was granted in 1902 and Victoria completed Australia's enfranchisement of women in 1909, seven years before Manitoba became Canada's first province to grant its women the vote.⁷³ Winning the vote coincided with measures dealing with maternity allowances, protection of children and marriage and divorce but, as elsewhere, wages in Australia were based on a single person's wage for a woman and a married person's wage for a man.

Concern for the family had "enshrined inequality".⁷⁴ Everywhere, the struggle for equality was to involve generations of feminists.

In Canada, as in other countries, the woman movement of the nineteenth century gave way in the early 1900s to a more diverse approach to enhancing women's situation in society. It is doubtful whether most women activists were aware of the changes taking place. The use of the singular in the term "woman movement" placed emphasis on women as a sex-class, part of a maternal commonwealth that "fused public and private concerns, domesticity and politics, . . .".⁷⁵ Such notions of female citizenship were fostered by Francis Willard, leader of the WCTU from 1879 to 1899, who advocated "Womanliness first--afterwards what you will". This vision of universal sisterhood drew on the polarization of gender roles in which women were cast as the moral guardians of society.⁷⁶ Yet, contained in it, there is the notion of women as citizens, individual members of a commonwealth.

The International Council of Women (ICW) was based on a similar maternalist ideology and the LCWW at its 1894 inception adopted a pledge to seek the improvement of society through the strength of a unified voice for women that enshrined the same philosophy. At the founding of the ICW in 1888, Zerelda Wallace, a temperance worker who had concluded that women needed political rights to achieve their temperance goals, maintained that women organized in order "to plead for freedom for themselves in the name of and for the good of humanity."⁷⁷ Here, again, is the idea of woman as both an individual and a social being.

Winnipeg suffragist, Nellie McClung, was linked to the LCWW by virtue of membership in the PEL, one of its affiliated organizations. Strong-Boag points out in her 1972 Introduction to McClung's The Stream Runs East that, in common with

many Canadian feminists of the period, McClung adopted arguments on two philosophical levels: "One was egalitarian, the demand for rights natural to all human beings. The other was essentially inegalitarian based on presumption of feminine superiority . . ." ⁷⁸ Since Canadian feminism in this period often contained these two levels of argument, it seems strange that the term "maternal feminism" has frequently been used to describe it. Such a qualification of feminism narrows the focus to a belief in the difference between women and men, while excluding any indication of a parallel belief in the equality of women and men.

This duality of approach was partly tactical to cover all bases in the face of male opposition which sought to restrict women's human rights on the grounds of the danger of "unsexing" women and on the grounds of their supposed weaknesses. "There was a human norm," recalled activist Mary Austin of the 1880s, "and it was the average man. Whatever in woman differed from this norm was a female weakness, of intelligence, of character, of physique."⁷⁹ Beyond tactical considerations, however, women needed both to affirm the distinctiveness of "womanhood", their hallmark, and insist on its acceptance as a human norm.⁸⁰

In the nineteenth century, women activists, working in numerous organizations concerned with the position of women and the family in society, were known as members of the woman movement. By the 1910s, such women were beginning to be referred to as feminists, though few of them would have used this designation for themselves.⁸¹ While the woman movement had acquired an aura of respectability, historian Karen Offen suggests feminism evoked fear in large sections of society, fear of unwanted and uncharted change, a reaction that is still manifest today.⁸² There is no record that the women of the LCWW in the first decades of the twentieth century termed themselves feminists. Nevertheless, this study explores the concept of

feminism in the context of the early LCWW. It attempts to discover whether and to what extent the women of the Council were, in fact, feminists.

The answer to the question of whether or not the women of the Council were feminists hinges to a large extent upon the definition of the term "feminist", a difficult word to define and a term around which there have been and still are conflicting views.⁸³ In addition, various adjectives have been employed to qualify the term in an attempt to indicate differences in ideologies held by activists who have sought to improve the condition of women in society. As mentioned above, in Canada, for example, the term "maternal feminists" has been used to describe activists working for the advancement of women.

The three-fold definition of feminism adopted in this study is derived from that put forward by Nancy Cott in 1987 as her current working definition in The Grounding of Modern Feminism and that used by Mary Kinnear in Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist.⁸⁴ First, feminism involves a belief in equality in the sense that there is no sex hierarchy, that neither sex is superior or inferior to the other. Secondly, bearing in mind the concept of gender as distinct from the biological category of sex, feminism assumes that women's condition is socially constructed rather than predetermined by God or "nature" and therefore can be changed. Thirdly, based on women's perception that they are not simply a biological sex but, possibly even more importantly, a gender group, whose socially constructed position can be reconstructed, feminism claims a consciousness of group identity for women that encourages community action to impel change. The existence of feminism in the LWCC will be measured against the yardstick of this broad, three-fold definition.

No attempt is made to limit the concept of feminism by using qualifying adjectives to divide feminists into different categories. As in the case of the so-called maternal feminists, such qualification often distorts rather than clarifies feminism. Naomi Black, political scientist and writer on feminism and women's history, in Social Feminism investigates the system of beliefs shared by women in three different organizations in three different countries. She claims that social feminism is a particular version of feminism "whose most important characteristic is a focus on values and experience identified with women". Equity feminism, on the other hand, includes women whose belief systems have been labelled "liberal", "Marxist" or "socialist". She places the so-called maternal feminism of the past and radical feminism of the present as versions of social feminism.⁸⁵ Unlike Black's exploration, which finds evidence of a particular type of feminism in three organizations, this study encompasses almost a hundred different women's organizations, the affiliates of the LCWW. The intention is to investigate the presence of feminism within the Local Council without any attempt to divide the ideology into categories. Where thousands of women in so many different organizations are concerned, their feminist beliefs would be unlikely to adhere to one or other specific category; and it is probable, for example as with Nellie McClung, that beliefs from different categories would be found to be entangled.

Offen, in her article, "Defining Feminism", argues the value of the reintegration of "individualistic claims for women's self-realization and choices, with its emphasis on rights, into the more socially conscious relational framework, with its emphasis on responsibilities to others . . ." since such an approach accommodates women's diversity more easily than either can separately.⁸⁶ Although frowned on as theoretically inconsistent in the past, the integration of such belief systems appears now to be consistent with women's aspirations and situation: equal though different.

The definition adopted encompasses both individual and relational elements. Chapter 2 commences the exploration of its applicability to the organizations and women of the LCWW.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER 1

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14. Doris French Shackleton, Ishbel and the Empire: a biography of Lady Aberdeen. (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), 6-7, 72-3, 147-159
15. Strong-Boag, Parliament, Appendices VI and VII, 440-443

16. LCWW Minutes, 1894-8
17. Strong-Boag, Parliament, 138
18. Artibise, 10-15
19. Ibid., 130-1. 163,000 is the figure given in the Federal census, a rather more conservative figure than the City of Winnipeg figure of 201,981. From 1891, the City counted persons "who from night to night sleep in the city".
20. Ibid., 137
21. Ibid., 132, 223-8, 351-2, note 2. Hamilton, London and Toronto, all of which were larger than Winnipeg, had death rates of 13, compared to Winnipeg's 17 in 1891. Ottawa and Montreal exceeded this rate by 18 and 19 respectively. The former city was almost double the size of Winnipeg and the latter was more than eight times its size.
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28. Ibid., 138-40
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CHAPTER 2: AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS OF THE COUNCIL

This chapter discusses the organizations which made up the membership of the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW). Section 1 relates to the nine founder members of the LCWW and the seven other affiliates which joined before the end of the nineteenth century. Section 2 covers the early years of the twentieth century to the end of the study period in 1920. There were seventy-eight organizations that affiliated to the LCWW during this latter period and detailed descriptions could, therefore, only be given for a selection of these affiliates. Prior to the end of the nineteenth century, the member associations of the Council had much in common, but from 1900, there was an increasing diversity in the goals of the affiliates and the women who belonged to these organizations.

2.1: NINETEENTH CENTURY ORGANIZATIONS, 1894-1899 FOUNDING INFLUENCES

On a March afternoon in 1894, a group of enthusiastic women met together for the purpose of establishing the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW), a branch of the recently formed National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC). Agnes Schultz, wife of the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and convener of the meeting, was surrounded by women who were seasoned volunteers, mostly long-time activists in church and philanthropic organizations. The formation of the LCWW was a natural progression from the work of the various women's organizations to which they belonged.

Most of the women were members of church women's auxiliaries and many of them had already worked together in organizations such as the Women's Hospital Aid Society, the Christian Women's Union and the Aberdeen Society. The new initiative represented by the LCWW and the NCWC was the plan to include women from a wide range of organizations so that Canadian women could speak with a single voice and act in powerful concert to instigate remedial action against specified social ills. Each local council would be an umbrella organization sheltering a variety of women's associations, often exhibiting divergent origins and interests.

Local councils would gain prestige from affiliation with the National Council and members of their own affiliated organizations would become familiar with each other's work. Duplication of effort might be avoided, mutual assistance, where appropriate, could be offered and cooperative projects undertaken in areas where goals called for united action and the strength of numbers. It is hoped that this study will reveal the extent to which these aspirations were fulfilled.

From an initial charter membership of nine organizations in 1894, the Council's membership grew to 64 affiliated organizations by 1920. Over the intervening years, 97 organizations have been traced as belonging to the Council for longer or shorter periods. There may have been others whose names have been omitted from Council records, although this number could not have been substantial as the quality of LCWW records is impressive. Some groups were in the Council for only a few years, others maintained membership for many years and a few were affiliated throughout the twenty-six years of this study. Appendix A contains the names of affiliated organizations in the period 1894-1920, together with dates of membership.

From estimates provided by the women attending the founding meeting of the LCWW in 1894, the charter organizations represented 975 women. Annual reports by the LCWW to the NCWC document the growth of the Council; by 1917 there were 62 organizations affiliated with the Council, representing 9,500 women.¹ The number of women in organizations represented on the LCWW in 1920 must have been about ten times the number at the Council's foundation in 1894.

The nine organizations represented at the inaugural meeting of the Council were:

Aberdeen Association
All Saints' Ladies' Aid
Children's Home
Free Kindergarten
Women's Christian Temperance Union:
 Central Branch
 South End Branch
Young Women's Christian Temperance Union
Women's Christian Union
Women's Hospital Aid Society

Later in 1894, these groups were joined by Augustine Church Home Mission and Holy Trinity Ladies' Aid. The following year, the Women's Art Association affiliated with the Local Council and in January 1896 the LCWW was welcoming its first Roman Catholic organization, St. Mary's Ladies' Aid and Altar Society. In 1898, the Girls' Home of Welcome, St. Boniface Ladies' Aid and St. Paul's Industrial School affiliated.

By the end of the century, therefore, sixteen organizations were associated with the Council, five of which were women's auxiliaries operating within churches. Of the remaining eleven groups, nine carried out social work in the areas of health, welfare

of prisoners, education, child care and the protection of young women. Apart from the Women's Hospital Aid Society (WHAS) with its specific focus on practical health care, these groups were involved to some extent in religious missionary work and in the integration of 'foreigners' into mainstream Canadian society. The Aberdeen Society was intended to alleviate the loneliness and isolation of prairie settlers by distributing wholesome and educational literature to immigrants in the West, an operation whose goals can be seen as both cultural and integrative. It is interesting to note that the Woman's Art Association was the only organization intended to advance the immediate interests of its members. This was a harbinger for the future and anticipated the participation in the activities of the LCWW of professional women's associations, such as nurses, teachers and journalists, and of the political activists of the PEL and the Women's Civic League. However, in the long term and in a less direct manner, most of the early Council affiliates provided self-fulfilment for their members.

The LCWW was both the sum of its affiliates and the result of interaction among its members. It was also the result of interaction between itself and the National Council. Those affiliates which were long-time and active members of the Council could exert considerable influence on the Council's policy and work. A measure of an affiliate's commitment to the Council may be seen in the number of delegates it sent to the annual meeting and its members' involvement as officers of the Council. A strong, persuasive and determined member of any of its affiliates could play a powerful part in molding its policy.

Most of the early affiliates were already established in the field of charitable work by the time the Council was inaugurated in 1894. The disestablishment of the churches in Upper Canada in 1854² had made it necessary for individual congregations to

shoulder the burden of their own financial support. Finance became, writes Westfall, "the door through which the laity entered the inner courts of the church."³ However, it was the male laity who thronged church courts. Nancy Hall, writing about women workers in the Methodist, Presbyterian and United Churches, points out that although women have "always worked in Canadian Protestant churches", historically, they had been excluded from established church structures, denied voting participation and membership in church courts and, therefore, denied significant influence in policy-making decisions. To accomplish a growing body of tasks for the church, women established church societies for "women only."⁴ These auxiliaries were not an official part of the church structure and did not send delegates to conferences and synods but the work they performed was essential.

Early female church volunteer workers transferred the type of work they undertook inside their homes to a work arena outside their homes. However, they were still in an environment controlled by men. They taught children in Sunday Schools, held prayer meetings for the spiritual nurture of their own sex, ministered to the sick, dispensed private charity to the poor and cared for the aged. Before the development of missionary organizations specifically for women, most of their activities took place within their own church communities.

The first Canadian Ladies' Aid Society appears to have been established in 1832 in either Trinity Methodist Church or in St. Luke's Presbyterian Church in Bathurst, New Brunswick. Both these churches now form part of the present Bathurst First United Church.⁵ The tradition of service in such societies was, therefore, well-established by the time some of these organizations joined the LCWW in the 1890s. Generations of women who worked in them had learned and passed on organizational skills. Besides performing philanthropic duties and religious activities such as

teaching in Sunday schools and taking part in prayer meetings, the women had become adept at achieving practical objectives such as furnishing parsonages and supplying churches with carpeting, hymnbooks, pianos and heating plants.⁶ Their duties can be seen to be akin to their home responsibilities.

The primary motivation for the work was religious, leading to the performance of a vast amount of philanthropic and practical work. Church activities also provided women with an opportunity to leave the confines of their homes and to enjoy the society of other women. In a community in which many of the women had left their original homes and their relatives to take up residence in a new country or new province, a network of women friends was particularly important.

At the annual meeting of the LCWW in 1896, the All Saints' Ladies' Aid, a charter affiliate of the LCWW, reported that their work was "entirely connected with their Church and Parish." With pride, they announced that their efforts had paid for the organ, they had considerably reduced the church debt and they had collected subscriptions for Home Mission purposes. In 1904, they reported that their society was flourishing and that their affairs were conducted in a business-like manner.⁷ The women of All Saints' Church were competent and obviously successful; and they displayed a healthy self-esteem and a sense of the value of their work.

While most of the women's auxiliaries affiliated to the LCWW were Protestant, St. Mary's Ladies' Aid and Altar Society was one of a few Roman Catholic groups to join the Council. Its affiliation was a lengthy one, lasting from 1896 until 1918. The annual reports submitted by the St. Mary's Society to the LCWW indicate vitality, efficiency and impressive achievements. Mention was made of a bazaar which realized \$2700 for church improvements in 1898, of clothes sewn for the poor, of

church vestments made and repaired and of visits paid to the "sick and needy." In 1899, the auxiliary undertook some new work assisting the Sisters of Mercy by furnishing "bedlinen and all necessary appliances for a sick room." The report paid tribute to the good work done by the Sisters in the city. Although part of their time was spent assisting the nuns, they also worked on their own church projects. In 1905, amongst other work, they made clothes for orphanage boys.⁸

Delegates from St. Mary's attended the Annual Meetings of the NCWC, held in Winnipeg in 1905. These women reported that they were "greatly surprised and interested in its work and felt convinced that no-one attending these meetings could ever ask the question 'Are they doing any work?'" a pleasantly blunt observation. In spite of a long-term and faithful commitment to the Local Council, at least on the part of the delegates who attended local meetings, some of the auxiliary members must have had doubts of its usefulness.⁹ There is a sense here of women who valued themselves too much to waste time on non-productive projects. These were thoughtful women, women who took their responsibilities to both church and community seriously, who formed their own priorities and who were not afraid to join hands with their Protestant sisters.

Both Protestant and Roman Catholic women had much to learn in the area of interdenominational operations. In Winnipeg, Protestant women of various denominations had worked together in the Women's Christian Union since 1883 but this Union did not include Roman Catholic women. Lady Ishbel Aberdeen, President of the NCWC, told Emily Willoughby Cummings, its Secretary, in a communication dated March 19, 1894 that "the R.C. ladies . . . say quite frankly that they have not been accustomed to work with others and do not know their methods."¹⁰

From the outset, Lady Aberdeen had stressed that the Council must operate as a non-sectarian organization. She had advocated the opening of meetings with silent prayer rather than audible repetition of the Lord's Prayer and managed to push through a Council resolution to this effect. The London Local Council was particularly vocal in its opposition to this policy, fearing, so they said, that it gave credence to an idea "rapidly gaining ground that National Council is an irreligious body . . ." ¹¹ Many Local Councils did not immediately adopt the practice of silent prayer at the beginning of their meetings. ¹² The Winnipeg Council, at first reluctant to forego the audible repetition of the Lord's Prayer, only adopted silent prayer at the request of their Roman Catholic members in 1898, two years after the affiliation of the first Roman Catholic organization. The desire to include the Roman Catholic women in the Council was evidently strong enough to overcome protestant scruples. ¹³

The Ladies' Aids operated within their own churches to meet the objectives of their respective churches. Although most of their work could be regarded as an extension of woman's work in the home, in order to carry out some of their projects it was their duty to collect subscriptions and to administer their auxiliaries efficiently. Women who had learned both the skills needed to acquire funds for church projects and to run successful organizations now had the tools to work for their own goals. The experience of working effectively with other women had readied them for the opportunities presented by the LCWW.

Even in the last decades of the nineteenth century, not all women's organizations operated from within churches. Volunteer groups which focused on the health of society began to be formed outside the churches. After the turn of the century, the number of these groups escalated. The Women's Hospital Aid Society (WHAS) was almost certainly the earliest of these health-oriented groups in Winnipeg. Established

in 1883, its members were experienced volunteer workers by the time it became a charter affiliate of the Council in 1894. Its object was a simple, down-to-earth one: "to supply the hospital with bedding, clothing and other necessary comforts."¹⁴ Although it was formed for a secular purpose, it adopted a scriptural motto: "Bear ye one another's burdens."¹⁵ The women volunteers, wives of businessmen, doctors and other prominent citizens did not come from a single church but they shared a philosophy of Christian service.

Respectability and status were assured for the new society by the appointment of Mary Elizabeth Aikins, wife of Sir James C. Aikins, the Lieutenant-Governor, as the first President. A member of Grace Methodist Church, Aikins also held the office of president in the Women's Christian Union (WCU), another women's philanthropic organization formed in the same year as the hospital society.

The WHAS grew out of unofficial hospital aid groups that had functioned "somewhat fitfully" from the early 1870s when Winnipeg was being transformed from a small village to a rapidly growing frontier town. Young male migrants poured into Winnipeg from the East, living in over-crowded, makeshift accommodation which lacked sanitation, conditions in which typhoid was rife.¹⁶ The Winnipeg General Hospital was established in 1872 to meet a desperate need for health care. The Hon. A. G. B. Bannatyne was its chief benefactor and the following year Anne Bannatyne, his wife, organized a bazaar to assist in defraying the hospital's expenses.¹⁷ In 1877, women raised as much as \$1600 for the hospital through canvassing across the city and organizing a large bazaar, then called an "apron festival".¹⁸ Women's as well as men's philanthropic efforts were needed from the beginning for the institution's development.

The formation of the WHAS in 1883 supplied continuity to the women's volunteer efforts and more security to the hospital. From an initial undertaking to provide household necessities and clothes and to supervise these items, the women were soon involved in raising large subscriptions for equipment. In 1897, two members collected money for a new ambulance. Later, nearly \$6000 was collected for laundry machinery and a sterilizer.¹⁹ When new buildings were added to the hospital, the women assisted in the supply of furnishings. By the end of the century, the cost of clothing and household supplies alone amounted to about \$940 each year.²⁰

In 1907, Emily M. Bell, the treasurer of WHAS, reported with pardonable pride:

One must really pay a visit to the splendidly kept hospital and look into the linen closets for each ward, then go to the well fitted stock room, and into the sewing room, to understand fully the noble work of the society.

To keep up the supply required . . . for four hundred and fifty people is no small undertaking.²¹

Members paid annual fees of two dollars and, in 1907, there were 800 members and the WHAS had a yearly revenue in excess of \$5000 to meet the demands made on it. Funds came from fees, canvassing for subscriptions, the proceeds of an occasional entertainment and, in the early days, an annual ball.

Originally, members had cut out garments, which were then distributed to other volunteer workers to sew. The rapid growth of the hospital necessitated the employment of three or four seamstresses by 1907, whose wages were paid by the Society. The previous year, the WHAS had organized a Convalescent Home for thirty patients to relieve pressure on hospital beds, "a committee of gentlemen becoming responsible for the rent."²²

From its earliest days, a number of single women were members, almost certainly daughters of members. Some of these single women served as officers of WHAS in the capacity of secretary, treasurer and secretary-treasurer. The older women of the Society were anxious to interest and involve the younger generation in the work. Accordingly, just before the end of the century, the Girls' Auxiliary to the WHAS was formed as a branch of the parent Society. From a small group, its numbers rose to fifty young married women and their single sisters, whose responsibility it was to look after the needs of the children's ward, supply fruit and flowers and assist in the Convalescent Home.²³

The women of the Society were operating on a large scale by 1907, dealing with significant amounts of money, running a Convalescent Home and employing the necessary staff for their projects. Their reports exude an air of confidence and efficiency and a delight in being managers of a thriving enterprise. It is clear, however, that members worked hard to produce their results.

The WHAS continued its affiliation to the LCWW throughout the period covered by this study. Its officers attended Council meetings regularly, often sending the maximum number of four delegates to vote at the annual meetings, and supplied progress reports faithfully. It is clear that WHAS considered its participation in the Local Council a serious commitment. It could offer the LWCC the benefit of its experience and expertise in the volunteer world and in return its members were able to expand their horizons and exert an influence in a wider sphere than that to which they had previously had access.²⁴

In 1883, the same year in which the WHAS was formed, another group of women established the Women's Christian Union (WCU). Like the WHAS, it became a

founding member of the Local Council. However, unlike the WHAS or the women's church auxiliaries, it was not linked to a male-dominated institution. The impetus for its formation came from women and its goals were formulated by its own members. The initiative behind the WCU was, therefore, entirely female. Marion Bryce, a charter member of the Union and its second President, has left a number of statements concerning the WCU's establishment and the early Minutes provide further information.

In a paper given to the Historical Society in 1899 on charitable institutions, Bryce stated:

The Christian Woman's Union owes its origin, in March, 1883, to a few devoted women whose strong desire was to bring together women of different Protestant denominations and varied predilections and to unite them in some important work in which they could all be interested. The proposed work naturally took the form of work among women.²⁵

Eight years later a combined statement by Marion Bryce, who had by then been President of the WCU for twenty-one years, and Margaret F. Taaffe, Recording Secretary, described the work to be undertaken as "some good work, interesting to all. . ." ²⁶ Their statement makes it clear that the women perceived their work as breaking new ground: ". . . its work has always been that of a pioneer," explaining that the WCU seems "to have taken up work in unoccupied fields, to have left that when fully established for other willing workers to continue, and then to have branched out in some other new direction where duty pointed."²⁷

The Minutes of the WCU contain a record of the first official meeting of twenty-five women on February 21, 1883, that took place in response to a pulpit notice on the previous Sunday. It was decided that their first project would be the establishment of

a Home for Women to provide an evening resort for women working during the day, a boarding house and a day nursery for infants of working mothers.²⁸

In the establishment of this Home, it is clear that Union members were eager to pass on their own value system to the women they were helping. As late Victorian women, they accepted their role as guardians and teachers of Christian values and they regarded the institution of home as central in their own lives and in society. The goal was to provide women with a comfortable home at a moderate cost, a home which would inculcate Christian and mainstream Canadian values and, as far as possible, the Home was to be self-supporting. A stringent set of rules was drawn up and boarders were to enjoy little more freedom than they would have been given in most middle-class Victorian homes of the period.

At the first meeting of the WCU, some women had suggested, in a rather self-serving vein, that the Home should be operated to accommodate domestic servants. This idea was firmly dismissed since servants "doing their duty" had no trouble in finding "comfortable homes with good wages" locally. It was resolved that the Home was to be for unmarried and unprotected working women and it was left to the discretion of the Committee of Management as to whether deserted or destitute wives with families were to be admitted or referred to the City's Relief Committees.²⁹

A Committee of Management was appointed, whose members went house-hunting immediately, found and rented at \$40 a month "the old Bannatyne House," and had it fumigated, cleaned and renovated. They enlisted the help of many women in the papering of some of the rooms and with the furnishing of the Home. In a matter of weeks, the first "inmates" arrived. Two members, Jazdowski and Wickstead, took charge until the arrival of the first matron. A roster of members visited the Home

each Tuesday evening to give a Bible talk, using the International Sunday School lessons as a guide. The Minutes make it clear that members were very much involved in all aspects of the work of the Home and were concerned to make it duplicate a Christian home.³⁰

Although the WCU's plans would prove expensive, they had no hesitation in putting them into practice immediately. It was disclosed at a meeting on February 24, 1883, only three days after the initial meeting to recruit members, that a benefactor had offered \$5000 to the Union, if the women of Winnipeg could raise half that sum during the year. The name of the benefactor was not given, nor was it indicated whether the offer had been made before or after it was decided to form the WCU. Dividing the city into districts, the members collected \$1016.80 by March 16; additional funds were obtained from the \$3 fee each member paid and from the Home's "Opening Entertainment".³¹ The incorporation of the WCU at a later date enabled it to receive government grants to assist in the operation of its projects.

The WCU Minutes show the Union's commitment to social work among women in several different fields. Between 1883 and 1906, they ran such different institutions as a Home for Young Women, a Maternity Hospital, a Children's Home and a Refuge for Women, an interesting progression of institutions established in response to perceived needs. Throughout their work, there is a sense of women eager to create a specifically female public sphere in which they could work together to improve the lot of less fortunate members of their own sex and also an awareness of the power of united action. By founding an independent woman's organization, they could concentrate on work they deemed essential for women, choose their own priorities and conduct the institutions they established exactly as they wished. The

enhancement of their own self-esteem as women carrying on independent, efficient and valuable community enterprises was a by-product of their endeavours.

It had originally been intended that WCU membership would consist of four members from each Protestant church congregation in Winnipeg and that wives of the clergy would be ex-officio members of the Committee. As some congregations showed little enthusiasm for the Union, the rule regarding only four members from each congregation was discarded in favour of extending the membership by inviting any interested, and presumably suitable, women to join the Union.³²

The 1903 Annual Report includes references to public criticism as to the rather strict WCU rules for their Refuge for Women, a project operated primarily for unmarried mothers and their babies. The Union insisted that "Maternity inmates must remain and nurse their infants until they are nine months old, or until they obtain situations with their infants which the Board shall approve." Other similar institutions were more lenient. Some of the inmates were much opposed to this infringement on their personal liberty; others entered the Refuge in the face of opposition from parents, who wished the babies to be adopted as soon as possible after their birth.³³

The WCU women viewed their Refuge as providing an opportunity to redeem "fallen" women during the period of the awakening of mother love, a chance for these women to learn good housekeeping skills, to become practising Christians and, for the "foreigners," a chance to learn English and to become Canadianized. The Union rejoiced when it was successful in finding the "inmates" jobs in "good" homes, where they were able to keep their babies. Some of the women eventually married Christian husbands and established homes with the values the Union tried hard to inculcate.

Such successes, it is obvious from the reports, represented the apex of achievement to the WCU.

Members of the Union make it clear that their system was not intended as a punishment but rather as a redemptive measure. When questioned as to why they made a woman "suffer this long captivity" when the man, "her fellow-sinner," went free, they pointed out that since he was not exposed to the spiritual appeal and wonder of his own child, his sin "carries in itself no redemptive power."³⁴ Turn of the century women were well aware of the unfairness of the inequalities in the position of women and men in society. Of the problems of unmarried mothers, Marion Bryce said:

I am aware of all the difficult problems connected with these cases of early unwedded motherhood. Such cases need help, and we are here to help them as best we can. With God's favor we shall try to smooth their path in the coming year, for we fear our country has not yet arrived at that condition of pure living in which such cases will be unknown.³⁵

An important pioneer in so many fields of social work, the WCU turned to the care of the aged in 1907 with the knowledge that others were providing for society's needs in areas in which they had shown the way. At the suggestion of the Hospital Board, they had thankfully passed the supervision of their Maternity Hospital to the General Hospital in 1887. The Children's Home, opened initially to care for some of the babies born in the Maternity Hospital, was managed by a separate committee appointed from the members of the WCU. On its incorporation in 1897, it became a completely independent institution. By 1905, increasing numbers of unmarried mothers were choosing to go to newer institutions with less stringent rules than the WCU Refuge. After its closure, the building in which it had been operated was rented to the WHAS for a Convalescent Home.

It was not surprising that the WCU then turned its energies to care for the aged. In its various institutions, shelter had already been given to a number of old women. The need was great, the Union was experienced in the management of residential institutions and, possibly, the age of the members was particularly suited to philanthropic work among the older citizens in the community.³⁶ The projected Home for Aged People was to house men as well as women and originally it was to have had an Advisory Board of seven men to help prepare the home for occupation. After a meeting at City Hall, however, it was decided to leave the matter entirely in the capable hands of the WCU.³⁷ Women were now to be responsible in a public sphere for the care of both women and men. This Home became the long-term contribution of the WCU to its community and, in different buildings, is now the Middlechurch Home of Winnipeg.

The WCU has been discussed at length since its members had a considerable influence on the LCWW. The Union was a member of the Council throughout the period 1894-1920 and its representatives attended and took part in Council proceedings regularly. Its long-time President, Marion Bryce, was also the third President of the Council, serving with competence and energy from 1899 to 1906.³⁸ In the conduct of its operations, the WCU gave evidence of an assurance that its values, essentially those of middle-class women of Anglo-Saxon origin of the period, were of equal importance in society as those of men. Its members used the Union and the LCWW as arenas for propagating these values and as they became involved in the work of the Council and exchanged ideas with an expanding variety of women, these values acquired an increasingly feminist flavor.

In some respects, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) contained women with a similar ideology to those in the WCU. Both groups operated from a

firm base of Christianity, both groups placed a central emphasis on the home, both groups were organized independently of any male-dominated institution and neither group confined its activities to a single type of social work. The WCTU had adopted the slogan, "Do Everything", suggested by its influential and energetic second President, Francis Willard. There were few social questions that the WCTU was not prepared to tackle, since it came to believe that drunkenness was both the cause and result of social problems. However, as its name indicates, originally, it had been formed in the United States to address the problem of intemperance, a problem that was widespread in late nineteenth-century society and was perceived to be particularly prevalent in the rapidly growing urban areas of the period peopled with recently arrived immigrants. Women perceived intemperance as threatening their homes with violence and poverty. To gain their ends, the leaders of the WCTU became convinced that women needed the power of the vote to ensure that temperance measures would be passed.³⁹ The temperance women became powerful allies for the woman suffrage movement in the United States and in Canada. Individual members of the WCU may have supported both temperance and woman suffrage but the Women's Christian Union used its energies and resources for other purposes.

Canadian branches of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union owed their origin to the woman's crusade in the United States against saloons and the retail sale of liquor. This crusade began in Hillsboro, Ohio with columns of praying and singing women entering saloons, drug stores and any establishments where liquor was sold to plead with the owners to stop selling liquor and to sign the pledge. Early spectacular, and often purely temporary, successes resulted in liquor being poured down drains and saloons closing. Using Francis Willard's metaphor, the crusade spread like a "prairie fire" throughout the Midwest and parts of the East of the United States in the winter of 1873-74, culminating in the formation of the WCTU in the

United States in 1874. Historian Ruth Bordin in Woman and Temperance suggests that large numbers of women activists in the crusade became suddenly aware of the potential for power contained in a mass movement of women, a situation that was to encourage feminist activism.⁴⁰ By 1890, the WCTU was the largest women's organization in the United States with 150,000 dues-paying members, 28,000 young women in the Young Women's Christian Temperance Union and 135,000 children in the affiliated Loyal Temperance Legions.⁴¹

Quick to realize the possibilities of the new temperance organization, Canadian women formed their first local WCTU in Ontario in 1874 and the Dominion Union in 1883. By 1900, the Canadian membership of the WCTU was approximately 10,000.⁴² It was the first international women's organization to become established in Canada, as well as in the world, and the first women's organization to divide its work into specialized departments.⁴³ Letitia Youmans, the Dominion President of the WCTU, visited Winnipeg in 1883, the same year in which both the Women's Hospital Aid Society and the Woman's Christian Union had been founded. Youmans was cordially received by a group of women already interested in temperance work and, helped by her, the local women set up the first WCTU in Manitoba.⁴⁴ Eight years later, in 1891, Manitoba had twenty-three branches of the WCTU.

The Dominion WCTU did not affiliate with the National Council of Women of Canada until 1921. Strong-Boag comments that the "hard-line and rigorously Protestant WCTU" had little in common with the "moderate and interdenominational NCWC" in the 1890s and the years before the war. Indeed, the NCWC's decision not to open meetings with the audible repetition of the Lord's Prayer appears to have been a major factor in the WCTU's non-affiliation.⁴⁵ At the time the NCWC was formed, the WCTU already had a nation-wide network of affiliated local branches and was a

member of an important international body. Probably, it saw no particular advantage in joining the NCWC and may even have regarded it as a rival.

However, in Winnipeg, the situation was different and three of the Winnipeg WCTU branches joined the LCWW as charter members in 1894. The WCTU continued to be represented on the Local Council throughout the period of this study, its delegates regularly attending and taking part in meetings.⁴⁶ Neither the LCWW nor these Winnipeg branches of the WCTU felt any compulsion to adhere to the policy of a faraway Eastern national headquarters, when that policy did not promote local interests. In Winnipeg, local cooperation between women to solve the problems of a rapidly growing urban population was deemed essential.

The WCTU brought to the Local Council a wealth of experience in organization and political activism. Although the LCWW left the controversial issue of prohibition to the groups formed especially to deal with these matters, it could benefit from the WCTU's considerable interventionist experience. During 1890 and 1891, the WCTU had collected signatures on prohibition petitions in the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, the churches from which the majority of its members came.⁴⁷ It also presented a petition to the Legislature to raise the lawful age at which cigarettes and tobacco could be sold to a minor from fourteen to sixteen years of age. In addition, at this time, the WCTU was pressing for the extension of the School Board franchise to women and for their eligibility for election as trustees. In 1893, it had presented a petition to the Legislature with some 5000 signatures asking for woman suffrage, a petition that was rejected.⁴⁸ The same year, it had assisted in the organization of a Woman's Mock Parliament, for purposes of publicity and fund-raising.⁴⁹

Women's groups organized by the WCTU reacted quickly in 1906, when the Conservatives, pressured by liquor interests in Carman, Manitoba, rescinded the right of married women who held property to vote in municipal elections. An Act of 1887 had given this right to all women.⁵⁰ In an area where the WCTU was active, publicans were afraid that women voters would adversely influence the renewal of their licences. In 1907, the province-wide strength of the reaction against the new measure persuaded Government to restore the right of all women property owners to vote.⁵¹ The WCTU's vigilance averted a worsening of the imbalance of power between the genders.

The WCTU's concern was focused on the protection of the home and society from the evils of over-indulgence in strong drink. Their activist behavior arising out of this concern was feminist. The 1907 victory drew attention to the potential power of women uniting to achieve goals that were particularly important to their gender. Although women already had many solid achievements behind them, this victory was a success in the world of politics and especially noteworthy. Nellie McClung, Manitoba author and suffragist, gained her early speaking experience at WCTU meetings and was encouraged by her mother-in-law, a prominent and enthusiastic WCTU worker and Methodist minister's wife, to take an active role in the woman movement. McClung, with her best-selling books, her lively speeches and scathing, though effective and often funny replies to hecklers, was the best-known feminist among the women whose efforts in the second decade of the twentieth century transformed women's political status in the province.⁵²

The WCTU's feminism was often masked by the philanthropic and religious nature of much of its wide-ranging social work. The Union provided weekly services in jails, conducted Bible study and prayer meetings at police stations for women

prisoners, gave temperance instruction in Sunday Schools and persuaded many girls and boys to sign the pledge. It presented scientific instructional material to teachers' conventions, resulting in a resolution from the teachers to the Department of Education regarding the introduction of compulsory temperance instruction in public schools. In the WCTU they pioneered Daily Vacation Bible Schools.⁵³ The Door of Hope was opened in 1897 at 468 Bannatyne Avenue, an institution for "the reformation of the inebriate women" who were frequently brought before the police courts. A board of interested women managed it and a trained matron was appointed from New York.⁵⁴

Monthly afternoon socials were inaugurated by the WCTU's in Manitoba in 1891 at which parliamentary drills or short papers were followed by refreshments. These socials were designed to educate and integrate new members, who had complained of a lack of sociability in the Union. Talking about the composition of the membership of the WCTU at the annual meeting in 1891, the WCTU Provincial President said that although the Union contained some very wealthy and some very poor women, "The greater part are busy women in moderate circumstances" with "no time to kill and little left over from attending to their own homes."⁵⁵ It was these busy women in moderate circumstances whose efforts helped to achieve success in prohibition and woman suffrage in 1916. Appendix C, listing the socio-economic situation of nearly 200 LCWW members, suggests that this organization also contained some very wealthy women and a majority of women who were comfortably placed, but there was no evidence of very poor women in the Local Council.

Whereas the WCTU had involved women in a struggle to change existing liquor and electoral laws in order to protect the home, the Winnipeg Free Kindergarten Association, founded in April, 1892, tackled problems of the home by focusing on

rescuing needy children from what they saw as a dangerous and unwholesome environment. Local circumstances prompted the establishment of both the WCTU and the Free Kindergarten Association, but in each case the organizations relied heavily on inspiration and expertise from the United States. While Youmans was galvanised into action by attending the inauguration of the American WCTU in 1873, Martha S. Colby, sister-in-law to Sir James Aikins, Manitoba Lieutenant-Governor from 1916 to 1926, returned from kindergarten training in Chicago determined to set up free kindergarten work in Winnipeg. Enlisting the help of several influential women to approach a number of Churches in the matter, she discovered that the Churches had other priorities. Colby and other women who were concerned that the children of working mothers were receiving inadequate care, therefore, decided to form their own organization.⁵⁶ The alacrity with which groups of women grasped opportunities for independent work suggests that they were eager for community involvement.

The Free Kindergarten Association was founded in 1892 “to care for children too young to attend the primary grades in the Public Schools”, both of whose parents were working to provide the family living. The Constitution states the object of the Association:

To establish and maintain Free Kindergartens in the city to further the good work among needy and neglected children; Such Free Kindergartens are able to keep little children off the public streets, to bend their families in the right direction, to teach them the first principles of right living, namely good manners, habits of cleanliness and industry and to train them to exercise their powers of choice wisely.⁵⁷

The schools were operated on the principles of Friedrich Froebel, the German educator and founder of the kindergarten system. Froebel stressed the importance of “pleasant surroundings, self-activity and physical training in child development”. In

the Froebel system, young children learned in a less formal environment than that usually found in public schools and their instincts for creative play were harnessed to develop cooperation and application.⁵⁸ The Free Kindergarten Association believed that if Froebel educational principles were incorporated into the first seven years of children's lives, poverty and crime would be reduced in any community.⁵⁹ The older girls were provided with toy kitchen utensils and taught housewifery skills, with an emphasis on neatness, cleanliness and thoroughness.

Sustaining members were to pay \$3 per annum and life members, \$25. The Board of Managers was elected at the Annual Meeting and was to consist of not more than forty-eight members. The structure of the Association seems to be very similar to that of the WCTU with its slate of officers, Executive and Standing Committees. Martha Colby became the Secretary. In contrast to the WCTU, in which there was no official male presence, the Free Kindergarten Association had an annually elected Advisory Board of "six gentlemen". The Advisory Board, as in the case of the one set up for the Convalescent Home run by the Women's Hospital Aid Society, was a means of interesting men in the work, who would then, hopefully, become regular benefactors.⁶⁰

Suitable rooms were obtained on Logan Avenue for the kindergarten, a trained "kindergartener," Jean Fleming, was appointed Directress and canvassing was carried out in the neighbourhood, which contained "foreigners" and "very poor English-speaking people". To combat misconceptions regarding the nature of kindergartens, Martha Colby gave a practical demonstration with her own private kindergarten class to inform mothers of prospective students and interested visitors.⁶¹ The Board of Management moved fast and the school was opened in the Fall of 1892 with an enrolment of five children, "Swedes, Scotch, English and German" between the ages

of three and eight years of age. A few months later, there were forty-seven children enrolled. As the enrolment rose, a larger building was occupied at 295 Ellen Street. In 1920, the Ellen Street school had 280 names on the roll necessitating two daytime sessions of the kindergarten. A second school was operating with 65 students.

Each school had one paid teacher with a directress certificate. Her assistants were teachers-in-training; they received professional instruction and took an examination set by the Manitoba Department of Education for a First Year Kindergarten Certificate. The first kindergarten teachers graduated in Winnipeg in 1900. Up to that date, qualified staff had come from the United States or Ontario.⁶² From the outset, the Kindergarten Association insisted on professional standards. Its first secretary, Martha Colby, was a trained kindergarten teacher. In its first year of operation, samples of the students' work were displayed at the Chicago World Fair.⁶³ Links with the United States were evidently close.

The Free Kindergarten Association's work developed over the years into a wide range of religious and social work. An afternoon mothers' meeting taught dressmaking and a sewing machine was available for the women to use to make their children's clothes. For girls of fourteen to sixteen years of age, there was an evening club and a Methodist deaconess, Harriet F. Ormond, ran a Sunday School. The deaconess also assisted the kindergarten by supervising the clothing of the children, supplying needed items from the school store, accompanying the students to and from school when necessary, and visiting their homes, reporting cases requiring urgent attention to the Associated Charities and the Margaret Scott Mission.⁶⁴ The deaconess, therefore, functioned as an early liaison agent between various social agencies.

The wide scope of the Kindergarten Association prompted a name change in 1915 to the Kindergarten Settlement Association of Winnipeg and the formation of the Young Ladies' Auxiliary to help the deaconess in such work as the Girls' Club. The Auxiliary also financed sending about 100 children and a few mothers to camp at Gimli. Like so many of the women's organizations, the Kindergarten Association spawned other groups to undertake specific areas of work and to ensure continuity in the next generation.⁶⁵ By 1919, besides the Association's own schools, five other organizations, one of which was the All Peoples' Mission, were operating kindergartens and an effort was being made to induce the School Board to take over the schools, an effort that was to be successful.

The philosophy of the women workers is clearly set out in the kindergarten records. With the rapid growth of the city, they realized the need for a corresponding growth in its institutions "to prevent ignorance, idleness, vice and to keep our city free from slums. Much of the association's work is among foreigners, and it is only by teaching the children . . . the fundamentals of right-living that we shall make of them good Canadian citizens." They were concerned to keep the children off the street, an urgent problem when both parents worked, and to instil in them a love for learning.⁶⁶ The Free Kindergarten Association was convinced that young children who were educated in the Froebel system would benefit themselves and would grow up to establish an improved society. There was compassion for helpless and sometimes neglected children and there was also a strong desire to Christianize and Canadianize. The Association was a member of the LCWW for much of the period of this study, its members attended meetings and presented reports regularly. From evidence in the LCWW Minutes, there is little doubt that their philosophy was shared with many other women of the Council.

Unlike the Free Kindergarten Association, whose efforts were focused on city problems, the Aberdeen Association, founded in Winnipeg in November 1890, directed its attention to rural areas. It was primarily a cultural organization but, like the Kindergarten Association, it served the purpose of disseminating both religious and mainstream Canadian ideology. The Association was often known by the title of its report for 1898, "The Mission of the Old Magazine," a phrase that aptly describes the organization's objective, "the distribution of good literature to settlers in isolated parts in Canada."⁶⁷

During a trip taken through Canada by Lord and Lady Aberdeen in 1890, three years before Lord Aberdeen was appointed Governor-General, Ishbel Aberdeen's sympathy had been aroused by the poverty and isolation of the settlers on the Prairies, the starkness of the homesteads and the deprivation caused by the lack of reading materials, especially for those who had been accustomed to read. On arriving in Winnipeg in October 1890, she asked to meet some of the local women, who gathered in Knox Presbyterian Church to hear the Countess's first address to the women in that city. When the LCWW was formed four years later, Aberdeen was to become well-known to the women of the Council.

Ishbel Aberdeen urged the women "to do something to brighten the lives of these poor people" and one of her suggestions was the distribution of "instructive and entertaining literature." A month later, a group of women met to discuss Aberdeen's ideas and decided that the only feasible "branch of the work they could undertake was the sending of literature." Officers were appointed, amongst whom was Madame Gautier, a Roman Catholic and a member of St. Mary's Ladies Aid, an indication that the Association was intended to be non-sectarian.

Acting with efficiency and expedition, exactly a month after the inauguration of the Mission of the Old Magazine, on January 12, 1891, eighty-two parcels of reading material were despatched.⁶⁸ The literature included religious periodicals of all denominations sent to the clergy stationed in the Northwest for distribution, current agricultural, scientific and technical journals, up-to-date "fashionable" magazines, "good magazines of any date, in good condition," children's books and Christmas pictures, standard works in history, biography, travel and fiction, "all good books," and literature in French, German, Scandinavian languages and Gaelic. In 1897, Queen Victoria's Jubilee year, packets of seeds from the Experimental Farm in Ottawa were included with the literature so that the settlers' homes would be beautified by the planting of trees and flowering plants. A portrait of Queen Victoria sent through the Association hung on the walls of many prairie homes.⁶⁹

The energetic Lady Aberdeen arranged for crates of literature to be shipped to the Association from England, since the women could not keep up with the demand in the West. In 1896, a National Aberdeen Association was formed. In Winnipeg, the women met monthly each year from October to June to wrap the literature, sending out 300 parcels a month at the peak of the Association's activities.⁷⁰ In a rare glimpse of humour in Marion Bryce's paper to the Historical Society in 1899, she reports that on consulting readers about their literary preferences, members of the Winnipeg Association were "startled" by a young girl's reply that her family preferred "sensational stories of the Jesse James type."⁷¹

Settlers deluged the Association with requests for literature in 1905 after the Association had ceased to operate for a while, following the reduction of postal privileges granted by the Dominion Government. Writers from isolated areas were eager for literature but could not afford to buy magazines. In spite of financial

difficulties, the Mission of the Old Magazine continued to supply a cultural need in the West for a while.⁷²

Another cultural organization that joined the Council in the 1890s was the Women's Art Association of Canada, the Winnipeg Branch of which was founded in 1890. Its stated goal was "to promote a more general interest in original art in Canada." To do this, local branches were encouraged to promote "mutual help and cooperation of women who are either artists or lovers of Art," organize art exhibitions, lectures, classes and studios for members, who were to be persuaded to contribute their own work to any exhibitions they held. The membership was divided into professional members, who were artists and serious students, and honorary members, women who were interested in the promotion of art.⁷³ Clearly, the artists and students were the premium members.

This was the only early affiliate of the Council whose activities were unashamedly designed to promote the interests of its own members. The objects of the Association made it plain that a more general interest in original art in Canada was to be achieved through the encouragement of women artists and serious art students to work and learn together. Exhibitions were to be held for both the work of local contributors and also that of artists from all parts of Canada. The exhibitions would, hopefully, develop an interest in original art in the general community and would provide a market for the work of Canadian artists.

The Winnipeg Branch was one of the first to be established and was active for a few years. It was in abeyance from 1897 until 1904, when it was reorganized by Mrs. Mary Ella Dignam, President of the Women's Art Association of Canada, who brought a collection of foreign paintings to Winnipeg, a visit that had been arranged

under the auspices of the LCWW.⁷⁴ Its members attended Local Council meetings and took part in the Council's work until 1917. It is possible that the war may have interfered with its functioning at this time. In 1912, Mrs. Alan Ewart, President of the Association read a "delightful" paper on "The Value of a public art gallery." In view of Ewart's interest in the beautification of Winnipeg, the LCWW elected her to serve as their representative to the Garden Club.⁷⁵ There is evidence here of mutual appreciation and cooperation between the Local Council and the Art Association, the former welcoming the promotion of culture in the community and the latter using the Council to publicize its interests.

In 1895, the year in which the Art Association joined the Council, the Association appears to have been very active. From February 5 to 7, it held its first Annual Exhibition and charged 25 cents for admission. Out of thirty-seven exhibitors, only five came from Winnipeg. The majority were from other parts of Canada, with one each from England and France. The Winnipeg artists contributed mostly oils with a few pen and ink sketches, a mixture of still life, landscapes and flower studies. Mrs. A. Sutherland of Henry Avenue titled two of her paintings, "The Placid Waters" and "Study of Lilacs". Mary Riter Hamilton, later to become a painter with an international reputation, exhibited a collection of china and indicated that orders could be left at the desk. Prices for all the exhibits were also at the desk.⁷⁶

At the second Annual Exhibition held in December 1895, Winnipeg exhibitors numbered nineteen out of a total of sixty-three. In this Exhibition there were fourteen china collections, all but one from Winnipeg, a result of classes held by Hamilton. Unlike many of the affiliates of the Council, a considerable proportion of the members of the Art Association were young and unmarried, possibly because skill in

drawing and painting was considered a desirable accomplishment in young ladies of the period.⁷⁷

A Tribune reporter, who saw the second exhibition at a preview, commented that it was of a higher standard than that at the first exhibition.⁷⁸ The Free Press art critic enthused about the intelligence and artistic taste displayed in the arrangement of the collection, the superior quality of the exhibits and the value of the Association "as a means of improvement" for its members. He thought the Exhibition stamped Winnipeg as "cultured", a city that already had a name for its love of beauty.⁷⁹ A third newspaper cutting, this time from the Nor'Wester, contained a comment on an impressionist painting, Mary Ella Dignam's "Last Days of Summer." The reporter, not wishing to appear old-fashioned, called it "captivating in spite of its peculiarities"! He described the china display as the finest seen in the Northwest and seemed surprised that the young ladies were capable of doing such "magnificent work."⁸⁰ For the duration of the Exhibition, women were making a considerable stir in a novel female public sphere. They were achieving self-fulfilment in a new way and promoting their own interests.

With this one exception, the goals of the sixteen organizations affiliated to the LCWW before the beginning of the twentieth century were primarily religious or philanthropic, and frequently a blend of both. They were involved in the enhancement of life in their community, and especially the lives of women and children; they did not act primarily in the interests of their own members. For the Women's Art Association, these priorities were reversed, although they did seek to enhance the cultural environment in their community. To the extent that the Art Association acted in its own interests, it resembled male professional organizations.⁸¹

A hundred years later, questions can be raised as to whether what these late-nineteenth century women actually did was always in the best interests of their community and the individuals whom they tried to help. Their view of the world differed vastly from that of Canadians of the last decade of the twentieth century and their solutions to community problems may sometimes seem outdated. It is clear, however, that these women's organizations undertook an astonishing amount and variety of work, dramatically improving social conditions in Winnipeg. In doing so, they created an ever-expanding public sphere for women; and individual women acquired both new skills and a new vision of wider possibilities for their gender.

In the following section, which deals with women's organizations that affiliated with the Local Council in the first two decades of the twentieth century, it will be apparent that a growing number of the new groups joining the LCWW acted primarily in the interests of their own members.

2.2: TWENTIETH CENTURY ORGANIZATIONS, 1900-1920

'MODERN' INFLUENCES

Between 1900 and 1920, seventy-eight new organizations were affiliated to the LCWW, some for long periods of time and others for shorter periods.⁸² Of these new organizations, although many had goals very similar to those of the late nineteenth century affiliates, an increasing number of the twentieth century groups had very different goals. Ten of these 'modern' organizations will be discussed. They fall into six categories: mutual help, professional, rural, health, political and patriotic. It is not proposed to comment in this section on groups affiliating with the Council from 1900 onwards, whose goals and activities were similar to organizations already examined, for example church societies and health auxiliaries.

It is perhaps noteworthy that whereas only five of the sixteen affiliates of the Council before 1900 had primarily secular goals, of the seventy-eight groups that affiliated after the turn of the century, forty-seven had primarily secular goals. Religious objectives seem to have been paramount in six of the affiliates before the turn of the century and in twenty-four of those joining later. Goals for five of the organizations in the early period and for seven who joined in the first two decades of the new century appear to have been fairly evenly balanced between religious and secular objectives. These figures illustrate the trend towards secularization of that part of the women's club movement in Winnipeg encompassed by the Local Council. Whereas only approximately one-third of the organizations that joined the LCWW in the nineteenth century had mainly secular goals, this proportion increased to three-fifths⁸³ for those joining in the early part of the twentieth century.

One of the earliest of the groups with secular goals to join the Local Council in the twentieth century was the Ladies of the Maccabees. It was one of a number of women's mutual help societies formed towards the end of the nineteenth century for the benefit of working women. The goals of these organizations included charitable support for members who were in difficult situations and the provision of minimum security for economically vulnerable workers. The Ladies of the Maccabees offered its members health and life insurance. It was the only fraternal life insurance company both operated and controlled by women and it claimed to be the largest female benefit society in the world. Affiliated to the NCWC from 1901 to 1917, Strong-Boag notes that their reports to the National Council provided them with publicity for the services they offered and probably little else.⁸⁴

The Ladies were members of the Council in Winnipeg for two years only, 1904 and 1905, sending three delegates to the annual meeting in both years. Since there were

few working women among the members of the Council, it is probable that they came to the conclusion that their affiliation provided little publicity value for their society and that there was a dearth of common interests. However, the Council did contain a few professional working women and one of these, Dr. Mary Crawford, represented both the Humane Society and the Ladies of the Maccabees at the Council's 1905 annual meeting. Presented by Miss Searle, the society's organizer, the Ladies' 1904 report to Council indicated that from an initial membership of nine, it had risen to its current level of sixty-one in a single year. Explaining their philosophy, she told the Council that "Fraternally, they try to do their duty," providing "charity to all and malice to none, not saving kindness until a sister is gone." Their motto was "The Beehive filled with busy bees."⁸⁵

The Ladies of the Maccabees, an organization run by women for women with the goal of improving the situation of its own members, was feminist in intent. Had the Council managed to make common cause with these women, they could perhaps have used the Ladies to bridge the gap between their middle-class members and working women generally. It appears to have been a lost opportunity.

Only three years after the Ladies withdrew, another group of women workers joined the Local Council, the Winnipeg branch of the Canadian Women's Press Club (CWPC). This too was an organization run by women for women but it was concerned mostly with its members' professional lives rather than their economic situation.⁸⁶ The Winnipeg branch was an energetic and important part of the CWPC, as evidenced by the fact that in 1906 to 1909, some of the Club's formative years, its national executive operated out of Winnipeg.⁸⁷ On joining the LCWW, one of the Press Club delegates said that the Club had been formed to promote a bond of fellowship among writers for papers and magazines.⁸⁸

Originally, membership required a salaried or free-lance connection with a newspaper or magazine. In 1910, the national organization recommended more stringent requirements but the Winnipeg women rejected the suggestion on the grounds that it would exclude valuable members, recommending instead that membership be expanded to any woman who was the author of a published book. Nellie McClung, author of Sowing Seeds in Danny, had been their guest in February 1910. She was not a regular contributor to the press but would obviously make a splendid club member, had she lived in the city. Within fifteen months McClung had moved to Winnipeg, joined the Club, become friendly with the local women journalists and was elected president of the branch a few months later.⁸⁹

The CWPC was founded on a trip for sixteen presswomen arranged by George Ham, the Canadian Pacific Railway's (CPR) director of publicity to the 1904 St. Louis World Fair. Margaret Graham of the Montreal Star had persuaded him that women of the press should receive the same privileges as their male counterparts, who had just returned from a free escorted tour to the Fair. Ham obliged with free rail passes and personally escorted the group to St. Louis. It was his suggestion that, since women were barred from the Canadian Press Club, they form their own club. On the return journey, somewhere between Niagara and Windsor, thirteen women took his advice and then insisted on his becoming an honorary member and patron of the new club.⁹⁰

The Winnipeg CWPC was founded two years later following an annual meeting of the national club held in Winnipeg. Cora Hind became the first President and Lillian Beynon the first Secretary. Both these women were prominent feminists and suffragists.

The CWPC's aims included the advancement of the interests of women in journalism and the encouragement of high standards of writing in newspapers and magazines. Local branches entertained visiting women who were making their mark in Canada and elsewhere in the world and also fellow writers and journalists. In turn, they were entertained both by visiting and local dignitaries.⁹¹ Contrasting with the serious and businesslike tone of the Minutes of most of the early women's organizations, those of the Winnipeg CWPC sometimes bubble with laughter. For example, Miss Nan Moulton, the Secretary, presented a rather scrappy annual report on October 22, 1909, compiled only an hour or two before the meeting after a frantic search for the notes she had taken on "bits of paper" and envelopes "tucked into the backs of books" and "crevices of drawers." The meeting obviously received the account of her predicament, probably exaggerated to make a good story, with amused tolerance, though the President did suggest that the Club ought to buy a Minute book to ease the secretarial burden.⁹²

Susan Jackel relates the story of a light-hearted CWPC junket to Banff, arranged by George Ham at the CPR's expense, following three days of meetings at the annual conference in Winnipeg. Two private railway coaches were provided for the return excursion to The Rockies. "En route they composed copy for a four-page tabloid entitled 'The Sunset Echo,' named after a Pullman car, . . . Its irreverent jibes and jingles convey the distinct impression of high-spirited women kicking over the traces of work and family in comradely and mildly wicked fun."⁹³ George Ham had provided the women with the same travelling facilities that were regularly accorded to male journalists in the boom years of western settlement. But, as always, the women worked hard and the CPR was rewarded by the production of a prodigious amount of material about the Canadian West.⁹⁴

Many of the Club members wrote articles designed to transform women's underprivileged position in society into a more equal one, often using the woman's page of a newspaper or periodical as a starting point for their political messages. Lillian Beynon Thomas, wife of radical Free Press journalist Vernon Thomas, was editor of the woman's page, "Home Loving Hearts," in the Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer. From her first weeks on this paper, she sandwiched a liberal amount of feminist and suffragist advocacy and news between the usual offerings of articles on health and child care, household tips, dressmaking and local and international news.⁹⁵ Her sister, Francis Beynon, used her position on the Grain Growers' Guide similarly.⁹⁶ Numerous other Club members were using their jobs for the same purpose.

In addition to individual feminist efforts of its members, the CWPC became involved in politics. For example, it invited Agnes Murphy and Aimee Moore, who were associated with the English suffrage movement, to speak at a meeting in Winnipeg in 1910. A year later, it joined with the University Women's Club in support of the drive to obtain the right for women to take up homesteads, a campaign then at its height led by CWPC members Isabel Graham and Lillian Beynon.⁹⁷ The same year, Lillian Beynon enlisted the Local Council's support for a delegation the Club was arranging to interview Government on a Dower Law. Jessie McEwen, the Manitoba Provincial Vice-President, spoke strongly in favour of sending a large representation and a committee was appointed to select Council delegates.⁹⁸

By 1912, many of its prominent members were also members of the newly formed Political Equality League (PEL). Included among these were Nellie McClung, Cora Hind, Kenneth Haig, Lillian Beynon Thomas, Francis Marion Beynon and Ethel Osborne.⁹⁹ It is clear from the Minutes of the PEL and passages in Nellie McClung,

The Stream Runs Fast, that the successful Women's Mock Parliament of January 1914, designed to publicize and ridicule the unjust and illogical arguments of male politicians opposed to woman suffrage, was organized by the PEL with the support of the CWPC. A large number of Press Club members took part in the uproarious production in the Walker Theatre, the star performer being Nellie McClung, a member of both clubs.¹⁰⁰

The CWPC was composed of professional women, exuberant, hard-working and feminist, many of them young. A list of paid-up members for the year 1910-11 reveals that out of twenty-seven women, at least eleven were single.¹⁰¹ LCWW records indicate that the Club's affiliation continued until 1916.¹⁰² The difference in outlook and general approach to life of CWPC members may have taken some of the long-time Council members aback but there is evidence of mutual interests. The maximum of four delegates attended the annual meeting in the first year of the Club's affiliation, a representation that was subsequently reduced to one or two,¹⁰³ possibly suggesting decreased expectations from the the association. On the other hand, club members, like many other women, may have been unusually busy during the war.

A rather different professional organization was the Manitoba Home Economics Association (MHEA), founded in Winnipeg in January 1911. Nine women were present at its inaugural meeting, all of them single. Annie B. Jupiter, Professor of Household Science at the Manitoba Agricultural College was elected President, it was agreed to hold regular quarterly meetings and the annual subscription was fixed at 75 cents. Members were trained home economists, a new profession that was joining teaching and nursing as a favoured occupation for women.¹⁰⁴ The Association drew its members from the staff of the Agricultural College, local schools and hospitals. When the MHEA accepted the LCWW's invitation to become affiliated with it in

1914, at least some of the members of the Local Council would have remembered the negotiations that had taken place twelve years earlier to establish the Winnipeg School of Household Science in 1902. This is discussed in Chapter 3 dealing with the work of the LCWW.

As early as 1893, a Canadian field secretary had been appointed by the American Household Economics Association. Until 1939, there was no national Home Economics Association in Canada. An American model was, therefore, used by Canadian home economists. Lines of communication were established between the Americans and the Canadians. Nevertheless, in 1914, the Winnipeg group decided not to affiliate with the American Home Economics Association.¹⁰⁵ A number of local groups of professional home economists formed their own associations in Canada and, like the Winnipeg group, joined their Local Women's Councils.¹⁰⁶

The need to establish and maintain professional standards must have prompted the formation of the Association. The home economists would be aware that nurses had been working on similar lines to obtain increasing professional recognition through two nursing organizations set up in the first few years of the century, both of which affiliated with the LCWW. The support given by the Local Council to these nurses' organizations is discussed in Chapter 3.¹⁰⁷ In addition to the professional organizations of presswomen, home economists and nurses, by 1915 groups of teachers and social workers had affiliated with the LCWW.

Active members of the MHEA had to hold the equivalent of the Junior Matriculation Certificate, have had one year's full-time training in Household Science and one year's experience as a practitioner in some branch of Household Science. Women who were qualified but were not working in the field could become honorary members and those

who had not yet worked for a year were associate members. The intention was to create an elite professional body.¹⁰⁸

Their aims encompassed a wide variety of goals and activities which included professional enhancement and mutual help, the promotion of informed consumerism and lobbying for a government experimental station to test textiles, food and "all things connected with the home." They were to keep in touch with the American Home Economics Association, all advances made in Household Science and, finally, manufacturers in order to suggest improvements in articles already on the market and indicate areas where current "wants" were not being supplied.¹⁰⁹ They seem to have perceived themselves as women with a mission, who would shortly revolutionize housewives' work and be instrumental in facilitating healthier, happier homes. Women's interests were to be advanced with the aid of modern technology and, where necessary, Government would be enlisted as an ally.

In 1910, the year before the formation of the MHEA, Annie Jupiter and Margaret Kennedy, professors on the staff of the Manitoba Agricultural College, had toured rural Manitoba and helped local women in seventeen communities to set up Home Economics Societies, all of which were affiliated with the Department of Agriculture.¹¹⁰ No doubt this flurry of organizing housewives' groups, undertaken as part of their professional duties, suggested the urgent necessity for the formation of the MHEA. It could act as a focal point for the housewives' societies; and it could keep professional practitioners up-to-date, sustain their enthusiasm and encourage their initiative.

Frequently, the MHEA meetings took the form of papers, often given by its own members, particularly those who were on the staff of the Manitoba College.

Sometimes two members presented papers on topics that were linked: "The Textile Industry of Canada" and "The Value of Textiles in the School Curriculum" on January 9, 1915 and "Pure Food Laws of Canada" and "Enforcement" two months later. Outside lecturers spoke on a variety of topics such as the assistance urban women could give rural women, industrial conditions and a report on a conference dealing with sex hygiene.

Edna Nash who, with Nellie McClung, had investigated factory conditions for the LCWW in 1911 and taken Premier Roblin on a visit to two factories in an effort to obtain some alleviation of the situation, spoke to members in March 1914 on the need for a woman inspector who would be "more attentive to detail than men . . . and more conscientious." She observed that since the majority of textile factory operatives were women, and often foreign-born, a female inspector "of the right sort" could act as a role model to improve the lifestyle of the factory women.¹¹¹

Sometimes members visited local businesses, a bakery or a dairy. Fearful of meat and candies exposed to "dust and impure air" in the stores, they made representations to the Chief of City Food and Dairy Inspection to urge that all foods offered for sale be kept under "some cover that will protect them from contamination." With a committee from the graduate nurses organizations, they discussed the possibility of organizing a class in Sanitary Science for graduates in Home Economics and graduate nurses. The Women's Civic League accepted their invitation to accompany them on a visit to a dairy, arranged by the City Food and Dairy Inspector.¹¹² Like many other women's groups, the MHEA was conscious of the advantages and strength gained through working with sister organizations.

Determined as these women were to use the MHEA for serious professional and community goals, they valued the opportunities it offered for social interaction. When meetings were held in members' homes, the hostess provided a "dainty tea". Local businesses visited would sometimes provide entertainment. In 1913, members enjoyed tea and a "pleasant social hour" at a Headingly Dairy and the Fort Garry Hotel provided a tea in January 1915.¹¹³

Self-confident and assertive, these women were pursuing their careers with enthusiasm and widening the public sphere in which it was becoming acceptable for women to operate. It is apparent that they were trying to transform their world into a better place in which to live, a world in which women's values would be given more consideration.

The Home Economics Societies, housewives' organizations, some of which actually pre-dated the MHEA, were convenient vehicles for channelling the ideas of the professional women of the MHEA. The seventeen Home Economics Societies set up by Jupiter and Kennedy in 1910 were not the first organizations of this type in Manitoba. Mrs. Finlay MacKenzie of Morris returned from a visit to her mother in Ontario in 1909 and started a group in her own town similar to the Women's Institutes she had seen in that Province. The inspiration for the Ontario Women's Institutes had come from Adelaide Hunter Hoodless, whose reaction to the loss of a child to "the summer complaint" had been to educate women to prevent other tragedies of this sort.¹¹⁴ Her efforts led to the establishment in 1897 of the first Women's Institute at Stoney Creek, Ontario. The goal was to unite and organize women to improve their homes and communities. Like the National Council of Women of Canada, founded four years previously, the Women's Institute was to be non-sectarian and non-partisan in order to include all women.¹¹⁵

On the homestead in the rural West, women were isolated from each other and from information concerning new developments in the areas of homemaking and family health care. Flies swarmed in rural kitchens, ice boxes were rare, erroneous assumptions about the "poisonous properties" of night "vapours" resulted in closed windows and open wells contributed to typhoid epidemics. Many families suffered losses from tuberculosis. The "summer complaint", an often fatal disease, was caused by drinking unsanitary milk.¹¹⁶

The Morris group sought and obtained the cooperation and support of the Manitoba government. Its approach to government was made at a time when the Department of Agriculture was giving consideration to the establishment of such organizations. When, early in 1910, the women of Valley River formed a similar association, the Department enlisted the help of Jupiter and Kennedy and the Home Economics Societies, as they were called in Manitoba until 1919, were officially launched. At the Annual Convention of Women's Institutes held in Winnipeg in 1919, the Manitoba organizations changed their name to Women's Institutes, the name used in Ontario and most of the other Provinces.

Hamiota Home Economics Society (HES) was one of the groups formed in 1910 with the assistance of Annie Jupiter, who addressed a meeting organized by local women in McConnell's Hall on December 16, 1910. Nineteen women attended, the HES was established and its officers elected. A year later, there were 41 members.¹¹⁷

Meetings were held monthly and run on structured lines, beginning with the repetition of the Lord's Prayer and ending with the singing of 'God Save the King'. The programs were similar to those of the MHEA with papers from members or lecturers from expert outside speakers. The subject matter of the papers and lectures, however,

was geared to the needs of housewives and mothers rather than professional home economists. The motto of the group, "For Home and Country" mirrors the emphasis of its activities. On March 14, 1911, for example, the papers presented were entitled "Artificial Feeding of Infants", "Cleaning a Room" and "Household Hygiene". A week or two before Christmas that year, the subject of one of the papers had a modern ring, "A Simplified Christmas". At the beginning of 1912, Dr. Hudson spoke on "The Prevention of Tuberculosis". A paper he gave a year later, "The Economic Value of the Child", leaves his message open to conjecture.¹¹⁸

A talk by one of the members on February 1911, "How to make a Woman's Institute a success", stressed the personal benefit women derived in learning to speak freely to each other within their society meetings, since few women felt comfortable in addressing a public meeting. Members who presented papers received positive feedback. A paper given on "Sterilizing Milk for Infant Feeding" and another on "Household Hygiene" which dealt with the benefits of the vacuum cleaner were pronounced "splendid". On other occasions, the papers were "excellent", "helpful" and "practical".¹¹⁹

In 1911, an overly optimistic paper was presented on the subject of global progress: China had awakened, India was being taught how to overcome famine, The Hague tribunal had replaced war, work was less laborious and more elevating, women were receiving higher education and health was improving through scientific medical discoveries. The theme was understandable in 1911 and reflected an awareness of Canada's being part of a world community, besides the faith engendered by the seemingly boundless opportunities of the opening up of the West. In part, it reflected the excitement of the professional home economists in the possibilities inherent in their discipline.¹²⁰

It is not difficult to discern some feminist motivation in the members of the housewives' clubs. In large numbers, women grasped the opportunity to meet and work together to become better homemakers. Although this was a focus on their traditional roles, the meetings soon became a starting point for advancing women's interests generally. For example, in September 1912, the Hamiota women began to study the law on property in Manitoba with special reference to a wife's position, and with other Home Economics Societies joined in the drive for a Dower Law, which is discussed in Chapter 3.

From 1915, when Hamiota HES joined the LCWW, its delegates attended Council meetings along with delegates from other Home Economics Societies and, with the single exception of the Winnipeg HES, all were rural groups. Their delegates would bring back news from Council of women's united efforts to improve conditions for women in Manitoba and in Canada and, in exchange, the Council would receive some input on rural problems. The Home Economics Societies provided an arena in which the seeds of feminism were sown and nurtured. Like other clubwomen, HES members learned self-reliance and organizational skills. They also expanded their intellectual horizons and learned to see themselves as a valuable part of a wider community.

Another sizeable group of organizations to join the Local Council were the health-oriented groups, many of which were very similar to the Women's Hospital Aid Society that affiliated in the pre-1900 period. In 1912, a society of a rather different kind affiliated to the Council. The Anti-Tuberculosis Society focused on one health issue only and it needed the direct assistance of the LCWW. As its name indicates, it was involved in the prevention of the spread of tuberculosis and its eradication. Its members were well-versed in the latest scientific knowledge on the subject and it

endeavoured to educate the public in matters of hygiene. Seeing the Council as a way to reach women in a large number of organizations, it sought LCWW support as a way to strengthen its message.

Edith Stafford, the Anti-Tuberculosis Society's President, asked for and received the Council's endorsement of a resolution passed by her Society that was to be placed before all women's organizations:

That this Society do all in its power to help and assist the licensed dairymen in this city of Winnipeg, who have their cattle tuberculine-tested by the city Health department, and whose premises score Good on the Dairy Card score. This Association and the affiliated women's clubs representing the housekeepers in Winnipeg, intend to advise women to visit their dairies where possible, and when they find conditions good, to report to the Committee who will then do all in their power to assist the dairyman, by recommending him to others.¹²¹

Members of Home Economics Societies were hearing lectures and learning about the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis at this time and some HES affiliated with the Anti-Tuberculosis Society as well as the LCWW. A widening and overlapping network of women's organizations was spreading the word about good health. At least eleven of the organizations affiliated to the Council were primarily oriented to the improvement of health in society and a great many more assisted in the attainment of this goal, a concern which had always been a priority for women and for the Council.¹²²

Health was traditionally partly women's responsibility whereas politics was regarded as the responsibility of men. Until 1914, organizations whose goals were explicitly political had not been members of the Local Council. In that year, the Provincial Political Equality League (PEL), formed in 1912 by a small group of activists convinced that women needed and were entitled to the vote, joined the Council.

Lillian Beynon Thomas, spurred by yet another refusal from Premier Roblin to listen to requests for laws to protect women, invited a number of friends to her home to discuss the situation. Out of this informal meeting, a few days later, came the foundation of the PEL. The official inaugural meeting was held at the home of Jane Hample, a Winnipeg philanthropist and real estate dealer.¹²³

Thomas was only one of several Winnipeg women writers, members of the CWPC, who had campaigned for legislation to improve women's situation in society and had become convinced that women needed the vote to achieve their goals. Nellie McClung, author of a best-selling novel and WCTU member, says in The Stream Runs Fast that it was at gatherings in the presswomen's club that "the seed germ of the suffrage association was planted."¹²⁴ The new wave of activism, however, was also the culmination of suffrage endeavour that reached back into the 1890s in Manitoba.

The PEL's objectives, as set out in its Constitution, were "to disseminate knowledge with regard to the legal status of women under present conditions" and "to stimulate public opinion by all lawful means to the point of demanding political equality for women." The membership was open to "Men and women who believe in the objects of the League and who desire to promote the same . . ." The Constitution specifically stated that non-violent tactics would be used to attain the League's goals.¹²⁵ Men and women were pledged to work together within the League to obtain the vote for women.

Chapter 3 on the activities of the LCWW discusses the Local Council's private attitude to and public stance on the fight for women's enfranchisement. Because of differing opinions as to the public stance that the Council should take on this issue, and the importance of not jeopardizing the outcome of its other goals, individual

members and some of its affiliates worked publicly for the vote while the LCWW itself played a muted role in the background. In 1914, the PEL joined the LCWW as an affiliated member and in 1915, Lillian Beynon Thomas became the Manitoba Provincial Vice-President. It is clear that the majority of members supported the PEL:

The intensity and character of the PEL's campaign was very similar to that currently organized by the American suffragist, Carrie Chapman Catt, in New York State. Catt joined the New York campaign in 1912, the year the PEL was formed. Manitoba, however, won the vote in 1916, a year before the New York victory.¹²⁶ An article in the Manitoba Free Press by Lillian Beynon Thomas described the hardships faced by rural women, some of whom walked miles to carry petitions for signature when their farm horses were needed for work in the busy season of the year. Both urban and rural women contributed to the campaign's successful outcome. As the League's campaign gathered momentum, a central executive was set up with local branches operating throughout the city and in rural areas.¹²⁷ News of the activities of city and rural branches appeared regularly in the newspapers.

The many activities of the PEL designed to educate both members of the public and local politicians included addresses to special interest groups, public lectures, distribution of literature, banners on street cars, booths at public exhibitions, articles in newspapers and magazines and the circulation and presentation of petitions. However, perhaps it was the rollicking fun of the Mock Parliament in 1914, with Nellie McClung's star performance, that did most to publicize the women's case for enfranchisement by ridiculing the irrationality of male politicians' objections to giving women the vote.¹²⁸

On January 27, 1916, the galleries of the Manitoba Legislature were packed with excited women who heard the Bill to Amend the Election Act receive its Third Reading.¹²⁹ PEL and LCWW members Lillian Beynon Thomas and Mary Crawford were among other members of the PEL Executive who had been invited to occupy chairs on the floor of the House. After the Bill was passed, Thomas immediately telephoned Nellie McClung in Edmonton with the news. The two women had formed an unbeatable team during the height of the struggle. The following day, January 28, the Bill received the Royal Assent and Manitoba became the first Province in Canada to grant its women the vote on equal terms with men and to give them the right to be elected to sit in the Legislature.¹³⁰

As part of its work in educating women in political consciousness, at a meeting in November 1913 organized by its Civic Committee, the PEL founded the Women's Civic League.¹³¹ In 1915, the Women's Civic League joined and received the support of the LCWW. The intention of the PEL was to obtain political power for women at the municipal as well as the provincial level. At the November inaugural meeting of the new League, one of its stated goals was the encouragement of women to run for civic office. Attendance at the meeting was "widely representative" and included members of many "influential" women's societies as well as interested individuals. An early League resolution was to ask the City Council when it intended to legislate for women's eligibility to serve on Council.¹³²

An animated discussion took place on a resolution, eventually passed 58-44, that the membership should consist of "women voters and women interested in civic affairs", the latter class being eligible to vote but not to hold office [in the League]. Harriet Dick is on record as being strongly against any discrimination in the membership. She thought the League might lose "many of its best workers" since women who were

very interested in civic affairs did not necessarily have the vote. The suggestion was made that a two-level membership discriminated between the rich and the poor. Lillian Beynon Thomas and her sister, Francis, both favoured the two-level membership, Francis adding that "Such women as join only for office are better out of an organization."¹³³

The newly elected President, Anne Perry, asking for members' support, indicated she was daunted by the volume of work that faced the League in Winnipeg and outlined reforms that a Toronto league was pursuing. At a meeting at the end of November, the League Platform was drawn up. It included an immediate investigation into a milk combine, establishment of adequately supervised lavatories in downtown districts, amendment of the spitting by-law, appointment of women to the moving picture board and support for and extension of the use of public schools as social centres.¹³⁴

By 1917, the Women's Civic League was making progress. Early in that year, a deputation to City Hall requested the right for women to hold any civic office to which the electorate "may see fit to appoint them." The League pointed out that it had the support of the LCWW, the Political Education League--the word 'Education' had been substituted for 'Equality' in 1916 when the vote was won--and other women's organizations, most of the men at City Hall and "a big body of public opinion." Two months later, the Law Amendments Committee of the Legislature voted unanimously to amend the law to enable women to run for the positions of mayor, controllers and aldermen.¹³⁵

A small group of organizations joined the LCWW with goals that were primarily patriotic. Of these, the largest was the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire

(IODE). Its objectives were to "promote loyalty to King and Country and to forward every good work for the betterment of their country and people." Its goals were in some respects reminiscent of those of the Council, which was pledged to work for the "greatest good of the Family and the State." It is, however, significant that there is a different emphasis in the two organizations' goals, as set out in their constitutions. Whereas the IODE prioritized the promotion of loyalty to King and Country and then mentioned good works "for the betterment of their country and people", the Council, in reverse order, focused in the first place on "the best good of our homes" and then on the good of the nation. Although both were women's groups, it is the Council which clearly emphasized the benefits to society consequent upon women's united efforts being directed towards the improvement of the home, a sphere of particular interest to their gender and the traditional base from which their special values could infiltrate society. The IODE's determination to "forward every good work" echoes Willard's injunction to the WCTU to "Do Everything".¹³⁶ Notice was being served by all these groups of their intention to invade the public sphere for whatever purposes they deemed important.

As befits an avowedly patriotic organization, the IODE was born in a period of crisis in Great Britain, the Boer War. Its founder, Margaret Polson Murray of Montreal, was visiting England when war was declared between the Boers and the British in South Africa in October 1899. Some of Canada's young men immediately volunteered for active service, demonstrating their country's loyalty to the Mother Country. Realizing Great Britain's need for assistance and the desire of women to help, on her return to Canada, Murray formed an organization based on principles of "Patriotism, Loyalty and Service" to foster bonds of union among women and children of the Empire and "promote loyalty to King and Country." A visionary and an able administrator, Murray fired many influential women with her enthusiasm. She

publicized her ideas throughout the Dominion, asking mayors of capital cities to call together prominent local women.¹³⁷

The leaders of the new organization would come from an elite group; it was also a group with faith in women's abilities and judgment. Murray's intention was to unite the Empire's women in loyal service. Her first project was for women to send Queen Victoria an expression of their devotion to the Empire and to create an emergency war fund to be expended "as Her Majesty shall deem fit." There is a sense here of special ties between the Queen and the women of the Empire and faith that a woman would know how best to spend the money collected.

The first Chapter of the new Order was formed in Fredericton, New Brunswick on January 15, 1900, Montreal following a month later. Murray drew up a suggested Constitution, including goals for the IODE. Provincial Chapters and a National Chapter were planned.¹³⁸ The IODE was to be a missionary endeavour to keep Canada firmly within a strong British family of nations.

The National Chapter of IODE was affiliated with the NCWC from 1909.¹³⁹ In that same year, 'Prairie Gateway', the first Manitoba Chapter was founded and shortly afterwards five more Chapters were established, with the Provincial Chapter of Manitoba being set up in 1912. In May of the following year, the National Annual Convention was held in Winnipeg, the first time this event had been held outside Toronto.¹⁴⁰ It was recognition of the growing importance of Manitoba's capital city and the perceived urgency to maintain Anglo-Saxon values in its increasingly cosmopolitan environment. Reports at the 1913 Convention indicated that the Order had grown to 215 Chapters with 13,000 members. Thirteen of the Chapters were in Manitoba.¹⁴¹

Winnipeg entertained the hundred or so delegates with tours round the city and a reception at Government House. An exotic 'Pageant of Empire' was staged in the Industrial Bureau Hall in which 500 women, men, girls and boys took part in tableaux designed to portray the meaning, strength and diversity of Empire. The hall was permeated with perfume burned in a huge brazier during the Egyptian tableau to evoke the atmosphere of that country. Brightly colored eastern costumes of the rajahs and ranees, made by a member who had lived in India, blended with "haunting eastern music" and a dancing girl, "agile and graceful" to conjure up the magic of India.¹⁴² The newspaper accounts suggest that the IODE women, for all their patriotic fervor and serious commitment to social work, had created an exciting evening, one which provided fun for both cast and audience.

The business of the Convention dealt with the day-to-day activities of the IODE, reports from the Manitoba Chapters dealing with their imperial, civic, educational and philanthropic work. There were addresses and discussions on imperial education, social service and immigration problems. One speaker dealt with the dangers of unrestricted immigration, a subject that must have seemed particularly relevant as members toured the burgeoning city. With a certain amount of inconsistency, she pleaded for sympathy for the immigrant and stressed the need to teach the newcomer "British traditions". Patriotism for the IODE assumed that Canada was British.¹⁴³

In lively fashion, the women debated the advisability of appointing immigrant teachers from Britain directly to schools in the West. A woman from Victoria considered such teachers would be unable to get the "foreign and mixed element into shape" and advocated that they should teach first in the established cities to learn "Canadian ways" in order to become "big enough . . . to take to the backwoods." "We need them." she continued, "but don't turn them out raw into our frontier. It takes a

strong woman to go to the open." She wanted less "Rule Britannia" and more "O Canada", possibly a strange sentiment to be expressed in the IODE but symptomatic of a developing western Canadian viewpoint. Another woman preferred educated British women to Americans who refused to sing the Canadian anthem and wanted to celebrate the 4th of July. It seems that western women saw themselves as stalwart figures living on the frontier, sometimes British and sometimes Canadian.¹⁴⁴

Although the IODE was only affiliated to the Winnipeg Local Council for four years from 1914, joining perhaps to obtain greater unification of women's war effort, relationships between the two organizations continued to be mutually supportive. The war years saw an increase in IODE chapters, membership and activities. With other women, they collected funds for military hospitals and food for Belgium, assisted the Red Cross and Navy League, visited military hospitals, organized a convalescent home and funded a Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Home.¹⁴⁵

Two years after the war ended, Margaret McWilliams, the current President of the LCWW, enlisted the help of the IODE to find billets for soldiers' wives who were coming to Winnipeg to attend a course giving instruction in such subjects as Domestic Science, Sewing and Baby Care. In addition to contacting their own affiliated societies, the LCWW needed all the assistance it could get to cope with the arrival of a somewhat vague estimate of 150-400 women. Other women's organizations coopted in this large project were the Ladies of the Maccabees, like the IODE formerly members of the Council, the Ladies of the Eastern Star, the Rebekahs, and the Lady Foresters. All promised to cooperate with the Council.¹⁴⁶

Two other patriotic organizations affiliated with the LCWW in 1916 and continued their membership after the war: the Winnipeg Women's Rifle Association and its

offspring, the Winnipeg Women's Volunteer Reserve Corps. Minutes of the Manitoba Provincial Rifle Association, whose activities were mostly suspended during the war, contain no reference to the wartime birth of the Women's Rifle Association,¹⁴⁷ in spite of the efforts of Dr. Ellen Douglass, its President, and Colonel-in-Command of the Women's Reserve Corps. The recruits, mostly young working women, who joined these two women's organizations spent dedicated hours training to acquire the skills necessary to defend and succour their city in the unlikely event of enemy invasion.¹⁴⁸ It had been intended to run the two groups as a single entity but since the constitution of the Rifle Association, which could only be changed at an annual meeting, stated that it was organized for rifle practice only, the Women's Volunteer Reserve Corps was formed.

Modelled on a similar organization in Vancouver, which in turn had obtained its inspiration from the formation of a Women's Volunteer Reserve in Great Britain, the two groups formed part of one overall plan to train women for a wartime emergency and to enable them to take the place of men on active wartime service.¹⁴⁹ In case of a serious raid on Winnipeg, the Corps was intended to furnish an organized and disciplined body of women to relieve men of almost all work "back of the firing line". They could look after women and children and prevent epidemics common in siege conditions. In the light of her professional experience, Douglass suggested that women could undertake first aid and stretcher work with more endurance than men. Aside from military considerations, she felt that service in the Reserve Corps would increase women's physical fitness and enhance their self-control and discipline. Douglass also considered that the training in sanitation, care of food and prevention of disease would benefit any woman.¹⁵⁰

Founded in July 1915, the Corps numbered a hundred by the following month. Recruits took an oath of allegiance to Great Britain and the Allies and swore obedience to their superior officer. Courses were given in signalling, first aid and stretcher drill, motor driving and repair, sanitation, camp cooking and oven construction. Classes in physical drill and rifle practice were compulsory, so all women in the Reserve Corps had to be members of the Rifle Association, which was said to contain a number of expert markswomen. Uniform was not compulsory and was only to be worn on official occasions, such as taking part in parades.¹⁵¹

Some of the Corps' activities were almost reminiscent of the Manitoba Home Economics Association and Home Economics Societies' programs. In October 1915, the Corps visited a farm in Headingly, where they toured the dairy and watched the milking process. They saw cows being cleaned, dairymen with scrubbed hands donning "clean white suits" and milk being strained through cheesecloth. Their attention was drawn to the fact, no doubt by Dr. Douglass, that the milk had been bottled without going through a sterilizing process.¹⁵² The following August, the Women's Volunteer Reserve went to a "Preparedness Camp" at Gimli. There were thirty-five tents on the shore of Lake Winnipeg, canteen, orderly room, kitchen mess tents, sleeping tents and a hospital. Colonel Douglass was in charge and Miss Watson, as dietician, supervised the kitchen. On the Civic Holiday, visitors came from the city and military authorities from Camp Hughes.¹⁵³

The women of the Volunteer Reserve Corps received special commendation in a newspaper article at the beginning of 1916 for their preparedness to face any task required of them. "Drawn largely from the ranks of wage-earning girls, they have the self-respecting assurance of that class and by regular physical drill they are adding to that mental strength a reserve power of physical strength." In this same article,

headed 'The World and Her Husband', the writer praised western women for continuing the work of homesteading and farming in their husbands' absence and suggested that there was a special spirit of comradeship between men and women in a new country, which promoted mutual respect.¹⁵⁴ Although the piece serves a morale-boosting purpose, it does convey the perception of strong and distinctive western women on a challenging frontier.

Ellen Douglass, as the leader of this enterprising band of women, was an LCWW member of whom her colleagues were justifiably proud. Not only had she mobilized and trained an enthusiastic body of women who could be relied on by their city in an emergency, but by the end of the war she was on active service in France and an appreciative Council cabled her their greetings.¹⁵⁵ The war presented women with many opportunities to operate in the public sphere. As in previous wars, women's services were needed in that most masculine of all arenas to cope with the wounded. Nurse Annie S. Bond, fourth President of the LCWW, had served with the British army in the Zulu war and in Egypt and received decorations from Queen Victoria and from the Khedive of Egypt.¹⁵⁶ Such experiences enhanced women's perception of the role of their gender in society.

The survey in the two sections of this chapter covers a few of the ninety-five organizations that were affiliated with the LCWW in the period 1894 to 1920. It illustrates the considerable variety of groups encompassed by the Council. The early associations had much in common but from 1900 there was an increasing diversity in the goals and membership of the affiliates. Single women were represented in their professional groups, working women briefly in a mutual benefit society and, later, in the Rifle Association and the Volunteer Reserve. Young women were represented in church groups, hospital auxiliaries, the YWCA and in professional organizations. The

University Women's Club, with some of the most highly educated women in the community, joined the LCWW in 1914. Politically-minded women were represented in the Political Equality Leagues, which became the Political Education Leagues when the vote was won in 1916, and in the Women's Civic League. And some rural women were linked to the Council through their Home Economics Societies.

Absent from LCWW membership were the Jewish women's groups and the Women's Labour League. The absence of these groups and others deprived the Council of the strength and enhanced understanding it could have had if the membership had extended across more cultural and class barriers. The women's section of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association was not a member of the LCWW, but this is not surprising, since its focus was on the farm rather than the city. The Home Economics Societies' close association with the Department of Agriculture and the Manitoba Agricultural College, both based in Winnipeg, probably explain their presence on the LCWW.

The groups represented on the LCWW are obviously important to any consideration of the Council, since they are the source from which the Council drew its workers. The next chapter will focus on the work of the LCWW and Chapter 4 relates to the women who took an active part in this work.

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CHAPTER 3: THE COUNCIL AT WORK

The first section of this chapter deals with the organizational structure of the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW), and with its relationship to its parent body, the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) and to the International Council of Women (ICW). The second and third sections deal with the work and activities undertaken by the Council itself as distinct from those undertaken by its affiliated organizations. Section 3.2 discusses what is termed “traditional” work, essentially an extension of the work women always performed within their homes, their families and in their close-knit religious communities. Section 3.3 covers what is termed “transformative” work, activities in which women extended their sphere of influence beyond traditional boundaries, creating new roles for themselves, new expectations and a different perspective concerning the place in society of their gender.

3.1: STRUCTURE AND RELATIONSHIPS

The organizational structure of the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW) must be viewed against the backdrop of its parent body, the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), and also the International Council of Women (ICW), which gave birth to the NCWC. The ICW was founded in Washington in 1888 at a time of proliferation of women’s associations in the western world. Not only were vast numbers of women working together in their own church denominational groups; women were also working together for goals that went beyond those of their particular religious denominations. The possibilities of achieving power through association were being learned in such organizations as the Women’s Christian

Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). The programs of both these organizations included lobbying for major legislative reforms,¹ and both were nationally organized with a wide network of local branches. Beside them, in the United States, worked many other associations of women using similar strategies, the Federation of Women's Clubs, for instance, and the organizations devoted to the cause of women's enfranchisement.

Naomi Griffiths, author of The Splendid Vision, credits two American suffragists, Susan Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, with providing much of the initial start-up power for the establishment of the ICW. The vision was to bring together already existing associations of women from many countries to work side-by-side in "a neutral arena . . . to find common solutions to commonly acknowledged problems" in the hope that this vast, newly-formed international body of women would have a beneficent influence on world affairs.²

Susan Anthony presented plans for an international organization of women at the Annual Convention of the National Women's Suffrage Association (NWSA) in New York in 1887, but Griffiths stresses that it was May Wright Sewall, one of its executive members, who did most to ensure that the ICW would have wide-embracing concerns rather than focus its efforts mainly on suffrage.³ Sewall, a teacher, a founder of schools, and a leader in the women's club movement as well as the women's suffrage movement, was convinced that great personal and social benefits derived from bringing women together at regular intervals into the "liberating atmosphere of a company constituted of many kinds and representing all the creeds and parties . . ."⁴

The founding convention of the ICW in 1888 was attended by delegations representing fifty-three national organizations of women from nine countries: Canada, Denmark, England, Finland, France, India, Norway, Sweden and the United States. From the beginning, these delegates envisaged a close connection between the International Council and women working at the local level in its member countries. Its membership would be made up of existing women's associations rather than individuals and its flexible structure would allow each country to determine its own constitution and reform priorities. To enable women from different countries to work together, the International Council adopted no specific religious or political philosophy. Instead, it was bound together by a common agreement about the way human beings should treat each other.

The preamble to the constitution agreed by the delegates declares that "the good of humanity will be advanced" by women forming "a confederation of workers to further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and Law: Do Unto Others as Ye Would That They Should Do Unto You."⁵ The ICW became an arena in which women's organizations from different countries could communicate with each other, one in which their members could "confer upon questions relating to the welfare of the commonwealth and family." The only commitment National Councils made to the International Council was to comply with the terms of its Constitution, which specifically stated that no member council of the ICW rendered "itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence or methods of work, . . ."⁶ Not surprisingly, since the ICW was both an umbrella organization and an international one, the Council's chief focus was on the provision of a forum in which women of different nationalities could exchange information and opinions.

With May Wright Sewall as President working to make this international forum a reality rather than a dream, at a meeting held at the World Exposition in Chicago in 1893, the International Council of Women became firmly established. From that meeting, women, including Canadian delegates, returned to their respective countries to form National Councils. Lady Ishbel, Countess of Aberdeen, a young woman of thirty-six, who already held a creditable record of volunteer social work and whose husband had recently been appointed Governor-General of Canada, was elected to and subsequently accepted the presidency of the ICW.

The Canadian delegates returned home fired with enthusiasm and at a mass meeting of women in Toronto on October 27, 1893, the National Council of Women of Canada was founded⁷. Shortly after the arrival of the Aberdeens in Canada to enable Lord Aberdeen to take up his official duties, Lady Aberdeen received a delegation of Canadian women who persuaded her to accept a second presidency, that of the new Canadian National Council they were in process of forming.

In its Constitution, the objective of the NCWC is stated as being to “unite in a Dominion federation for the betterment throughout Canada of conditions pertaining to the family and state, all societies and associations of women interested in philanthropy, religion, education, literature, art or social reform.”⁸ This inclusive intention followed closely that of the International Council but, unlike the ICW, since it operated within its own national boundaries, the NCWC could and did emphasize activism in achieving its goal of improved conditions for the family and state. The National Council was composed of its own local and provincial councils and also national associations of groups with compatible interests and goals.⁹

The NCWC, like other national umbrella organizations, reached its conclusions on the concerns in which it was interested by a long process of study and debate. Its member organizations did not always focus on the same matters as their parent body and, when they did, they by no means always came to the same conclusions. The Local Councils carried out their own studies and debates and had their own priorities, though they often worked in concert with the National Council and other Local Councils on common projects. The problems addressed by the National Council could be issues raised by the ICW, by the NCWC's federated associations or its own committees. Once the NCWC had become an established and respected institution in Canada, it was often invited to provide representation on Government Boards and to present briefs to Royal Commissions and other governmental appointed committees. Non-governmental agencies sometimes approached the Council to direct its attention to specific issues on which they sought its support.¹⁰

In the immediate wake of the excitement generated by the formation of the NCWC on October 27, 1893, a number of Local Councils were founded: Toronto on November 2, Hamilton on November 17 and Montreal on November 30. Since invitations to attend the meeting on October 27 had been distributed to women in various cities in Ontario and Quebec, there is no doubt that many women from cities other than Toronto headed home eager to establish their own Local Councils. Women from "distant provinces" had not received invitations because "the shortness of time would not permit attendance". Early in the new year, 1894, three more Local Councils were established: Ottawa on January 16, London on February 14 and Winnipeg, after an exploratory meeting on February 24, was founded on March 27. The Local Council of Women of Winnipeg(LCWC) was the sixth Local Council to be formed and was the first in western Canada. It was also the only Local Council established before the end of April 1894 at which Lady Aberdeen, the National

Council President, was not present at the founding meeting, although later, in spite of the distance, Aberdeen frequently attended the Winnipeg meetings. In her absence, Agnes Schultz, wife of the Manitoba Lieutenant-Governor, chaired the founding meeting and was elected President of the newly-formed Manitoba Council.¹¹

As an affiliated member of the National Council, the LCWW pledged with women from across Canada and with women from other nations in the ICW to bind themselves together “to further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law.”¹² In addition, the National Council had drawn up a recommended Constitution for Local Councils federated with it, a Constitution that the LCWW adopted with a few minor procedural alterations and one important and unfortunate addition. Some of these alterations were later amended. For example, the original intention to limit officers to a three-year tenure must have been abandoned in favour of the stability given to the Council by a number of extremely competent office-holders. Winnipeg’s original Article 4.4, an unfortunate addition, was omitted later, at least by 1916, possibly earlier, since its presence was obviously anomalous in an association pledged to further the application of the Golden Rule. Article 4.4 had stated that “Any woman who is a British subject and a member of a Federated Society shall be eligible for election to any office.” Such a clause narrowed the constituency for the LCWW. It does, however, give an indication of one aspect of the mind set of some of its founding members. Appendix B gives the text of the Constitution adopted by the Winnipeg Council in 1894.¹³

The preamble of the 1894 Constitution made it clear that through communication and unity, the women intended to act:

Believing that the more intimate knowledge of one another's work will result in larger mutual sympathy and greater unity of thought, and therefore, in more effective action, certain Associations of Women, interested in Philanthropy, Religion, Education, Literature, Art and Social Reform, have determined to organize a Local Council, and, to that end join in the following constitution.

Article 2 on policy emphasized the founders' belief in the efficacy of organized unity and communication as a means to achieving effective action. At the same time, the theme of the preservation of independence for affiliated associations was stressed in this Local Council Constitution, as it was in the Constitutions of the ICW and the NCWC.

The aim of the Local Council is to bring the various Associations of Women in Winnipeg into closer relations through an organized union; but no Society entering the Local Council shall thereby lose its independence in aim or method, or be committed to any principle or method of any other Society in the Council, the object of which is to serve as a medium of communication and a means of prosecuting any work of common interest.

Article 3 of the Constitution stated that "Any Society of Women, the nature of whose work is declared satisfactory by a vote of the Sub-Executive of the Local Council, may become a member of the Local Council of Winnipeg by its own vote." The Constitution made further provision for the women of "any organization composed of both men and women," to associate themselves by their own vote to the Local Council, provided once again that the Sub-Executive voted their work "satisfactory".

A Local Council's constitution could be amended by "two-thirds vote of the Local Council at any annual meeting, provided that such alteration be in harmony with the constitution of the National Council" and provided that the stipulated notice had been given to both the National Council and the Local Council's affiliates.

The Constitution made official provision for members of affiliated organizations to influence the Local Council in four ways: they could become one of the four official delegates of their organization entitled to one vote each at the Council's annual meetings; other members of affiliates could take part in discussions but could not vote; within their own organizations, they could initiate or support requests for Council study or action on a particular issue, which could then be passed to the Council's Executive as a Notice of Motion from the affiliated association to the Council's Annual Meeting; and members of an affiliated association were eligible for election to any Council office or they could become members of a Standing Committee. Within their own organizations, members could vote to approve or reject resolutions and requests for help referred to them from the LCWW. A sixth avenue of influence for affiliated societies existed in the progress reports each organization was entitled to present at the Council's annual meetings. In addition to a discussion of the work the society had undertaken during the past year, reports sometimes contained appeals for help and implicit value judgments.

In addition to the activities it undertook through its Annual Meetings, other meetings it organized from time to time to promote its interests and its various committees, the LCWW operated on several other levels. Often it worked in partnership with its affiliated associations on specific projects. To provide a means of communication for local councils within a province and facilitate action on provincial matters, the local councils in each province formed a Provincial Council, headed by a Provincial Vice-President. In the case of the Winnipeg Council, Jessie McEwen, the first Manitoba Provincial Vice-President, and also President of the Brandon Council, often attended the Winnipeg meetings, taking an active part in discussions and decision-making. The LCWW sent delegates to the Annual Meeting of the NCWC, resolutions to be put before the Council, its views on resolutions sent by other associations and an annual

report of its activities and a list of its officers and affiliated organizations. In addition, its members served on the National Council Executive and NCWC Standing Committees. From the National Council, Winnipeg members could be chosen as delegates to the quinquennial meetings of the International Council of Women. From both the NCWC and the ICW, delegates brought back reports.

The LCWW, like other Local Councils, paid an annual affiliation fee of five dollars to the National Council. At its founding meeting, the LCWW fixed the annual fee for its own affiliating members at two dollars, a fee that remained the same until 1918, when it was raised to three dollars. The Winnipeg Council operated on modest financial resources, relying for many of its needs on the generosity of its members. The Treasurer's Report presented at the Annual Meeting on May 20, 1899 showed a balance of twenty-one cents. In the early years, delegates to annual meetings of the NCWC paid their own expenses and from the Minutes it is clear that those chosen either had already planned visits to the city where the annual meeting was to be held or were in a position to pay their own way.¹⁴ At a special meeting of the LCWW on July 12, 1898 attended by Lady Aberdeen and by Harriet Boomer, President of the London Local Council, Lady Aberdeen gave an account of the recent Annual Meeting of the National Council and went on to say that each Local Council was being asked to share part of the cost of a secretary at Headquarters, a necessity now that the organization was growing. Boomer underlined the NCWC's special financial needs and the Winnipeg Council passed a resolution pledging increased financial support.¹⁵ Winnipeg contributed \$50 for several years. One of their favourite methods of raising money for special purposes was to organize meetings of general interest to the public and to charge an entrance fee.

The Winnipeg Council was not the only Local Council to chart its own course in the matter of its constitution. An amendment that the London Council attempted to make in its own constitution drew the immediate fire of Lady Aberdeen. By changing the preamble to read “. . . certain Associations of Women who believe in God and in His Son our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ . . .”, the London women had negated the NCWC’s intention to make the organization non-partisan in the areas of religion and politics. At the London Local Council’s first meeting on April 6, 1894, the National Council’s recommended preamble was adopted.¹⁶

In spite of the National Council’s eagerness to tread warily in religious matters, the LCWW was loathe to follow the NCWC procedure in opening meetings with silent prayer so as to make women from all creeds feel comfortable. After a communication from the National Council, a committee was appointed to consider the issue. A year later, Winnipeg passed a resolution to the effect that it would hold itself free to open its meetings as it saw fit and adopted the procedure of commencing with the audible repetition of the Lord’s Prayer. However, at the beginning of 1898, after Madame Forget read a paper to the Local Council containing a specific request from the Roman Catholic Ladies’ Aids of St. Boniface and St. Mary’s Churches, the Winnipeg Council acceded to their wishes, passing a resolution to follow national procedure and open their meetings with silent prayer.¹⁷ The Council was enriched by this decision, since the St. Mary’s Ladies’ Aid and Altar Society continued in affiliation with them for another twenty years. Between 1894 and 1920, some half dozen associations of Roman Catholic women have been identified as affiliates of the Local Council for periods varying from one to twenty-three years.

Notwithstanding its organizational ties to the National Council, the LCWW saw itself as an autonomous association of affiliated local groups of women, as indeed was

envisaged in the constitutions of both the LCWW and the NCWC. In matters of difference between the National Council and itself, its members took counsel among themselves and came to their own decisions. It is perhaps noteworthy that not until two of its own affiliates appealed for silent prayer at the beginning of meetings did they adopt that procedure.

As long as its overall aims remained in harmony with those set out in the National Council's Constitution, "to further the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law",¹⁸ Local Councils had a great deal of latitude to "prosecute any work of common interest"¹⁹ that it seemed to them should be undertaken in their communities. Unfortunately, in 1919, the LCWW became disillusioned with the National Council as it was then functioning and decided to continue its work on a completely independent basis. A unanimous resolution was passed on October 24, 1919:

Whereas, under the present system of representation in the National Council of Women, it seems impossible to secure either democratic organization or progressive action at a time when both are vital to the women of Canada now enfranchised,

Therefore be it resolved that the Local Council of Women withdraw from affiliation with the National Council until such time as the Constitution of the National Council be adequately revised,

And that the Council continue its work as a council of women for city and provincial purposes.²⁰

Margaret McWilliams, President of the LCWW, made it clear that the withdrawal was temporary and strategic, the object being to focus attention of the NCWC on such matters as weak leadership, undemocratic processes which favoured eastern initiatives over western ones and lack of adequate machinery to act on any progressive measures that were passed. At the meeting on October 24, in addition to the problems

surrounding proxy voting, unease was expressed that the inadequacy of affiliates' fees left the "National Council at the mercy of rich men and women . . . with means to provide for its necessary expenses, this act alone causing an evil situation against democratic organization."²¹

Strong-Boag in The Parliament of Women describes a general western and rural alienation in the National Council affiliates²². However, for Margaret McWilliams of Winnipeg, Violet McNaughton of Harris, Saskatchewan and other strongly feminist women, it is clear that their dissatisfaction went beyond the NCWC's inadequate machinery. Such women questioned the National Council's will for progressive action and the usefulness and desirability of its existence.²³

The western women had set the alarm bells ringing and, at the Annual Meeting of the NCWC in 1920, procedural reform was addressed. The operation of the proxy system of casting votes, so much opposed by the Winnipeg Council, was corrected.²⁴ By 1923, the National Council had made enough changes for Winnipeg to return to the fold.²⁵ The local work of the LCWW was never interrupted by the difficulties it had with the National Council and in sections 3.2 and 3.3 the Local Council's work is discussed.

3.2: TRADITIONAL WORK

Whether the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg was functioning under the official auspices of the National Council, as it has for all but four years of its existence, or whether it was operating as a completely autonomous body, as it did between 1919 and 1923, its work and activities were in harmony with the aims set out in the constitution of the National Council and with those of the International Council of

Women. Section 3.2 deals with the “traditional” work undertaken by the Council, the type of activities that could be considered an extension of the work women performed for their families and their close-knit religious communities.

An examination of the wide variety of issues encompassed by some of the Local Council’s Standing Committees during the period of this study, indicates the breadth of the LCWW’s work:

Agriculture for Women	Laws
Better Care for Young Women	Mental Defectives
Citizenship	Moving Pictures
Conservation	Nursing
Education	Objectionable Printed Matter
Equal Moral Standards	Professions and Employment for Women
Immigration	Public Health ²⁶

Many of these concerns took the LCWW beyond the boundaries of the well-trodden paths of women’s endeavours and are discussed in Section 3.3, dealing with the Council’s transformative activities. Others are more clearly extensions of women’s traditional work: for example, care of the sick, the poor, the old, children and young people. Then too, in wartime, women were traditionally associated with caring for the wounded and providing food, clothing and other supplies for the armies of their countries.

Much of the traditional work with which the Council was associated was performed by its women within its affiliated organizations, ladies’ aids attached to churches, hospital auxiliaries, kindergartens, orphanages, homes to protect young women and homes for the elderly. The activities of LCWW women in these spheres have been discussed in Chapter 2. No study of women in the Local Council would be

comprehensive without taking into account the nature of the activities of the associations which together formed the LCWW. They also were the breeding grounds and training schools of the women who served as their representatives on the Local Council.

Through the reports that its affiliated organizations presented at the Annual Meeting, the Council kept up-to-date with the work the affiliates were currently undertaking. Such reports publicized the activities of the affiliated associations and the connection with the Council added prestige to their efforts. When needed, the Council could be instrumental in providing additional volunteers for a particular project. Even if, as had been hoped, a common meeting ground between women working in similar fields did not result in co-ordination of their efforts, the Council certainly provided a forum for the exchange of ideas, an opportunity for personal growth and the possibility of enhancement of the quality of service individual women were able to give to the affiliated associations.

Not only did many of the LCWW's early affiliates operate in areas traditionally associated with women, the Local Council itself often operated in this sector of voluntary work. One nationwide project, the idea of the Vancouver Council, successfully promoted by Lady Aberdeen and organized by the National Council with the cooperation of the Local Councils, was the foundation of the Victoria Order of Nurses (VON) as Canadian women's commemoration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.

In February of 1897, the Winnipeg Council considered and approved the scheme to supply the Northwest with trained nurses and medical assistance. The Council discussed the plans for such an organization and asked the affiliated organizations for

input as to the best way to raise funds for the VON. At the Council's invitation, the Mayor cooperated with the LCWW in arrangements for two public meetings to publicize plans for the VON and to raise money. Women's concerted action all over Canada, aided no doubt by the popularity of Queen Victoria herself, enabled a substantial enough fund to be established to build the VON into a respected institution. Not quite a year after the meeting at which Winnipeg approved the VON scheme, the Local Council gave a reception at the Manitoba Hotel for VON nurses on a brief stopover en route for the Klondike.²⁷

Strict rules regulated the Order. Recruits had to be a minimum of twenty-eight years of age, serve for at least three years and wear the Order's uniform and its badge, which featured the cross of St. Andrew and the letters 'VR'. The services of doctors and hospitals were enlisted to administer the examinations to test applicants in such matters as midwifery, first aid and home nursing. The goal was to provide skilled nursing services to those who would otherwise not be able to afford such assistance, and a graduated scale of moderate charges was set up, the actual charges to be at the discretion of the nurse.²⁸

Some three years after the LCWW had joined other Councils in raising funds for the establishment of the VON in Canada, it collaborated with the National Council in another health project, the establishment of a branch of the Red Cross Society in Winnipeg. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir J. C. Patteron, wrote to the Council urging it to undertake this work. Following the close of the Council's Annual Meeting on April 11, 1902, arrangements had been made for a public meeting at which the matter was to be introduced.

In addition to LCWW members, the Lieutenant-Governor, several other prominent Winnipeg men and a large number of women from outside the Council attended this meeting. Mrs. Patterson, Honorary President of the Council, took the chair, Minnie Campbell of the IODE described the work of the Geneva Red Cross Society and others spoke in support of forming a Winnipeg Branch. Before the end of the meeting, the Winnipeg Branch of the Red Cross was officially founded and an Executive of twenty appointed, which included both LCWW members and women from organizations outside Council, besides a number of influential male citizens. It was decided that this new organization should function completely independently, rather than under the auspices of the LCWW, as had originally been intended.²⁹

Yet another national project supported by the Winnipeg Council was the India Famine Relief Fund. Here, Canadian women went beyond their concern for women and young people within their own country to help suffering “fellow subjects” elsewhere. It is interesting to note the feeling of fellowship with people in another part of the British Empire, who, like Canadians, were subjects of Queen Victoria. The Minutes record the “terrible conditions’ of famine and plague in India and a mass meeting to inform people of the “dreadful reality” of the situation and to raise money for aid was held. Without the visual impact of today’s television revelations of international horror, the Local Council needed public meetings at which graphic accounts of tragedy were given to arouse sympathy and collect money for relief work.³⁰

Even though the Local Council participated in many NCWC projects, a great deal of the work undertaken by the LCWW was initiated locally. In 1907, Annie Bond was President of the LCWW. A trained nurse, who had served in British military campaigns in Africa and who had organized the first school of nursing in New Zealand, Bond had become concerned by the lack of medical services for children in

Winnipeg. After nursing sick children in her own home, she became convinced of the necessity for a special hospital to meet the needs of local children.

Bond interested a wide variety of people in Winnipeg in this matter. Her position of President of the LCWW enabled her to bring the matter to the attention of this body of women and to enlist the Council's enthusiastic support. Committees were arranged and plans were drawn up for the establishment of a Children's Hospital. Many determined women worked hard to raise funds, organizing bazaars, selling cups of tea and light refreshments, and collecting subscriptions. A Provincial Board was set up in 1908 and, by the following year, the hospital was in operation and reported treating over 700 children in the rather cramped quarters of an "old brown house". Two years later, the Minutes record that the new Children's Hospital building was under construction, was up to its second storey and would be ready for occupation in a few months.³¹

Another local health project undertaken during Annie Bond's Presidency was the establishment of a Convalescent Home. The Hospital Aid Society, one of the Council's affiliates, drew the attention of the LCWW to the plight of patients, homeless and still too weak to work, who were discharged from hospitals. The Council took action. As a temporary measure, a house was rented in the city, but longer term plans were put in train for fund-raising to obtain a building in the suburbs.³² The LCWW was rightly perceived by the community it served as having the capability to take appropriate action in many areas of social need.

The LCWW's support for projects designed to improve social conditions in its community was not only enlisted by its own officers and affiliates. By 1907, it was already being approached by official government agencies. On receipt of a report

from Children's Aid on the desirability of providing public playgrounds for children, the Council studied the matter. Annie Bond presented a paper entitled "Fresh Air and Fun" and plans were immediately discussed for educating and interesting the public in the need to secure land for playgrounds.³³ From the beginning, the LCWW attempted to mold public opinion in order to enlist wide support for its schemes. Harriet Dick, who represented the Mothers' Association on the Council, was in a position to understand the importance of providing safe and healthy playgrounds for children reared in rapidly growing, overcrowded urban environments and became especially involved in the campaign for playgrounds.

As immigrants streamed west in increasing numbers, the LCWW realized the necessity for the provision of safe and suitable accommodation for female immigrants. Marion Bryce, Vice-President of the LCWW in 1896, and another member of Council met representatives of the Women's Protective Emigration Association in Montreal. They learned that government grants were available to assist in the settlement of women and pledged Council's support for a suitable scheme.

In the meantime, Octavia Fowler, daughter of a former Lord Mayor of London, England, had approached the LCWW offering her services as matron and a sum of \$500 a year for three years towards a hostel for girls in Winnipeg. The Council amalgamated the two schemes, accepted Fowler's generous offer and applied for a government grant.³⁴

As often happened when the LCWW women decided on a plan of action, the organization of a hostel progressed rapidly and satisfactorily. Octavia Fowler arrived in Winnipeg and the Girls' Home of Welcome opened its doors in 1897 to immigrants from Europe and Ontario. It also provided accommodation for any girls who were

travelling alone through Canada. The Home was popular and always full, dealing with 160 girls in the first year.

By 1899, a larger building was needed for an increasing number of “. . . girls travelling in a strange country without an escort.” A lot was acquired on Henry Street and the Council obtained initial funding quickly: \$500 from each of the Provincial and Dominion Governments and \$1000 from a private benefactor.³⁵ A few years later, 921 girls passed through the Home in one twelve-month period.³⁶ The Winnipeg Girls’ Home of Welcome prided itself on supplying genuine “home comforts”, whereas a Toronto Home was said to be a mere hostel. A local newspaper does not record just how eastern hospitality fell short of the western welcome.³⁷

The girls who came to Manitoba were assisted in their search for “a place”, and did not pay a fee until they started working. Donations, employers’ fees and the girls’ fees made the Home self-supporting eventually. The Council’s role in such projects was to carry out research, plan, initiate and ensure that the new institution was financially viable.

One of the Council’s affiliates, the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), was also deeply involved in caring for female immigrants. Elizabeth Parker, the YWCA representative on the Council, reported the membership had reached 300 in 1902 and described the opening of a new “boarding house” and the establishment of the Travellers’ Aid. She told the Council that the boarding house was flourishing and the Travellers’ Aid agency had met 1848 trains and helped many girls and women, who would otherwise have been in “sore straits”.³⁸ This figure referred to the same twelve-month period in which 921 girls passed through the Girls’ Home of Welcome.

The flood of immigrants streaming through or into Winnipeg kept a large body of female volunteers and male employment agents busy. Those who stayed in the city created housing and health problems in the North End and suffered hard times while they were finding a new life, but their presence promoted Winnipeg's rapid growth into a modern industrial city. While the male entrepreneurs of Winnipeg concentrated almost exclusively on grasping new opportunities for expanding their own and their city's wealth, it often fell to the women of the LCWW to draw attention to the downside of the rapidity with which Winnipeg was expanding.

The women of the LCWW were honing their skills as lobbyists for better social conditions and their confidence and efficiency in operating in the public arena was growing. Although they often focused on the needs of women and children, their activities were of benefit to the whole community. Little by little, these women were acquiring a new role in society and new perceptions about their gender.

In the matter of immigration, the National and Local Councils were acting as much through self-interest as altruism. With the usual gender imbalance in frontier areas, where the number of men far exceeded that of women, few young women remained single for long and household servants were always in short supply. Moreover, before the age of universal labour-saving equipment in homes, modern designs of houses and furniture and lighter, uncomplicated easy-care clothing, household tasks were time-consuming and exhausting. A woman without household help, particularly if she had several children, would have been hard-pressed to find the time or energy to undertake volunteer work outside her home on a regular basis.

In January 1911, the Winnipeg Local Council learned that the Saskatchewan Government had given a Local Council there \$6000 to assist in the recruitment and

transportation of superior servants. Steamer and rail companies were ready to aid such schemes. It seemed that in England hundreds of trained teachers could find no vacancies and were working at other jobs. Such women had already been settled in other provinces and were proving satisfactory as mothers' helps in rural areas, while they saved to get local qualifications. The possibility of acquiring well-educated British women to work in Winnipeg prompted the Council to make swift enquiries.³⁹

The following May, Mrs. Norman Grosvenor, travelling on behalf of the Colonial Intelligence League of London, England, visited Winnipeg and arrangements were made to bring educated girls to Manitoba. By March 1912, thirteen girls had been placed in "comfortable" homes.⁴⁰ A few months later, the LCWW's Immigration Committee reported that the League had sent them thirty women, who were placed as teachers, hospital probationers and stenographers. These arrangements had been accomplished with no cost to Government, all levels of which were happy to allow the LCWW a free hand. Obtaining educated British female immigrants for Winnipeg did not apparently interfere with male perceptions of suitable activities for women, even though it had meant operating in an area that had once been a male preserve. Perhaps this was because it slotted neatly into immigration policy and the LCWW could be seen to be acting in a maternal role.

The war years tended to concentrate women's efforts in the community in areas which would assist the prosecution of the war. In 1914, in response to a request of the National Council, the LCWW helped to raise money for the Canadian Women's Hospital Ship Fund. The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) was also collecting money for this purpose and the two organizations divided Manitoba between them, the Council taking responsibility for the collection in the city and the

IODE for the rest of the Province. In less than a week, the Council collected \$6013, mostly in gifts of a dollar.⁴¹

Winnipeg's 1915 report to the National Council emphasized that a great deal of the time and energy of the women of the Local Council and its affiliates was expended on war work, chiefly on the making of Red Cross supplies and field comforts. Such work continued throughout the war. During these years, the Council set up a Recipe Committee to collect and test war recipes for the use of the Local Food Board. Four separate bulletins were prepared and issued. On Good Friday, 1918, as the war was entering its final stages, the LCWW organized a special service of intercession attended by 1500 women.⁴² Meanwhile, it was still occupied by fund-raising for medical supplies, especially crutches and braces for the wounded.⁴³

The LCWW kept in touch with the varied war activities of its affiliates. It noted that one group of women had equipped their church basement as a dormitory with showers and added a kitchen, where breakfast was prepared. This was used by men whom the war had deprived of their jobs. The Women's Canadian Club provided soldiers wintering in Winnipeg with reading, card and billiard rooms and organized concerts for them. From the proceeds of a specially issued Christmas magazine, the Women's Press Club sent \$1000 to buy a Christmas treats for the Western troops.⁴⁴ The above activities stayed within the bounds of women's traditional roles in wartime but the experience gained in the last two decades had improved women's organizational skills and encouraged their capacity for innovation.

The end of the war brought new challenges for the Council. At a public meeting in April 1919, Colonel Lorne Mulley addressed LCWW members and others concerning the contribution women could make to the postwar situation in Winnipeg, mentioning

especially the needs of soldiers' widows and orphans. He also asked the women in his audience to consider what contribution they could make to assist the return of soldiers to civilian life, reminding the women of the difficulties the soldiers would face in finding jobs.

The Council could pride itself on its part in the passing of the Mothers' Allowance Act in 1916, but the amount of unemployment and industrial unrest following the war was so great in Winnipeg that the LCWW must have wondered about the extent to which it would be possible for them to assist returning soldiers to find jobs. However, the appeal to them by an army officer was recognition that women had an important public role in times of peace as well as in times of war. To make a meaningful contribution to the troubled society of the last years of the second decade of the twentieth century and the approaching twenties involved stepping outside traditional spheres of activity. Section 4.3, which deals with the Council's transformative work, considers the extent to which the Council and its affiliated societies had, in fact, already been stretching beyond traditional boundaries since its inception in 1894.

3.3: TRANSFORMATIVE WORK

The work of the LCWW discussed in Section 3.2 was essentially an extension of the type of activities women customarily performed for their families and close-knit religious communities. This traditional work may have been more ambitious in scope, more independently organized and performed in arenas hitherto the preserve of men than projects customarily undertaken by women but the goals were similar. Section 3.3 is concerned with activities directed towards the accomplishment of different goals. The Local Council's transformative work was intended to change the nature or character of an institution or situation. The term "transformative" is used

in its widest sense and implies change that alters the integral nature or character of an institution or situation rather than change producing a few surface differences.

The two American activists, Susan Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who presented preliminary plans for an international organization of women at the Annual Convention of the National Women's Suffrage Association (NWSA), envisioned an international institution through which existing associations of women from around the world would find a way "to change society for the better."⁴⁵ When the International Council of Women, the National Council of Women of Canada and Local Councils were formed, it is clear from their agendas that their members were not ultimately interested in bandaid solutions. The Constitution of the NCWC gave warning that Canadian women would seek to transform society and law. This was a tall order; they were frequently frustrated in their efforts but they sometimes succeeded.

One of the earliest institutional changes tackled by the Winnipeg Council was in the field of public education, the introduction of technical education. At a meeting on November, 1894, Agnes Schultz read a paper on "Manual Training in Schools" and Marion Bryce one on "Training of the Hand, Eye and Mind". This was an occasion when both Lord and Lady Aberdeen were present. The Governor-General spoke on "Technical Education and Applied Science" and Ishbel Aberdeen warned members that young workers in Canada must be ready to compete with those from other nations, necessitating the introduction of new methods of handicraft teaching. Bryce, in a rather contemporary and feminist vein, advocated teaching sewing to boys and carpentry to girls. At its first Annual Meeting, the National Council had discussed the need for manual training in schools. The Local Council resolved to take steps to promote technical education in schools and forward recommendations to the

Manitoba Minister of Education. Members felt that this type of education would enhance the general welfare of the home, a benefit as important as fitting young people for employment.⁴⁶

The Council must have caught the interest of the Manitoba Government, since the following year the Minister of Education's Advisory Board requested the LCWW to collect information regarding the methods by which other countries had introduced sewing into their schools. The Council meeting at which the Board's letter was discussed already had before it a report on sewing in British schools and it was agreed to obtain further information.⁴⁷ Careful research was the practice of the Council. In their annual report to the National Council, the LCWW stated that the Advisory Council in Winnipeg had the matter under consideration.⁴⁸ The women had established a bridgehead into the field of public education, although the area of discussion had been narrowed for the time being from technical education for girls and boys to sewing for girls.

In a meeting on September 11, 1899, the Council discussed the agenda for the forthcoming annual meeting of the National Council, noting that two suggestions were being put forward concerning "interesting methods of teaching Canadian History". The Local Council, eager to share in the shaping of public education, agreed the proposed Motion but, unfortunately, the Minutes do not divulge what these new methods were.⁴⁹

During the Presidency of Marion Bryce, an experienced educator and administrator, the LCWW played an important role in the introduction of Domestic Science teaching in Winnipeg. The opportunity came when Bryce's husband, the Rev. Dr. George Bryce, a staff member of both the Presbyterian Manitoba College and the

Faculty of Science at the University of Manitoba, gave the Council news of a Toronto philanthropist, Lillian Massey-Treble, who was offering to donate funds to establish a school to teach Domestic Science at a professional level. The Ontario Minister of Education had written to the Manitoba Lieutenant-Governor concerning Massey-Treble's offer, probably because of lack of interest at that time on the part of the University of Toronto. Insisting on the provision of a kitchen equipped like a college laboratory, Lillian Massey-Treble proposed donating \$2000 in the first year for furniture and equipment and in each of the following two years, she promised another \$250. From then on, other funding would have to be secured.

George Bryce explained that Massey-Treble did not want the school to be attached to the public school system. With his connections in the field of education in Winnipeg, it seemed possible that arrangements could be made for the proposed school to be affiliated to a suitable college in due course. The Council was anxious to cooperate in such a scheme. Preparing young women to teach girls to carry out their household duties "with ease, comfort and without waste" would promote healthy mothers and children. Further, if Domestic Science could be established in an academic environment, it would enhance the prestige of the discipline, create professional opportunities for women and raise the status of women's domestic work.⁵⁰

The LCWW lost no time in contacting both the Ministry of Education and the University of Manitoba. With generous financial backing from a private benefactor and help from George Bryce, who had participated in the founding of the University in 1877 and was currently on the staff of the Faculty of Science, it is hardly surprising that the problem of accommodation was quickly solved by the offer of space in the Science building of the University, for three years free of charge. The conditions for

this loan of space were that the LCWW would ensure that the curriculum would be that proposed by Lillian Massey-Treble, that the occupation of university space would be under the direction of the Faculty of Science, that the School would be responsible for its own instructors and that, as it was not part of the University, its courses would not lead to a university diploma or degree.⁵¹

An Advisory Board was set up by the LCWW to manage the new School. It was composed of almost equal numbers of men and women. Amongst the male members of the Board were George Bryce and Dean Matheson of the University, Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg School Board, a number of other prominent Winnipeg educationists and a lawyer representing the interests of Massey-Treble. Marion Bryce, the Local Women's Council President, was on the Board and most of the other women members were active in the LCWW.

Reebie Lennox, a graduate of the Pratt Institute, New York, where she received Domestic Science training, was appointed Directress of the new school. It was through the Pratt Institute that Lillian Massey-Treble had become interested in starting a school in this field. The Winnipeg School of Household Science opened on November 3, 1902.⁵² Throughout its three years of operation, representations were made to the University and Government to obtain permanent status for the School. However, by the end of the three-year period during which Lillian Massey-Treble had agreed to be responsible for funding the School, neither the University nor the Government stepped in to save it. Extremely disappointed in this lack of official support, Massey-Treble removed the equipment and sent it to Mount Allison University. A few years later, she succeeded in getting the Science Department of the University of Toronto to recognize Domestic Science as a suitable discipline in a university and she donated a million dollars to build the Lillian Massey School.⁵³

Manitoba had lost a great opportunity. However, following the closure of the Winnipeg School of Household Science in 1905, Reebie Lennox was employed by the Winnipeg School Board, for whom she taught for three years before her marriage. Senior classes from different schools were sent to her at a specially established Domestic Science Centre.⁵⁴ In 1910, Domestic Science courses similar to those taught in the Winnipeg School of Household Science during the years 1902 to 1905 were re-established, this time as part of the new Department of Household Science at the recently established Agricultural College in Tuxedo.⁵⁵ Massey-Treble and the LCWW had pioneered the development of both college and public school teaching of domestic science in Winnipeg.

In addition to health issues that have been discussed in the section dealing with women's traditional activities, such as taking care of sick children, the LCWW became involved in health issues in which they undertook new types of work. In 1913, the LCWW received an invitation from the Ministry of Public Works to inspect the Selkirk Asylum. A small group of specially appointed Council women arrived while lunch was in progress in the Women's Department of the Asylum, talked to some of the inmates and inspected the institution. They were favourably impressed with its cleanliness and ventilation and with relations between patients and staff who, they were glad to find, all shared the same menu. It is to be hoped that conditions on the day of inspection were typical.

In response to Council members' adverse comments on overcrowding at the asylum, they were told that new asylums were being built at Brandon and Saskatoon. This was an occasion when the LCWW operated as both volunteer staff for government social services and outside observers of Government's provision of essential health services. This activity enabled the Council to educate itself on the status of such

asylums in Manitoba and to draw Government's attention to the urgency for more institutional space.⁵⁶ As part of a NCWC project, in 1919, the LCWC set up a Standing Committee to be responsible for the collection of statistics regarding "feeble-minded, idiotic and epileptic" women.⁵⁷ The boundaries between various types of mental and physical disorders were not clearly defined in the early years of the twentieth century. The Council had discovered six years earlier that existing institutional provision in Manitoba was insufficient for those women who had been identified at that time as requiring such residential care as could be provided in the Selkirk Asylum.

Dr. Helen MacMurchy was one of the invited speakers at an Executive Committee of the LCWW on September 26, 1919. She had been appointed by the Ontario Government in 1910 to study and make recommendations on problems of infant mortality and, in 1919, became chief of the newly-created Child Welfare Division of the Federal Department of Health.⁵⁸ MacMurchy expressed the opinion that feeble-minded persons were a "menace" to the community. She thought that there was no cure for the condition but many or perhaps all cases could be helped by the provision of a suitable environment in a well-conducted institution. She advocated sterilization in every case, as feeble-minded persons had not "the power to make or help make a home".⁵⁹

MacMurchy's views on sterilization paralleled those of many doctors of the time. Angus McLaren's article "Birth Control and Abortion in Canada, 1870-1920" discusses "eugenically-minded doctors" who were "clamouring in the decade before the First World War for the forced sterilization of the 'unfit'. He points out that these same doctors often opposed family limitation of the 'fit'. The fertility rate, measured as annual births per 1000 women aged 15 to 49 years, had plunged in Manitoba from

242 in 1891 to 167 in 1911 and, by 1921, was to fall further to 125. The current literature on this whole subject made it clear that the “criterion of ‘fitness’” was “high socio-economic status” with a predisposition “to categorize those of a lower class or different culture as genetically inferior.”⁶⁰

At this same meeting of September 26, 1919, Professor Carrie Derick of Montreal spoke on a report undertaken by the Local Council of Women surveying institutions in the Montreal area. In 1891, Derick, a scientist, had been the first woman to be appointed a member of the academic staff at McGill University and, in 1912, was the first woman in Canada to become a full professor. She was also a member of the Local Council of Women of Montreal and served for a while as its President.⁶¹ Derick reported that a large proportion of the children being cared for in institutions appeared to be feeble-minded and a large percentage of these were the children of immigrants. In this respect, a woman of her time, she concluded that the survey showed “clearly the importance of stricter immigration laws if Canada is to be peopled with sound and healthy stock from the old lands.”⁶²

Minutes exist of an LCWW Sub-Executive meeting on October 6, 1919, at which it was agreed to ask Dr. MacMurchy to speak at a public meeting on October 24. However, since no record of such a meeting taking place could be found, either in the Minutes or in the newspapers, it is uncertain as to whether or not the proposed meeting took place. There may have been too many strong, conflicting and sensitive feelings on the subject of sterilization within the Local Council for it to wish for the matter to be discussed at a public meeting.⁶³ If the meeting did take place, the local papers, which normally reported public Council meetings, were unusually silent. The interest of some members of the LCWW in sterilization must be understood in the context of the 1919 anxiety regarding changing cultural patterns in Winnipeg.

An LCWW public meeting regarding the feeble-minded did, however take place on November 14, 1919, at which Dr. Mathers, the superintendent of the Psychopathic Ward of the Winnipeg General Hospital spoke about the insufficiency of institutional provision for Manitoba's feeble-minded. He claimed that there seemed to be a correlation between "backward" children and juvenile offenders. Special classes for "backward" children had been established in schools and registration of feeble-minded persons was in progress. Dr. Mathers stressed the urgent need for institutions in which proper training could assist these "unfortunates" to become "useful citizens". Extracts of the second interim report of the Public Welfare Commission of Manitoba were read and the meeting was told that "earnest public sentiment" was needed to pressure the Government to take action.⁶⁴

At an Executive Committee on December 4, 1919, the Council decided to launch a postcard campaign prior to the opening of the next legislative session to petition the Premier to establish institutions for the feeble-minded. A letter from the Council on this matter was also to be sent to the Premier. Originally, the Council intended to send a delegation to the School Board urging them to discover cases of feeble-minded children in schools but Dr. Mary Crawford, public school medical officer, later persuaded the women against doing this for the time being, since the matter was already in hand.⁶⁵

Some members of the Local Council had obviously wanted to air the question of sterilization publicly but, on the issue of birth control, the Minutes of the Council are silent, observing the current conventions, and giving no clue as to members' willingness to give help to women who needed advice to enable them to regulate their procreative activities. The Executive of the Women's Canadian Club (WCC), one of the LCWW's affiliates, showed a similar reluctance to tackle the subject of birth

control in the early 1920s. Margaret McWilliams, its President, agreed with the Executive's decision to turn down a speaker who was to talk on birth control, since the topic was "considered not suitable for a Canadian Club audience."⁶⁶ Yet, it has been convincingly argued that "Given the fact that despite relatively stable marriage rates and improving fecundity the birth rate of English-speaking families fell, some form of birth control must have been employed" in this period.⁶⁷

Although no evidence has been discovered even of committee discussions in the LCWW on the subject of birth control, one of its members, Dr. Mary Crawford, may have tackled this subject in a meeting in October 1913, at which she spoke to a Council affiliate, the Manitoba Home Economics Association, about an International Conference on School Hygiene she had attended in Buffalo, New York, the previous August. Crawford talked about the various seminars she had attended at the Buffalo Conference, including one entitled "Sex Hygiene", but the Minutes of the meeting reveal no further details. Given the reluctance of the age to call a spade a spade in the matter of birth control, since the subject was tainted by the suspicion of profligacy and also by its association with prostitution, it is possible that birth control may have been discussed under this topic.⁶⁸

At the conclusion of the first Annual Meeting of the National Council in 1894, one of the directives to Local Councils was that they should work towards the appointment of police matrons. This injunction was part of a general concern of women in North America about the law's treatment of women and girls and had been one of the early projects of American clubs. The matter was discussed by the LCWW at a meeting on November 22, 1894, when it was decided that justice demanded that a woman attendant should be appointed to deal with women brought into police stations. A woman who had committed a crime, or who was even suspected of having

done so, was currently forced to part with “all her modesty and womanliness.” A committee was appointed to press for a matron at the police station.⁶⁹

Over the next few years, the Council badgered the Police Commission to appoint a police matron and improve conditions in which women were held. A delegation was shown through the police station and the jail. The women were reasonably satisfied with the jail’s condition but shocked by the police station, which was used as a holding place for prisoners.⁷⁰ A few months later, the committee reported that “matters were not hopeless” and that they would “still watch opportunities of introducing the subject.”⁷¹ One of the Council’s affiliates, the Women’s Christian Union (WCU), was particularly anxious to have a police matron appointed and in the period 1898-99 the Council reaffirmed its commitment to work for this goal.⁷²

These were the tactics of domestic politics. Writing about the early days of the NCWC, one of the members boasted that Council’s goals were usually attained. Delegates would return to their Local Councils and report the arguments for various reforms. Local members would then go home to their “menfolks” and explain why reform was necessary.⁷³ Woman’s position in a patriarchal society in which she had no direct representation in Government had taught her to use persuasion and patience. In 1899, the Mayor of Winnipeg appointed a Mrs. Morgan as the first Police Matron, an appropriation of \$1000 was voted for repairs to the police station and the Council appointed a three-member committee to work with the Prisoners’ Aid Association to secure the repairs.⁷⁴ Subsequent Minutes show that the Council continued to maintain a watching brief on the condition of women prisoners.

In 1916, the Committee on Delinquent Women and Girls presented a report to the Council on current conditions in Winnipeg. It contained a number of suggestions for

needed reforms: the establishment of a prison farm for women, on the grounds that a rural rather than an urban environment would be beneficial for the women; the appointment of a woman judge in Juvenile Court; the provision of industrial training for women and girls to give them a suitable means of self-support; and the appointment of women police officers. The report was adopted and Lillian Beynon Thomas, the Provincial Vice-President and first President of the Political Equality League (PEL), was present at the meeting and seconded the report's adoption.⁷⁵ Only months before, the franchise for women had been won and almost anything must have seemed possible in 1916.

The LCWW had been pressing for the appointment of women police officers for some considerable time. In its 1917-18 report to the NCWC, the Council was able to give the news that "two very fine women" had become members of the Winnipeg police force and were "doing splendid work."⁷⁶ No doubt the achievement of the women's franchise in Manitoba must have made it less outrageous for women to enter the male world of the police force as police officers rather than merely in the capacity of a matron to safeguard women in a police station.

As early as September 1894 and concurrently with their campaign for the appointment of a police matron, the Council had been making investigations regarding Young Offenders. It made representations to Government for the provision of an Industrial School, where young people could learn useful skills and be in an environment in which they would not be living with "hardened" criminals.⁷⁷

The LCWW was very active in pursuing laws designed to improve the position of women and their families in society and the history of the campaign to obtain a Manitoba Dower Law is an important example of such activities. Women in

Saskatchewan and Alberta, as well as in Manitoba, were carrying out similar campaigns. None of the three prairie provinces had a Dower Law before 1915. This legal situation allowed a husband to dispose of any of his property as he wished during his lifetime or by the provisions of his will. Thus, a widow was at risk of being left homeless and destitute on the death of her husband. Whereas the old English common law dower was concerned with guarding a widow against economic hardship consequent upon her husband's death, dower law activists in the three prairie provinces sought economic protection for a woman during her husband's lifetime as well as on his death. Dower law reform, known as homestead dower, would give a married woman a life interest in the homestead on the death of her husband and also require her written consent to any disposition of the family property during her husband's lifetime. The homestead dower had been introduced in 1839 in the Republic of Texas and was used in the American West to promote community security in order to attract settlers to the frontier.⁷⁸

Early in 1911, urged by several of their members, especially those in the Women's Press Club, and by the Women's Labour League, the Council appointed a delegation to Government regarding the urgent need for a Dower Law in Manitoba. Lillian Beynon Thomas had recently spoken at a public meeting on this subject and she and other women journalists had been campaigning in their columns for a Dower Law. Jessie McEwen, the current Provincial Vice-President, addressed a Council meeting on February 20, 1911, on the need for protection of married women against the risk of being left homeless and destitute. No law made by men, she urged, should be allowed to interfere with women's rights, a clear feminist declaration.⁷⁹ Before 1916, Manitoba laws were all made only by men.

Council delegates joined Ada Muir, Secretary of the Women's Labour League (WLL), the newly formed women's wing of the Manitoba Labour Party, who led the delegation petitioning Premier Roblin on February 21, 1911, for a Dower Law. Amongst other Council members on the delegation was suffragist Nellie McClung. The women asked for a law preventing a man from selling everything, including the family home, and leaving his wife and family homeless and destitute. They also asked for a will that would provide for a wife's possession of her home on her husband's death and a fair division of his estate between herself and her family.

Roblin hedged in his reply to the delegates, saying that it was the intention to introduce a bill shortly that would give married women better protection and that he would arrange for the women to appear before the Law Amendments Committee. However, though he acknowledged "some inequality" in the current situation, in which as a matter of fact women had no dower rights, he said that it was a "vexed question as to what changes could be made which would not militate against the material prosperity of the country." It seemed that he could not recommend a full dower law in a country where millions of dollars worth of property changed hands many times each year.⁸⁰ Roblin's priorities were somewhat different to those in the American West, where the need for community stability had encouraged the early introduction of homestead dower laws.

It took several more years before the pressure from the LCWW, other women's organizations and feminist journalists obtained a Dower Law in Manitoba. Eventually, Premier Norris's reform-minded government passed a Dower Act on March 29, 1918. It provided that widows were to have a life interest in their homestead and a one-third interest in the total value of their husband's estate. It also stipulated that a husband could not dispose of the homestead without his wife's

consent and that, if she agreed to sell the homestead, she would receive half the proceeds.⁸¹

Women in Manitoba obtained the protection of a Dower Law almost exactly two years after they won the vote. The LCWW, other women's organizations and women journalists had conducted a lengthy campaign in the face of male perception that demands for a dower law suggested lack of female trust towards their menfolk.⁸² It was an example of fruitful cooperation between different classes of women, between different women's organizations, between housewives and career women, and it was also an example of widespread feminist activism. Had this cooperation been maintained in other campaigns, the women's movement might have developed rather differently in the next decades, though it would still have been operating in the context of a male-dominated society.

To the Local Council, the subject of dower law was in quite a different category from that of divorce law. The Dower Law was regarded as entirely beneficial, an entitlement by virtue of the woman's contribution to the marriage, and its object was to protect women and their families from becoming destitute. On the other hand, divorce was regarded with suspicion, since it was associated with the breakup of families. There were some members who might have been willing to tackle divorce laws but, when the matter was before the Sub-Executive Committee in October 1919, it became clear that a majority of women present were concerned about the "promiscuous granting of divorces in Manitoba Courts." The issue was controversial and it was agreed that it was "not advisable for the Council to touch this question."⁸³

An area in which the LCWW had no hesitation in campaigning was the fight to obtain allowances for widowed mothers and those whose husbands, for various reasons,

such as being in jail, could not provide for the family. Harriet Dick, who, amongst her many other community activities, had helped to organize the Mothers' Association, a Council affiliate, was one of the prime movers in pressing for Mothers' Allowances. Mrs. Thomas Russ Deacon, another LCWW member, was also very much aware of the need for financial assistance for widowed mothers and those whose husbands could not provide for their families. She, too, was active in the Mothers' Association and its offshoot, the Day Nursery on Stella Avenue. At different times, Deacon served terms as president of both these organizations. Her husband, Thomas Russ Deacon, was mayor of Winnipeg in the year 1913-14. LCWW affiliate, the Social Science Study Club (SSSC) investigated the plight of mothers and children who had been left without a male breadwinner and was also active in the cause of Mothers' Allowances.⁸⁴ The Local Council wholeheartedly supported the agitation for mothers' allowances and, after the Mothers' Allowances Act was passed on March 10, 1916, it continued to press for more adequate sums to be disbursed to mothers in need.⁸⁵

Both Harriet Dick and Mrs. Thomas Russ Deacon served on the Mothers' Allowance Commission, which was responsible for the administration of the Act. At its meeting on January 16, 1920, the Sub-Executive of the LCWW received a letter from the SSSC regarding its representations to Government for an increase in funding for Mothers' Allowances and a week later, on January 23, Mrs. Deacon spoke to the LCWW Executive about the work of the Commission. Beginning with 12 families in 1916, she reported that funds were being supplied to 363 families by 1919. With the rise in the cost-of-living during the war, in spite of increased government grants from year to year, by the beginning of 1920 there was urgent need for an increased allocation of funds for Mothers' Allowances. The LCWW sent a resolution to

Government asking for as generous an increase as possible in funds to enable the Commissioners to carry on their work adequately in the coming year.⁸⁶

Undoubtedly, the most spectacular victory for Manitoba women in the period 1894-1920 was the political triumph of winning the franchise in 1916, a victory won for the Province by the Political Equality League (PEL), a Council affiliate, but whose success was partly the fruit of work done by other organizations since the 1890s: the Icelanders' women's suffrage associations, the WCTU and other Council affiliates, the Equal Franchise Association and the Women's Labour League. Unlike most of the LCWW's affiliates, whose overall goals were not perceived by the public as threatening the foundations of established society, the PEL's very name claimed political equality for women, a proposition that was regarded with suspicion by some of Manitoba's inhabitants. It is unlikely that most women among the Local Council's active members did not wish for such equality. Women who were striving for laws which would provide their gender with more power over their family's property and improved lifestyles for themselves and their children, for instance, would have been aware that without voting rights and a seat in the Legislature, their only path was the long one of persuasion and patience. Nevertheless, for some women in the LCWW, a public declaration of support for woman suffrage was problematical and the matter created controversy in Council meetings.

Nine months before the PEL was founded, the question of the Council's public endorsement of the campaign for woman suffrage had been debated. In June 1911, the LCWW declined a request from the Women's Labour League to join a delegation to Government to ask for the vote for women. The Manitoba Labour Party had endorsed women's suffrage in 1902 and the "demand for full political rights for women, was part of the Labour Party's program in 1910."⁸⁷

Not surprisingly, there was some overlapping in the membership of the WLL and the PEL, when the latter was founded in 1912. For example, Lynn Flett and her sister, Winona Dixon, wife of labourite Fred J. Dixon, were prominent members of both organizations.⁸⁸ These two labour women, therefore, in virtue of their being members of a Local Council affiliate, were for a few years technically members of the LCWW also. The WLL, itself, was not an affiliate of the Council and, although the goals of the two organizations were similar in some respects, apart from collaboration in 1911 to obtain a dower law, these two associations of women missed the opportunity of achieving a potentially powerful alliance.

LCWW Minutes indicate that the invitation of the WLL to join their members in approaching Government to ask for the enfranchisement of women generated considerable discussion, both in the Executive and in the Council meetings.⁸⁹ The implication is that members had differences of opinion, an entirely predictable situation, since Council members were drawn from a wide variety of clubwomen. Unfortunately, no doubt in the interests of presenting a united front, the records only indicate that the matter had been settled.

The women who were opposed to open endorsement of woman suffrage had a strong argument in their favor. Since the LCWW was avowedly non-partisan, they could consider themselves on dangerous ground if they appeared to be acting politically. Premier Roblin and his Conservatives were against woman suffrage. Mirroring local controversies, the National Council contained divided opinions on the matter. However, it endorsed woman suffrage in 1910, in spite of a large number of delegates who had voted in opposition.⁹⁰ Winnipeg, like other Local Councils, made its own decisions and pursued its own strategy to advance women's interests.

Nellie McClung's exasperated and much-quoted statement in The Stream Runs Fast that the LCWW women's husbands were too afraid for their jobs to allow their wives to "go active" contains only part of the truth.⁹¹ The statement also suggests that many of the women opposed to public endorsement of woman suffrage may have been closet suffragists. Lillian Beynon Thomas recounts the story of a political rally in Winnipeg during the suffrage campaign in which Winnipeg dignitaries and their wives were riding sedately in their cars until the men noticed that they were being directed into the columns of pro-suffrage cars. The men spluttered in disgust while the women laughed, knowing that the PEL colors they had secretly attached to their cars had caused the confusion.⁹²

Quite apart from any pressure exerted by members' husbands, it is possible that leaders of the LCWW, unwilling to embark on direct confrontation with Government, which might jeopardize their other goals, were biding their time for action. In 1912, when the PEL was founded, the need for public campaigning by the Council was conveniently removed. The PEL proved an effective fighting force for the vote, achieving the distinction for Manitoba of being the first Province in Canada to grant its women the franchise.⁹³

There seems to be a parallel between the tactics of the Women's Council in Halifax and of the LCWW. E. R. Forbes in his essay, "Battles in Another War: Edith Archibald and the Halifax Feminist Movement", has suggested that consideration of caution and the protection of long-term, all-encompassing, feminist goals may have been responsible for the rather late drive for woman suffrage in Halifax. Following early rebuffs to suffragist activism in Nova Scotia, Forbes writes that Edith Archibald, Halifax feminist, "moved away from an eclectic approach which included a rationale of equal rights to a greater emphasis on maternal feminism . . . Since 'women's

rights' had aroused such bitter criticism, they [women] should talk of 'rights of children'."⁹⁴ In 1917, seeing Nova Scotia was falling behind in woman suffrage, Archibald and other Halifax suffragists engaged in a rapid and successful campaign for the vote.⁹⁵ In Winnipeg, however, the PEL faced the heat of the battle.

There is little doubt that the majority of Council members were not opposed in principle to woman suffrage, though many of them did not give the vote priority. In 1914, the PEL joined the LCWW and, the following year, Lillian Beynon Thomas, the PEL's first President and chief organizer, became the Manitoba Provincial Vice-President. Thomas attended and took an active part in Council meetings, presenting reports on the PEL. Thus, the LCWW kept in close, official touch with the suffrage campaign⁹⁶.

It is perhaps noteworthy that the Liberal Party won the election on August 6, 1915, on a reform platform which included the same woman suffrage undertaking that they had made in their 1914 Platform, i.e., that the women's vote would be granted "upon establishment by petition that it is desired by adult women to a number equivalent to 15% of the vote cast at the preceding general election in this Province."⁹⁷ As part of the platform of one of Canada's major political parties, women's enfranchisement achieved respectability.⁹⁸

It is interesting to speculate as to how many of the 43,834 signatures on the two final petitions for the vote were contributed by members of the Council, whose affiliated membership in 1916 was estimated at some nine thousand women. Since the Local Council encompassed a number of organizations whose members worked actively and publicly for women's enfranchisement, it is certain that these groups were fully

represented and it is probable that many other Council members' signatures added weight to the final petitions.⁹⁹

In 1917, the year after their provincial enfranchisement in 1916, some Manitoba women received the right to vote in federal elections. The 1917 Military Voters Act gave the federal vote to women nurses serving in the war and, later in the year, the Wartime Electors Act gave the vote to the wives, widows, mothers, sisters and daughters of persons, alive or deceased, who had served in Canadian or British military or naval forces. The Executive of the NCWC disliked the principle of a partial federal franchise and, in the face of pressure from some of its affiliates to endorse Robert Borden's Union Government, maintained a strict neutrality in the 1917 federal election. There is no doubt, however, that the 1917 electoral legislation was designed to enlist the help of large numbers of patriotic, newly enfranchised women in the election of Borden's Union Government and the endorsement of its mandate for conscription. Members of Local Councils varied in their attitude to the Union Government. There is a brief mention in the LCWW Minutes of April 26, 1918, of a report by Jean Robson, the Corresponding Secretary, on the part women had played in securing the election of the Union Government.¹⁰⁰

The Women's Franchise Act of 1918 corrected some of the inequities in the federal franchise, giving the vote to all women over the age of 21 years, who were British subjects and who possessed the same qualifications as men were required to have to vote in provincial elections. However, some women still did not have the franchise. Women of Asian descent, like men of Asian descent, could not vote because they were ineligible to become British subjects. The right to the federal vote was also denied to women of the First Nations, as it was to men of the First Nations, who remained disenfranchised under the terms of the Indian Act until 1960. Further, in

1869, two years after Confederation, the Government had denied First Nations women full participation in band politics. Although most women could vote in federal elections under the 1918 Act, it was not until 1919 that the federal government enacted legislation to enable women to be elected to the House of Commons.¹⁰¹

Not until 1920 could women exercise their right to vote in a provincial election. When the chance came, the LCWW passed a resolution making it clear that it was now women's responsibility as well as privilege to vote. The Council informed women that to be able to vote on June 29, they must register during the period set by the City of Winnipeg to get their names included on official voting lists. Complete instructions were issued by the LCWW as to registration and voting procedures.¹⁰²

Out of 250 delegates named to select Liberal candidates for the City of Winnipeg at the 1920 provincial election, 23 were women. Three of these women were active members of the LCWW: Harriet Dick, Mrs. Charles B. Little and Margaret McWilliams. Harriet Dick represented two of the Council's affiliates, the Mothers' Association and the Women's Civic League, on the LCWW. She was credited with playing a major part in obtaining the Mothers' Allowances Act in 1916, was a member of the Mothers' Allowance Commission. In the 1920 provincial election, she stood as an Independent candidate. Mrs. Charles B. Little had been an LCWW member from 1910 and at one time or another had represented the Girls' Home of Welcome, the Knox Church Ladies' Aid and the Women's Christian Union on the Council. Margaret McWilliams had served the Local Council as President for a four-year term from 1916 to 1920.¹⁰³

Kinnear's article on post-suffrage prairie politics identifies the five women candidates who fought the 1920 Manitoba provincial election.¹⁰⁴ Two of these

women were LCWW members, Harriet Dick and Edith Rogers, and the only one to be elected to the Manitoba Legislature was LCWW member, Edith Rogers, a Liberal candidate. The non-partisan Local Council encouraged its women to vote and to stand as candidates for election, but, remaining true to the principles upon which it was founded, it kept out of the melée of party politics.

The Women's Civic League, an offshoot of the PEL, became an affiliate of the LWCC soon after its establishment and kept in close touch with the Council. Amongst other goals, the Civic League's intention was to encourage women to run for civic office, an endeavour supported by the LCWW, but first it had to secure the right for women to stand for all civic offices. In 1917, a deputation to City Hall requested the right for women to hold any civic office to which the electorate "may see fit to appoint them." The League stressed that it had the support of the LCWW and other women's organizations, most of the men at City Hall and a large number of the public. Two months later, it became legal for women to run for the positions of mayor, controllers and aldermen.¹⁰⁵

By 1917, when women received the right to run for all elective official positions in the City of Winnipeg, two women had already served as school trustees. Mrs. J. K. Brown was elected in 1914, becoming the first woman to serve in an official elective position in the City of Winnipeg. Martha Jane Hample, LCWW member, philanthropist and suffragist, in 1916 became the second woman to be elected as a school trustee in Winnipeg, continuing to serve until 1920. At the time of her election, Hample's name must have been known in Winnipeg as part of the energetic group of PEL members who had won the vote for women a few months previously, as well as for her success as a business woman in the downtown area.¹⁰⁶

The tide had turned substantially for women in 1915 with the election of Norris and his Liberal Government and women's enfranchisement in 1916. However, the LCWW had had to face two decades by then of slow, step-by-step fighting to make small gains for women. The confrontation of the two LCWW delegates with Premier Roblin over factory conditions is an example of the forces ranged against women's activism. At an LCWW meeting in 1911, Edna Nash presented a paper on the conditions under which women and girls worked in local factories. She and Nellie McClung were chosen to see Roblin and press for the appointment of a trained woman factory inspector.

After some discussion with the Premier, he agreed to accompany the two women to see at first-hand the conditions under which women worked in factories. Roblin was visibly shocked by the over-crowding, the dirt and the stench, and gave vague promises of action. "I still can't see why two women like you should ferret out such utterly disgusting things," he complained.¹⁰⁷ There were evidently two classes of women in the Premier's eyes: the "nice ladies" who must remain protected in their domestic sphere and the factory women whose toil made Winnipeg wealthy. It was dangerous for the two kinds to know each other! Unfortunately, for the most part, the two kinds knew very little about each other, though some women in the LCWW were trying to remedy this situation.

Four years later, the LCWW included a note in its report to the NCWC to the effect that after several years of effort, they and several other women's organizations had been successful in obtaining the appointment of a woman factory inspector in early 1915.¹⁰⁸ Nash of the LCWW continued her involvement in this area and, when the Minimum Wage Board was set up in 1918, she became one of the women members appointed to it. There was equal representation for employers and labour and the

Law Amendments Committee had recommended the appointment of two women to the Board. Edna Nash represented employers and Lynn Flett of the Women's Labour League represented labour.¹⁰⁹

In the same 1915 report to the NCWC, reference was made to the recently published and widely circulated study, "The Work of Women and Girls in the Department Stores of Winnipeg." This report was based on an investigation carried out in 1914 by the Civic Committee of the University Women's Club (UWC), a Council affiliate, of which Margaret McWilliams was currently President, and was directed and written by her. Predictably, the enquiry did not reveal such appalling conditions as LCWW delegates had shown Premier Roblin in 1911 on their shared factory visit but it underlined the need for regulation of women's working conditions.

Like McWilliams, Eva Jones, Principal of Havergal College, was also interested in the conditions under which women had to function in their working lives. In 1920, Jones became the first unmarried President of the LCWW. In 1916, she was Convener of the Council's Standing Committee for Better Care for Young Women, reporting on the efforts made by the NCWC to put a Bill through the Dominion House to have protection against employers of women and girls extended to those working in offices and homes. The Local Council Standing Committee suggested the formation of a Business Girls' Club with a Rest Room in the downtown area, a facility needed partly because many offices did not have separate washrooms.¹¹⁰ The LCWW's 1917-18 annual report to the NCWC noted that the YWCA had opened a downtown cafeteria for business girls, with a dozen bedrooms for transients.¹¹¹ This may have been partly a response to the Standing Committee's suggestion.

In addition to its interest in conditions under which working women and girls performed their duties, the Local Council was in close touch with the concerns of professional women, particularly those in nursing and teaching. In the first decade of the twentieth century, two new women's organizations were formed in Manitoba, both of whose goals were the enhancement of the status and working conditions of nursing: the Manitoba Association of Graduate Nurses and the Winnipeg General Hospital Graduate Nurses' Alumnae Association. Ethel Johns, a nurse trained at the Winnipeg General Hospital, became President of the latter association in 1909 and in that year took it into the LCWW. Johns was to spend her life working to improve the status and working conditions of the nursing profession. The Manitoba Association of Graduate Nurses had joined the Local Council the previous year.

The need for registration of nurses was discussed in a Council meeting early in 1911 and the LCWW's annual report in the 1912 NCWC Yearbook noted that the two nurses' professional associations had held a successful tea meeting under the auspices of the Local Council at which Ard MacKenzie, Superintendent of the Victorian Order of Nurses, gave a talk on "Registration for Nurses". From 1909, Johns and other nurses constantly pressed for government legislation to register qualified nurses in order to distinguish such nurses from those who were either untrained or semi-trained and the LCWW gave them its full support.¹¹² In 1913, the Nurse Registration Act was passed, making Manitoba only the second Canadian province to pass such an act. It was, however, not as much as Johns and other concerned women had wanted, since small, rural hospitals were still allowed to run training schools and there were no compulsory regulations for admission to schools and no inspection of the schools required. The LCWW, regretful that at this time the victory was only partial, congratulated the graduate nurses on gaining a "measure of registration".¹¹³

The teaching profession did not have the same problems as the nursing profession. since, by the first two decades of the twentieth century, there were well-defined teacher training courses at Normal School leading to various levels of Teaching Certificates, and women who wanted higher qualifications registered in university courses. The Local Council, however, did become involved in the matter of Teachers' Provincial Certificates. The National Council had supported a resolution put forward by the Toronto Local Council "That Teachers' Provincial Certificates be recognized throughout the Dominion." The LCWW disagreed, passing the following resolution at one of its public meetings: "Whereas the teachers do not suffer any injustice by having to pass an examination here, this Council does not approve of the resolution of the National Council." This reaction may have been caused by a mixture of western suspicion and western independence, not wanting Manitoba to become a dumping ground for eastern left-overs and wanting to retain for Manitoba autonomy over the quality of its teachers.¹¹⁴

Local teachers, evidently, had confidence in the support of their interests by the LCWW, as they appealed to it for help to obtain longer vacations for schools at Easter. Representations on behalf of teachers produced an ambivalent reply from the Education Department to the effect that nothing could be done in the current year, since arrangements had already been made.¹¹⁵ The LCWW's involvement with teachers in the first few years of the twentieth century, in addition to its interest in the concerns of teachers, demonstrates the Council's confidence in making its own decisions, whether in regard to National Council policy or in regard to local government policy. This had been the pattern of the LCWW since its inception in 1894.

The initiatives of the LCWW were, of course, not always successful. In 1915, for example, the Council tried unsuccessfully to organize a Women's Work Conference, blaming its failure on the lack of cooperation of other organizations.¹¹⁶ Women, it seemed, were already fully engaged in volunteer war work within their affiliated organizations.

Immediately after the outbreak of war in 1914, and at the request of the Women's Civic League, the LCWW addressed the question of unemployment of women caused by the war. It held a public meeting and opened a Bureau of Employment, a free service offered to unemployed women. The Council managed the Bureau and organized volunteer workers; its expenses were met by some of its affiliates with generous help from the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau's public funds. In all, about 700 women were placed before an assessment of the situation indicated that the Bureau of Employment was no longer necessary. After its closure, similar help was given to women by a number of the Council's affiliates: the Catholic Women's Welcome League, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Girls' Home of Welcome and the YWCA.¹¹⁷

The first years of the war brought many new challenges to the LCWW, one of which concerned the peace proposals of the International Congress of Women at The Hague in April 1915. Nine months previously, on the eve of World War I in July 1914, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) had published a Manifesto which was circulated to the governments of its members, citing as the moral authority for its action women's "responsibilities as mothers of the race":

[We] call upon the governments of our several countries to avert the threatened and unparalleled disaster. We women of 26 countries in the

International Woman Suffrage Alliance appeal to you to leave untried no method or arbitration which may avert deluging half the civilized world in blood.¹¹⁸

The IWSA was founded in 1904 as an instrument through which woman suffrage activists could exchange ideas and keep abreast of developments in each other's countries. Regular conferences were held in European capitals until the outbreak of war. Among the American members of IWSA were Carrie Chapman Catt, who became President of the National American Women's Suffrage Association in 1916, and May Wright Sewall, a member of the Executive of the National Women's Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1887 and a leading player in the foundation of the International Council of Women (ICW).¹¹⁹

The war started in August 1914 and early in 1915, concerned American women founded the Women's Peace Party in an effort to find a way to end it. Amongst these women activists were Carrie Chapman Catt, Jane Addams, co-founder with Ellen Starr, her closest college friend, of the Hull House Settlement in Chicago, Crystal Eastman, feminist, socialist and labour lawyer and Mary Church Terrell, well-educated daughter of the South's first black millionaire. Terrell was the first president of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and a proponent of "social motherhood" redefined in universal terms.¹²⁰

In April 1915, over 1000 women assembled at the International Congress of Women at The Hague to protest against war. During the Congress, an International Committee for Permanent Peace was set up with branches in 22 countries, the Women's Peace Party becoming the American section of the Committee. From the Congress, women were sent to plead the cause of peace with heads of states of 14 European countries in an attempt to stop the war.¹²¹

The intensely patriotic feelings of the Winnipeg Council women towards the allies' war effort prompted them to oppose the pronouncements and actions of the International Congress of Women at The Hague, which they considered inappropriate while German troops were still in Belgium. The LCWW issued press statements to local newspapers and the Western Associated Press, making it clear that they thought the Congress endangered the war's successful outcome.¹²² In 1894, when the LCWW was founded, such a press release by a Winnipeg woman's organization would have been unthinkable.

During the war, the sudden increase in the price of food caused the Local Council concern. Council women carried out careful research. With the facts ascertained, in alliance with representatives of the City Council, the Trades and Labor Council and the Retail Merchants' Association, they appealed to the Provincial Government to make inquiries into the prices of certain foodstuffs. Although immediate results of this appeal were disappointing, Margaret McWilliams, currently President of the LCWW, was appointed to the provincial government Food Board in 1917. Her knowledge on the subject had been demonstrated in her address to the University Women's Club on the apparently high profits of some local food suppliers.¹²³

Their forays into the public arena in the war years probably encouraged the LCWW to take a stand in the strike of 400 telephone operators in 1918. Women of the Council were strike-breakers, manning the telephones to ensure, they stressed, that Canada's war effort would not suffer.¹²⁴

In the post-war industrial unrest of 1919, however, the LCWW was obviously unsure of its position. The President, McWilliams, appeared before the Mathers Industrial Commission pleading the "present labour unrest is largely due to the high cost of

living” and begging the Government “to adopt immediate radical measures towards its reduction.” In the meantime, the Council decided that it would take no action for or against the General Strike, and that meetings would be suspended for its duration.¹²⁵

During the Spring of 1919, the provincial government was working on the consolidation of its policy to extend its supervision of social agencies so that duplication of effort could be avoided. Delegates from twenty-five groups were invited to attend an organizational meeting for the Central Council of Social Agencies and Margaret McWilliams represented the LCWW.¹²⁶ At the time of its establishment in 1894, the Local Council provided the only link between the many groups of women working locally in the field of social service, and government had made use of the Council in various ways over the years. Once government had set up the Central Council of Social Agencies, part of the coordinating function of the LCWW would be performed by the official government body. However, this was only a portion of the work of the LCWW.

The final paragraphs of this chapter attempt to encapsulate the work of the LCWW in the first quarter century of its existence. Stemming from the founding of the ICW and the NCWC, the LCWW’s constitution followed fairly closely that proposed by the National Council for its affiliates. Many of the issues it tackled were originally National Council projects, but the Local Council never felt bound to follow national policy slavishly. Frequently, it pursued its own local initiatives. At the end of the period of this study, dissatisfaction with the National Council had decided the Local Council to withdraw temporarily from the national organization but procedural reforms undertaken at national level enabled the LCWW to return to the fold by 1923.

Section 3.2 dealt with some of the work of the Local Council that is termed “traditional”, work that is essentially very similar to the duties women performed in their homes, for their families, and in their close-knit religious communities, work that the male portion of their society would have recognized as appropriate concerns for women. The LCWW mobilized and coordinated women’s activities, facilitating the establishment of a Children’s Hospital and a Convalescent Home and the foundation of the Victoria Order of Nurses and the Red Cross. It tackled the care of immigrant women, raised funds for famine victims in India and, during the war, it collected money for a Canadian hospital ship.

In Section 3.3, the Council’s work of a “transformative” nature was discussed. These were the activities performed by the LCWW in which women extended their sphere of influence in the community well beyond traditional boundaries. They put their stamp on education by pushing for new courses in schools, even creating a model for a new discipline, Domestic Science; they established their right to influence the care of the mentally disabled and the treatment of young offenders and delinquent women; they campaigned for changes in the law to give women more financial security and encouraged women to make use of newly won political equality; and they pressed for better working conditions and status for women in various types of employment. In so doing, the women worked to transform society in many ways and they transformed perspectives on the place of their gender in society. The next chapter deals with the women who made this transformation possible.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER 3

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CHAPTER 4: WOMEN OF THE COUNCIL

This chapter gives a statistical profile of the women of the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW) and then discusses a number of prominent women who participated in the work of the Council.

4.1: STATISTICAL PROFILE OF WOMEN OF THE LCWW

Section 4.1 presents a statistical profile of the women of the LCWW. Details of 187 LCWW members in the period 1894-1920 are given in Appendix C. The compilation of this data represents a major expenditure of research effort since it necessitated detailed examination of many sources: minutes and reports of both the LCWW and the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC); archival materials in PAM of the various organizations connected with the LCWW for the period; newspaper reports in the Manitoba Free Press and the Tribune; magazine articles in The Beaver; Marilyn Smith, "Women in Manitoba History-Herstory: Research and Biographies", an unpublished report in the Historic Resources Branch of the Manitoba Department of Culture, Heritage and Citizenship, 1974; and books containing references to the women and to their environment, for example, Alan F. J. Artibese, Gateway City: Documents of the City of Winnipeg 1873-1913; Alan F. J. Artibese, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914; Mary Kinnear, ed., First Days, Fighting Days and Mary Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams. An Interwar Feminist. In order to trace addresses and occupations, extensive use was made of Henderson's Directories, 1894-1920 and the Winnipeg Street Guide. Data sources for the various columns of Appendix C are discussed more specifically in the following paragraphs.

The Minutes of the LCWW were the main source of member names, organizations represented on the Council, offices held and year when first traced in the records. Annual Reports of the NCWC were also examined in Ottawa; these filled in gaps as well as confirming LCWW records. These two sources together allowed a complete count of all women who held office in the LCWW, together with an extensive list of other active members.

Particularly in the early years, the records kept by the LCWW were usually excellent, revealing the high quality of the work of the Recording Secretaries. From time to time, however, the emphasis of what should properly be included in the Minutes varied. As the numbers of affiliated organizations increased, details of their representatives on the Council were sometimes omitted. In the early years, at Annual Meetings, a representative of each affiliated organization read a report of that organization's work during the past year. This practice became too time-consuming with the growth in the number of affiliates and representatives supplied written reports. Membership lists with addresses for each year have not always survived in the Local Council records but these are often available in the yearly reports sent to the NCWC.

To sum up, all office holders in the Council are documented in Appendix C, together with the vast majority of ordinary members who attended meetings of the LCWW. It is not possible to be definitive on the proportion of active members missing from the Appendix, but this is not thought to be substantial, perhaps of the order of ten percent. Missing members would almost certainly have been fringe participants in the Council's work.

Addresses of members were obtained mainly from the LCWW and NCWC sources. Supplementary information was obtained from Henderson's Directory. Winnipeg addresses were assigned to the various geographical areas of the city defined in Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914, as explained in Appendix C.

Information on the occupations of husbands of LCWW members was obtained from Henderson's Directory, with examination of earlier years also providing data on the previous occupations of husbands of some women who appeared to have been widowed before joining the LCWW. Henderson's also provided the occupations of many of the single working women. The occupations of married women who were working had to be obtained from other sources, namely extensive reading concerning women who were active outside their homes.

Table 1 shows the marital status of LCWW members.

Table 1: Marital Status of Women of the LCWW

	Number	%
Married/Widowed	155	83
Single	32	17
TOTAL	187	100

Five-sixths of the women of the LCWW were married or widowed and one-sixth were single. Given that Winnipeg was on the frontier of settlement during this period with men constantly outnumbering women,¹ it is perhaps surprising that there were so many single women connected with the Council. Throughout the period, the City of

Winnipeg had a majority of males in its population but it contained proportionately more females than the Province of Manitoba as a whole. One reason for the number of single women in the LCWW is almost certainly that, at this time, women who wanted to pursue professional careers frequently had to choose between marriage and career. Another is that a number of the single women in the Council were young women who would marry later.²

Table 2 shows the distribution of office-holders among LCWW members.

Table 2: Office-holders in the LCWW

	Officers	Other Members	Total
Married/Widowed	49	106	155
Single	4	28	32
TOTAL	53	134	187

The office-holders of the LCWW were predominantly married. Thirty-two percent of the married women held office at some time in the Council, against only 12.5% of the single women. With their paid jobs and their voluntary work in the organizations they represented on the LCWW, it is likely that most single women would not have had the time or energy to hold office in the LCWW. Prior to 1915/16, there had been only one single woman office-holder, Margaret Thompson, and no record of her having any paid employment has been found. The other three single women were not elected to office until after the start of the First World War. However, this sparsity of office-holders did not extend to married women with documented jobs either currently or at some time in the past. Of the 17 women in this category, six served as officers of the LCWW, including three Presidents: Bond, Bryce and McWilliams.

Although it is known that all three continued to use their professional skills after their marriages and both Bryce and McWilliams received payment for some of their work, for the most part, they all had major commitments to service in the volunteer sector of their community throughout the latter part of their lives.

The women in the survey who worked for the Council as officers were obviously strongly enough committed to its goals to share in its work. About two-thirds of the officers held one or other of the offices in the LCWW for three or more years, four women were officers for fourteen years and one, Jessie McEwen, worked as Provincial Vice-President for twenty years.

A possible exception in the area of commitment may be some of the women who held the office of Honorary President. It was customary for the wife of the current Lieutenant-Governor to be appointed to the office of Honorary President of the Council, since her presence at LCWW functions might add lustre and importance to the organization. Although some Vice-Presidents may have been elected for similar reasons, this position was sometimes a stepping stone from which a woman went on to serve the Council in another capacity. In addition, some of the Vice-Presidents were women who had given years of service to the LCWW and the office was used to retain a close connection with them.

Table 3 shows the location of the residences of women of the Council, using the Artibise groupings mentioned earlier and described in Appendix C.

Table 3: Area of Residence of Women of the LCWW

	Number	%
Central Core	67	36
North End	8	4
South End	52	28
West End	44	23
Suburbs (a)	6	3
Rural Manitoba (b)	5	3
Not precisely located (c)	5	3
TOTAL	187	100

(a) Three from St. Boniface and one each from Middlechurch, St. James and West Kildonan.

(b) Two from Hamiota and one each from Brandon, Morris and Virden.

(c) Although addresses were available for four of these women, they could not be allocated to an area because of changes in street names or apartment blocks in a street that spanned two areas.

The women of the LCWW resided mainly in the Central Core, South End and West End of Winnipeg. The relative importance of these areas as residential locations for Council members was changing during the period of this study. In 1894/95 at the start of the LCWW, 75% of the members were from the Central Core and 21% from the South and West Ends. By 1915, only 17% of new members lived in the Central Core and 67% in the South and West Ends. This development is not surprising in view of the geographical growth of Winnipeg in these years.

Only eight of the women lived in the North End: two working women and a widow; one clergyman's wife; three wives of men probably in modest positions; and the wife of "Winnipeg millionaire" Drewry, the brewer. Proximity to work must have been the reason for the residential location of the deaconess and the wives of the clergyman and the brewer. This reason may also have applied to some of the other five North End residents or, alternatively, the location may have suited their financial circumstances better than more prosperous areas of the city. In terms of officers of the LCWW, three came from the North End and this would be adequate representation from a base of only eight members.

Representation from rural Manitoba was naturally low; there were transportation difficulties in travelling to Winnipeg and women outside Winnipeg, who were interested in working for the type of goals of the LCWW, had some opportunity to join the limited number of Local Councils operating in rural Manitoba. Apart from Jessie McEwen, the rural women represented Home Economics Societies. Jessie McEwen, a farmer's wife, attended meetings of the Winnipeg Council in her capacity as Provincial Vice-President for Manitoba, in addition to being President of the Brandon Council.

The occupations of the husbands of the women of the LCWW and of the women themselves, where appropriate, are listed in Appendix C. To a considerable extent, this examination of occupations also serves as a measure of social class. John Porter in The Vertical Mosaic suggests that:

the most commonly used objective criteria of class are income, occupation, property ownership, and education, all of which are ways of expressing objective economic differences among members of the society. . . . Income, education, and occupation as indices of class correlate highly.³

As Kinnear states, in the context of western Canada in the period of this study, “The economic determinants of a man’s class were the level of his income and its origin.”⁴ The status of women who married tended to sink, or rise, to the level of that of their husband.⁵ Of the 187 women listed in Appendix C, 138 or 74% were married or widowed with no traced paid employment during their years of association with the Council. A further 17 women or 9% of the total had jobs and were married or widowed. The occupations pursued by the women of the LCWW themselves, both married and unmarried, are examined later.

Table 4 shows the occupations of the husbands of women of the LCWW. The occupational groups used are described in the table and the figures were compiled from information given in Henderson’s Directory for each year of the study period and included in Appendix C. Although this identification of occupations is generally accurate from cross-checks with information given elsewhere, sometimes Henderson does not always give the whole picture. For example, the husband of Katherine Bawlf is modestly described as a “grain dealer”, but from other sources it is clear that he was a millionaire.

Table 4: Occupations of Husbands of Women of the LCWW

	Husbands of Married Women Not Employed	Husbands of Married Women with Own Job	Total
Businessmen: Proprietors (a)	17	2	19
Senior Managers	9	1	10
Sub-total	26	3	29
Professionals: Lawyers	19	1	20
Medical Doctors (b)	10	3	13
Clergy	5	1	6
Professors	3	1	4
Journalists	1	1	2
Architects	1	-	1
Sub-total	39	7	46
Land Agents/Real Estate	7	-	7
Middle Management & Equivalent: Business (c)	12	2	14
Financial Services (d)	9	-	9
Brokers and Agents	5	-	5
Sub-total	26	2	28

	Husbands of Married Women Not Employed	Husbands of Married Women with Own Job	Total
Government:			
Federal	2	1	3
Provincial	4	-	4
City of Winnipeg (e)	4	-	4
Army Officers	2	-	2
Sub-total	12	1	13
Clerks and Bookkeepers	6	1	7
Others (f)	3	1	4
Not Known (g)	19	2	21
TOTAL	138	17	155

- (a) Includes five of seven "Winnipeg millionaires" with wives active in LCWW as identified in Appendix C.
- (b) Includes one dentist and one veterinary surgeon.
- (c) Department heads of businesses, but not chief executives classed as senior managers in the table. Of these business middle managers, three were employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway and three by the Hudson Bay Company.
- (d) Accountants, bank managers, insurance agents and other financial agents.
- (e) Includes two Winnipeg School Board employees.
- (f) Consists of a barber, a butcher and two farmers.
- (g) The majority of women in this category were widowed before they joined the LCWW.

Comments on Table 4 commence with the total column. Later, the occupations of husbands of married women with their own jobs are discussed to see whether these diverge from the total figures. There will be no separate discussion of the husbands of married women not in paid employment; these women comprise almost nine-tenths of the total number of married women who were members of the LCWW and a separate examination of these women would be largely duplicative of the discussion of the total column. In quoting percentages below, husbands whose occupations were not known are excluded; thus all percentages on the total column are based on 155 less 21 = 134.

Of the husbands of the women of the LCWW, 29 or 22% were classed as businessmen, i.e., proprietors (or entrepreneurs) and senior managers. Among the proprietors, there are five Winnipeg millionaires: Bawlf, the grain dealer already mentioned; Brown, a land investor, who moved from Portage la Prairie to Winnipeg in 1909; Cameron, a lumberman; Drewry, a brewer; and McMillan, a lumberman, miller and real estate investor. Examples of other proprietors, to indicate the general background, include Goldstein of Manitoba Clothing; Hudson of Hudson Paper; and Walker of the Walker Theatre. Senior business managers were defined as high level employees rather than entrepreneurs. They included Bury, the General Manager of CPR; MacMillan, Vice-President of Prudential Life Insurance; and Sharman, Manager of Canadian Ingot Iron Culvert. While there could be some exceptions, the husbands of this group of 24 LCWW women were generally prosperous.

Professional occupations accounted for 46 husbands of the women of the LCWW or 34% of the total. Lawyers predominated, followed by medical doctors and the clergy. With the exception of the clergy, income levels would have generally been very comfortable. Even among the clergy, there was one Winnipeg millionaire: Gordon,

a clergyman, author under the name of Ralph Connor of popular Canadian adventure stories, and real estate investor. The lawyers also included a Winnipeg millionaire: J. A. M. Aikins, barrister, real estate investor and ultimately Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.

Occupations in land development and real estate were followed by 7 husbands or 5% of the total. These men are likely to have been comfortable rather than wealthy, as developers operating on a large scale, such as Bettes and Scarth, are included as business proprietors in Table 4. It is not possible always to be certain as to which category some of the husbands belonged and, from one period of time to another, there may have been crossovers between categories.

Middle management and equivalent occupations were followed by 28 husbands or 21% of the women of the LCWW. Business middle management was fairly easy to identify: department heads in Winnipeg for the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Hudson Bay Company, the secretary of the Bole Drug Company, the treasurer of the International Elevator Company, the secretary-treasurer of the Stovel Company and similar occupations. Financial services were a little more varied, ranging from a bank manager and an accountant to insurance agents. Brokers and agents were also varied, but the only Winnipeg millionaire who put himself into this category was re-assigned as a business proprietor in Table 4. On the whole, the middle management group would have enjoyed a reasonable standard of living without being wealthy.

The wives of government employees would probably have been in similar circumstances to the wives of middle management husbands. These occupations were followed by 13 husbands or 10% of the total. Federal employees were found, for example, in customs, the post office and the Indian Commissioner's Office;

provincial employees were in public works and the legislature's staff; City of Winnipeg employees were in surveying and municipal assessment; and the two army officers were both majors, one of whom commanded the Fort Osborne Barracks.

The last employment category was clerks, bookkeepers and others, occupations followed by 11 husbands or 8% of the total. This would tend to be the lowest economic group. Yet, even here, it is not possible to generalize completely. Self-described bookkeeper Jobin, for example, seems to have been employed by the family firm of Jobin, Morrin Co. The other occupations in this group were a barber, a butcher and two farmers. Nothing is known of the barber; from other sources of information about their wives, the butcher and the two farmers were in comfortable economic circumstances.

The overall conclusion from this examination of the occupations of husbands of women of the LCWW is clear. The organization attracted the wives of businessmen, professionals and other members of the middle class. Many of the women came from comfortable as distinct from wealthy backgrounds but there was negligible working class representation from married women. In The Vertical Mosaic, Porter states that "Almost every large Canadian city has its wealthy and prominent families . . . and they take on the charitable and philanthropic roles which have so long been the "duty" of those of high status."⁶ The married women of the LCWW bear out this claim although, as Winnipeg was such a new and rapidly growing city in the period under study, the task was carried out by both the rich and the financially comfortable.

Column 2 of Table 4 shows the occupations of the husbands of the LCWW women who also had their own jobs. Omitting two women whose husbands' occupations were not known, this leaves only 15 women to be analyzed, too small a number for

more than very general comment. Of the husbands, 10 were businessmen or professionals, i.e., 67%. Given the small sample size, this is not significantly different from the corresponding figure for all husbands, i.e., 56%. A similar comment would apply to the other occupational groups. It is concluded that the occupational groupings of husbands of LCWW women who worked themselves were very similar to the occupational pattern of husbands of married LCWW women who worked only in the voluntary sector.

Table 5 shows the occupations of women of the LCWW who are known to have been in gainful employment either during their association with the Council or, in the case of a few of the married women, when they were single. The single women listed were working at their occupations for pay. On the other hand, while some married women also worked at their professional occupations for pay, others sometimes performed such duties in a voluntary capacity.

Table 5: Occupations of Working Women of the LCWW

	Single	Married	Total
Professionals:			
Medical Doctors	2	1	3
Clergy	1	-	1
Professors	2	1	3
Journalists	4	8	12
Nurses	9	1	10
Teachers	4	2	6
Other (a)	-	2	2
Sub-total	22	15	37
Real Estate	-	1	1
Middle Management (b)	-	1	1
City of Winnipeg	1	-	1
Clerks (c)	2	-	2
TOTAL (d)	25	17	42

(a) One photographer and one MLA.

(b) Publicity Manager for Walker Theatre and wife of proprietor.

(c) Representatives of Maccabees on LCWW and probably shop clerks.

(d) Excludes seven single members of LCWW who appeared to have worked only in the voluntary sector.

The women who worked were practically all in professional occupations. The educational level of these women was impressive and, while they may not all have

had such varied careers as Annie Bond, who is discussed later, they must clearly have been intelligent and enterprising women. However, as they worked mainly in journalism, nursing and teaching, working women in professions would have earned appreciably less than professional men married to LCWW members, where the employment concentration was in law and medicine. The main difference between the occupational structures of single and married women workers was the heavy representation of nursing among single women and of journalism among married women. Many of the nurses represented fledgling professional associations working for better status and conditions for women in nursing. The journalists were members of the politically active Winnipeg Branch of the Canadian Women's Press Club. It was easier for married women to combine household duties with journalism than with the duties of some other careers, though by no means all of the LCWW journalists worked from their homes.

The occupations followed by women of the LCWW in Table 5 can be compared with the occupations of the husbands of married LCWW members in Table 4. With the overwhelming majority of working women in professions, the occupational status of the women would be comparable with that of the husbands. However, the incomes earned would have averaged appreciably less, even apart from the fact that many married women workers were not always working for pay. Firstly, there were no women in the very high income "businessmen" class and no female Winnipeg millionaires. Secondly, women professionals were in less well-paid professions than male professionals. Thirdly, male jobs in land and real estate, middle management, and government would have paid more than many female professional jobs, such as nursing and teaching.

Superficially, the findings of this statistical profile of the women of the LCWW would seem quite straightforward. Five-sixths of the women were married or widowed and they dominated the list of office holders. Of 53 office holders, only four were single and only one of these held office in the years before World War I. The women lived predominantly in the Central Core and the newer residential areas of the South and West Ends of Winnipeg; the working class North End of the city was very sparsely represented in the Council. The surnames of the women were overwhelmingly of United Kingdom origin, though many of the women had been born in Ontario; there was a small sprinkling of French-Canadian names, but negligible representation of other nationalities.

Over half the husbands of LCWW members were businessmen or professionals, able to provide a prosperous lifestyle, while the balance were middle managers, government employees, real estate people and clerks, certainly not wealthy but far from being poor. Working class representation on the Council was minimal to non-existent.

It may be tempting to conclude that the women of the LCWW were predominantly WASP “do-gooders” with prosperous or, at least, reasonably comfortably-placed husbands and little economic need to engage in paid work. Strong-Boag leans towards this conclusion in her examination of the membership of the NCWC:

Its membership, especially at the executive level, made it unlikely the NCWC would be “frivolous”, much more probable that it would be “conservative” on vital issues. . . . Married women could not easily supply harsh indictments of the marital state; non-working women were not often driven to take up cudgels for women’s rights to non-domestic roles.⁷

Yet, such a conclusion does far less than justice to the women of the Local Council in Winnipeg. The data in Appendix C suggests that very few of the members of the LCWW could be accused of not being engaged in serious work for the causes to which they were committed. Married women who held paid jobs still found time to work in voluntary organizations, sometimes in several different ones. The majority of members, who were not in paid employment, worked hard in their affiliated organizations in addition to the time they spent at LCWW meetings and helping with its projects. The Minutes of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), an affiliate of the LCWW, contains a specific reference to the type of women who formed the membership of the WCTU, women who were busy with work in their homes "with no time to kill", mostly women in "moderate circumstances, neither very wealthy nor very poor, who yet found time to work hard and faithfully for the goals in which they believed."⁸ Typically, the women of the Council were more concerned with the accomplishment of the goals of the organizations to which they belonged than with personal status.⁹

Moreover, in an age when higher education and independence were not widely available to women, a significant number of Council members had occupied administrative positions in their fields. For example, Annie Bond had been a hospital matron in New Zealand before her marriage and Eva Jones was principal of Havergal College. Trailblazers among the members included Martha Jane Hample who was involved in real estate and was the second woman to serve as a member of the Winnipeg School Board; Cora Hind, a world-renowned agricultural journalist; Edith Rogers, who became Manitoba's first woman MLA in 1920; Margaret McWilliams, who lectured in current affairs and, as a member of local and national government bodies, helped formulate public policy in Canada; Florence Thompson, founding librarian at the University of Manitoba; Hattie Walker, publicity manager for her

husband's theatre; Mary Speechly, who worked as a photographer in Pilot Mound and, later, became the first President of the Winnipeg Birth Control Society; and, for a few years, the fiery, suffragist orator and best-selling author, Nellie McClung. As has been mentioned in the section dealing specifically with the PEL, although other PEL members valued the support that the LCWW gave to women's suffrage, McClung considered the Council was not vocal enough in the campaign.¹⁰

Appendix C contains the names of many other women who made significant contributions to their communities, either in their professional lives or in volunteer work, and in so doing enhanced the quality of life for both women and society in general. In the next section, the contributions of some of the prominent women of the LCWW are described.

4.2: VIGNETTES OF INDIVIDUAL WOMEN

The membership of the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg consisted of women from a variety of voluntary organizations, who came together under the umbrella of the Council to work towards the achievement of specific goals, goals that were both female-oriented and female-inspired. As was shown in the section of this study dealing with the LCWW's affiliated organizations, priorities of the member organizations and the women who represented them in the Council differed. The statistical survey of women of the LCWW in the first part of this chapter revealed that the Council could call on a wide range of talents, knowledge and experience among its members to assist in its various studies and projects. Twelve of the women who worked towards the achievement of the Council's goals are discussed in this section. Together, they represent a variety of the widespread skills and interests available to

the LCWW. In addition, references are made in the chapters on the work of the Council and its affiliates to many of the other members.

A new institution owes much to the quality and enthusiasm of its charter members and, in particular, to that of its founding President. In its first President, the Council was fortunate. Agnes Schultz, a strong woman capable of independent action when the occasion arose, had lived through the tumultuous days of the establishment of the Province of Manitoba. She had seen the birth of the City of Winnipeg and the beginning of its spectacular growth towards an industrial metropolis. Few women could have been better placed to understand the problems facing its female citizens.

Schultz was the daughter of James F. Farquerson of Kingston, Jamaica and of British Guiana and granddaughter of William Farquerson of Balmoral, Scotland. She married John Schultz in 1867. As she was a Roman Catholic, the ceremony was performed in St. Boniface by Father Georges Dugas. The man she married, John Schultz, son of a Lutheran family, arrived in Winnipeg in 1861, after studying medicine in Queen's College and Victoria College in Ontario. He practised as a physician and surgeon for a time and went into partnership in retail trade with his stepbrother, Henry McKenney, a business relationship that was dissolved after bitter disputes. On one occasion, Agnes, evidently a spirited young woman, barricaded a constable in their store to enable her husband to escape arrest for debt. Increasingly, John Schultz speculated in real estate, beginning to lay the foundation for the wealth that would later be used for charitable purposes. As the years went by, his wife followed the tradition of wealthy women who dedicated much of their time and their money to religious and philanthropic enterprises.

At the time of the formation of the LCWW in 1894, Agnes Schultz's husband was the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. It was assumed by Lady Aberdeen, the Governor-General's consort and the President of the National Council of Women of Canada, that Lady Schultz would perform a similar role in the new Winnipeg Council. In her person, Schultz combined both prominence as the Lieutenant-Governor's wife and prominence as a leading philanthropist in Winnipeg. Council Minutes indicate that she was a "hands-on" president: she was almost always in the chair at LCWW meetings and took an active part in discussions, policy formation and work. Far from being a figurehead on the Council, Schultz was a committed participant in its projects, laying a solid foundation for future growth.

After her resignation in 1895 to accompany her ailing husband to Mexico, where he died the following year, Schultz returned to Winnipeg and became the Honorary Vice-President of the LCWW. She outlived her husband by more than thirty years, leaving her estate to a long list of religious, charitable and hospital organizations.¹¹

In contrast to the short tenure of its first President, two of her successors, Marion Bryce and Annie Bond, provided the Council with the stability that comes from long-serving leaders, and probably influenced the LCWW during its first quarter century more than any of its other members. Together, their association with the Council spanned almost the entire period of this study. Bryce was a charter member and Bond served until 1919. Both these presidents were enterprising and independent women who had held professional and administrative positions.

Marion Bryce, née Samuel, was born in Kirkliston, Scotland in 1839 into a prosperous farming family. After being privately educated, she emigrated to Toronto to become Principal of Mrs. Birnie's Ladies' School. She moved to Winnipeg on her marriage

in 1872 to the Rev. Dr. George Bryce, the young Presbyterian minister five years her junior, who had been sent out from Toronto to found a College among the Kildonan settlers.¹² On her arrival, she became Principal of the Winnipeg Ladies' Higher School, which the Bryces opened in their own home at the corner of Bannatyne Avenue and Rorie Street.¹³ Thus, on her marriage, Bryce left her position in Toronto to join her husband in Winnipeg, but she did not abandon her career. Since her new school was opened in her home, it is reasonable to suppose she had her husband's support. Married women who continued to pursue their careers in the late nineteenth century needed a supportive husband. Later, Bryce did some teaching at Manitoba College, where her husband was a professor. In addition to helping her husband with his historical research, she wrote and presented two papers to the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba in 1899 and 1901, the former on the history of Winnipeg's charitable institutions and the second entitled "Early Red River Culture".¹⁴

Marion Bryce had only one child, George Norman, who died in 1873 shortly after birth.¹⁵ Like a number of other women of her time who had no children to rear, Bryce seems to have devoted much of the time she might otherwise have spent in bringing up a family to voluntary work in her community. In 1883, Bryce was a charter member of the Women's Christian Union (WCU) and became its second President. In describing the founding of the WCU in her paper to the Historical Society mentioned above, Bryce makes it clear that women came together in the WCU to unite in undertaking "some important work" and that "The proposed work naturally took the form of work among women."¹⁶ The WCU was an early Winnipeg example of a group of self-motivated women formulating their own organization with goals that were important to themselves.

Bryce served as President of the WCU for twenty-five years, taking the WCU and its female-inspired and female-oriented goals into the LCWW as one of that institution's founding affiliates in 1894. In her subsequent connection with the Council, which lasted eighteen years, she displayed the same confidence in her gender's mission to work together for goals important to women, passing on to her fellow Council members many of her concerns and much of her dedication. For fourteen of those years, Bryce served as an officer of the LCWW, from 1895 to 1898 as Vice-President, from 1899 to 1905 as President and from 1907 to 1909 as Treasurer.¹⁷ In the years from 1904, at different times, she represented the Lady Minto Hospital Association and the Victoria Order of Nurses as well as the WCU on the Council. Not surprisingly for a woman who had had a professional career as a teacher, during Bryce's presidency, the Council turned a good deal of its attention to the education of women. In an early Council meeting, Bryce urged the importance of educating the human being rather than orienting training to a person's gender,¹⁸ an interesting glimpse of a feminist view of the world.

Annie Bond, a trained nurse, was another professional woman with administrative experience. Records show that she was connected with the LCWW for fourteen years, serving as an officer for the whole period. She was President of the Council for eight years and for the remainder of her service was a Vice-President. Thus, both Bryce and Bond were LCWW officers for fourteen years. Chapter 3 reveals that, like Bryce, Bond brought her professional concerns to the Council's attention. For instance, during her presidency, the Council worked with her to establish the Children's Hospital.

Born in England in 1854, Annie A. Bond became one of the first ten nursing sisters in the Royal Army Medical Corps, serving overseas in the Zulu War of 1879 and

subsequently in the Second Afghanistan War and the Egyptian Campaign. After her army service, this adventurous young woman emigrated to New Zealand, where she established that country's first School of Nursing. In 1886, she married an Auckland Hospital physician, Dr. J. H. R. Bond. Later, after a short time in the United States, the couple settled in Winnipeg in 1893.¹⁹

In the early days of Bond's residence in Winnipeg, she became aware of the desperate need for medical attention of sick children in her community. At first, she opened her home on frequent occasions to nurse these children back to health but she soon realized that the only long-term solution was for Winnipeg to have its own Children's Hospital. She saw the women of the Council as potential allies in this endeavour. Bond's enthusiasm was contagious and together, Bond and the Council women "formed guilds, held bazaars, sold paper flowers and ran teashops" to raise money.²⁰

Suffragist and LCWW member, Lillian Beynon Thomas wrote of Bond in a paper to the Historical Society, "Some Manitoba Women who did First Things", that she had been "honoured by her sister nurses, by the doctors, by the army, by the church and by her country, her adopted country, but definitely and deeply her country." Yet, she had found this exceptional woman, who had been awarded the Royal Red Cross, Egyptian medals and the Victoria medal, alone one afternoon in an otherwise empty shop on Portage Avenue selling cups of tea to raise money for the Children's Hospital.²¹ The organizer behind the drive to establish the Children's Hospital was at work in the trenches.

Three women who were medical doctors were associated with the work of the Council: Amelia Yeomans, Mary Crawford and Ellen Douglass. Hardly surprisingly,

since duties connected with their professional careers must have been time-consuming, none of these women served as presidents. However, all these women gave voluntary service to various LCWW affiliates and supported the Council as ordinary members. Their professional status and their specialized knowledge was valuable and utilized in the LCWW program.

Amelia Yeomans was the second woman doctor to practise in Winnipeg, arriving in the city in 1883 to join her daughter, Lillian, who had begun to practise as a doctor in Winnipeg the previous year. Like her daughter, Lillian, Amelia graduated as a doctor from Michigan State University. Unlike Charlotte Ross, the first female doctor to work in Manitoba, who had a general practice in Whitemouth, Manitoba, both the Yeomans specialized in midwifery and diseases of women and children and Amelia Yeomans devoted a considerable part of her time to social medicine.²²

Yeomans was born in 1842 in Quebec, Lower Canada of a “well-educated and highly-motivated family.” Her father, Peter LeSeur, a native of Belleville, Ontario was a civil servant and in 1882 became one of the first members of the Board of Civil Service Examiners. Amelia’s marriage in 1860 to Dr. Augustus A. Yeomans, a medical doctor practising near Belleville, who later became an army surgeon, lasted until his death in 1878. Two children were born to the Yeomans, Lillian and Charlotte. After the death of her husband, Yeomans joined her daughter, Lillian, in the United States, where both women obtained their medical degrees.²³

At the time Yeomans arrived in Winnipeg, the city was commencing a period of rapid expansion and it had already grown from a frontier post of 241 people ten years before to 8,000 by 1881.²⁴ Practising out of the home she shared with her daughter over an American Plumbing Company in the downtown area, Amelia Yeomans’

focus on social medicine is not difficult to understand, surrounded as she was by the proliferating problems of a burgeoning frontier community. She treated women and children in the poorest areas of the city, alleviating some of their physical suffering, and was sometimes accompanied by journalist Cora Hind. Together the two women, who shared the work and goals of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and, later, the Equal Franchise Association (EFA), used whatever means they possessed to publicize the condition in which large numbers of Winnipeg's citizens lived.²⁵

Yeomans exposed conditions in clothing factories where women laboured for low wages in badly lit, poorly ventilated and unsanitary environments. She worked to improve the housing of the poor and stressed the need for better conditions in prisons. She encouraged more consideration for immigrants from foreign countries, managing to enlist the help of some of the city's clergymen, businessmen and politicians. However, although publicizing the dangers of venereal disease was intended to aid her campaign to stamp out prostitution, her discussion of this subject offended the sensibilities of many of Winnipeg's prominent citizens. An early advocate of birth control, Yeomans' pamphlet "Warning to Girls" caused considerable consternation.²⁶

As a member of the WCTU, believing that alcohol was an underlying cause of a great deal of human misery, Yeomans campaigned for prohibition. A much-appreciated and much-respected lecturer, she occupied a position of influence, causing one reporter to enthuse both on the "excellent matter" contained in her address and "the genial, kindly and benevolent force of the speaker."²⁷ She served as WCTU Provincial President in 1896-97.

In common with many women in the WCTU, Yeomans came to believe that women needed an official role in politics in order to improve their situation in society. By 1891, Manitoba WCTU had officially endorsed women's right to vote and in 1893 staged a Mock Parliament at the Bijou Theatre, with Yeomans acting as Premier and giving a rousing speech in favour of women's franchise. In the wake, a year later, of a frustrated attempt to get a women's franchise measure debated in the Manitoba Legislature, Yeomans formed the Equal Franchise Association (EFA) in 1894, considering that the need for women's enfranchisement was sufficiently important to warrant an organization specifically devoted to this goal. The EFA's methods were chiefly concerned with the education of their members on the need for women's suffrage and the distribution of suffrage literature.²⁸ The Association did not make any spectacular advances towards the achievement of the franchise for women but it did prepare the ground for the success of the Political Equality League, formed in 1912 and triumphant in 1916.

Yeomans was one of the founding members of the LCWW, attending the inaugural meeting on March 27, 1894.²⁹ The previous month, this energetic campaigner had seen the WCTU unsuccessful in attempting to obtain a debate in the Manitoba Legislature on the women's franchise. It is logical to suppose that Yeomans may have seen hope for the future in the Council's potential as a self-avowed organ through which women from a multitude of organizations could make their needs known and work together for goals important to their gender. In the succeeding months, Yeomans must have realized that the LCWW had many goals and that women's enfranchisement might be advanced obliquely by the Council, but that the franchise for women would come more quickly through an organization devoted exclusively to this goal. Hence, she established the EFA in November 1894. This energetic and

multi-gifted woman was willing to use whatever allies and means she could muster in her fight for better conditions in society for her gender.

Another talented woman in the LCWW, a doctor who also devoted herself to improving the situation of women in society, was Mary Elizabeth Crawford. Born in 1876 in Litherland in Lancashire, England, she was the daughter of Matthew and Mary Crawford. Both parents were natives of Scotland and her father was a captain in the Mercantile Marine. Her mother had had a liberal education and taught English at the German court to members of the royal entourage. Captain Crawford died in 1887 and his wife emigrated to Canada to become principal of the Presbyterian Ladies' College in Ottawa, dying there in 1892.³⁰

Mary Crawford obtained her medical degree from the Ontario Medical College for Women and was then employed as an intern at the West Philadelphia Hospital for Women and Children in Pennsylvania. She arrived in Winnipeg in 1901 to set up a practice for women and children. In addition to running a large private practice, she worked as medical inspector of girls in Winnipeg public and high schools. She served for a time as president of the International Association of Women Physicians.³¹

In addition to her professional pursuits, Crawford had wide interests, ranging from recreational activities to political, religious, social and philanthropic concerns. For example, she was an active member of the Alpine Club³² and she enjoyed travel, some of the latter coming her way by means of the medical conferences she attended. She was a member of Knox Church, a charter member and second President of the Political Equality League (PEL), and, among other activities, a founding member of the Women's University Club in Winnipeg, and a member of the Maccabees Society and the Humane Society.³³ The last four organizations were members of the LCWW

and Crawford represented them on the Council at various times. In connection with her work for the PEL, she researched and wrote a pamphlet entitled "Legal status of women in Manitoba as shown by extracts from dominion and provincial laws."³⁴ In 1912, Crawford was the author of a maternity pamphlet distributed through the Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer to women in rural areas who did not have easy access to medical services.³⁵

Dr. Crawford generously shared her medical expertise with the LCWW and its affiliates. For instance, after attending a conference in the States, she gave a talk on sex hygiene to the Manitoba Home Economics Association.³⁶ When the LCWW was studying a particular health issue, Dr. Crawford would attend the meeting to give a talk on the subject or to give expert advice. At a Sub-Executive Meeting of the Council on January 16, 1920, she spoke on work being done in schools for backward and "supposedly mentally defective" children, agreeing to the holding of an open meeting of the Council at which she and a teacher, Miss Rogers, would address the public on this topic.³⁷

Mary Crawford managed to have a successful professional career and worked through the LCWW and other women's, or mainly women's, organizations to improve the lot of her gender in society. In addition, she found time for self-fulfilment in recreational activities such as travel and membership in the Alpine Club.

Margaret Ellen Douglass, a third woman doctor on the list of LCWW women surveyed, was born in Stanley, New Brunswick, the daughter of Andrew and Martha Douglass. After obtaining her medical degree at Ontario Medical College for Women in 1905, she went to the New York Infirmary for Women and Children as house physician in addition to undertaking some postgraduate work. In 1909, she arrived

in Winnipeg where she began building a large practice. She became the medical examiner for Manitoba Government Telephone Company, the attending physician to the Children's Aid Society and clinician to the Jewish Mission. Like Crawford, she was a founding member of the Women's University Club and, like both Crawford and Yeomans, she seems to have enjoyed a high professional status and been a popular member of her community.³⁸ R. B. Mitchell in Medicine in Manitoba declares that Douglass had "uncommon energy, organizing ability and (a) public speaking gift"³⁹ Mitchell also states that she was President of the Women's Canadian Club of Winnipeg, Honorary President of the Federation of Medical Women, Provincial Commissioner of St. John's Ambulance Brigade, and in 1938 represented Canada at international meetings of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

Douglass was a member of the LCWW on which she represented the Winnipeg Women's Volunteer Reserve Corps and the Winnipeg Women's Rifle Association listed in Appendix A and described in Chapter 2.2. She founded both organizations and trained the recruits, turning a large group of mostly young, working-class women into a confident corps of women capable of acting with competence in a national emergency. While serving overseas in World War I as an officer in the Royal Army Military Corps, Ellen Douglass received an appreciative cable from a proud Council.⁴⁰

For the most part, the LCWW had kept a low profile in the Manitoba campaign for women's suffrage, with one suffragist, Nellie McClung, complaining that Council women's husbands were too afraid for their jobs to allow their wives to "go active"⁴¹. However, in 1914 the Council recruited Lillian Beynon Thomas, known chiefly for her spirited feminist journalism and, in particular, her advocacy of the enfranchisement of women. She was elected Vice-President and brought the PEL into the Council. The following year, on the resignation of Jessie McEwen, Thomas

became the Provincial Vice-President. Lillian Beynon Thomas had been the first President of the PEL on its inauguration in 1912 and was currently its chief organizer and publicity agent.⁴² Thus, the Council positioned itself quietly but firmly at the side of the suffragists.

Thomas had been born to Irish-Canadian Methodist parents in Kings, Ontario in 1874. By 1889, the family had moved to a farm near Hartney, Manitoba. She taught for some years in rural Manitoba, receiving her B.A. degree from Wesley College and her Professional Second Class Teaching Certificate in 1905. Two years later, she joined the staff of the Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer and was assigned to the women's page. She used the page to advocate reforms that would benefit women: a dower law, the allocation of farm holdings for women, temperance legislation to prohibit the sale of liquor, the cause, as she saw it, for many "sold farms and abandoned or mistreated women and children."⁴³

The successful struggle for women's enfranchisement was only part of women's political activism in the period studied. After 1916, women had the right to vote and to sit in the Manitoba Legislative Assembly. At the first provincial election after women won this privilege, in 1920, five women candidates fought for seats in the Legislative Assembly and one, Edith Rogers, was elected as a Liberal and took her place as an MLA. Of the five 1920 candidates, Harriet Dick and Edith Rogers were current members of the LCWW. At the next provincial election in 1922, when Edith Rogers was again elected to the Legislative Assembly, LCWW member Martha Jane Hample was an unsuccessful United Farmers candidate for election.⁴⁴ From the public arena of the fight for the vote, women now fought alongside men for the opportunity to represent their fellow citizens in the institution whose deliberations

governed their province. The LCWW encouraged women to use their votes and, from its ranks, came a sizable proportion of the early female candidates.

Edith Rogers was born in 1877 at Norway House, the daughter of Donald McTavish, a Hudson's Bay Company factor, and the great-granddaughter of Sir George Simpson. Educated in Eastern Canada, she arrived in Winnipeg in 1898, newly married to Robert Arthur Rogers. The Rogers had three daughters and a son, were members of All Saints Anglican Church and by 1920 Robert was President of the Crescent Creamery Company. Their eldest daughter, Margaret Konantz, eventually also pioneered a place for women in elected office, becoming the first woman MP in 1963 that Manitoba sent to Ottawa.⁴⁵

Rogers had worked with the PEL for women's suffrage⁴⁶ and, as President of the Lady Minto Hospital Association, she was a member of the LCWW from 1906. Her commitment to the LCWW was recognized in 1913 by a Life Membership of the Council. McDowell suggests that her success at the polls in 1920 may, in part, have been due to the support of war veterans in gratitude for her war work and efforts for veterans and their families after the war. During the war, Edith Rogers became President of the Women's Auxiliary of the Great War Veterans' Association and Secretary of the Central Council of the Battalion Auxiliary, working out of an office in the Board of Trade Building from 1915. For her services in the war, she received the Gold Medal of the Canadian Legion.⁴⁷

As an MLA, Rogers' chief concerns were in areas that impinged on women's lives: health, education, child welfare and mother's allowances, her major legislative achievement being the Child Welfare Act. Reputed to be a popular and fashionable figure in public life, Rogers was also known as a hard-working, practical politician

whose mastery of parliamentary procedure enabled her to use it to achieve her own purposes.⁴⁸ She is on record as emphasizing that women legislators must not devote their energies only to the traditional concerns of women but must engage in “every phase of legislative work.” Rogers was true to this conviction, serving on committees such as Law Amendments, Standing Orders, Municipal Affairs and Private Bills. On another occasion, discussing the theory of “government of the people, by the people, and for the people”, she declared that “women are people equally with men” and bring to politics their own political convictions and tend to “line up with” other elected representatives whose political thinking and convictions are like their own.⁴⁹

Another woman with political interests was Harriet Dick. Born in 1867 in Colborne, Ontario of United Empire Loyalist stock, Harriet Snetzinger, after a brief teaching career, married John Dick, a farmer in the Springfield area. She must have been a woman of great energy, since she combined the role of farmer’s wife with raising six sons and engaging in a large amount of community work.

In 1907, she helped organize the Mothers’ Association in Winnipeg and by 1908 was representing it on the LCWW. Stemming from her work with the Mothers’ Association, Dick became interested in free kindergartens, the Day Nursery on Stella Street and the campaign for playgrounds. Becoming aware of the double role of the women of the North End, working woman by day and housewife and mother in the evenings, Harriet Dick aroused public interest in a Mother’s Allowance, arguing that society would spend less money by keeping children at home than in an institution. She is given much of the credit for the passing of the Mothers’ Allowance Act in 1916 and she was appointed a commissioner for its administration.⁵⁰

Dick was also active in the Women's Civic League, an offshoot of the PEL and an affiliate of the LCWW. It was formed in 1913 to obtain political power for women at the municipal as well as the provincial level, and an early League resolution pressed the City Council for legislation to make women eligible to serve on Council.⁵¹

In 1920, Harriet Dick was an unsuccessful candidate for the Manitoba Legislature. While Edith Rogers obviously saw the advantages of allying herself to an established political party, Harriet Dick declared herself an Independent and at her nomination meeting eight hundred citizens signed her papers. Generally, she supported Liberal Premier Norris, but wished to remain free to "escape caucus policy which is not democratic" when her opinions differed from the party line. Harriet Dick was obviously self-confident and accustomed to expressing her opinions to a receptive audience. She described herself as "the champion of the children", declaring the fundamental necessity of state care for mothers.⁵²

The question of whether women should stand for elective office as representatives of a political party or as Independents was the subject of a lively debate in the years leading up to women's enfranchisement. In the Manitoba provincial election of 1920, Edith Rogers and Harriet Dick made different choices. Francis Marion Beynon, a feminist journalist on the staff of the Grain Growers' Guide from 1912 to 1917, used her column to criticize the existing social order. Disenchanted with the old-line parties, she saw them as corrupt, wielding power to promote selfish policies and to suppress their opponents.⁵³ Beynon shared a common female perception of the time when she observed in 1913 that women had "a much greater interest in social and moral questions than men."⁵⁴ In her novel, Aleta Dey, first published in 1919, Beynon confronts her readers with intertwining themes concerning pacifism and the dilemma of choice between conflicting lifestyles women faced in the patriarchal

society of the early twentieth century. In the preface to this novel, Beynon clearly believes that if women are to make their own special contribution to society, they must escape being swept along “the narrow channels of bigotry”, “. . . only so can we ourselves be free, for whether we like it or not, our spirits are chained to the most craven in the country and the limitation of their dreams contracts our own horizon.”⁵⁵

Rosalie Torrington, President of the NCWC from 1911 to 1918, also addressed the problem of whether the particular concerns of women could best be served by their standing as Independents or as members of major political parties. She mused in 1917 as to how women could use their enfranchisement to incorporate into national life the principles for which the NCWC stood. “Shall women join themselves to the existing political parties?” she asked, or, if not, “. . . how best can they influence affairs of state?”, and she expressed the hopes of many women that their influence might help to mitigate the bitterness of party politics.⁵⁶ For Torrington, the jury was still out.

Harriet Dick’s solution was to function as a free agent. Undeterred by her recent defeat in the polls, she ran again as an Independent in 1921, and on that occasion it was for Centre Winnipeg in the federal election of that year. Her platform included lower tariffs, prohibition, improved legislation for women and children and the rights of returned soldiers and their dependents, but again she was defeated. Although she spent most of her public life in the volunteer sector, Harriet Dick tried once more, in 1941, to gain a seat in the Manitoba Legislature but was again defeated. In 1940, Dick was honoured at a luncheon hosted by eighteen organizations she had served, and this seemingly tireless woman continued to work in the community until shortly before her death in 1957 at the age of 90.⁵⁷

A third PEL and LCWW member, who was a candidate for election as an MLA, was Martha Jane Hample, who stood and lost in 1922 under the banner of the United Farmers. Born Martha Jane Richards in England, she arrived in Canada at an early age. Her husband was listed in Henderson's Directories as a butcher. It is probable that he was fairly prosperous, leaving his wife in comfortable circumstances, since after he ceased to be listed, Jane Hample is identified there as a caterer and confectioner. Although her husband's money may have given her a start, it is obvious that her success was due to her own business acumen. In addition to her activities in the food industry, she is known to have invested in real estate, with the Hample Building at 173½ Portage being "a testimony to her business ability." The Hamples had a son, Carl, and a daughter, Betty.⁵⁸

Journalist Lillian Beynon Thomas described Jane Hample as "a great philanthropist", reminding her readers of the major role Hample played in the foundation of the Knowles Home for Boys, the Ladies' Auxiliary of which was affiliated to the LCWW from 1917. In 1912, it was in Jane Hample's home that the inaugural meeting of the PEL took place. She served as its Treasurer and was one of its most enthusiastic workers. In the year that the PEL won the provincial women's franchise, 1916, Hample became the second woman ever to be elected to the Winnipeg City School Board, serving in that capacity until 1920.⁵⁹ She was an example of a woman who was independently successful in business, a woman who was a philanthropist associated with traditional women's concerns and a woman engaged in political activism, eager to establish a place for women in the community of equal value to that of men.

The primary areas of interest of the members of the LCWW may have differed but in the final instance they were all concerned with the situation of women in their society.

Ethel Johns, a nurse, focussed on making nursing a profession with widely recognized high standards of knowledge and practice, and one in which the working conditions were fair and non-exploitive. Johns wrote about nursing in magazines and books, and, as a writer, she was a member of the politically active Women's Press Club in Winnipeg; she was associated with the LCWW through the affiliated Manitoba Association of Graduate Nurses and the Winnipeg Nurses' Alumni Association; and in 1919, she was a member of the National Council of Women of Canada's Standing Committee on Professions and Employment for Women.⁶⁰

Born in 1879 in Southampton, England, her father was Henry Johns, a clergyman from Cornwall, and her mother, Amy Robinson was Welsh. In 1888, Henry Johns arrived in Canada alone to work as a school teacher on the Wabigoon reserve near Dryden, Ontario, and was joined by his family over the next four years. Ethel learned Ojibway and, on the death of her father in 1895, Ethel and her mother took over his teaching job and both women often tended the sick in the area.

A chance meeting with Winnipeg freelance journalist, Cora Hind, and their subsequent friendship, drew Johns to the Winnipeg General Hospital, where she became interested in nursing training. She discovered that nursing trainees were exploited as a cheap source of labour, that their educational needs during training were often preempted by their nursing duties, and that their conditions of service were gruelling. On graduation as a nurse in 1902, she devoted her life to upgrading the employment conditions and standards of nursing.

Johns had a varied career as a nurse, working in different parts of Canada and also in the United States. From 1915 to 1919, she was Superintendent of the Children's Hospital in Winnipeg, becoming familiar, through the location of the hospital in a

largely immigrant, working-class area of the city, with the poor living conditions of a large segment of the population. Her sympathies with the strikers in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 made her a socialist during the strike and lost her the confidence of the Hospital Board.

Resigning her post in Winnipeg, she moved to Vancouver to become the first Director of the Department of Nursing at the University of British Columbia, the first course in the British Empire to offer a B.A. degree in nursing.⁶¹ Only a woman as competent and determined as Johns could have guided this program successfully through its infancy. She had to combat the resentment of hospital administrators who felt that classroom time was an unnecessary encroachment on hospital duty time; the resentment of doctors who considered “overeducation” of nurses wasteful; and the resentment of university personnel who thought nursing had no place in an academic institution.

Later assignments included some years working for the Rockefeller Foundation as adviser in developing Schools of Hygiene in Central Europe, a directorship at the New York Hospital working with a committee on nursing organization, and, back in Canada, the editorship of the organ of the Canadian Nurses' Association, The Canadian Nurse. This last position gave Johns great influence on attitudes towards the nursing profession in Canada and the subsequent development of the profession. In her last years, she produced pamphlets on nursing topics and historical books on the development of nursing. Margaret M. Street's Watch-fires on the Mountains: the life and writings of Ethel Johns records the story of a woman whose determination and dedication raised the status in society of the nursing profession, a profession in which women still far exceed men.

There were numbers of other women who worked in the LCWW during the period of this study about whose contributions to society enough has been discovered to justify the statement that there were numerous notable feminists in the ranks of the Council. There are even more “rank-and-file” members who attended Council meetings regularly, taking part in discussions, decision-making and projects, about whose personal lives and pronouncements very little has so far been traced. Their presence in the Council enabled large numbers of women in its many affiliates to join together under the umbrella of the LCWW to work with each other for the Council’s goals, carving out a more equitable place in society for members of their gender. Contact in a common institutional setting between the most prominent of the Council’s feminists and the large numbers of lesser known feminists in the ranks must have been both an inspiring and a strengthening influence to all the members of the LCWW. Within the ranks of the LCWW and its affiliated organizations, many women transformed their lives from the role of traditional private woman to modern public woman.

For example, in her book, Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist, Mary Kinnear tells the story of such a development in the life of Margaret McWilliams, the sixth President of the LCWW. A university graduate in political economy, McWilliams was a journalist for five years in Minneapolis and Detroit before her marriage to Roland McWilliams, a barrister and old university friend. In the early years of her marriage, she endured “seven barren and unproductive years in Peterborough, Ontario”. She arrived in Winnipeg with no clear role other than that of a traditional wife and, within a few years of her arrival, Kinnear shows McWilliams firmly launched on her career as a public woman: member of the Women’s Canadian Club, under the auspices of which she produced in 1923 Women of Red River, a book on women’s history; charter member and President of the

Winnipeg Women's University Club; and Corresponding Secretary of the LCWW in 1914 and its President in 1917.⁶² Shortly before Margaret McWilliams' death, Winnipeg freelance journalist Kathleen Strange published an article in the Canadian Home Journal with the caption, "Margaret McWilliams of Manitoba? Is it not truer to say, Margaret McWilliams of Canada? Or, perhaps, Margaret McWilliams, good citizen of the world?" After McWilliams' death, Amy Roe wrote in the Country Guide that she was "a leader of women and a great Canadian".⁶³

For Margaret McWilliams, holding office in the LCWW was an important stepping stone to becoming recognized in her community and in the wider world as both a leader of women and a valuable consultant for government on issues affecting both women and the social well-being of society. In 1919, as a delegate from the LCWW, McWilliams attended an organizational meeting arranged by the provincial government to set up the Central Council of Social Agencies, a body intended to facilitate governmental supervision of social agencies and avoid duplication of functions. Even earlier, in 1917, McWilliams had been involved with the National Council of Women, the Liberal Party and the Food Board.⁶⁴ Although McWilliams may have needed the solid foundation of a number of women's organizations, not least the LCWW, from which to launch her public career, her own knowledge, talents and energy enabled her to seize opportunities presented to her and fashion for herself the remarkable achievements described in Kinnear's biography.

It is not possible to deal here with even all the Council women of the period about whom a considerable amount of information is known. Kenneth Haig, for instance, wrote a biography on the suffragist and temperance advocate who was also a pioneer agricultural journalist of international renown, Brave Harvest: The Life Story of E. Cora Hind, LL.D. Historian Angela E. Davis wrote of Mary Speechly, the doctor's

wife, who worked as a photographer in Pilot Mound, helped establish a Home Economics Society in her rural town, and some years later, in 1934, in the face of public disapproval, became the first President of the Winnipeg Birth Control Society.⁶⁵

Although considerable information has been collected on the women of the Council listed in Appendix C, it would be fascinating to explore some of their careers further, especially those rank-and-file LCWW members about whom so little is known. Yet, the present research makes it abundantly clear that the women of the LCWW formed an organization that enhanced women's vision of their gender's place in the world and enabled many women of the time to make important contributions to the society in which they lived.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER 4

1. Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urgan Growth 1874-1914. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 146-7, Table 16 / Sex Division of the Population: City of Winnipeg and Province of Manitoba, 1891-1916
2. There is the possibility that a single woman who married subsequently might appear a second time in Appendix C under a married name, although no case of this has been documented in the source materials examined.
3. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 10
4. Mary Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 13
5. Ibid., 15 referring to Anne Phillips, Divided Loyalties: Dilemmas of Sex and Class. (London: Virago, 1987), 25-28
6. Porter, 5
7. Veronica J. Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada 1893-1929. (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, History Division, 1976), 168-9
8. PAM, WCTU Annual Report, 1890-91, 55
9. For example, feminist journalist Lillian Beynon Thomas, charter member and first President of the PEL, gave up its presidency to free herself for work behind-the-scenes as chief organizer of the League and to enable her to carry out speaking engagements in which she supported the more spectacular suffragist platform performer, Nellie McClung. (PEL Minutes, March 31, 1913 and December 1913; Manitoba Free Press, February 16, 1914
10. McClung, Stream, 101-6
11. Lovell Clark, "John Christian Schultz". In Frances G. Halpenny, Gen. Ed., Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XII. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 949-54
12. PAM, George Bryce Papers, 8-10, 25
13. W. J. Healy, Women of Red River. (Winnipeg: The Women's Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1923), 251-2, 258-9. "Higher School" is correct and is not a typographical error. This source also refers to Marion Samuel's Ontario school as "Brantford Ladies' College".

14. Marion Bryce, "The Charitable Institutions of Winnipeg: A Historical Sketch." A Paper given to the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. (Winnipeg: The Historical Society, 1899) And Marion Bryce, "Early Red River Culture." A Paper given to the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. (Winnipeg: The Historical Society, 1901).
15. PAM, George Bryce Papers, 25
16. Marion Bryce, "Charitable Institutions", 13
17. Appendix C
18. PAM, LCWW Minutes
19. "Mrs. Annie Bond", Winnipeg Tribune, Dec. 1, 1956
20. Ibid.
21. Lillian Beynon Thomas, "Some Manitoba Women who did First Things." In Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 4 (1947-8)
22. Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, Dr. Amelia Yeomans. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, 1985), 1-4; Rosslyn Brough Mitchell, Medicine in Manitoba: The Story of Its Beginnings. (Winnipeg: Published by author, printed by Stovel Advocate Press Ltd., 1955), 92; Fred Edge, The Iron Rose: The Extraordinary Life of Charlotte Ross, M.D. (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 1992), 265-6
23. Manitoba Culture, Yeomans, 1-2
24. Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914. (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), 132
25. Edge, 265-6
26. Manitoba Culture, Yeomans, 4; Marilyn Smith, "Women in Manitoba History--Herstory: Research and Biographies." Unpublished Report. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Citizenship, Historic Resources Branch, 1974), 18
27. Manitoba Culture, Yeomans, 5
28. Ibid., 7-8
29. PAM, LCWW Minutes, March 27, 1894

30. Frank H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba: Biographical, Vol II. (Winnipeg: 1913), 681; William J. Healy, "Historical Introduction" in Walter McRay, ed., Pioneers and Prominent People of Manitoba. (Winnipeg: Canadian Publicity, 1925) 151-2
31. Ibid., Schofield, 681 and Healy, 151-2
32. PAM, MG10, D.28, Alpine Club of Canada
33. PAM, Minutes of LCWW and other organizations mentioned
34. Mary E. Crawford, "Legal status of women in Manitoba as shown by extracts from dominion and provincial laws." (Winnipeg: Political Equality League of Manitoba, 1913)
35. Marilyn Smith, "Women in Manitoba History--Herstory: Research and Biographies". Unpublished Report. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Citizenship, Historic Resources Branch, 1974), 16
36. PAM, Manitoba Home Economics Association Minutes
37. PAM, LCWW Minutes, Sub-Executive, January 16, 1920
38. Schofield, 201
39. Rosslyn B. Mitchell, Medicine in Manitoba: The Story of Its Beginnings. (Winnipeg: Published by author, Printed by Stovel-Advocate Press Limited, 1955), 95
40. LCWW Minutes, April 26, 1918
41. See Chapter 2.2
42. PEL Minutes
43. Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, Lillian Beynon Thomas. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, 1986
44. Mary Kinnear, "Post Suffrage Prairie Politics: Women Candidates in Winnipeg Municipal Elections 1918-1939." Prairie Forum. 16, 1 (Spring 1991), 44; Linda McDowell, "Some Women Candidates for the Manitoba Legislature." In Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series II, No. 32. (Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1975-76), 6-18
45. McDowell, 11
46. Ibid., 11

47. Ibid., 11
48. Ibid., 11-12
49. Ibid., 12-13 quoting Biographical File, Edith Rogers, Manitoba Legislative Library
50. Ibid., 8; and Linda McDowell, "Harriet Dick--A Lady Ahead of her Time?" In Manitoba Pageant, Summer 1975
51. Manitoba Free Press (MFP), December 24, 1913, 1
52. Linda McDowell, "Some Women Candidates for the Manitoba Legislature." In Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series II, No. 32. (Winnipeg: Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1975-76), 8
53. Grain Growers' Guide (GGG) January 21, June 3 1914; March 3, October 27, 1915
54. Ibid., November 4 1913
55. Francis Marion Beynon, Aleta Dey. (London: Virago Press Limited, 1988), 7
56. NCWC Yearbook 1917, 17
57. McDowell, "Some Women Candidates," 10
58. Ibid., 15; PEL Minutes; and Lillian Beynon Thomas, "Reminiscences of a Manitoba Suffragette" in Manitoba Pageant, Summer 1959, 10-11
59. Lillian Beynon Thomas, "Reminiscences," 10-11
60. Marilyn Smith, 22-28; Women's Press Club Minutes; and LCWW Minutes
61. Marilyn Smith, 22-28
62. Mary Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) 1
63. Ibid., 18
64. Ibid., 66-7
65. Angela E. Davis, "A Life of Service: The Remarkable Mary Barrett Speechly". In The Beaver, Oct/Nov. 1994, Vol. 74:5, 35-39

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This study has examined the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg (LCWW) and the women who worked for it in the period 1894 to 1920. Chapter 1 describes the foundation of the LCWW in 1894 in the context of the “woman movement” in Canada, which in turn is located in a wider international context. The establishment of the LCWW is set against the background of socio-economic conditions in Winnipeg at this time. In Chapter 2, the organizations that affiliated to the LCWW, which were the lifeblood of the Council, are examined. The affiliates joining before the end of the nineteenth century, whose motivations were predominantly religious and philanthropic, are contrasted with the greater number joining after the turn of the century, whose priorities were more oriented towards the achievement of change in women’s situation in society.

The work of the LCWW during its first twenty-six years is discussed in Chapter 3. A distinction is made between the Council’s activities in areas traditional to women and those of a transformative nature in which women crossed traditional boundaries to achieve changes in their gender’s social and economic situation. Chapter 4 gives a statistical profile of the women of the LCWW and brief biographical sketches of some of the Council’s leading participants in its work.

A review of the achievements of the LCWW is contained in the concluding chapter of this study. Following a restatement of the definition of feminism given in Chapter 1, the question of whether the women of the LCWW were feminists is addressed. The study concludes with some brief suggestions for further research in this area.

Starting with the achievements of the LCWW, the traditional work of the Council was an essential part of its activities, playing an important role in the confidence placed in it by various levels of government and by members of the public. Winnipeg's rapid expansion at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries created a situation in which the city's need for social services was constantly outstripping the public provision of such services. From the city's earliest days, women had stepped in to make up some of the deficiencies. In 1873, the year in which the City of Winnipeg was incorporated, Anne Bannatyne organized a bazaar to assist in defraying the expenses of the recently founded Winnipeg General Hospital and the formation of the Women's Hospital Aid Society (WHAS) in 1883 provided continuity to women's volunteer services and more security to the hospital.¹

From 1894, the LCWW was in a position to mobilize women's charitable efforts on a much larger scale than had been previously possible in, for example, such projects as the foundation of the Children's Hospital and a Convalescent Home. Chapter 3.2 contains a number of other instances of Council activities which would have been recognized at the time as an extension of women's traditional work: its involvement with setting up a Winnipeg Branch of the Red Cross and the Victoria Order of Nurses; its concern for women immigrants, demonstrated in the founding of the Girls' Home of Welcome and its efforts to find well-educated British women for Winnipeg to place in "comfortable homes" or as teachers, hospital probationers and stenographers; and, among other activities, fund-raising on a large scale for famine victims overseas and medical supplies for war casualties. Such activities gave the LCWW the respectable credentials of women concerned with philanthropic work in their community. Their operations were on a larger scale than previously and they sometimes had to step into areas in business and government that had been male preserves, but their objectives were clearly those traditionally associated with women's activities. The Council's

work of this type improved women's lives and also the lives of their families but, in addition, it established the LCWW as an effective and legitimate instrument for community action.

This traditional work of the LCWW made it easier, therefore, for the Council to direct a considerable portion of its activities towards the accomplishment of very different objectives, those concerned with transforming women's situation in society. To achieve such objectives, the LCWW had to operate increasingly outside traditional boundaries, extending women's sphere of influence into wider areas in the community. The transformative achievements of the Council included solid gains for women in such areas as education, legal rights, economic protection, and fair treatment of women offenders.

The LCWW was instrumental in creating a model in Winnipeg for a new discipline, the teaching of Domestic Science. In the public school system, these courses may have contributed to the welfare of the home and, it is hoped, to the self-esteem of homemakers; at the college level, the courses provided women with a new professional career. The passing of the Mothers' Allowance Act in 1916 and the Dower Act in 1918 gave some women a measure of financial security they had not known before. The appointment of a police matron in 1899 at the police station, where women who were suspected of having committed a crime were held, was an attempt to reduce sexual exploitation by men in positions of authority and to obtain more equality of treatment of women and men held under suspicion. The 1918 appointment of two women police officers in Winnipeg also went some distance towards providing a fairer environment for women; in addition, it reduced male harassment of vulnerable women, opened up another type of career opportunity for

women, provided role models for young girls and familiarized the community with women in official positions.

With the LCWW's establishment of their usefulness and reliability in the community, came requests from government for the Council's services and advice. Responding to an invitation from the Ministry of Public Works, LCWW members inspected the Selkirk Asylum in 1913, enabling the Council to advise government on the urgency for more institutional space. In 1917, following representations to government about the large increase in wartime food prices, Margaret McWilliams, currently President of the LCWW, was appointed to the provincial government Food Board. McWilliams also appeared before the Mathers Industrial Commission in 1919 pleading that current labour unrest was caused largely by the high cost of living. That same year, McWilliams represented the LCWW at the provincial government's organizational meeting to set up the Central Council of Social Agencies. The LCWW had secured official channels in government through which to express its opinions and influence decisions. The Council and its member organizations, for example, the University Women's Club, provided a foundation for women like McWilliams to build a public career and such women, in turn, enhanced the LCWW's reputation.

The Council investigated conditions under which women and girls worked in factories in 1911, and from then onwards continued to press government for improvements, stressing in particular the need for women factory inspectors. Early in 1915, the first woman factory inspector was appointed in Winnipeg. When the Minimum Wage Board was set up in 1918, the Law Amendments Committee recommended the appointment of two women to the Board. Edna Nash, a member of the LCWW, who had worked with the Council for better conditions in factories for women, was appointed as one of the employers' representatives.

The LCWW was also concerned with conditions of work for professional women. Ethel Johns and the nurses' professional associations enlisted the Council's support to achieve official registration for trained nurses and better regulated training conditions. From 1909, the LCWW joined the nurses in applying pressure for government legislation for this purpose and in 1913 the Nurse Registration Act was passed, making Manitoba only the second Canadian province to obtain an act of this kind. This was a notable achievement, even though the legislation was not as comprehensive as the women wished.

Through the efforts of one of the LCWW's affiliates, the Political Equality League, Manitoba became the first Province in Canada to enfranchise its women in 1916. Although the Council had chosen not to jeopardize the success of its overall program by standing in the firing line with the PEL, a number of its individual members and other affiliates had gone into the trenches in the battle for the vote. Midway through the struggle, in 1914, the LCWW welcomed the PEL as an affiliated member of the Council and in 1915, the PEL's chief organizer was made Provincial Vice-President. When the vote was won, the LCWW encouraged its members to vote and to stand as candidates for election. In the 1917 federal election, some women could vote but not until 1919 did women become eligible to sit in the House of Commons. The 1916 provincial electoral legislation provided women with the vote and made them eligible to sit in the Manitoba Legislature. Two long-term LCWW members were candidates in the 1920 provincial election: Harriet Dick and Edith Rogers. Dick polled a sizable number of votes but did not win; Rogers won her seat and became the first woman to sit in the Manitoba Legislature. The Council supported another of its political affiliates, the Women's Civic League, in efforts to obtain legislation to give women the right to run for the positions of mayor, controllers and aldermen, a right that was granted in 1917, and the LCWW encouraged women to run for civic office.

By its existence in Winnipeg, the LCWW enabled those women's organizations which were affiliated to it to keep abreast of developments in each other's work and the exchange of information and ideas within the Council apprised the LCWW and its affiliates of gaps in social services. For instance, in 1912 the WHAS drew members' attention to the need for a Convalescent Home in Winnipeg. United action by Council affiliates established such a Home and, as a separate institution, the Convalescent Home became an LCWW affiliate in 1914. Another example of coordination of social services occurred in connection with the Bureau of Employment for unemployed women opened by the LCWW in 1914. When the Bureau was no longer needed on the scale of the Council's operation, four of its affiliates continued its work within their own organizations. Where coordination of women's efforts was required for urgent, large-scale projects, such as the collection of funds for a Hospital Ship at the beginning of the war, the presence the LCWW facilitated such work.

Throughout the period of this study, the LCWW grew steadily from 9 affiliates in 1894 representing some 975 women to 64 affiliates in 1920 representing in the area of 10,000 women.² Such growth is evidence that the Council succeeded in becoming a strong and vigorous institution in the years 1894 to 1920. Approximately one in six women in Winnipeg belonged to the Council's network of affiliates in the first two decades of the twentieth century, indicating that the LCWW occupied an influential position in the city at this time. Further evidence of its influential position is the large number of affiliates joining the Council during these years and the importance for Winnipeg of the work of some of these affiliates. For example, the Political Equality League, instrumental in obtaining the vote for Manitoba women in 1916, joined the LCWW in 1914, obviously convinced that the influence of the Council's name would

promote its work and that the Council's access to a large cross-section of the female population of Winnipeg would win converts to its cause.

It has been argued that the objectives of many of the LCWW's affiliates were directed towards the transformation of women's situation in society. In working for these goals, women's expectations and perceptions of themselves were often transformed. Anne Firor Scott in Natural Allies suggests that personalities, values and attitudes were developed and reinforced by collective experience and that women achieved careers in large networks of women's associations, "careers from which the income was psychic rather than material". Even as these women's associations were helping to open professions to women, women learned to be professional within their networks, exercising competence, achieving ambition and establishing "an identity independent of their husbands".³ In Winnipeg, associations of women such as the Women's Christian Union had begun this process of networking for women as far back as 1883, and from 1894, when the LCWW was formed, the advantages to women of working with other women from a large number of organizations in both similar and widely divergent fields multiplied their opportunities for personal growth and expanded their world view.

Notwithstanding the impressive achievements and considerable influence of LCWW, Appendices A and C, containing information on the Council's affiliates and almost 200 of its members, reveal a major weakness. The National Council of Women of Canada, whose objectives the Local Council embraced, had proclaimed its intention to represent all Canadian women. Neither the National Council nor its Local Councils achieved this goal. The active membership of the LCWW was very largely middle-class, women in reasonably prosperous financial circumstances and, for the most part, of British or Ontario origin, though this may have been less pronounced in

some of the Council's affiliates. There are a few French names in the LCWW Minutes but other nationalities are almost non-existent. Language was probably a barrier in some cases and many recently arrived immigrant women had to divide all their time and energy between caring for their families and helping to earn enough money for basic living expenses. The Council was mostly Protestant; six Roman Catholic groups have been identified among the affiliates but there were no Jewish women's associations. One of the Roman Catholic women's groups worked with the LCWW for twenty-two years, but most Roman Catholic women evidently felt more comfortable in their own denominational groups.⁴

Although in the matter of the Dower Law, the Women's Labour League worked with the LCWW, the WLL never joined the Council, neither organization able to perceive that their concerns for the improvement of women's situation in society might have led to a fruitful alliance. It is true, however, that the Council was officially non-partisan and it may be that both the LCWW and the WLL had reservations on this count, since the WLL was the women's wing of the Manitoba Labour Party. For only two years in the period of this study did the LCWW have an affiliate whose members were chiefly working-class. The Maccabees women must have decided that their objectives would not be furthered by affiliation with the Council. The lack of working-class women in the ranks of the LCWW deprived the Council of essential perspectives on the concerns of a large proportion of the female population. This was particularly unfortunate as the Council's work included attempts to improve conditions for working-class women. Examples of activities which could have benefited by working-class expertise among the members include work to improve factory conditions and wages, the Children's Hospital, kindergartens, playgrounds and the Mothers' Association.

The question of whether or not the women of the Council were feminists has been considered in the light of the work they performed in the LCWW, in their affiliated associations and in any other enterprises they undertook. Since the term 'feminism' is subject to various interpretations, the definition used in this study and given towards the end of Chapter 1 is restated here:

First, feminism involves a belief in equality in the sense that there is no sex hierarchy, that neither sex is superior or inferior to the other.

Secondly, bearing in mind the concept of gender as distinct from the biological category of sex, feminism assumes that women's condition is socially constructed rather than predetermined by God or "nature" and therefore can be changed.

Thirdly, based on women's perception that they are not simply a biological sex but, possibly even more importantly, a gender group, whose socially constructed position can be reconstructed, feminism claims a consciousness of group identity for women that encourages community action to impel change.⁵

Dealing with the three parts of this definition in reverse order, members of the LCWW who engaged in the Council's many transformative activities designed to change the situation of women in society must have been conscious of group identity for women, which encouraged them to take part in community action to impel change. Likewise, women who worked in one of the LCWW's affiliates, whose objectives included changing the situation of women in society, for example, the PEL, the Women's Civic League, and the nurses' graduate associations, must have been conscious of group identity for women, which encouraged them to take part in community action to impel change. These women's actions were consistent with the third part of the above definition of feminism.

Considering the second part of the definition, recognizing the concept of gender as distinct from the biological category of sex, feminism assumes that since women's condition in any society is socially constructed it can be changed. The women who worked in the LCWW and its affiliates to impel change in women's situation must have believed that their efforts could effect change in the conditions under which their gender lived, otherwise their work would have been pointless. Such women fulfil the second part of the definition given for feminism.

The first clause of the definition contains two distinct elements: a belief in neither the superiority nor the inferiority of either gender and a belief that both genders are of equal value in society, although different in essence. This definition escapes the pitfalls of the term "equal" which has sometimes caused confusion, since women and men are not the same. It avoids involvement in sterile comparison of obvious biological differences and allied differences in women's and men's natures.

LCWW members who worked for transformation in the situation of women in society were strong women with a sense of their own identity, setting their own priorities and making their own decisions. Although it is not possible to divine with complete assurance the beliefs and motivations of all the members of the LCWW, it is highly probable that many believed there was no hierarchy of the sexes, that neither gender was superior or inferior to the other, and that both, though different in essence, were equally valuable in society. For some of these women, their recorded pronouncements disclose their thoughts on this subject. Provincial Vice-President, Jessie McEwen declared in 1911 during the campaign for the Dower Law that no man-made law should interfere with the rights of women.⁶ There is an acknowledgment here that women and men are different and an assumption that both genders are equally qualified to make laws, recognition that the law needs input from

both genders to cover the requirements of each. This study reveals that many of the active LCWW members were feminists.

The period 1894 to 1920 was a transitional one for women, a time when many women stepped over boundaries into male preserves and political, social and economic changes were taking place in their situation in society. On its foundation in 1894, it would not have occurred to the LCWW to issue a press release to the local newspapers and the Western Associated Press as to its views on peace and war. Yet, in 1915, the Council distributed a statement to these newspapers making it clear that it thought the International Congress of Women at The Hague endangered the war's successful outcome.⁷ Members of the LCWW assumed that their opinions were interesting and valuable to society as a whole and they hoped that Canadian women's views might influence national decisions. Perhaps there is evidence here that society's perception of women's role in the community was changing to catch up with the LCWW women's own enhanced perceptions of their gender's place in the world.

There are opportunities for more research on women and their activities in the period of this study. Little is known at this time about some of the women who worked for the LCWW. It would be interesting to discover whether some rank-and-file members of the affiliates, who initially did not participate in activities designed to impel change, were later influenced by their delegates' vision and became activists themselves. Such research, of course, would encounter the usual difficulties of obtaining information about women who spent little of their lives in the limelight. Since the LCWW is still in existence, research could be carried out on its activities and members in more recent periods.

ENDNOTES: CHAPTER 5

1. Marion Bryce, "The Charitable Institutions of Winnipeg: A Historical Sketch." A Paper given to the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. (Winnipeg: The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1899), 4, 5, 11
2. As previously noted, it is possible that the estimated figure of 10,000 women could be somewhat high, in that some women were members of more than one affiliate.
3. Anne Firor Scott, Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 3, 27
4. See Appendix A
5. Nancy Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 4-5; Mary Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 10
6. LCWW Minutes February 20, 1911
7. Ibid., April 27, 1915

APPENDIX A

**ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE
LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF WINNIPEG 1894-1920**

Name of Organization	Joined	Last Affltd	No. of Years
AOH Ladies' Auxiliary	1915	-	6
Aberdeen Association (Society)	1894	1907	14
All Saints' Ladies' Aid	1894	1915	22
All Saints' Settlement Work	1912	1913	2
American Women's Club	1918	-	3
Anti-Tuberculosis Society	1912	-	9
Augustine Church Home Mission Ladies' Aid	1894	1898	5
Augustine Ladies' Aid	1920	-	1
Broadway Baptist Ladies' Aid	1918	-	3
Broadway Methodist Ladies' Aid	1915	-	6
Canadian Women's Press Club, Winnipeg Branch	1909	1916	8
Central Congregational Ladies' Aid	1917	-	4
Central Congregational Young Women's Council	1915	-	6
Children's Aid Society	1904	-	17
Children's Home	1894	-	27
Children's Hospital	1909	-	12
Community Club	1920	-	1
Convalescent Hospital	1914	1914	1
Day Nursery	1913	1913	1

Name of Organization	Joined	Last Affltd	No. of Years
Deaconess Aid Society, Methodist	1908	-	13
Domestic Science Classes	1903	1903	1
First Baptist Ladies' Aid	1915	-	6
Fort Rouge Methodist Ladies' Aid	1916	1918	3
Free Kindergarten Association of Winnipeg/ From 1915 name changed to Kindergarten Settlement Association of Winnipeg	1894 1915	1904) -)	17
Girls' Friendly Society	1915	-	6
Girls' Home of Welcome Association	1898	-	23
Grace Church Ladies' Aid	1914	-	7
Grace Church Young Women's Council	1915	-	6
Holy Trinity Ladies' Aid	1894	1898	5
Home Economics Society, Birtle	1920	-	1
Home Economics Society, Deloraine	1918	-	3
Home Economics Society, Emerson	1920	-	1
Home Economics Society, Hamiota	1915	-	6
Home Economics Society, Morris	1915	-	6
Home Economics Society, Petersfield	1918	-	3
Home Economics Society, Pilot Mound	1915	1917	3
Home Economics Society, Virden	1915	1917	3
Home Economics Society, Winnipeg	1917	-	4
Home of the Good Shepherd, Lady Helpers of	1914	1919	6
Home Street Presbyterian Church Women's Association	1917	-	4
Humane Society	1901	1914	14

Name of Organization	Joined	Last Affltd	No. of Years
Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire	1914	1917	4
Knox Church Ladies' Aid	1904	-	17
Knowles Boys' Home Ladies' Auxiliary	1917	-	4
Ladies of the Maccabees	1904	1905	2
Ladies' Service League	1915	-	6
Lady Minto Hospital Association Auxiliary	1904	1907	4
Manitoba Association of Graduate Nurses	1908	-	13
Manitoba Home Economics Association	1914	-	7
Misericordia Guild (League)	1914	-	7
Mothers' Association (Club)	1908	-	13
Nassau Street Baptist Ladies' Aid	1915	-	6
North End Women's Council	1917	1917	1
North Winnipeg Hospital Ladies' Auxiliary	1916	-	5
Political Education League, Elmwood	1917	1917	1
Political Education League, Holland	1918	-	3
Political Education League, Laura Secord	1918	1918	1
Political Equality League, Provincial (After woman suffrage obtained in 1916, called Political Education League)	1914	-	7
Progressive Kindergarten League	1918	-	3
Returned Soldiers' Wives' Committee	1920	-	1
St. Andrews' Ladies' Aid, Keewatin	1918	-	3
St. Andrews' Ladies' Aid, Winnipeg	1920	-	1
St. Boniface Ladies' Aid	1898	1898	1

Name of Organization	Joined	Last Affltd	No. of Years
St. Boniface Nurses' Alumni	1915	-	6
St. Joseph's Orphanage Ladies' Aid (Guild)	1908	-	13
St. Mary's Ladies' Aid and Altar Society	1896	1918	23
St. Paul's Industrial School (Women's Auxiliary of Rupert's Land)	1898	1898	1
St. Stephen's Ladies' Aid	1915	-	6
Searchlight Club	1918	-	3
Social Science Study Club	1915	-	6
Social Workers' Club	1915	1916	2
Soldiers' Wives' League	1901	1904	4
Telegram Sunshine Club	1915	1916	2
University Women's Club	1914	-	7
Victoria India Orphan Society	1898	1898	1
Victorian Order of Nurses	1909	-	12
Wesley Women's Educational Association	1917	-	4
Westminster Ladies' Aid	1918	-	3
Winnipeg Graduate Nurses' Alumnae Assn.	1909	-	12
Winnipeg Women's Rifle Association	1916	-	5
Winnipeg Women's Volunteer Reserve Corps	1916	-	5
Women's Alliance of All Souls	1918	-	3
Women's Art Association/From 1909 called Western Art Association (not affiliated 1897-1903)	1895	1917	16
Women's Canadian Club	1915	-	6
Women's Catholic Welcome League	1914	1917	4

Name of Organization	Joined	Last Affltd	No. of Years
Women's Christian Temperance Union, Central WCTU--see District WCTU	1894	1912	19
Women's Christian Temperance Union, District WCTU/After 1912 represented all WCTU branches	1911	-	10
Women's Christian Temperance Union, South End (South West) WCTU--see District WCTU	1894	1906	13
Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Women's CTU--see District WCTU	1894	1909	16
Women's Christian Union/Later listed as Old Folks' Home (Now Middlechurch Home)	1894	-	27
Women's Civic League	1915	-	6
Women's Exchange	1916	-	5
Women's Hospital Aid Society	1894	-	27
Women Teachers' Club	1915	-	6
Young Methodist Ladies' Aid	1917	-	4
Young Women's Christian Association	1902	-	19

APPENDIX B**CONSTITUTION OF THE LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF
WINNIPEG****Preamble**

Believing that the more intimate knowledge of one another's work will result in larger mutual sympathy and greater unity of thought, and therefore, in more effective action, certain Associations of Women, interested in Philanthropy, Religion, Education, Literature, Art and Social Reform, have determined to organize a Local Council, and, to that end, join in the following constitution.

Article 1 - Name

This Federation shall be called the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg in affiliation with the National Council of Women of Canada.

Article 2 - Policy

The aim of the Local Council is to bring the various Associations of Women in Winnipeg into closer relations through an organized union; but no Society entering the Local Council shall thereby lose its independence in aim or method, or be committed to any principle or method of any other Society in the Council, the object of which is to serve as a medium of communication and a means of prosecuting any work of common interest.

Article 3 - Members

Sec. 1. Any Society of Women, the nature of whose work is declared satisfactory by a vote of the Sub-Executive of the Local Council, may become a member of the Local Council of Winnipeg by its own vote.

Sec. 2. The women of any organization composed of both men and women, may associate themselves by their own vote, provided the nature of their work is declared satisfactory by a vote of the Sub-Executive.

Article 4 - Officers

Sec. 1. The officers shall consist of a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, ex-officio Vice-Presidents (Presidents of all Societies federated in the Local Council) a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary and a Treasurer. These officers, together with Convenors of Standing Committees, shall comprise the Executive Committee, whose business it shall be to control and provide for the general interests of the Council. One fifth of the members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 2. The Sub-Executive shall consist of the elected officers, the Convenors of Standing Committees and the immediate Past President for one year following the election of her successor.

Sec. 3. The Officers and Chairman of Standing Committees, shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Sec. 4. Any woman who is a British subject and a member of a Federated Society shall be eligible for election to any office.

Sec. 5. No officer or convenor shall be eligible for any office or convenorship which she has held for the three preceding years.

Article 5 - Meetings

Sec. 1. The Local Council shall hold Annual Meetings for the election of officers and other business.

Sec. 2. The Sub-Committee shall constitute the Committee of Arrangements.

Sec. 3. At the Annual Meeting, each organization federated shall have four votes including the one cast by their President.

Sec. 4. All other members of federated bodies may take part in discussion, but may not vote.

Sec. 5. Other meetings of the Local Council may be held from time to time as may best promote the interests of the Council.

Sec. 6. All new business to be brought before the Annual Meeting of the Local Council must first be submitted to the Executive Committee as a notice of motion.

Article 6 - Finance

Sec. 1. Each Society federating in the Local Council shall pay a uniform annual fee.

Sec. 2. All money raised under the auspices and with the approval of the Local Council shall be paid to the Treasurer of the Local Council and shall be administered by the Executive Committee.

Article 7 - Amendments

This constitution may be altered or amended by a two-thirds vote of the Local Council at any annual meeting, provided that such alteration be in harmony with the constitution of the National Council, notice of the proposed change having been sent to the Executive of the National Council two months and to each society belonging to the Council at least one month prior to such meeting.

PLEASE KEEP THIS FOR REFERENCE

The above is a copy of a duplicated document in the papers of the Local Council of Women of Winnipeg, P.3586, Folder #1: Constitution. Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

The document is undated but it is the earliest form of the LCWW Constitution that has been found and is almost certainly a copy of the Local Council's original Constitution drawn up in 1894.

APPENDIX C

WOMEN OF THE LCWW

Name	Address ¹	Occupation (1) Own ² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Adams, Mrs. W. H. (Capt)	Assiniboine Ave. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager, HBC Store	(1) Girls' Home of Welcome Women's Hospital Aid (3) 1895
Aikins, Abby Lemira Mrs. John Somerset	15 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Aikins & Pepler, Agents	(1) Women's Hospital Aid (3) 1894
Aikins, Mary Elizabeth Mrs. (Lady) James Cox	Government House Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Lt-Gov. 1882-1888	(1) Women's Hospital Aid Women's Christian Union (3) 1894
Aikins, Mary French (Colby) Mrs. (Lady) James Albert Manning	Armstrong Point West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barrister "Winnipeg millionaire" ³ Lt-Gov. 1916-1926	(1) YWCA Deaconess Aid (2) LCWW Hon. Vice- President 1918+ (3) 1902
Allen Mrs. W. R.	15 Roslyn Road South End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) Women's Hospital Aid (3) 1902
Arnott, Mrs. W. J.	886 Dorchester Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Real Estate	(1) Earl of March IODE (3) 1914
Atkinson, Helen B. Mrs. Arthur	Manitoba Hotel Central Core	(1) Voluntary work	(1) Free Kindergarten (2) LCWW Treasurer 1897 (3) 1897
Baird, Penelope C. Mrs. Andrew (Rev. Dr.)	247 Colony St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clergyman Professor, Manitoba College	(1) Augustine Church Home Mission Aberdeen Society (3) 1894

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Bawlf, Katherine Mrs. Nicholas	98 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Grain Dealer "Winnipeg millionaire"	(1) St. Mary's Ladies' Aid and Altar Society St. Joseph's Orphanage (3) 1896
Begley, Mrs. R. Harry	854 Home Street West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager, A. M. McDougal	(1) NCWC Standing Cttee. 1919, Playgrounds, Recreation and Social Centres (3) 1919
Bell, Elizabeth D. Mrs. Thomas Alsop	338 Broadway Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager and Director, Nor-Wester Mngr. & Treas., Telegram	(1) WCTU, Central (2) LCWW Recording Sec. 1899 (3) 1897
Bell, Emily M. Mrs. H. H.		(1) Voluntary work	(1) Women's Hospital Aid (3) 1907
Bell, Emma (widow) Mrs. David	126 Granville North End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) Women's Hospital Aid (3) 1899
Bell (McEwen) Mrs. Gordon	5 St. Mary's Place Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Medical doctor Manitoba Provincial Bacteriologist	(1) Anti-Tuberculosis Society (2) Convener, LCWW Conservation Standing Committee 1916-17 (3) 1912
Bernier Madame	St. Boniface	(1) Voluntary work	(1) St. Boniface Ladies' Aid NCWC Private Member 1901+ (3) 1897
Bertrande Madame	St. Boniface	(1) Voluntary work	(1) St. Boniface Industrial School St. Boniface LA (3) 1898
Bettes Mrs. James W.	245 Wellington Cr. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Managing Director, Finance & Land Coys.	(1) Grace Church Ladies' Aid (3) 1913
Blakeley, Mrs. E. A.	River Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Medical doctor	(1) WCTU, South End (3) 1894

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Bond, Annie Mrs. John H. R.	167 Donald St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Nurse and Matron (2) Medical doctor	(1) Women's Art Assn. Children's Hospital (2) LCWW President 1906-14 LCWW Vice-President 1914-19 (3) 1906
Botterill Mrs. John E.	254 Wellington Cr. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Baird & Botterill Commercial Brokers	(1) All Saints' Settlement (2) LCWW Vice-President 1912-13 (3) 1911
Brady Mrs. T. W.	James Street Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clerk, W. R. Inman	(1) Women's Art Association (3) 1903
Briggs Mrs. J. W.	70 Kingsway South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Investment & Insurance Broker, Real Estate	(1) Winnipeg General Hospital Nurses' Alumnae Association (3) 1915
Broatch, Kathleen Miss	124 Emily St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Teacher	(1) Winnipeg Women Teachers' Club (3) 1915
Brown Mrs. Edward	745 Wellington Cr. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) V-P Wm. Pearson Co. Ltd. Land & Investment Co. "Winnipeg millionaire"	(1) YWCA Victorian Order of Nurses (3) 1911
Bryce, Marion Mrs. George (Rev.Dr.)	336 Edmonton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Teacher School Principal (2) Clergyman Professor, Manitoba College	(1) WCU Lady Minto Hosp. Assn. Victorian Order of Nurses (2) LCWW Vice-President 1895-98 LCWW President 1899-05 LCWW Treasurer 1907-09 (3) 1894
Bryce Mrs. R. H.	372 Assiniboine Avenue Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Commission Agent	(1) Free Kindergarten Assn. Knox Church L.A. (2) LCWW Treasurer 1898-1900 (3) 1896

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Brydome-Jack Mrs. Ernest E.	56 Hargrave St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Professor, Univ. of Manitoba Civil Engineering	(1) Victorian Order of Nurses (3) 1912
Buchanan Mrs. R. H.	208 Carlton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Journalist, Free Press	(1) WCTU, Central (3) 1894
Bulgin Mrs. E. James	Wardlaw Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Div. Accountant, CPR	(1) Broadway Methodist LA (3) 1915
Burrows Mrs. Theodore A.	187 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Land Commissioner, CNR Lt-Gov. 1926-29	(2) LCWW V-P 1904-05 (3) 1904
Bury Mrs. George J.	52 Donald St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Gen. Manager, CPR	(1) Victorian Order of Nurses (3) 1911
Cameron Mrs. Douglas (Lady)	"Lochy" Fort Rouge South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Prop., lumber businesses "Winnipeg millionaire" Lt-Gov. 1911-16	(1) Western Art Association Victorian Order of Nurses LCWW Life Member 1914 + (2) LCWW Hon. President 1911-17 (3) 1910
Campbell, Minnie J. B. Mrs. Colin	260 Roslyn Road South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Lawyer Prov. Minister of Public Works Attorney-General	(1) YWCA IODE (3) 1915
Cass Mrs. Edward	172 Vaughan St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Contractor Alderman	(1) St. Mary's LA and Altar Society (3) 1902
Cauchon Madame	321 Spadina Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) (Husband possibly Joseph E. Lt-Gov. 1876-82)	(1) St. Mary's LA and Altar Society (2) LCWW V-P 1906-1910 (3) 1899
Chambre Mrs. H. W. A.	185 Vaughan St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Lt-Colonel Real Estate and Financial Agent	(1) Soldiers' Wives' League (3) 1902

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Champion, Ethel Miss	753 Wolseley St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Nurse	(1) Nurses' Alumnae Assn. (3) 1914
Champion, Florida G. Mrs. Henry T.	92 Edmonton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Alloway & Champion (Finance)	(1) St. Joseph's Orphanage Aux. WCTU (3) 1906
Chisholm Mrs. A. H.	Morris	(1) Voluntary work	(1) Home Economics Society, Morris (3) 1915
Chisholm Mrs. James	272 Balmoral St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Architect	(2) LCWW V-P 1905-08 (3) 1905
Clark Mrs. William	161 Colony St. West End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) Girls' Home of Welcome WCU Children's Home (3) 1911
Clendanan, May S. Miss	159 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Journalist	(1) NCWC Standing Committee, Press, 1919 Political Equality League (3) 1919
Coombes Mrs. George F. (The Very Rev. Canon)	The Deanery, St. John's Ave. North End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clergyman Professor, St. John's College	(1) Women's Art Association (3) 1903
Copeland, Winnifred L. Mrs. L. Benjamin	112 Walnut St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Engineer, Public Works Dept.	(2) LCWW Recording Secretary 1914-18 (3) 1914
Cordingly Mrs. Charles H.	484 Sargent St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Accountant	(1) Private Member 1908 (3) 1908
Cottar, Kate A. Miss	16 Nova Villa Sherbrooke St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Nurse in public schools	(1) Prov. Nurses' Association Social Service Workers' Club (3) 1912

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Crawford, Mary E Dr.	Ste.11 ,Waldron Court Apartments, Broadway Central Core or West End	(1) Voluntary work Medical doctor	(1) Women's University Club Political Equality League Humane Society Ladies of the Maccabees (3) 1913
Crowe Mrs. George Reading	Armstrong Point West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Lumberman/ Businessman Alderman	(1) YWCA Women's Canadian Club (3) 1907
Culver Mrs. W. H.	92 Edmonton St Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Lawyer, Aikins, Culver & McClenaghan	(1) Children's Home Women's Art Association WCTU Life Member NCWC from 1903 (2) LCWW Corresponding Secretary 1897-98 LCWW V-P 1899-1903 (3) 1894
Dayton, Rebecca Mrs. H. W.	Virden	(1) Voluntary work	(1) HES, Virden Manitoba's rep. on report on NCWC proxy voting 1920 (2) Man. Prov. V-P 1917+ Convener, LCWW Stndg. Cttee. for Agriculture for Women 1916-17 (3) 1915
Deacon Mrs. Thomas Russ	251 Furby St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) President, Manitoba Bridge and Ironworks Ltd. Mayor of Winnipeg 1913-14	(1) Day Nursery (Mothers' Association) Member Mothers' Commission, NCWC appointment 1920 (2) LCWW Treasurer 1914-16 LCWW V-P 1916-20 (3) 1913
Dexter Mrs. H. J.	64 Irene St. Fort Garry South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Solicitor	(1) Free Kindergarten (3) 1894

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Dick, Harriet Mrs. John	140 Harvard Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Farmer	(1) Mothers' Association Women's Civic League (3) 1908
Douglass, Margaret Ellen, Dr.	136 Sherbrooke St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Medical doctor Overseas military war service	(1) Winnipeg Women's Rifle Assn. Winnipeg Women's Volunteer Reserve (2) Convener, LCWW Standing Committee for Public Health 1916-17 (3) 1916
Drewry Mrs. Edward L	St. John's Ave. North End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Prop. Redwood & Empire Breweries "Winnipeg millionaire" Alderman	(1) Women's Hospital Aid Girls' Home of Welcome (3) 1896
Duncan Mrs. David M.	278 Wellington Cr. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Asst. Superintendent Winnipeg Public Schools	(1) Women's Hospital Aid (3) 1915
Duval Mrs. Frederick B. (Rev. Dr.)	59 Donald St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clergyman, Knox Church	(1) Knox Church LA (3) 1904
Elliott Mrs. Dawson K.	35 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Pres. R. J. Whitla & Co. Ltd., Wholesale Dry Goods	(1) Children's Home (3) 1910
Ewart Mrs. Alan C.	Ruskin Row Crescentwood South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barrister, Ewart, Fisher & Wilson	(1) Women's Art Association (3) 1911
Fairlee Mrs.	Middlechurch	(1) Voluntary work	(1) St. Paul's Industrial School (3) 1898
Ferguson Mrs. Thomas R.	4 Ruskin Ave. Crescentwood South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barrister, Ferguson, Teuch & Devaux	(1) Day Nursery (3) 1912

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Fisher Mrs. James	121 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barrister, Ewart, Fisher & Wilson	(1) Free Kindergarten (2) LCWW Treasurer 1895-96 (3) 1895
Fisher Mrs. Wm. M.	Armstrong Point West End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) All Saints' LA (3) 1910
Forget Madame A. E.	393 River Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Indian Commissioner's Office	(2) LCWW V-P 1898 (3) 1898
Fortin Mrs. Octave (Ven.Archdeacon)	The Rectory Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Rector, Holy Trinity Church	(1) Holy Trinity LA (3) 1894
Fowler, Octavia Miss	272 Assiniboine Avenue Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Benefactor and Matron, Girls' Home of Welcome	(1) Girls' Home of Welcome (3) 1897
Fraser Mrs. Arthur M	365 Main St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barrister, Manitoba & Western Coal Co.	(1) Aberdeen Association (3) 1908
Galbraith, Mary Miss	459 Balmoral St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Asst. City Treasurer	(1) Member NCWC Standing Cttee. on Taxation 1919 (3) 1919
Galloway, Charlotte E. Mrs. Herbert P. H. (Dr.)	661 Broadway Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Medical doctor	(1) Deaconess Aid Society (2) LCWW Recording Secretary 1911-14 LCWW President 1914-16 Convener, LCWW Stndg. Cttee. on Equal Moral Standards 1916-17 (3) 1908
Gardiner Mrs. E. W. J. (Major)	Fort Osborne Barracks Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Commander, Fort Osborne Barracks	(1) Soldiers' Wives' League (3) 1902
Garvin Mrs. M. H. (Dr.)	105 Harvard Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Dentist	(1) Deaconess LA (3) 1914

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Gautier Madame Fred E.	Clarendon Hotel Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) CPR Purchasing Agent	(1) Aberdeen Society (2) LCWW Acting Treasurer part 1894 LCWW V-P 1897-1905 (3) 1894
Gay Mrs. Francis W.	133 Sherbrooke St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Contractor and Builder	(1) Grace Church LA (3) 1915
Gilroy, Amelia Miss	674 Arlington St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Nurse	(1) Member NCWC Standing Ctee. on Public Health 1919 (3) 1919
Goldstein Mrs. Max	123 Mayfair Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Prop. Manitoba Clothing Co.	(1) Children's Aid Society (3) 1913
Gordon, Helen Skinner Mrs. Charles W. (Rev.)	54 Westgate West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clergyman, St. Stephen's Church Author, Ralph Connor Real Estate Investor "Winnipeg millionaire"	(1) St. Stephen's LA (3) 1915
Grant, Ada L. Mrs. John D.	915 McMillan Av. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clerk, Codville Co., Wholesale Grocers	(2) LCWW Assistant Corresponding Secretary 1918-19 LCWW Corresponding Secretary 1919-21 (3) 1918
Guilmette, Kate Mrs. Peter (widow)	129 Carlton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work	(1) St. Mary's LA (3) 1897
Haggart Mrs. Alexander	229 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Lawyer, KC Macdonald, Haggart & Whitla	(1) Girls' Home of Welcome Life Member, NCWC (3) 1904
Haggarty Mrs. Peter C.	6C Fort Garry Ct. Main Street Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) P. C. Haggarty, Automobile Tires and Supplies	(1) St. Joseph's Orphanage (2) LCWW V-P 1911-16 (3) 1911

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Haig, Kennethe Miss	199 Spence St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Journalist, Manitoba Free Press Author	(1) Member NCWC Cttees. 1919: Women in Industry; Press; and Women's Platform Women's Press Club (3) 1919
Hamilton Mrs. Elmer W.	983 Grosvenor Av. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager, E. H. Heath Co. Ltd.	(1) Central Congretational Young Women's Club (3) 1915
Hamilton, Mary Riter Mrs. Charles W. (Widow)	224 Carlton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Teacher, China Decorating Classes Artist	(1) Women's Art Association (3) 1895
Hample, Martha Jane Mrs. A. G.	808 Wolseley Ave. West End	(1) Voluntary work Real Estate Caterer & Confectioner First woman member of Winnipeg School Board (2) Butcher	(1) Political Equality League (3) 1912
Harris Mrs. J. W.	26 Edmonton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Assessment Commissioner & City Surveyor	(1) Girls' Home of Welcome Humane Society (3) 1902
Hignal, Olive E. Miss	159 Chestnut St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Dental Nurse	(1) Young Women's Christian Temperance Union (3) 1910
Hill Mrs. Arthur	122 Cauchon St. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Secretary, Bole Drug Co.	(1) Provincial Nurses' Assn. (3) 1910
Hill Mrs. Willard J.	360 Oakwood St. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Western Manager, International Varnish Co. Ltd.	(1) Manitoba Association of Graduate Nurses (3) 1915
Hilton Mrs. Geo.	36 Armstrong Ave. West Kildonan	(1) Voluntary work (2) H. Hilton & Son, Asbestos Manufacturers	(1) Victorian Order of Nurses (3) 1914

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Hind, Ella Cora Miss	1 Laurel Block Osborne St. South End	(1) Voluntary work Journalist, Agricultural Reporter	(1) Political Equality League Women's Press Club (3) 1909
Hood, Clara M. Miss	369 Langside St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Nurse	(1) Nurses' Alumnae Assn. (3) 1912
Howarth Mrs. E. R.	703 Strathcona St. West End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) Women's Alliance, All Souls' Church (3) 1915
Hudson Mrs. Albert B.	208 Dromore Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Lawyer, Hudson, Ormond, Spice & Symington	(2) LCWW Treasurer 1918-21 (3) 1918
Hudson Mrs. Dunbar H.	3 Crescent Court Hugo St. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Pres. & Manager, Hudson Paper Co.	(2) LCWW V-P 1914-15 LCWW Treasurer 1916-17 (3) 1914
Jobin Mrs. Francis	130 Donald Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Bookkeeper, Jobin, Marrin Co.	(1) St. Mary's LA (3) 1907
Johns, Ethel Miss	General Hospital Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Nurse Author	(1) Manitoba Assn. of Graduate Nurses Women's Press Club Member NCWC Standing Ctee. 1919, Professions & Employment for Women (3) 1919

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Jones, Eva L. Miss	122 Carlton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Principal, Havergal College	(1) Convener, NCWC Standg. Cttee., 1919, Professions & Employment for Women Member NCWC Standg. Cttee., 1919, Laws for Better Protection of Women & Children NCWC rep. 1919 on International Council of Women: Trades, Pro- fessions & Employment for Women Committee (2) LCWW V-P 1915-19 Convener, LCWW Stg. Cttee. For Better Care for Young Women 1916-17 LCWW President 1920 (3) 1915
Jupiter, Annie B. Miss	c/o Agricultural College Tuxedo Probably lodged in Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Prof. of Household Science, Dept. of House- hold Science, Agricultural College	(1) Assisted in establishment of local Home Economics Societies in Manitoba Manitoba Home Economics Association (3) 1910
Kelly Mrs. Edward	500 Camden Place West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Edward Kelly & Co., Financial Agents	(1) WCTU, Central WCTU, Winnipeg District (2) Convener, LCWW Standg. Cttee. for Objectionable Printed Matter 1916 (3) 1913
Kennedy, Margaret Miss	c/o Agricultural College Tuxedo Probably lodged in Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Prof. of Household Art, Dept. of Household Art, Agricultural College	(1) Assisted in establishment of local Home Economics Societies in Manitoba Manitoba Home Economics Association (3) 1910
Killam Mrs. Albert Clements	Roslyn Rd. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Chief Justice	(1) Humane Society (3) 1901

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Kirby Mrs. Walter T.	52 Edmonton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Colgate & Armstrong	(1) Aberdeen Society All Saints' LA (3) 1894
Knechtel Mrs. Robert W. (Dr.)	64 Langside St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Medical doctor	(1) Free Kindergarten Assn. (3) 1914
Knight Mrs. Stephen W, (widow by 1900)	1 Roslyn Rd. South End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) All Saints' LA (2) LCWW V-P 1899-1913 (3) 1896
Ladd Mrs. David J.	410 Stradbroke Place South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Sec-Treasurer, O-rib-O Manufg. Co. Sheet Metal Products	(1) Nassau Baptist Church LA (3) 1915
Lee, Fanny B. Mrs. Elisha	530 River Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) All Saints' LA (2) LCWW Corresponding Secretary 1911-13 (3) 1911
Lehmann Mrs. Julius E. (Dr.)	26 Proud Ave. (Add. not traced)	(1) Voluntary work (2) Medical doctor	(1) Girls' Friendly Society (3) 1915
Little Mrs. Charles B.	410 Devon Court Broadway Central or West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Veterinary surgeon	(1) Girls' Home of Welcome Knox Church LA WCU (Old Folks' Home) (3) 1910
Loucks Mrs. Edward B.	708 Dorchester Avenue South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Mng. Dir. Bissett & Loucks, Co. Ltd., Hardware Brokers, Waterworks Supplies	(1) All Saints' LA (3) 1914
Lynch Mrs. James G.	109 Scott St. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Bookkeeper, North American Life Assurance Co.	(1) Social Science Study Club (3) 1915
MacFarlane Mrs. Roderick	27 Redwood Ave. North End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Dep. Sergeant-at-Arms Legislative Assembly	(1) Girls' Home of Welcome (3) 1906

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
MacGachen Mrs. A. F. D.	281 River Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager, Bank of Montreal	(1) Aberdeen Society (3) 1907
MacMillan Mrs. Neil T.	137 Kingsway South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) V-P Prudential Life Insurance Co. Ltd.	(1) Ladies' Service League (3) 1914
MacNeil, Agnes K. Mrs. M. C.	738 Broadway Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barrister, Elliott, MacNeil & Deacon	(1) Misericordia League (2) LCWW Recording Secretary 1920-21 (3) 1914
McArthur (Isobel?) Miss	254 Carlton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work	(1) Women's Art Association Humane Society (3) 1895
McBeth Mrs. Roderick George (Rev.)	375 River Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clergyman, Augustine Church	(1) Augustine Church Home Mission (3) 1898
McClung, Annie E. Mrs. J. A. (Rev.)	213 Balmoral St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clergyman	(1) WCTU, SW & Central (2) LCWW V-P 1902-03 (3) 1902
McClung, Nellie L. Mrs. R. W.	97 Chestnut St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Lecturer Author (2) Life Insurance Co.	(1) Women's Press Club Political Equality League (3) 1912
McConnel Mrs. J. G.	Hamiota	(1) Voluntary work	(1) HES, Hamiota (3) 1915
McEwen, Jessie Mrs. Donald	Brandon	(1) Voluntary work (2) Farmer	(2) Manitoba Provincial V-P 1894-1914 (3) 1894
McIntyre Mrs. Peter C.	1904 Fort Garry Court, Main St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Postmaster	(2) LCWW Treasurer 1901-06 (3) 1901
McKay Mrs. A. D.	Charlotte St. St. Boniface	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clerk	(1) Free Kindergarten Assn. YWCA (3) 1903
McKibbin, S. Miss	375 Langside St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Nurse	(1) Provincial Nurses' Assn. (3) 1908

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
McLaren Mrs. John B.	165 Mayfair Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager, Canada Land & National Investment Co.	(1) Children's Aid (3) 1904
McMillan Lady, Daniel Hunter	Crescentwood South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Lumberman Miller Real Estate "Winnipeg millionaire" Lt-Gov. 1900-11	(1) LCWW Hon. President 1900-11 LCWW Life Member 1914 (3) 1900
McPhillips Miss	162 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Sister or daughter of Charles D. Phillips, Surveyor	(1) St. Joseph's Orphanage (3) 1910
McWilliams, Margaret S., Mrs. Roland F.	209 Devon Court Broadway Central Core or West End	(1) Voluntary work Journalist Author Lecturer Alderman 1933-40 (2) Lawyer, Thomson, Jameson & McWilliams Author Lt-Gov. 1940-53	(1) University Women's Club Women's Canadian Club Social Science Study Club NCWC Life Member 1945 Chair, NCWC Cttee. on Constitution of National Council, 1918 Member, NCWC Special Cttee. on Reconstruction, 1919 LCWW delegate to prov. govt. organizaational meeting to set up the Central Council of Social Agencies 1919 (2) LCWW Corresponding Secretary 1914-16 LCWW President 1916-20 (3) 1914
Metcalf, Marian Mrs. Thos. H.	59 Balmoral Place West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Grain Broker	(2) LCWW Recording Secretary 1918-20 LCWW V-P 1920-21 (3) 1918
Mitchell Mrs. James B.	579 Spence St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Building & Supply Agent, Winnipeg Public School Board	(1) WCU (3) 1910

Name	Address ¹	Occupation (1) Own ² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Moffat Mrs. Alex	125 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Accountant & Auditor	(1) Women's Hospital Aid (3) 1898
Moody Mrs. Arthur W.(Dr.)	156 Donald St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Medical doctor	(1) Deaconess Aid Society (2) LCWW V-P 1907-13 (3) 1907
Moore, Elsie E. Miss	6 Grosvenor Court Stafford St. South End	(1) Voluntary work Teacher, Kelvin High School	(1) University Women's Club (3) 1915
Moore Mrs. John George	166 Donald St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Insurance Agent	(1) All Saints' LA (2) LCWW Corresponding Secretary 1894-96 (3) 1894
Moore, Maude C Miss	121 Donald St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Sister or daughter of E. D. Moore, Contractor	(1) Women's Art Association Delegate to NCWC 1896 (3) 1894
Moulton, Nancy (Nan) Miss	595 Broadway Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Journalist, Western Municipal News	(1) Women's Press Club (3) 1915
Nash, Edna Mrs. Claude W.	260 Spence St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Assisted Margaret McWilliams in pre- liminary organization of women's history: <u>Women of Red River</u> (2) Agent, Equitable Life	(1) Women's Canadian Club Paper to LCWW and delegate to Prov. Premier re. factory conditions for women and girls 1911 Member NCWC Standing Ctee. on Suppression of Objectionable Printed Matter 1919 (3) 1911
Ormond, Harriet F. Miss	Mission 732 Alfred Ave. North End.	(1) Voluntary work Deaconess Teacher, Kindergarten	(1) Free Kindergarten (later Kindergarten Settlement Association) (3) 1907
Osborne, Ethel Lindsay, Mrs. Rockwell C	128 Yale Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work Journalist (2) Treasurer, International Elevator Co. Ltd.	(1) Women's Press Club (3) 1911

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Parker, Elizabeth Mrs. Henry J.	160 Furby St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Assisted in foundation of Canadian Alpine Club, Winnipeg 1906 Teacher Journalist, Manitoba Free Press (2) CNR Clerk	(1) YWCA (3) 1903
Parker, K. E. Mrs. Godfrey	597 Broadway Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager, Wholesale Dept., HBC	(1) Free Kindergarten Assn. Girls' Home of Welcome (2) LCWW Recording Secretary 1894-98 LCWW Corresponding Secretary 1899-1907 (3) 1894
Patterson Mrs. J. C.	Government House Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Lt-Gov. 1895-1900	(2) LCWW Hon. President 1895-1900 (3) 1895
Perry, Anne Anderson Mrs. W. C.	106 St. Cross St. North End	(1) Voluntary work Journalist, Grain Growers Guide	(1) Women's Press Club Women's Civic League (2) LCWW Treasurer 1917-18 (3) 1914
Pitblado, May Edith Mrs. Isaac	523 Wellington Cr. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barrister, Campbell, Pitblado & Co.	(1) Kindergarten Settlement Association (2) LCWW V-P 1918-21 (3) 1915
Rice Mrs. P.H.	26 Roslyn Rd. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Prop. & Mangr., Rice Malting Co. of Canada Ltd.	(1) Home of the Good Shepherd (3) 1914
Richards Mrs. Albert E.	River Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Judge, King's Bench Alderman 1894-96	(1) Women's Hospital Aid (3) 1900
Richardson Mrs. Edward (Dr.)	41 Riverview Mansions	(1) Voluntary work (2) Medical doctor	(1) Misericordia League (3) 1915

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Robson, Jean S. Mrs. Charles	266 Cathedral Av. North End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Motion Picture Censor Board	(1) Member NCWC Standg. Ctees 1919: Women in Industry; Soldiers' Dependents Member NCWC Special Ctees. 1919: Criminal Code; Women's Platform (2) LCWW Corresponding Secretary 1917-18 (3) 1917
Rogers, Edith Mrs. Robert Arthur	43 Roslyn Rd. South End	(1) Voluntary work MLA 1920 (2) Pres. & Managing Director Crescent Creamery Co.	(1) Lady Minto Hospital Assn. LCWW Life Member 1913 (3) 1906
Russell, Elizabeth Miss	141 Edmonton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Supt. of Nursing, Prov. Board of Health	(1) Member NCWC Standing Cttee. on Women in Industry 1919 (3) 1919
Russell Mrs. Frank W.	176 Donald St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Chief Clerk, CPR Land Dept.	(1) St. Mary's LA Women's Catholic Welcome League (3) 1910
Scales, Ethel B. Mrs. George	442 Langside St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager, Furniture Dept., HBC	(1) YWCA (3) 1902
Scarth, Jessie Stuart Mrs. William Bain	47 Carlton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) MP for Winnipeg 1887- 90 Federal Dept., Ministry of Agriculture 1895 Land development companies	(2) LCWW Treasurer 1894 (3) 1894
Schultz, Agnes Catherine, Lady, John	Government House and Main Street Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Military officer Medical doctor Business and real estate interests Lt-Gov. 1888-1895	(1) Victorian India Orphans' Society (2) LCWW President 1894-95 LCWW V-P 1896-98 (3) 1894

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Searle Miss	Clarendon Hotel 309 Portage Ave. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Paid work as Maccabees a working women's benefit organization	(1) Ladies of the Maccabees (3) 1904
Sharman, Abby Lyon Doctor of English Literature and History Mrs. Henry B.	22 Boylston Apts. River Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work Journalist (2) Manager, Canadian Ingot Iron Culvert Co.	(1) Women's Press Club University Women's Club (3) 1913
Shaw Mrs. Charles Lewis	110 Osborne St. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barrister Reporter on Telegram	(2) LCWW V-P 1910-11 (3) 1910
Sheldon Mrs. William C.	143 Furby St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Real Estate	(2) LCWW V-P 1906 (3) 1906
Skinner, Genevieve Lipsett-, Mrs. Robt. C.	598 Corydon Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work Journalist, Telegram (2) Advtg. Manager, HBC	(1) Women's Press Club Telegram Sunshine Society (3) 1914
Smythe Miss	Clarendon Hotel 309 Portage Ave. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Paid work as Maccabees a working women's benefit organization	(1) Ladies of the Maccabees (3) 1905
Speechly, Mary Mrs. Henry Martingdale (Dr.)	Pilot Mound and later 314 Broadway Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (included, in 1934, being first president of Winnipeg Birth Control Society) Photographer (2) Medical doctor Provincial Coroner	(1) HES Pilot Mound Women's Canadian Club Social Science Study Club Women's University Club (3) 1912
Springate, Margaret Miss	122 Carlton St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Teacher, Havergal College	(2) LCWW Assistant Corresponding Sec. 1915 (3) 1915
Stafford, Edith Miss	Amulet Apts. Westminster West End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) Anti-Tuberculosis Society (3) 1912

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Starr, Annie C. Miss	753 Wolseley Ave. West End	(1) Voluntary work Nurse	(1) St. Boniface Nurses' Alumnae (3) 1915
Stovel Mrs. Augustus B.	34 Amherst St. St. James	(1) Voluntary work (2) Sec-Treasurer, Stovel Co., Printers and Publishers	(1) First Baptist Church LA (3) 1915
Street Mrs. Geo. W. (Major)	York Street Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Military officer	(1) All Saints' LA (3) 1895
Sutherland Mrs. Angus	191 Henry Ave. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Real Estate	(1) Women's Art Association (3) 1895
Sutherland Mrs. Hugh	81 Roslyn Rd. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) CNR	(1) Women's Art Association (3) 1907
Taafe, Margaret F. Mrs. Harry	180 Donald St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Clerk, Ames Holden Co. Wholesale Boots & Shoes	(2) LCWW Recording Secretary 1903-10 (3) 1903
Taylor, Margaret Lady, Thomas Wardlaw	Chessels Croft Wellington Cr. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Chief Justice of Manitoba	(1) Children's Home Aberdeen Society NCWC Life Member 1903 International Council of Women, Life Member 1921 (2) LCWW V-P 1894-95 LCWW President 1896-99 (3) 1894
Taylor Mrs. T. W.	261 Colony St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Pres., Thos. W. Taylor Co. Ltd., Printing and Bookbinding	(1) WCU (3) 1914
Thomas, Lillian (Beynon) Mrs. A. Vernon	45 Arlington St. West End	(1) Voluntary work Reporter, Free Press Teacher (2) Reporter, Free Press	(1) Political Equality League Women's Press Club (2) LCWW V-P 1914 Man. Prov. V-P 1915-17 (3) 1914

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Thompson, Florence D. Mrs. William Henry	328 Assiniboine Avenue Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Founding librarian, University of Manitoba (2) Chief Clerk, Customs Office	(2) LCWW Recording Secretary 1900-02 LCWW Treasurer 1910-13 (3) 1900
Thompson, Margaret Miss	303 Colony St. West End	(1) Voluntary work	(2) LCWW Literature Secretary 1905 LCWW Assistant Secretary 1906-07 LCWW Corresponding Secretary 1908-10 (3) 1905
Thomson, Margaret Mrs. Ebenezer (widow)	65 Hargrave St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work	(1) WCU (3) 1913
Tobin Mrs. John	124 Hallet St. North End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barber, Main St.	(1) AOH Ladies' Auxiliary (2) LCWW V-P 1916-18 (3) 1915
Tracy, Isabella S. Mrs. H. F. (Widow)	443 Furby St. West End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) WCTU, Central (3) 1904
Venables Mrs. E. J.	Hamiota	(1) Voluntary work	(1) HES, Hamiota (3) 1915
Walker Mrs. Geoffrey H.	118 Scott St. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Registrar, Court of Appeal	(1) Children's Hospital (3) 1911
Walker, Harriet (Hattie), Mrs. C. P.	771 Dorchester Avenue South End	(1) Voluntary work Actress Journalist Publicity Manager, Walker Theatre (2) Prop., Walker Theatre	(1) Women's Press Club Humane Society Political Equality League (3) 1910
Wallace Mrs. John J.	84 Maryland St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Pres., Wallace & Akins, Land Contractors Alderman 1910	(1) Young Women's Christian Temperance Union WCTU, Winnipeg District (3) 1894
Weed Mrs. Frederick J.	90 Furby Street West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager, DeLaval Dairy Supply Co. Ltd.	(1) Mothers' Association (3) 1915

Name	Address¹	Occupation (1) Own² (2) Husband's	LCWW Connection (1) Organizational affiliation (2) Office held in LCWW (3) First traced in LCWW records
Weiss Mrs. Clayton M.	Steele Block 360 Portage Ave. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Traveller	(1) St. Mary's LA (3) 1906
Wickson Mrs. Arthur	61 Kennedy St. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work (2) Manager, Merchants' Bank of Canada	(1) Children's Home (3) 1894
Williams, Harriette J. Miss	205 Balmoral St. West End	(1) Voluntary work	(1) Grace Church Young Women's Council (3) 1915
Wood Mrs. Edmund M.	156 Roslyn Rd. South End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Deputy Municipal Commissioner, Taxation	(1) Women's Hospital Aid Convalescent Hospital Society All Saints' LA (3) 1906
Wright Mrs. William J.	19 Evanson St. West End	(1) Voluntary work (2) Barrister	(1) IODE (3) 1914
Yeomans, Amelia L. Dr. (widow)	245 Portage Ave. Central Core	(1) Voluntary work Medical doctor (2) Medical doctor	(1) WCTU (3) 1894

1. Each Winnipeg City address is identified as being in one of four districts: the Central Core (Wards 2 and 4), the North End (Wards 5, 6 and 7), the South End (Ward 1) and the West End (Ward 3). (City of Winnipeg map 1907 and discussion of urban growth by districts in Alan F. J. Artibise, A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914. [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975], 150-173.) Suburban and rural locations are also indicated.

2. Though a considerable number of the women listed held paid jobs at one time or another in their lives, many women worked hard for their communities throughout most of their adult lives and received no paid remuneration. Almost certainly, some of the women also took in paying boarders. For example, as a young, single teacher, Nellie McClung boarded with her future mother-in-law, Annie McClung, wife of the Rev. J. A. McClung. All the women in the Council were volunteer workers in addition to any paid work they performed and their duties as homemakers and mothers.

3. Husbands designated "Winnipeg millionaire" were identified from a Winnipeg Telegram article, January 29, 1910, reproduced in Alan F. J. Artibise, Ed., Gateway City: Documents of the City of Winnipeg 1873-1913. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society, 1979), 117-30. Nineteen millionaires were identified in this article. No details were given on two of them and four were bachelors. Of the remaining thirteen, seven had wives in the LCWW.

ABBREVIATIONS

HES	Home Economics Society
IODE	Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire
LA	Ladies' Aid
LCWW	Local Council of Women of Winnipeg
NCWC	National Council of Women of Canada
PEL	Political Equality League
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union
WCU	Women's Christian Union

MAJOR SOURCES OF DATA USED IN APPENDIX C

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Kinnear, Mary, ed., First Days, Fighting Days: Women in Manitoba History. Regina: University of Regina, 1987.

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Smith, Marilyn, "Women in Manitoba History--Herstory: Research and Biographies". Winnipeg: Unpublished Report, Historic Resources Branch, Manitoba Department of Culture, Heritage and Citizenship, 1974.

Winnipeg Street Guide

BIBLIOGRAPHY**PRIMARY SOURCES****ARCHIVAL****National Archives of Canada****National Council of Women of Canada****Provincial Archives of Manitoba****Alpine Club of Canada****Beynon, Francis Marion, Papers****Bryce, George, Papers****Canadian Authors' Association****Canadian Women's Press Club, Winnipeg Branch****Canadian Writers' Club of Winnipeg****Free Kindergarten Association****Greenway, Thomas Papers****Home Economics Society, Hamiota****Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire****Local Council of Women of Winnipeg****Manitoba Home Economics Association****Middlechurch Home of Winnipeg (formerly Women's Christian Union)****National Council of Women of Canada****Political Equality League (after 1916 called Political Education League)****Social Planning Council of Winnipeg**

Thomas, Lillian Beynon, Papers

University Women's Club

Women's Art Association, Winnipeg Branch

Women's Christian Temperance Union

Women's Christian Union (now Middlechurch Home of Winnipeg)

Young Women's Christian Association

Saskatchewan Archives Board

McNaughton, Violet, Papers

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Crawford, Mary E. "Legal status of women in Manitoba as shown by extracts from dominion and provincial laws." Winnipeg: Political Equality League of Manitoba, 1913.

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Perry, Ann Anderson. "Winning the Franchise". Grain Growers' Guide. (July 7, 1920) 24-26. (Lillian Beynon Thomas Papers in PAM).

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